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SPAIN AND THE SPANIARDS,

IN 1843.

BY

CAPTAIN S. E. WIDDRINGTON, R.N.

K.T.S., F.R.S., F.G.S.

AUTHOR OF

SKETCHES IN SPAIN, IN 1829-30-31-32.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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SPAIN IN 1843.

CHAPTER I.

ROUTE TO MADRID—XEFE POLITICO AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL—TROOPS MARCHING—JAEN—GUADALQUIVIR—NEGRO—OCANA—ARRIVAL AT MADRID.

We had great difficulty in finding places in the diligence to Madrid, all the better seats being secured for weeks beforehand; there were two rival companies, and we were obliged to take the coach of the inferior administration; but they assured me there was little difference in the arrangements, especially in the important article of the time consumed upon the road.

I must beg the attention of the reader particularly to the ensuing pages, because in them will be related an event of no small importance in the extraordinary and unexpected scenes that shortly afterwards followed in the south of Spain, and it formed a hinge, on which a part of the results from the movements we have seen, turned.

We left Granada at a very early hour, and the first halt made to change the tiro, was at the Venta de

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Zegri, which has preserved the name of the celebrated Moorish family, the lineal descendants of whom are still settled in their ancient capital. At Campillo de Arenas, a large village half way between Jaen and Granada, where we stopped to take chocolate, there was an officer in uniform, of middle age, most pleasing manners and respectable appearance, who entered into conversation with us and made many inquiries about the state of Granada. This was the Xefe Politico or civil governor of the province, who as well as the Captain-general was absent from his post, at Madrid, when the disturbances broke out, which their being on the spot might very probably have prevented. "Cosas de España!" He told us his object was to precede the Captain-general, who was following with the troops we began already to see upon the road, and by parleying with the pronunciados, persuade them to return to their allegiance without the necessity of employing compulsory measures; we shall see hereafter the consequence of this humane but ill-judged mode of proceeding.

In about an hour after we left Campillos, the diligence was ordered to stop and a military officer rode up to the window. This was the aide-de-camp of the Captain-general, who was on horseback at the side of the road. I happened to be sitting next the window when he approached, and it devolved on me to answer the questions he successively put, carrying back the replies to his chief and then returning

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with others. Of course all that could be said, was, that the place was in a perfect state of order and tranquillity, and no attempts making for defence or movement of any kind. I observed, that as the answers were given, the countenance of the Captain-general which has a most pleasing expression, not at all belied by the high and universally known character of General Alvarez, rather fell; no doubt this feeling, which was too strongly expressed to fail of being noticed, proceeded from his unwillingness to take severe measures; probably the hope that his approach would have been the signal for the Junta to disperse, and the restoration of the authority of Government, without the necessity of employing the forces under his orders. It appeared afterwards that he had private cause also for the uneasiness he evidently felt, having that very morning left his wife in a very delicate state of health at Jaen.

When we had answered the questions put to us, we moved on, meeting many detachments of troops of all descriptions that were hastening to the expected scene of operations. At a venta between Campillos and Jaen, we arrived at the same instant with a battalion of young but rather good-looking infantry, who had already made a march of twenty miles to their first halt. I was standing by the door when they successively came up, inquiring eagerly some for wine, others for bread, but the catalogue of negatives was even stronger than usual in these places, and the sole answer was "Nada, the troops

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who passed in the night have taken every thing and the place is empty." Not the smallest murmur or expression of any kind passed their lips, and taking a drink of water, which *was* to be had, they formed groups under the bushes or wherever a scanty shelter from the powerful sun could be procured, intending to start again and make the same, or greater distance, before reaching their quarters for the night.

We dined at a new and spacious venta outside the town of Jaen, of which I should have regretted not seeing the interior, but from my previous acquaintance with it; and that excepting the cathedral, which strongly resembles that of Malaga, as already mentioned, and I have no doubt was built by Siloe, and the ruined castle, there is little worth notice in this ancient capital of a Moorish kingdom.

The pass in descending from Campillos to Jaen, is so fine, that if it were covered with forest very few in Spain would exceed or equal it in picturesque beauty. The stream that runs through the valley is equally pretty, and the situation of Jaen, commanding the fine and fertile plains of the Guadalquivir, which it overlooks as from a terrace, backed by a lofty range of limestone, is one of the finest in the country. It has always been celebrated for the fruits, especially pears and apples, which the territory produces in the greatest abundance. They have a round pear not to be distinguished in appearance

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from an apple, of extremely good flavour, which I never saw elsewhere, and they are sent to all parts of Andalucia.

We took the new line to Madrid as it is called, although it is any thing but new, being so old and inconvenient that at a village a short distance after we set off we were "invited" to get out and walk to the ferry of the Guadalquivir, which is a considerable way from it, where we were detained some time before the lumbering vehicle was landed on the opposite side. Nothing was to be seen worthy notice, excepting immense quantities of the liquorice plant, that were growing wild in the sandy alluvial soil of the river and were now in flower. This is an extremely troublesome inmate of cultivated grounds in this climate, and they declare if once established, it can hardly be exterminated.

Beyond this the road is totally unfinished, in fact hardly commenced, a curious contrast with that beyond Jaen, which is magnificent. In parts we had to cross olive grounds and corn lands, and in wet weather the transit must be excessively difficult for the mules. The sum they told me the tiros cost from Granada to Baylen was enormous, almost incredible, so that the fares were proportionably high, and more than double the price of those upon the great line of Seville.

We had a tolerably pleasant party of fellow travellers, one of the inside passengers being a campaigner of the old time and a very superior well-informed

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person. The coupe was occupied by a gentleman from the Habana with his black servant, as owing to this peculiar encumbrance he had been obliged to take the whole. In a short time, a very agreeable looking family of females who were in the hinder compartment, shewed evident signs of what the Spaniards call codicia, or hankering after places in the front, and after a good deal of neat and pretty manœuvring they effected an entrance: but before the arrangement could be completed the poor black was obliged to be dislodged, which operation produced rather a curious scene. We had no room in the centre, and the remainder of the party behind, refused him admittance to the place of the lady who had taken his seat in the coupe. They next tried to obtain a vacant place by the escort who was perched outside, but this fellow, who was a half reclaimed robber and if he had had his deserts instead of riding there, should have been in presidio, or possibly on the horca or gibbet, not only refused to let him keep company, but declared aloud, that if he presumed to get up he would pitch him off! At last it was settled in some way, and the black disappeared; I found afterwards that he was packed among the baggage under the "vache," or leather cover, which in the state of the atmosphere, must have been a perfect black hole. The people carried their insolence so far, that they would not allow the man to eat in company with them, and as I suppose he thought it probable those of the posada would refuse to serve him, his master

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told me afterwards, that he never tasted anything during the journey!

I felt very much for the poor fellow, and took the first opportunity when we stopped for the night, of entering into conversation with him; I found him to be a very superior person in his station, extremely well-informed on all matters relating to the colony he belonged to, and speaking the language in the utmost purity; he was nearly as much dissatisfied as his master with the manners and customs of travelling in Spain. The latter gave me some curious details he had observed in the Spanish steamers, and criticised their general style and conversation in very severe terms. They had already travelled in Italy, which country afforded rather strong modes of comparison to one accustomed to the half European luxury of the Habana, with that of the fatherland of his ancestors, for which he appeared to have much the same feeling as some of our descendants for that to which they owe their original descent.

We had another scene rather in the bad Spanish style, at a posada where we breakfasted; whilst at table, a sort of officer came in, who was extremely desirous of forming an addition to the party in the vehicle which was already quite full. He stood behind the chairs the whole time, too proud to ask a favour at the risk of being refused as he certainly would have been, and endeavouring to make out a kind of claim, amounting to obligation, on his own

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part. He persevered, long after it was evident he had no chance of success, and the tact with which he managed to avoid the asking was extremely characteristic. He completely failed, not at all to my regret, for although courteous in manner as they invariably are, his appearance was far from prepossessing and in the state of the weather the taking such an addition, of considerable diameter, would have been a high price to pay for the pleasure of his company, had it been ever so agreeable.

We met both this day and the next great numbers of troops of all descriptions on their march to Granada, some in very good order, others by no means so. They were making forced marches of fifty miles per day, with very slight rations to recruit their strength after the exertion; I did not observe a single officer march with the men, even the subalterns being mounted on donkies and mules which they hire for the purpose.

The next evening we slept at a new and half organized posada belonging to the company, and there was considerable difficulty in procuring very scanty accommodation. The peasantry were amusing themselves with pitching the bar, which was of considerable weight, and required both force and skill in the exercise; I never saw this game in any other part of the country excepting La Mancha.

The following day we dined at Ocaña, and in the afternoon arrived at Madrid. The whole arrangements of the great route of Andalucia had been

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altered within these few years, and the travelling pace considerably accelerated, but the accommodations are not at all improved, and there is nothing so good as the famous fonda of the Catalans at Ocaña, which was the general sleeping-place for all the roads passing through it, but is now avoided, except for the purpose of temporary stoppage.

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CHAPTER II.

MADRID—PUBLIC CHANGES AND SITUATION OF AFFAIRS—THE FESTIVAL OF CORPUS—COSTUME—PREPARATION FOR JOURNEY TO VALLADOLID—REVIEWS.

The few weeks which had elapsed since we left Madrid had been sufficient to exhibit a very different state of things, as far as the situation of the Government was concerned, to that which prevailed when we set out for Estremadura. Pronunciamentos were announced in various quarters where they were very little expected, and some rather curious and characteristic scenes were being acted in the provinces. There was every symptom to announce that the disease must run its course, and that the same spirit which had overset so many governments or administrations, was ready to work the same result in the present case. The worst, and by far the most important outbreak had taken place at Valencia, where the people, in the mode they are too truly accused of being prone to follow, had at once assassinated the Xefe Politico, apparently on the same principle that Dost Mahomed proposed to apply, by hanging the Russian envoy; in order to satisfy the friends of that personage, that neither peace nor truce could exist with them. The widow and family of this

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poor man, whose name was Camacho, and his melancholy fate sufficiently proves that he had faithfully discharged his duty, arrived shortly afterwards from the scene of his disgraceful murder. After his death, the only hope of maintaining the authority of Government, rested in the Captain-general, who was quite a young man, a brave and active soldier, and for his good conduct in the civil war, especially at the memorable siege of Peña Cerrada, had been rapidly promoted by the Regent, to whom, as I understand, he owed every thing. This officer wrote to the Duke, stating that plans were in agitation to disturb and unsettle the place, but that whilst he was there and had such troops as he commanded, under his orders, they need be under no apprehension for the consequences. This letter was immediately ordered to be answered in corresponding terms, but a day intervening in course of post, the answer was not forwarded, and before the time arrived, Government received intelligence that the writer, whose name I think was Zabala, had changed his mind, and joined the pronunciamento! This strange occurrence was of course the subject of general conversation, and I heard the facts not only from various authorities of certain confidence, but a Spanish gentleman of high rank whom I knew very well, assured me he had seen the original documents. The singularity of the transaction was not diminished by the announcement in the course of a few days, that this officer

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embarked in a French steamer and left Spain. These were serious occurrences in a place and province of such importance as Valencia, and the junta finding, as may be supposed, that they must go through and could not possibly recede, seized not only the money in the treasury, but began to levy duties at the gates to raise the necessary funds and make preparations for defence. This, as far as I could hear, was the first attempt to collect money in this illegal manner; but in this country the fatal example was too readily followed, and was one of the causes by which the general catastrophe was produced.

In the mean time the Catalans were not idle, and under General Serrano, who was employed there and an officer called Prim, who had already figured in the preceding disturbance of that province, gave ample employment to Generals Seaone and Zurbano, the best officers the Regent had, who were barely holding their ground, and evidently must finally be beaten by that strange portion of the Spanish people. The town of Barcelona was in the hands of the revolted troops, most of whom had followed the officers, but the citadel of Montjuich still held out, under the command of an officer called Echalecu, a native of the Basque provinces, who has left a long and distinguished name in the history of his country and of Spanish fidelity. Finding threats and intimidation of no use in prevailing on him to give up his post, bribery

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was tried, and as it was probably thought he might require a large amount, four millions of reals were offered, with a French steamer put at his disposal to convey him away, when he should have given up the fort. This large sum, which to a Spanish officer is at least equal to 100,000 pounds in this country, and would have made him a very rich person, was firmly and inexorably refused, and he retained the fort until the complete overthrow of the Government, when of course he surrendered. He was continued in command of it, which I believe is the only instance of such a compliment being paid by the Afrancesado rulers to those who had opposed them. He remained in charge until the absurd revolt of Amettler took place, when, refusing to bombard the town, he of course resigned the command, retiring with a degree of honour for ever attached to his name, which with sorrow it must be admitted, very few employed in these times share with him. It must be mentioned that the history of the bribery is not a case of suspicion, but is an official and publicly known fact. The sum alluded to was offered by the Ayuntamiento, who were nominally the bidders: whether they were really so is another consideration, which we shall notice hereafter.

Every day news arrived of fresh pronunciamentos, the fashion having extended to the north, and several places in Galicia had already declared themselves. There was very good news respecting

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the Basque Provinces, where many persons thought there might be disturbances, and an attempt once more to re-establish the fueros; but from the first they declared they were satisfied with the new system, and should take no part in any proceedings against the Regent. Estremadura, Aragon, Leon, and Asturias, with great part of Andalucia, were also perfectly tranquil. The pronunciamentos were announced, very often prematurely, by the press in opposition to the Government, although it generally turned out afterwards that they were right as to the final consequences; no doubt these notices arose from the correspondence of certain parties in Madrid with the discontented in the provinces, and they simply miscalculated the time intended for the rising. We shall leave this subject for the present and proceed with a few remarks on the capital.

The great festival of Corpus took place very soon after our arrival. In the old time, as all the orders of monks and other religious bodies sent deputations, the procession which followed the host was of immense length. These of course were no longer in their accustomed place, but they were replaced by 10 to 12,000 national guards, who lined the streets and successively presented arms as the host passed. The houses were hung with flags and other ornaments as before, and no other difference was to be observed, the whole passing off with the greatest possible order and solemnity. Neither the Regent nor the Court took any part, the former having quite

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enough public business on his hands to plead his excuse, and the Queen being under age, did not follow the procession on foot, as she would otherwise most probably have been required to do. Some of the principal streets were hung with toldos or awnings stretched across them to protect the procession from the sun, and all day crowds of people of every rank were seen promenading after the ceremony was ended. It is probably the day in the year when the population of Madrid is seen in the largest number and to the greatest advantage.

The prevailing costume amongst the men in Spain is that curious vestment now extended over Europe, a modification of the "pea coat," for which I believe we are indebted to the Yacht club. The patterns used at Madrid have been drawn from France, and our neighbours with their usual taste have added a little embroidery, which improves the appearance of this rather singular shaped garment. The material at this season is in general light, and however ungraceful the form may be, nothing was ever better imagined for a warm climate, as it hangs loose with neither encumbrance of collar or length, allowing the air to circulate freely round the person. The capa and jacket are quite superseded by this dress, and are seldom seen but in the provincial towns or in the winter season.

The female costume is very little altered since the death of Ferdinand, when the great sweeping change of striking or doing away the comb that for-

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merly supported the mantilla and gave the peculiar character to the carriage of the women, took place. From what I could learn, there is not the slightest probability of that national ornament resuming its station, as unfortunately the times, by making the strictest economy necessary to almost every class, have helped the barbarous innovation, by permanently establishing what might be hoped was merely a fashion of the day, and in its turn would give way. The mantilla, which now hardly deserves the name, is cut accordingly, and instead of being entirely of lace, is a broad scarf or piece of silk edged with it, that rests on the top of the head, leaving the front hair in sight, but covering the neck and shoulders completely. The chief and only recommendation of this costume is its being extremely comfortable in cold or unsettled weather, and the introduction of it here, especially for the benefit of those who attend concerts and other public entertainments, where the bonnets are frequently a nuisance to every one near, would be a general benefit, as it is no weight or incumbrance and enables a shawl, unless in bad weather, to be entirely dispensed with.

The worst of the new style is, that the graceful carriage of the head has almost entirely passed away, the adjusting the mantilla as it floated from the lofty supporter giving a grace which no other style can confer. The effect of the alteration is extremely visible in the rising generation who have been born or bred under the new system, and any

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eye accustomed to observe these matters, can in an instant distinguish between one of the old and new school by the manner the head and neck are carried.

The bad effect of this bastard mantilla is increased by many ladies having adopted the shawls in the French fashion, not for use, but as they conceive for ornament; when this is the case, between the new covering of the head, the shawl, a long and very loose skirt or basquiña, the figure is as completely disguised as in the East.

Bonnets still hardly gain ground, and are scarcely more numerous than before; and it did so happen that at the Prado and other promenades, the wearers of the most barbarous and unseemly costume ever put on the female form, left less regret that they had chosen so to travesty themselves. Many of them had adopted the small bonnet that *was* the fashion, for it generally travels to Madrid by the arrieros, or in some other mode which throws them several months behind the rest of the world; this head dress was exaggerated to the extent of caricature, being merely, as they wore it, a sort of dish, covering the back and middle of the head which it scarcely touched, leaving the front entirely uncovered. The Queen and her sister were occasionally seen in this most absurd fashion, but at the Palace chapel they invariably wore the old Spanish mantilla.

There were however exceptions to this general rule, and in the provincial towns as well as the

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Corte, many figures and carriages were to be seen which neither fashion nor style could disguise. These were seen chiefly in the forenoon, in those parts where shops were the object of fashionable resort, and amongst others there were two sisters, Sevillanas, of the highest rank, one a Duchess, who always appeared in the ancient style, having the good taste to preserve what became them, above all others, and to have resisted the torrent of foreign fashion, which is denationalizing every thing around them.

I inquired about the system of education, and found that owing to the want of funds most of the universities were not yet provided with professors in many departments which were very necessary, but would in due course of time be supplied. Every thing is otherwise done to promote the education of the people, and I was glad to see in all parts of the town, boards, announcing gratuitous schools for the children of both sexes. The ladies are great promoters of a better system for the infant females, and there are societies for this purpose under the care of some of those of the highest rank. There is a board for the superintendence of the books to be issued for the use of schools, at the head of which is my friend the celebrated Don Nicasio Gallego, a canon of Seville, who resides in Madrid for the purpose of directing the operations. Don Nicasio is the well known author of the famous poem on the insurrection of May 1808, which even

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at this day is constantly quoted, and has been reprinted in very many forms, being one of the most simple and beautiful effusions existing in any language.

I omitted to mention previously, that the university of Alcala was transferred to Madrid during the civil war. From the appearance of that celebrated city when I visited it in 1832 some change was desirable, as the end was visibly approaching, and symptoms of decay not to be mistaken were apparent in every part; still it is impossible to help regretting the fall of places once so celebrated as this in the history of Europe. From the extreme sociability of the people and other circumstances, it is doubtful whether an university will succeed in the present state of society in Spain, unless it be established in a large city, and Alcala had no resources whatever beyond those of the establishment itself.

I was conducted by a friend to see a capricho, or sport of Velasquez, of a very curious nature. Those who have had the good fortune to see either the Spanish galleries, or the engravings from them, will remember a female court dwarf, who, in the fashion of that day was attached to the palace suite, and is introduced in the celebrated picture of the royal children with their attendants. This is a very short, fat, unwieldy person, with very little figure, and the head disproportionately large, so that a corresponding diameter of form may be inferred to exist under the drapery. Only think of this model

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being painted "en cueros" as they say, to represent Silenus! She is not only so represented, but the result of the curious fancy is one of the very finest works of the master, certainly equal to any, and superior to most of the productions from his easel. There is not the slightest indelicacy or indecorum in the treatment and no sort of disagreeable effect is produced by the carrying out this most singular idea, which there is little doubt originated with some of the royal family, whose influence, or more probably "command," would (it is to be hoped at least) be necessary to prevail on the party to prepare herself for the study of the painter. Like the lady of the trensa, mentioned at Seville, it is very possible the court follower considered her figure as the most remarkable of her peculiarities and that it deserved being handed down to posterity! Had Annibale Caracci himself been in want of a model for the character in which she is represented, to assist in the composition of the Farnese gallery, he could not have selected a more perfect one than this little person, who was nearly his cotemporary. I understood the proprietor desired to dispose of this singular picture, and it is a thousand pities the authorities do not secure it for the Royal gallery, to which it naturally belongs, and there is already a half length common portrait of the dwarf by the same great master at the Prado.

We must now prepare to leave the capital for Valladolid, but it will be necessary previously to

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make a very few observations on the state of things existing at this time, so far as the Government was concerned. The news each day became worse in every quarter. The result of the operations I mentioned as being concerted by the authorities with a view to the pacification of Granada was a complete failure. When persuasion and mild measures were proposed they were met by a negative and the pronunciados finding they were not to be attacked, called on the people to support them and to defend the city. By some means money was procured, and whilst a sort of armistice took place, the respective troops met on familiar terms, as it was stated, dining with each other at the outposts. It so happened that the Asturians, who were starving a short time before, had now abundance of every thing, and very much the advantage of their opponents. Desertion began to ensue, and in a short time became so general that the commanding officer was obliged to draw the troops off to a distance, when the activity of the cavalry alone, as it was publicly stated, prevented them going over in mass to join the pronunciamento. In the meantime every thing had been done inside to second the beginning made on the day devoted to the memory of "Mariana." The standard of Isabella was brought out and planted in the Alhambra, the government of the Regent being compared in their bandos and other writings to "Modern Saracens," by what curious inversion or figure it is needless to explain. It

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cannot be denied that this blow was attended with the most serious and fatal consequences to the Government, and that it might have been entirely avoided had General Alvarez, the day he arrived at the gates, marched straight into the town, where not the smallest step had been taken for defence, and arrested the junta, executing justice on the commanding officer of the Asturians, the whole of whom however would most assuredly in that case have taken refuge on board the "French steamer," in attendance at Malaga. This most unfortunate determination, which the high and well-known character of General Alvarez, who I believe remained to the last with the Regent, precludes the possibility for one instant of attributing to any other motive than that of humanity and the desire to avoid bloodshed, that was certainly possible, though in the highest degree improbable, was followed by the most disastrous consequences. The Malagueños immediately resumed their arms, and vowing they should be no longer the laughing-stock of Spain, actually marched in considerable numbers to the interior, in order to compel the other towns to join them, but this attempt had a characteristic end; the first day's march having sufficed completely to break up the column, and cause them to return to their accustomed amusements in rather a pitiable state. They subsequently attempted Ronda, but the Serranos held firm to the Regent and I believe never came over until the termination of the change in

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September. The only act of vigour I knew to be taken in the south, was by Señor Luna, who was mentioned in the account of Estremadura and from whom I had a letter at Seville announcing his appointment as Xefe politico at Huelva, a district to the north of the mouth of the Guadalquivir. When the people there pronounced, he immediately arrested the junta and had them conveyed to and shut up at Cadiz, but this active measure was attended by no good result, as the minor provinces were of course finally obliged to follow the example of the larger towns in their neighbourhood.

In this dismal state of affairs, the only person who appeared fearless of the result was the Regent himself, whose bearing was admirable in the highest degree, and to those who had business with him as well as from his manner in public, he never shewed one symptom of uneasiness or apprehension. There were frequent reviews, one being held early in the morning previous to the ceremony of Corpus, another on some festival of the epoch, and one besides for some other reason, all within a very few days. After serious deliberation, as it was necessary to determine on some line of operations, the Regent had decided on attacking Valencia, for which purpose all the troops in Madrid, with the exception of a guard of cavalry for the Queen, were successively despatched, and he was to follow in person with his staff early in the morning. The national guard, however, who were unanimous in supporting the

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Government and had dismissed the very few dissentients in the companies, sent a deputation to request they might take formal leave of him under arms. Such a request could not be refused and I had the good fortune to see the performance of it. The entire guard was present, about 12,000 men, scarcely a man being absent from the columns, and the sight on the Prado was one of the finest and most interesting I ever witnessed. The Regent has a most powerful and sonorous voice, capable of being heard at a vast distance, and the fire and animation of his manner on these occasions is truly remarkable, nor did I ever observe them to so great a degree in any individual. After the ceremony was over and he had addressed the different battalions, he took his place in a " malle poste," one of the new mail or despatch coaches, and followed his troops on the road to Valencia, leaving the city, the Queen, and the Government in the hands of the national guard precisely as he had done during the insurrection of October 1841, when he had to march against O'Donnell and the threatened rise of the northern provinces.

After his departure every thing remained in the most perfect tranquillity, although there was no want of persons well disposed to disturb it if in their power. One evening very late, when the Queen had taken her usual drive to the Retiro and round the Prado, she was advised to walk on foot in the general promenade. There was an immense crowd and some excitement, unavoidable in such circumstances

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as those we were living in, prevailed. The people crowded round the Princesses from mere curiosity, but to a disagreeable extent and in keeping them off one of the attendants struck and slightly wounded a man who was too forward, but he was very little hurt and immediately carried away. I was witness of this whole transaction, which was exactly as I have related; no sort of rudeness or ill-behaviour took place on any side, although attempts were made to misrepresent and convert it to party purposes. The Infantas were excessively frightened by the pressing forward of the crowd, and I could not help agreeing with a Spanish friend I was walking with, that the step of causing them to alight, was, under the circumstances, unnecessary and injudicious.

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CHAPTER III.

ROAD TO VALLADOLID—PRONUNCIAMENTO—MUSEUM —CATHEDRAL—SAN BENITO—ROUTE TO LEON— XEFE POLITICO—MEDINA DE RIO SCEO—MAYENGA —MANILLA—BRIDGE OF VILLANENTE LEON.

I SET out for Valladolid alone, Dr. Daubeny having determined to make the tour of the Escorial, S. Ildefonso and Segovia, and instead of returning to take the diligence from Madrid, to keep on his calesa and proceed across the country from Segovia to Valladolid, which is rather more than a day's journey, so that he saved the necessity of repassing the Guadarrama range twice.

There was no change in the plan of the diligence upon the Valladolid road and no acceleration of pace had as yet taken place. After passing the great range we slept at Labajos in Old Castile and at an early hour resumed our route, which we performed in beautiful style for about an hour, when there was a dead stop and the mules had the greatest difficulty to drag the vehicle through the heavy sand, that continues almost to the gates of Valladolid, relieved only in places by the indurated clay which is quite as bad. The reason of this state of things was that an entirely new line of road is in course of

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construction, and in great forwardness, so that no repairs were given to the old line: when completed, the communication with Madrid will be on a very good footing. There was nothing to relieve the eye on these dreary plains but the sight of the vineyards, the produce of which promised in abundance to exceed any thing I ever saw, so much so that the proprietors would be called on to follow a common custom in Castile, and either leave the grapes ungathered, or throw away the old wine in the tinaxas to make room for the new.

We were behind the proper time, owing to the state of the road, and the mayoral, who was a Catalan, a rough and rather ill tempered subject, was so anxious to arrive early at the end of his destination that after we had crossed the Pisuerga, in order to save a mile or thereabouts, he left the main line and took a country road through some inclosed grounds; he had been quarrelling the whole way with the zagal who was on the leading mule, and by sheer obstinacy and stupidity in which both were to blame, but principally the superior, they got the huge vehicle into a regular "fix," and very narrowly escaped overturning. As nothing could possibly be done before unloading, an operation requiring considerable time, I walked on in hope of meeting some peasants or others who might be inclined to assist us. I soon fell in with a whole string of bullock cars, travelling by the same line, and told the drivers that they could not possibly

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pass, until the diligence was removed, suggesting whether to save time, it would not be better for them to assist in clearing the road. This they declined doing, and drawing their cars to one side, sat calmly down to " decansar," and wait until the mayoral would have delivered himself from his difficulty. I continued my walk to Valladolid, which was about a league distance, and found a large party anxiously waiting for their relations who were expected, and were dismayed when they heard an accident had happened to delay them, inquiring most eagerly into the circumstances that had produced the absurd result.

I soon found myself in the middle of another pronunciamento, which was in the agony of excitement. There was a party extremely desirous of it in the city, but the troops who were in small number had divided, and nothing decisive was yet done. The Captain-general (San Miguel) had just been appointed and was an entire stranger in his command. Soon after I retired to rest, a tintarmarre of bells commenced, in a steeple close by my bed room and continued with little intermission during the whole night. At an early hour I sallied forth to look round the town and see the museum of pictures recently formed in the college of Santa Cruz, which had been closed, its functions being merged in the general university, and if the stories that were related to me were only in part true, it was high time such an event should take place.

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The building is a very fine one, and well adapted to the purpose to which it has been applied. The library remains, but was closed for some temporary arrangement, so that I was obliged to be content with a distant peep at the well stored shelves. The spacious building is filled from top to bottom with sculpture, paintings, and other works of art, that have been removed from the suppressed convents, and I recognized several old acquaintances amongst them. This collection however furnished another proof that many works which looked extremely well in the localities they were originally intended for, where they had accompaniments to assist the effect and were often aided by the "dim religious light" that concealed their defects, very often lose by being ranged in masses together. In these repositories, the eye is soon sated and wearied with a heap of tame and uniform mediocrity, and seeks in vain for relief amongst productions of art which would look extremely well, were only a few of them placed together. The lower part of the building is chiefly occupied by the sculpture and carving in wood, of which there is a vast quantity, some good, but the greater portion by no means so, although the sculptors figure very highly in the artistical history of Spain. Few of the schools of Castile will bear to have their works examined and compared with those of the great artists of Andalucia; and like the Lombard and some other schools in Italy, they should be studied previously

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to seeing the highest productions of the national art. The Crucifixion from the Augustias is amongst the best sculpture, and there is a pretty statue of the Virgin in the style of Cano, which was formerly at the Merced. An extremely curious and very old retablo, but not of good work, was brought from S. Francisco. Some silleria, in the style of Berrugusto, and the Virgin giving her mantle to a monk of the order, one of their legends, were formerly at the Carmen descalzo (Unshod Carmelites). A Crucifixion with the Virgin and other figures came from S. Benito el Real, and some silleria I understood was also from the same convent, but the great retablo by Berrugusto had not been removed from thence. Part of this sculpture resembled in style that of Leon, mentioned in the first account of Madrid, Vol. I.

The chief exception to the wood statues, which form nearly the whole, are those of the Duke and Duchess of Lerma, in bronze gilt, which were brought from S. Pablo. There is a curious little statue of S. Lorenzo, who is resting with his head and heels in a strange position, resembling some of those practised by the Indian jugglers, nor could I make out the meaning intended to be conveyed by this singular composition.

The pictures are chiefly in the upper rooms, excepting those of Rubens from the convent of Fuen Saldaña, which are below, but the situation of the principal picture is very far inferior to that

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it originally occupied, where it was elevated considerably above the eye, according to the intention of the painter.

In one of the rooms is a very good picture of the Holy Family, and personages connected, with angels. The Santa Ana is very beautiful, no doubt a portrait, very much in the style and quite equalling the work of Razzi (the Italian Sodoma), by an artist I was quite unacquainted with, signing himself Oladus Ifaz, 1671. There is a curious study of Franciscan monks in different occupations. A set of paintings were brought from the Cartuxa, at three leagues distance, representing the life of the Saviour, in many compartments; the style of the work resembles that of Mantigna, but they are curiously inlaid with mother-of-pearl, in a way I do not recollect having seen elsewhere.

There are a few other decent pictures, with a vast assemblage of very inferior ones, many of them rivalling those of Granada, but the collection on the whole is extremely interesting, although a very poor representation of the vast treasures once possessed by this celebrated place.

The great tower of the cathedral near the entrance had fallen down some time previously, and in the present state of affairs the cabildo had no means of undertaking the restoration of it. I could not ascertain the cause of the accident, which is unusual with the works of Herrera, but no doubt it proceeded from the alluvial soil below giving way

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and sapping the foundation. It is difficult to judge fairly of this building in its present state, when so small a part of the design of the great master has been carried into effect. The length finished, which was merely that of the nave below the crucero, is about 220 feet. The breadth is about 120 feet, exclusive of the chapels, which are about 30. There is a simple grandeur in the design, which to many persons, will make up for the bare unornamented appearance the walls present. The entrance to the side chapels are disproportionately small, for what reason it is not easy to conjecture, unless it was from the fear of interfering with the general mass of outline. The reja is 50 feet high and magnificent, but on a quite unnecessary scale, and to match it the canons built a wall across the lower end of the choir, which ought to be demolished, being probably the greatest of all the barbarisms existing in the cathedrals of Spain.

The enormous convent of San Benito al Real had in the civil war been united with parts of others adjacent and converted into a regular fort, which the wide extent and accessibility of the city to the bands of Gomez and others made extremely desirable to those charged with the defence of this important place. The lofty walls of the church and other parts nearest the houses made it very easy of defence, and at the upper part were placed temporary galleries, allowing the garrison to command the face of the wall. The united convents formed

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an extremely respectable work, capable, in the Spanish mode, of making an excellent defence against the description of troops it was intended for.

Dr. Daubeny arrived in the evening, having made his excursion without accident or inconvenience, and as he never intended travelling in the northern part of Spain, the state of the country being anything but inviting to a stranger, he decided on visiting the Basque provinces, thence going out by the French frontier.

I was not at all pleased, on arriving, to hear of the pronunciamento, and still less on learning that there was a considerable difference of opinion respecting it, that might very readily have led to closing the gates, blockading, or some other equally inconvenient operation, I had therefore the evening previous ordered horses for Leon, intending to leave in the afternoon and sleep at Medina de Rio Seco.

A kind of diligence runs between Leon and Valladolid, but it only travels once a week, and as I knew the line of road to be very bad for carriages, I did not regret the being obliged to ride; the more so, as very little time is lost and you can travel nearly as quick as the vehicle on those roads.

After being out at a very early hour, I returned to breakfast and to prepare for my departure. Every thing was at that time quiet, and I was informed that the din of the preceding night was caused by a party in favour of the rise, who expected by those means to call out their adherents and force it on the

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authorities, overpowering the small number of troops that stood by the Captain-general. I was mounted to set out, and was defiling past S. Benito, the citadel, when I heard a confused noise of the mob following a few soldiers who were marching towards the town, whilst another detachment, with an officer's horse they were leading, were moving rapidly in another direction. I had little doubt that the last mentioned were following the Captain-general, who had been overpowered and forced to give way, but leaving the town, endeavoured to make a stand in some other part of the district under his command. This, although at the time could only be conjectured, turned out to be the fact, and as it will have to be again noticed shortly, it is mentioned as the occurrence took place.

After ascending a little height to the north of this celebrated city, I found myself on the great table of freshwater limestone of Old Castile, which extends in this direction to very near Medina and furnishes the principal building materials at Valladolid, strongly resembling those already mentioned as proceeding from that of New Castile and in use at Madrid. They were employed in making an entire new carretera or carriage road to communicate with Leon, on which great numbers of Biscayans and others from the northern provinces were employed. The practice now followed in Spain, as already noticed, is to let the new roads, as well as as those which require being thoroughly repaired, by

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trozos or pieces, exactly as our railway contracts are executed, from whence no doubt the idea has been taken, and these people from the north, who are more active and skilful as well as more laborious than the Castilians, and in the habit of hard manual labour, in many instances undertake them. They live in rude temporary huts, rarely or ever entering the towns, working excessively hard, and returning to their firesides with the well-earned fruit of their labours. Like all the new roads which I have seen, the parts finished appeared to be perfectly well executed, both as to style and durability. This line of road passes through no village or even hamlet, but about a league from Valladolid on the left we passed near one, from which a man on horseback emerged, who presently joined and entered into conversation with my guide. He very soon rode up and asked permission to join me, to which his appearance and manner made me give a ready assent. He was an elderly, pleasing, but melancholy looking person, evidently a gentleman, and labouring under dejected spirits from inward cause of uneasiness. He rode a decent, strong made horse, with some baggage in front of his saddle covered by a manta, and was quite unattended; we were very soon acquainted, and he related his history. He had been Xefe politico of the province of Palencia which adjoins that of Valladolid to the north-east, and in consequence of the misconduct of the chief of Pontevedra in Galicia, the Government considering him more trust-

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worthy had ordered him to supersede that functionary, to his very great regret and inconvenience. The distance is very considerable, being seventy-five leagues of very bad travelling, at least the greater part of it, but the worst was, that he had an absolute certainty of finding the province on his arrival pronunciado, and that having no office to discharge, he must return forthwith to the point whence he had set out. He had removed his family to Valladolid, in order that they might remain there during his absence, and to complete his annoyance, had hardly made his arrangements when the pronunciamento broke out, which the fear of being detained in the place by a blockade, or some similar process, had induced him to quit in the middle of the night, although his leave, previous to taking charge, would have enabled him to remain some days longer with them. Like most of his countrymen, he disliked making such a long and dreary journey alone, and so soon as he was clear of the jarring elements in Valladolid, he took up his quarters in the village whence he had come forth, in the hope of finding some company with whom he might beguile the loneliness of the way. He had found great difficulty in providing a conveyance, the diligence of Galicia having ceased running for some time, and the Maragatos, to whom he applied, asked such an exorbitant sum for conveying him, that he refused dealing with them and had actually bought the horse he was riding, with a saddle and bridle, for a

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smaller sum than their demand. Although not a showy animal it appeared to be quite capable of doing his work, and if he had been unfortunate in more serious matters, he certainly was not so in this purchase. He had received no pay for fifteen months, a proof of the difficulties the financial administration laboured under, and also of the improved management of public affairs, for assuredly, in the olden time an officer in his situation, would have found the means of receiving his salary, if not *per fas, per nefas.* He appeared to feel nothing of his misfortunes in comparison with the leaving his family, and especially a son, whom he said very seriously, that he had doubts whether his love and affection for him were not to a degree, if possible in such a case, sinful.

He related some curious particulars respecting the province he had recently commanded, and of the rapidity of its recovery from the effects of the civil war, which had fallen heavily on all that part of Spain, exposed not only to the regular requisitions of the armies on both sides, but to constant predatory inroads from the Carlist forces in the Basque provinces.

We rode together to very near Medina de Rio Seco, when I missed my guide, who had loitered behind during the time I was so engrossed with the very interesting conversation of my companion, and he delayed so long in making his appearance, that although we had not observed any

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thing suspicious on the road, I began to think he might have been cut off, and my baggage taken possession of. At last he came up, and made some idle excuse for his delay, but my companion had ridden forward into the town, and I saw no more of him. I knew the principal inn was in the town, as I had once slept in it, but I had two or three reasons for assenting to the proposal of my follower, and taking up my quarters in one he recommended, outside: there was a considerable noise and shouting, which sounded very like a pronunciamento, but turned out to be a miserable exhibition of novillos or young bulls, which was being held in the Plaza: it was doubly incumbent on any prudent traveller acquainted with the country to avoid small towns and places as much as possible, under the present state of excitement in the people, the danger of delay and inconvenience likely to result, increasing in proportion as they decrease in size, population, civilisation and intercourse with the rest of the world: neither Old Castile nor Leon are exceptions to this rule, and I should advise no one to risk falling into difficulties in these parts of the kingdom, or by any means to fall under the suspicion of the Alcaldes, or their familiars, who are often worse than the chief, neither being much accustomed to see, or judge charitably of any thing which may occur out of the common routine. In addition to these very good reasons I had another of some weight. When I was at the said inn, although very well managed and ex-

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tremely comfortable, it was kept by a regular robber, who had made so much money in his vocation, that according to common report, he had the whole of the authorities of Valladolid at command; and after escaping many troublesome accusations, had retired to enjoy tranquillity in this retreat, which was filled when I was there with his old associates, from whose more intimate acquaintance I was saved on the very route I had just made, by the skill, address, and bold tongue of my Basque guide, who soon found out, after I had retired to rest, what sort of people he had to deal with.

Although, of course I opened none of these reasons to my guide, I was not at all sorry when he proposed to file to the left, to sleep at a posada in the suburbs, and where he said I should be extremely comfortable. The house was of mud, like most others in this quarter, and had no very inviting exterior, but the room to which I was shewn upstairs, to my real surprise, was equal to any thing I ever met with in Spain or elsewhere, being perfectly clean and well supplied with French mahogany furniture or other exactly after that fashion. The woman however was an arrant cheat, but as that had very rarely happened, I contented myself by remonstrating with my guide in the morning on her conduct in that particular.

In the hurry of concluding my bargain at Valladolid, I had accepted their proposal of paying the expenses of the horses and man, which they said

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was the custom there; as the terms were moderate, and I had no apprehension in this northern region of finding the roguery and foul dealing met with at Seville, I gave way; I soon found however that my guide, who was an excellent fellow, a Gallego or Galician, and an exception to the general rule of retired soldiers, had a regular understanding with the landlady, and there was no doubt my bill went to cover his expenses both ways, so that the allowance for return would go into his pocket. However, he behaved very well, and we parted perfectly satisfied, at Leon. I saw no more afterwards of my friend the Xefe politico, nor could I in any way expect to do so, our roads diverging very materially after leaving this place. I have seen very many men in this curious country, whose conversation and manners have in a comparatively short time, left long and indelible impressions, such as I have never in similar circumstances experienced in any other, and amongst them I shall ever place this ill-fated officer, who found his province exactly in the state he anticipated; it had pronounced at the very time we were speaking, and no doubt he had to ride his steed back to Old Castile directly after his arrival there.

The line of road between Valladolid and Rio Seco, is entirely over the flat and elevated table of the freshwater limestone already mentioned, which you traverse in the greatest breadth, and it is succeeded by rich marle, filling the valley and vicinity

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of the town. The only remarkable object in this distance of five leagues, is the remnant of a forest of Quexigo, that once covered the whole country, and even since 1831 has been reduced to yet smaller extent, so that in a few years it will most probably disappear altogether. Had I not been well acquainted with the species, there would have been some difficulty in making it out, for the foliage of the greater part of the spacious copse was entirely destroyed by a large caterpillar which had left only the skeletons of the leaves, and were in such numbers that in riding through to examine them, I was completely covered and had some trouble to sweep them off. The limestone is an admirable material for the road, and when completed this line will resemble, excepting for the want of walls and enclosures which are not yet made, parts of the district between Bath and Cheltenham.

I made an early start the next morning, having a long day's journey before me, as I intended to sleep at Mansilla, about eleven leagues distance. Nothing can be more uninteresting than this route, which lies through vast, though fertile, corn lands unbroken by any agreeable object.

We stopped at Mayorga, a large and decayed place, with many parish churches, as they informed me, giving unequivocal signs of greater extent, at no very distant period. I dined in a large room with other persons, and above stairs was a party, of whom we only saw the principal leader, who came down at intervals

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and vomited forth the most malicious lies and calumnies about the Regent, and I never had greater difficulty to refrain from interfering, to contradict the absurdities he was pouring out. He was evidently a travelling emissary, or ambulant agitator, most probably in the pay of certain parties, and I was withheld from meddling with him by the following considerations. In the first place, no good could possibly result from my doing so; if I had, as might be the case, the advantage in the argument, it is not improbable I should have found the whole party united against me and possibly some false report sent to the authorities, to my great hindrance and inconvenience. In the next place, being in Spain, where the rules of politeness are in general strictly followed, as the words, though audible enough and meant to be heard by every one present, were not addressed particularly to me, I had no fair plea for breaking their general custom, which requires a stranger in like circumstances, to be silent and merely a listener.

I had previously passed some villages more or less substantial, but all built of hardened mud or clay, the best of which was Ceynos. At the head of this place my attention was attracted by a church apparently in ruins, but the tower, partly of brick and partly of a kind of limestone, was evidently of the twelfth century, although far from good and a sort of Norman architecture. I rode round and was examining it, when a man came up, of the higher order of labra-

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dores or farmers, and with the air of real respectability almost peculiar to that class of persons in Spain, especially in the Castiles, as every one who has had dealings with them will recollect. It was almost in ruins and evidently not the parish church, which was lower down, and he told me that according to the tradition of the place, it had originally belonged to the Templars, being the first thing I had met with of that order in Spain, and the date and style evidently bore out his statement; he also mentioned that it was now used as a campo santo, or burying ground, being quite unroofed and only the tower and walls standing. The most curious thing about it was, that the flying buttresses supporting the nave, although of clay and very light, were as perfect, after six or seven centuries' exposure, as the day they were built. The tower was partly of brick and partly of the white limestone, apparently from the formation already mentioned. In the afternoon I had a very pleasant ride through several villages, where, being Sunday and holiday, the people were amusing themselves with playing bowls and other games, and I observed the priest was always one of the party on these occasions, while the women were generally seated on one side. The men were dressed in very dark jackets and inexpressibles nearly black, with linen stockings as white as snow, and had a most comfortable and respectable appearance. These people in the regular routine had attended mass in the morning, without an exception,

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and would adjourn again at the vesper bell, with their friend and spiritual guide; there was no drinking, although wine abounds in the district and is to be had for next to nothing; the whole scene was an exact epitome of the half patriarchal life of the people in the agricultural districts of Spain, and the terms they live on with their pastors.

As the guide could not keep his jaca up to the ambling pace long practice enabled me almost always to extract from the animal I had to ride, and as I had the alternative of arriving very late at Mansilla or pushing on and leaving him in the rear, the latter plan was preferred and I entered the place before dusk. As it was the time of fair at Leon, when rateros are always on the prowl, I was rather uneasy about the baggage and sent a messenger to look after him. At last he made his appearance, full an hour after I was housed.

Mansilla is a large and rather well built but decaying place, suffering much from tercianas, as the appearance of the people too clearly indicates; this is caused by the marsh and stagnant waters from the Esla, which overflow parts of the adjacent country, coming nearly round the walls on one side. The parts of the walls remaining appeared to me to be Moorish work, and there is little doubt this place formed a fortified post on their great line of communication during the occupation of Leon.

On the road towards the capital, the appearance of the country underwent an entire change. Luxu-

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riant green vegetation with boggy grounds and plants belonging to them, replaced the dry corn lands I had traversed during the preceding days, and it assumed altogether the look of our lake or Lancashire hill districts. We came to the famous bridge of Villarente over what the people called the Esla, but the books and maps the Porma, the right feeder of that river, which is of equal dimensions with the main stream. This bridge was composed of 17 arches, but not of good work, and those adjoining our approach, had been broken down by the tremendous floods of the early spring this year, which did immense damage in all the northern region of Spain. They were proceeding with the repairs at a quicker rate than usual, but we were obliged to make a circuit and cross the river by a ferry. At a short distance we again got on the main line to Leon, which was completely new and a truly royal road, and after a very long but regular and gentle slope, we descended through a pretty valley and passing one of the Alamedas, entered, by an avenue fit for any capital in Europe, the miserable and decaying suburbs of Leon.

In the ascent from Mansilla I observed the Fringilla serinus in considerable numbers amongst the willows and other cover, the first time I had met with it in Spain. The preceding day I had noticed the Cathartes percnopterus, and the Silvia tithys, so common in the barrancos of the tierra caliente or warm region of the south. The Saxicola ænanthe,

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French school and of very superior manners and information to his station in life, and his son, who had studied architecture, was not only well acquainted with the place, but had compiled materials for a history and description of it, intended for publication.

The latter history of this convent is rather singular, for it had been demolished in order to apply the materials to fortify the town against the Carlists, after the invasion of Gomez, who was some days in possession of the town with 6000 men. As soon as he had taken his departure, and all the mischief was done (Cosas de España,) they thought it advisable to put the place in a state of defence, and this spacious convent was entirely pulled down, with the exception of the part now occupied by M. Dantin. The church contained some interesting monuments, which in the hurry of their operations were not taken proper care of, and two statues belonging to one of them were placed at the entrance of the city. These tombs were of the Guzmans, but of the latter race; one of them having been a viceroy of some of the American colonies, the other a bishop; and it is remarkable as the only instance that came to my knowledge, of anything like disrespect or desecration in the suppressed convents, the excuse being the hurry and rapidity which were indispensable under the circumstances, to put the place in condition of resisting other pillagers of the same description. It is curious

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enough that the lot of being applied to such a purpose should have fallen upon a convent of Dominicans, the order charged with administering the inquisition, at least with a great deal of the executive part, the restoration of that power being the mobile of Don Carlos, as well as the real cause of his failing to obtain the crown. The news of this transaction must also have been rather mortifying to the bishop of this diocese, the strongest and firmest supporter of the Pretender from the first, as well as his minister during most part of the campaigns. The transaction shews the progress made during the civil war in conciliating and making a party in the country to support that cause, and the result is truly curious in another way, because this ancient capital having fallen into the state of many others, in fact of most where the church had the ascendancy, and coming under the description of a place of "clerigos," as mentioned in my former work, it might be imagined that their influence in the favourite cause, would have procured better support amongst their friends and neighbours.

One principal object of revisiting this interesting place was to see the church of S. Isidoro, the Pantheon, as it is called in Spain, of the Kings of Leon, which I had heard was "Obra de Godos," or of the time prior to the introduction of the pointed style into Spain. This information was perfectly correct, and to my great satisfaction the church turned out to be a regular Byzantine structure, the

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only one to my knowledge existing in the kingdom. The original building had been composed of three naves, each terminating in an apsis, but the eastern end had fallen under the barbarous hands of innovators, who demolished the greater part and replaced it by pointed work of 1500, leaving however the body of the church nearly unaltered.

There are two entrances, the principal of which had been rebuilt, but nearly on the original design, and with the same materials, probably from some accident causing the restoration to be necessary. There is some rude sculpture over this door, precisely of the style known by the Italians as bassi tempi; the other door, which was near the altar, and from the right of sanctuary having existed in this edifice, bore the name of the "perdono" (pardon), was covered by a wall, part of the fortification that had been erected at the period already mentioned, and I was obliged to procure a small ladder to enable me to see over and examine the work inside. This doorway, with all its accompaniments, are in perfect preservation, and enable the alterations that have taken place at the principal entrance to be more easily made out.

The interior of the church is ornamented by columns of a kind of Corinthian, the capitals of which are carved with animals of various sorts, but of middling design, all differing from each other. In the transept, the arch to the north side is nearly in the Moorish form, and a small window of some-

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what similar style, is over it. The interior is dreadfully barbarised by decorations and paintings in the most tawdry style and worst possible taste, of quite recent introduction, which are utterly out of character and keeping with the building.

By far the greatest curiosity in the place, however, is the Pantheon itself, which is placed at the foot or west end of the church, as the pious chroniclers say, from humility in the founders, who thought the greatest distance from the altar was the most fitting for the deposit of their remains. The structure is low and dark with groined arches, the ceiling painted and ornamented in a style so purely and entirely Byzantine, that beyond doubt the artists must have come from Constantinople. There are many tombs in stone and wood, the latter being large chests, amongst which are those so called, of D^{a}. Urraca and D^{a}. Sancha. That of the former, who lived about 1100, is in tolerable preservation, but almost in mummy condition; the lower part of the body, which is uncovered, having perfectly retained its form, though the skin is shrivelled up; they lifted the lid, which enabled me distinctly to see the curious object of that remote date.

To the west of the entrance is a spacious and lofty room, formerly the library, but now out of repair. This is in the pointed style of about 1500, and appears to be of the same date and design as the alterations at the east end of the church. This room formed part of the royal apartments, which were reserved

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in case any of the reigning family should visit this celebrated foundation of their ancestors. The inner patio of the convent is a beautiful modern specimen of the best classic design, but was not entirely finished, owing, as they told me, to the death of the architect, who was charged with rebuilding it; the old quadrangle, of which one side remains, being of very indifferent work.

Over the entrance is a curious, almost grotesque figure of one of the fighting bishops we read of, who is mounted on his war horse with his sword drawn; the details of this part are in the plateresco style, and above him, surmounting the greater part of the edifice, are the parapets, loopholes, and other defences, when of all places in the town they determined on converting this building into a fortress, at the time already mentioned! It is however proper to state, that the situation pointed out this establishment as the best, and perhaps the only site in the place fit for the purpose. It is near the Roman wall, and at the extremity is a very massy tower, of a Norman style, where the bells are hung, the melancholy sound of which I used to listen to, when confined to bed at the posada, not far distant from it. This tower, and the compact form of the buildings, as well as the open plazuela in front, made it very easily convertible into a citadel, and little or no damage whatever appears to have been done in the operation to any part of the edifice.

Amongst the other peculiarities of this plan of

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defence, is that of walling up the doorway, already mentioned, which was evident from the certainty, that in case of need, the Carlist troops would not hesitate to storm through the sacred edifice itself; indeed they must in such a case have almost passed over the altar, which is close to this entrance; such sacrilege might be expected in the Queen's party, who were held to be without religion or other restraint, but from those, who, according to their own statement were only anxious for the restoration and maintenance of the true faith, it does appear a little singular that the sanctity of such a locality should not have caused its being respected.

This interesting building is one of the very oldest establishments in Spain, nor am I aware whether the original founders are known; but Sancho the Fat, who lived in the tenth century, was amongst the principal of its early benefactors, and brought the body of S. Pelayo from Cordova, founding a convent of nuns under the name of that saint, but it was subsequently changed, and was attached to the order of Santiago. In this royal foundation, which might have been spared such a display of avarice, is the first example that has come to my knowledge of the pillaging the alhajas, which has since become such a general practice; as Alonzo of Aragon, when he married Dª. Urraca, appropriated the golden cover of the saint, and a quantity of the same metal from other churches, by way of adding to her dower. The remains of S. Isidoro were

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subsequently brought to the same spot, and the present church, by the Spanish books, was built in 1076, about a century prior to the cathedral.

That of Leon is about the oldest of the great cathedrals, and as far as I know, the earliest example of the real pointed architecture in Spain. The name of the architect is unknown, but I have lately received information about the employment of French or German architects by the kings of Leon, which not only confirm what was previously merely conjecture, but make it almost a matter of certainty that the Spaniards are indebted to some of that illustrious school of architecture, for this interesting edifice. This is far from any disparagement to the native school, any more than the subsequent introduction of the classic style from Italy is a reflection on the architects of Charles who studied in the Peninsula. The second visit only confirmed my first impression, that from the narrowness of the aisles, and the smallness of the windows, the effect is meschine, compared to that of the cathedrals subsequently built. A clerestory galley runs quite round the whole building, and although in itself open to the same objections already stated, from the form and details of the arches, the effect on the whole is good in relieving the height of dead wall. There is a beautiful oriel window at the north end of the transept, with which that at the opposite extremity does not agree.

Soon after the termination of the building, and

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almost before the architect had in the course of nature departed from the scene of his labours, he appears to have been succeeded by a set of barbarians, who have ruled in the Cabildo in uninterrupted series, ever since that period. The words of Ponz, the unsparing critic of ecclesiastical bodies, "venierunt harpiæ et fœdaverunt operam," is singularly applicable to the chapters of Leon. Every part has been defiled by the works of the most ignorant and tasteless set that the power of barbarism was ever delegated to. They have hardly left the main building alone, every thing else being patched and altered, generally in the worst and most inappropriate manner. One of the most recent innovations was to close up the windows of the nave, which as as they told me gave too much light, and paint over the plaster inside the church with large academical figures in chiaroscuro! They put a sort of doggrel classic lanthern over the transept, of the most execrable taste, and for no good purpose whatever, and destroyed the original retablo of the great altar to make way for a monstrosity called a transparentey. No chapel has escaped their sacrilegious hands, and novelties of some sort are introduced in nearly the whole. The best, and in fact, the only good thing I recollect noticing of subsequent addition is the chapel, that is on the north side near the transept, and is of much later date than the main edifice, but has to boast the finest stained windows probably existing in Spain. They are of Flemish design,

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and no doubt executed apparently about the middle of 1400, or a little after that, the figures being of the style of Perugino or his contemporaries, before the great period of the time of Raphael.

The exterior has not escaped the zeal of the modern innovators. Part of the original design was a sort of pyramidal ornament which terminated the principal towers; one of these remains, as built by the first architect, but by way of match they added one of plateresco or renaissance work, and a quantity of work in the same style which interferes most materially with the effect of the original outline. Even the cloisters which are very fine have been altered, and in a rather curious manner, for there is a double section, the inner part being early and good pointed, while the outside is plateresco! I could not satisfy myself as to the cause of this absurd arrangement, which the architect had managed as well as could be expected, unless it were that the breadth of the original cloisters was considered insufficient, and by way of widening them they had adopted the style in fashion at the time they were altered.

There are some old and very curious paintings in these cloisters, of which the students of Spanish art should endeavour to make out the authors, and if they are by a Spaniard, he must be looked on as a pillar of the national school. The style resembles that of the early Florentines, somewhat between Giotto and Masaccio, and is really good work, but they are

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already much injured, and are rapidly proceeding to ruin from exposure to the damp of the climate.

The upper silleria of the coro appears to be nearly contemporary with the main fabric, the canopies are of bold design, though of that early date. The sculpture of the lower silleria, as frequently happens, is more modern and of better style.

Besides the old paintings in the cloister already noticed, I found some rather interesting specimens inside the church, one representing the holy family, I thought to be of the early Venetian school, and is a curious work of that time. Behind the altar, which is completely open, with an aisle continued quite round as usual in Spain, is a fine old painting on gilt ground, in the centre of which they had introduced or rather daubed in, a very bad figure of the Saviour, at a subsequent epoch! At the trascoro or back of the choir is some decent sculpture in alabaster, and behind the sacristy is a large chapel in a kind of plateresco style.

The inspection of the successive barbarisms which had reigned triumphant in this secluded spot, suggested the idea whether a junta of conservation or purification might not be very easily established in Spain, to watch over the performance of the cabildos, which even in their fallen state are sometimes observable, and only allow the introduction of such alterations as are in harmony with the original buildings, clearing out and sending to the bakers the greater part of the altar pieces that now dis-

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grace them, and banishing by degrees all the work which is not worthy of preservation. Nothing could be easier than to form such a tribunal, the whole or greater part to be composed of ecclesiastics belonging to the very cathedrals in question, many of the members of which are admirably qualified for the purpose. Nothing can be more absurd than to see these splendid buildings of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries defiled by the introduction of enormous masses of carving and gilding prevailing in 1600, when the only excuse for the authors is, that they were labouring under a *delirium tremens*, which deprived them of the faculty of taste or professional judgment, leaving them to dream of architecture with such assistance as that which Tartini declared had contributed to the composition of his famous sonata. The familiar spirits of these architects, however, were of a different taste, if they took any part in assisting them, and sketched out productions, which one of the most necessary steps in Spanish purification will be to take measures and ignominiously expel from these noble structures, everything that has been generated by the school of Churriguera, Gavilan and their followers, of that date.

Unfortunately even in these times, when funds are wanting, so that nothing can possibly be done by the cabildos, money is occasionally furnished by pious individuals, for the purpose of decorating chapels and other parts, and all the recent works I have

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seen, are, if possible, worse than those of their predecessors. The most ill-judged flaming style of painting and gilding has been introduced, and many places and parts of churches and cathedrals I lately noticed, resemble the green rooms of a provincial theatre more than those of sacred edifices.

Outside the town is the enormous convent of S. Marcos, formerly belonging to the order of Santiago; a statue of the saint on horseback, with the Moors he is conquering, is placed over the principal entrance. This building is unfinished, one wing never having been even commenced, but is of vast extent, and the church stands at one end instead of the centre, as intended. The style is the renaissance or plateresco, and nothing can possibly exceed the beauty of the arabesques and other ornaments along the vast façade. It is now unoccupied, and the church was shut up in consequence of a fire that had taken place and obliged them to remove a number of stores and other things thither. The intention is, to appropriate it to the use of the deputacion provincial or parliament of the province, who will have to purchase it from Government for the purpose.

There are some palaces in the town, of the old families who figured in the history of the chivalric times of Spain, amongst whom the Guzmans, so famous in Andalucia, were natives of the place, and a tower yet bears the name of the Ponces, although the direct lines of both these illustrious families have long been extinct.

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The palace of the Conde Luna stands in one of the Plazas and has a curious tower attached to it, faced with slates and a relief carved in the centre; the gateway is in a kind of middle age style with columns and arches. There is one patio with wooden columns and a Moorish doorway with armorial bearings and other ornaments, leading to some magazines which were locked up, and I thought probably had once been a chapel. This palace is said to have belonged to D^{a}. Urraca; there is a good staircase and a smaller inner patio, but the whole is in a state of almost ruinous neglect.

There are considerable remains of the Roman walls, which were high and very strong, quite sufficient to defend a place of such importance in this wild and distant locality, almost the "Thule" of Spain. As far as the present appearance enables a judgment to be formed, their town has been compact and not of great extent within the fortifications, which bear a general resemblance to the citadels of Merida and Truxillo, but the flanking towers are stronger and bolder than in those places, and are rounded on the outer face, a peculiarity I have not seen in any other work of that people. Most of the facing stones, which have been large and quite in the Roman manner, with great solidity in the putting together, have been removed and applied to modern purposes. The rampart is a vast mass of rubble or opus incertum, but of good construction and of such solidity that in one part near the tower of Luna, they

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have bored in and converted the body of it into dwelling houses.

Besides this ancient fortification there has been a recent wall of much greater extent, and of different epochs, but parts having been subsequently demolished the suburbs and city are mingled together, so that it is not easy to make out the lines of these works; I could not discern anything of decided Moorish character, but it is probable they had a share in making the outer or second line of defence, which became necessary as the city was more extended in modern times.

The great annual fair was held during my stay, but presented little worthy of notice, every thing that was sold or bought being apparently of the most ordinary description, and no costumes or anything striking were seen amongst the crowd assembled there from the adjacent districts. I took advantage of this favourable opportunity to make inquiries respecting the Maragatos, numbers of whom, as a matter of course were in attendance, and procured an introduction to some of the leaders of that curious race. I questioned them particularly respecting any traditions that might exist amongst them as to their origin and the name they bear, but they said all they knew was, that it was understood they derived it from a king of that name, of whom further notice will occur in the description of Oviedo. I had subsequently opportunities of hearing a good deal about them and from their manners, appear-

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ance, and whatever can be gleaned respecting their history, have not the smallest doubt they are the remnant of some tribe who came into the country about the time of the great emigration of the Visigoths and other nations of the north, and like the tribe settled near Vicenza, managed to keep themselves distinct from the surrounding population. They are a sedate, grave people, always intent on their business and of dry and matter-of-fact speech, but not rough or unpolished. The most striking peculiarity, and which alone furnishes a strong presumption that they are of northern and not of Arab origin, is the traditional habit of the men quitting their homes at all times, and leaving the agriculture solely to the women. No doubt their present occupation, which is solely the transporting goods and passengers in every part of Spain, is a modification or rather succession of the warlike habits of their ancestors, who left the tillage to their females, as unworthy the attention of those born and bred to war, the only employment they either liked or understood. Although in answer to my questions, they admitted believing that their name proceeded from Mauragatus, it was evidently with reluctance, and that they attached no very agreeable recollections to the circumstance. The tradition respecting this person was, that he made a truce or peace with the Moors, on condition that he should furnish annually a hundred virgins for the use of their harems, and whilst it may fairly be said that such a story would

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scarcely be the result of mere invention, but would have some ground for its origin, the natural unwillingness to admit the title is rather confirmatory of its truth.

The present mode of living of these people is almost solely by transporting merchandise from one part of Spain to the other, in which important avocation they are unrivalled in the Peninsula. Their mules and all accompaniments are of the best order, and their fidelity and punctuality in executing what they have undertaken, unequalled. Their terms are very high, but you are quite certain in dealing with them of being well served, nor do they ever lower their demand, another un-Arab habit. Should any one want their assistance, all he has to do is to ask whether any Maragatos are travelling in the direction required, which any of them will answer, and inform you what the whole tribe are about, as all their plans are arranged more or less in concert with each other, and no secrets are kept amongst them. Some are probably gone to Madrid, others to Galicia, one division to Biscay, and another possibly to Aragon or Andalucia, so that you can take measures accordingly; and whilst under their protection you need fear neither robbers for your person or effects.

The chief of them at present is Cordero, the deputy to the Cortes, from Leon, for which place he was elected, it is said, by means of his ample resources, being one of the very richest individuals in Spain;

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he was previously mentioned in the account of Madrid, where he is at this moment, the rival of Salamanca in the "monster contract," of which further notice will be given. This man always wears the costume of his tribe, but made of the richest materials. I inquired about the particulars of his acquiring such enormous wealth, which was inherited partly from his father, but an immense sum was made—reader! you will never guess in what manner: by conveying the treasures of Ferdinand from one place to the other during his successive voyages and travels! The absolute King of Spain and the Indies, with all the monarchy at his command, obliged to entrust his private property to the Maragatos! This is most curious as an historical fact, and as shewing the state of the kingdom in his glorious reign; whilst it furnishes an infinitely honourable trait of the curious tribe we are describing.

Their next grand operation was that of what is called the "Brigades," towards the close of the civil war, and is hardly less curious. When, after trying every plan for supplying the armies with provisions and stores, none could be found to succeed, they resorted to the Maragatos, who undertook and carried it through, being paid of course very high, and in ready money, without which they will do nothing. I believe there is no doubt that the faithful discharge of this important duty, of which every military reader knows the inestimable value, prin-

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cipally enabled the Regent to bring the operations of the civil war to a close.

Their custom is to intermarry exclusively amongst themselves, and consequently they are very much connected together. Cordero is of course a kind of patriarch, and appears to have as many cousins as the head of a Highland clan. Their costume is a loose jacket falling below the waist, a peculiar shaped hat, broad in the brim, loose prolongations and gaiters, tied with coarse ribbon at the keees, and a strong waist belt of black leather. The colour of the cloth is the dark brown of the country, the ornamental parts red, and the effect is plain, but clean and neat. Parts of this dress resemble in a small degree that seen on some of the captives on the Dacian column, and their whole style, physiognomy, and appearance, is entirely and exclusively northern, nor is there a trace or lineament of Moorish or African origin about them.

I was employed in examining the gate of the Perdon at S. Isidoro, when a man came with a message, that the Governor wished to see me; on the way, he told me that the Xefe politico was also there, and other authorities of the place waiting for me. I was introduced to a "Durbar," composed of these dignitaries, some military officers and the director of the post office; the wife of the Governor was also present, but took no part in the proceedings. The Governor was an exceedingly short and fat man, of such proportions, that when seated,

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his lower extremities being naturally very short, hardly any thing more than the points of his knees were visible; his uniform was antique and rather rusty, he was unshaven, and had evidently been turned out from his siesta, probably not much to his satisfaction. I amused myself in the intervals of conversation, by calculating the sort of figure he would make at the head of the garrison on a field day, and also, to what circumstances he could possibly be indebted for an appointment his appearance so ill befitted. He had however one excellent qualification, that of being submissive and good natured, as well as quite under sway of the Xefe politico, who seemed to be every thing the worthy Governor was not, being a young, active, intelligent and shrewd person, a perfect gentleman in manners and appearance, evidently a military man by profession. The object in sending for me was to inquire about the pronunciamento at Valladolid, of which they knew nothing but from reports said to have been brought by a stranger who had arrived that morning. The business commenced by interrogating me on the subject, in which the Xefe was the sole agent. He asked whether I had arrived from that direction, and what was going on there, as also whether I had said in the town that Valladolid had pronounced. The reply was that I certainly had arrived that morning from Valladolid, as had been stated, that I was not aware of having used the expression alluded to, but that I feared

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the report was only too true, and that the town had pronounced. I then related the observations made on setting out as already mentioned, and that I had left the place whilst it was undecided, but I thought every thing tended to shew what must be the result. When they had heard my statement and asked a few more questions, they held consultations, but without leaving the room, and spoke in such a tone that I could hear every word that passed. After a good deal of discussion they agreed, in the true sanguine manner of the country, that the troops I had seen in motion were going out with the Captain-general to quell a movement which was known to have taken place at Zamora, and orders were immediately sent by an alguazil in attendance, to prepare a bando or proclamation to that effect, with a view to calm the minds of the disaffected, who were eagerly preparing for the same operation. The Xefe expressed his regret that I had not called on him immediately after my arrival, to make known the intelligence of the movement, which was of so much importance to the authorities at Leon. In answer I said, I had no conception of such a step being of any use, and concluded they must have had official information of what was taking place; that otherwise I should certainly have done so, as my feelings, although only a simple individual, were entirely with the government. At the end of the consultation I heard him say, "there is nothing whatever suspicious about him, otherwise

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I would detain him." The conversation then became more general, and in a short time he told me, they would not keep me longer from my occupations, and that he had already given orders to the Alcalde to sign my passport whenever I wished to continue my route to Oviedo. They were anxious to see my attendant, but he had already set out on his return to Valladolid. Before I left the room the Xefe said to me, with the peculiar tact of the people, as it were between a request and a command, that I should not mention the transaction at Valladolid, on the road I was about to travel, which of course I readily promised. He was the principal speaker, and the whole conclave evidently stood in awe and respect, if not fear, of him. He spoke little, but quite to the purpose, nor could I imagine a more perfect functionary, or more suited to these difficult times; he will be again noticed in the remarks on the pronunciamentos.

A circumstance took place during these proceedings thoroughly characteristic of the people. The Xefe had sent for an Alcalde of the place, I believe that of the quarter in which I lodged, to assist at the consultation. He did not arrive, and the alguazil brought back the following message, which was delivered rather slowly, and verbatim, thus, "Tell him that I *can* come—but that to enable me to do so, I must dress myself, and I hope he will excuse me." The answer was, "Well, do not disturb him." This was the afternoon of the finest

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day it was possible to enjoy, and this functionary was passing it in bed, leaving fairs and pronunciamentos to regulate themselves. Old Spain again! and no revolution here, although the personage owed his appointment to the most recent of the changes in administration introduced by the new school. On returning home I asked my host what had given rise to the report, that had been spread about the town, which I was not aware had proceeded from me. He said that my Galician guide had announced in the hearing of several persons, that Valladolid had certainly pronounced, and that in the manner usual with those people, they had, as a matter of course, announced it all over the town. This intelligence, however disagreeable to the authorities, turned out to be perfectly correct, as I afterwards ascertained, — what I had not the least doubt would be the case, that within two hours of my leaving the city, the parties agreed, and the pronunciamento was consummated; the Captain-general, with a few troops who remained faithful to him, having then left the place and gone to some other part of his district.

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CHAPTER V.

JOURNEY TO OVIEDO — WOLVES — LA ROBLA — BUISDONGO — INN— CURA — PAJARES — PASS — CAMPOMANES—MIERES—OVIEDO.

In consequence of the fair, and most of the animals in the place being engaged in various occupations, I had some trouble to find the means of continuing my route to Asturias, but at last my host procured me a set of mules, which turned out, both as to the personnel and materiel, extremely indifferent, being worse than anything I had seen since leaving Logrosan. The proprietor of them belonged to a village high up the pass, and from the delay in making preparations to set out, and some hints that were dropped, I suspected their intention was that I should not make Pajares, according to my own plan, but sleep at some place short of it, possibly in the said village. I was obliged to put up with an alabarda in place of a saddle, but there was no great objection to the machine, which if it be well made, has some advantages over the Spanish saddle, as you are less cramped in the seat when accustomed to them, and in the wild district before me, appearance or style was of very little importance. They literally fulfilled that part of the agreement, for they

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brought me a true arrieros apparatus, intending to bring back a freight from Oviedo. It was of no use making difficulties and creating further delay, so we started, and very soon after we had cleared the town, entered a wild tract of dehesa or cleared forest, covered with brush of different sorts, with helianthemums and heath, but little variety of vegetable production. Some of the plants and the general appearance of this tract, reminded me of the Sierra de Guadalupe, to which it corresponds in elevation. This part of the road had been completed since I last travelled upon it, in 1831, and was a truly royal carretera, equal to anything in Europe, both in design and finishing.

When we had travelled about two leagues, descending into a hollow, with a rising ground on the opposite side, a very large wolf crossed the road about a hundred yards before us, and after keeping his line for a short way, turned and re-crossed it, having shaped his course at an angle, so that he rather increased his distance in doing so. I did not at first perceive the use of this back movement, but on looking to the right, down the hollow, it was explained by the sight of his companion, who had been following, but was cut off by our passing in front, and had been concealed from my sight by the barranco, so that this countermarch was for the sake of rejoining company. I observed that the leader, although looking towards us, and keeping an eye to our motions, was sniffing in the direction

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of the hill before us, and on reaching the summit I found it occupied by a large flock of goats, which were quietly browsing, having little notion of the neighbours so near at hand. There was no one with them, nor any dogs, but on looking forward I saw at a distance two other flocks, the pastores belonging to which had left them, and were all congregated holding a social chat, mid-way between their respective herds. I called to the man belonging to the nearest flock, and communicated the intelligence of the vicinity of the wolves, much to his surprise, having no idea, that in the middle of the day and at such a season, they would have the audacity to shew themselves in this open manner. When we disturbed them the leader of the two was within 150 yards of the flock, and the formation of the ground was exactly suited to favour their movements, so that only for our accidental arrival, two at least of the unfortunate goats would have inevitably served them for breakfast, as their guardian was far beyond the power of assisting in their defence. These animals were very large, standing higher at the shoulder than I ever saw one of the species; and being of very compact form, with great strength, if they had courage, a man, unless well armed, would have little chance of resisting two of them. Beyond doubt they were male and female; the colour was a light grey, and their pace a gentle but quick light canter, not the long trot generally used by them when in full career. I mentioned the circum-

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stance to different people on the road, who were all very much surprised at their boldness, and at such a circumstance taking place in the middle of summer.

After passing about four leagues of the same dreary character without a tree, or scarcely a particle of cultivation, we descended by a beautifully levelled piece of road through a barranco to the valley of the Bernesga, which issues from these mountains near Leon. In crossing the elevated road just mentioned, its course was considerably to the left. The whole tract we had passed is common land belonging to some villages to the westward, and the three flocks of goats were the sole occupants seen upon any part of it. No doubt on visiting them, these places would be found the pictures of poverty, owing to the mismanagement of these properties, which under judicious treatment would maintain the people in ease and comfort.

The valley of the Bernesga strikingly differed from the country we just traversed. A few trees made their appearance, amongst which I was glad to see the Quercus cerris for the first time in Spain; the Quexigo was also noticed, and I took a final leave of it. In the valley of the river was abundant cultivation and a continued open line of hamlets and detached houses, nearly all new or rebuilt, and extending for two miles. All this improvement or the greater part was caused by the making the new line of road, and the increase of traffic that resulted from it.

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There was no appearance of a posada, but I saw some beautiful trout for sale, and on inquiry, finding the vendor to be the proprietress of one immediately adjoining, we stopped to have them prepared. The place was humble enough, being quite new and hardly finished, but the woman was extremely civil and intelligent. It occurred to me to try the plan of having the trout fried with eggs, so as to make, in fact, an "omelette aux truites." The hostess succeeded to a miracle, and made a most perfect mountain dish, worthy to be noted in the Almanack des Gourmands. I was indebted for this success very much to the tact and natural skill of the woman, which was so remarkable that I could not help complimenting her, and heartily wished she had a station better fitted to shew her talents. In fact, with a little practice and some improvement in the costume, which was rather desirable, she would have been qualified to direct the Spanish department in a celebrated tour I had read and heard of in the south of Spain, should such barbarism as Spanish cookery be admitted where a French "chef" presided.

The trout and eels in all the streams of Old Castile and Leon are delicious, and very far superior to those on the opposite side of the range, where I generally found them pale and watery, without the fine colour and flavour which distinguish the others. The attention of the traveller cannot be too much called to this article, which they do not in general

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produce, unless it be inquired for, and if fried in manteca or lard, as they always do if requested, make the best dish to be found in many parts of the country.

There are a succession of hamlets, the boundaries of which are rather undefined, but that where we stopped was part of La Robla. The beautiful Alpine torrent of the Bernesga foams along the bottom of the valley, and the road is carried for great distances along the banks, being merely supported by walls, the pass reminding me of parts of the new line leading down from Westmoreland to Lancaster.

Above these places the scenery became more wild and Alpine, the vegetation changing and the Quercus robur or common oak, with the Ash making their appearance. In passing a garden I was surprised by what looked exactly like a Capuchin monk working there. As wearing this habit is strictly forbidden, I looked for some hermitage or other cause of exemption, to account for the unusual sight, but there was none to be seen, and at last I made out that it was a female, who I then conjectured might have provided herself with the cast-off raiment of some mendicant belonging to the place. I found afterwards that this costume is occasionally worn by the poorest of the female peasants in these mountains, and neither in colour, make, nor material is there the smallest difference from that of the Capuchins ; the mistake was the more easily made

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because the party had the cowl over, which completely concealed her face, and was stooping down when I first observed her. I never saw this habit as a peasant's costume, in any part of Spain or of Europe before.

The pass is more wild and broken as you approach the centre of the chain, and there is a gorge crossed by a bridge, with the road supported in the manner of those in the great passes of the Alps, that would take very high rank in mountain scenery, if the rocks were clothed as they once had been. There are still remains of oak forest of considerable extent, high up, at some distance from the road, but the new constructions, in which they have used great quantities of timber, have considerably diminished those within reach of carriage to the villages.

I could not help thinking of the Moors at the time they held this country, and the difficulty they must have had to maintain their communication in the winter season, with their African costume and habits, so different from those necessary in these most rugged mountains. Their being compelled to quit Asturias, is less remarkable than that they should have been able to penetrate into such a region.

The country became still more Alpine after we passed this gorge, the trees less abundant, and the villages more poor and ill built, with pasturages about them resembling those in the northern parts

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of Switzerland. The guide was more dilatory as I was the more urgent to get forward after the interest of the country had decreased, and at last, pretending that his jaca was tired and unable to keep up, was near stopping altogether. Finally, after a considerable pause, and having taken many opportunities of introducing the subject of his native village, praising the inhabitants of it, and the advantage of being lodged in a comfortable private house in preference to the posadas, on opening a rather extensive view, he at once exclaimed, "there it is!" with an imploring look, bordering on the pathetic, and expressing, "can you be so hard-hearted as to pass it?" I had listened in patience to the preparatory encomiums, and only waited for the direct proposal to be made, which I was well aware would be the final result, when I put a decided and hopeless negative; so that he was obliged to do the best and trudge after me, to some higher point on the road. I should not have cared so much about stopping, but the village was out of the direct line, and at so great a distance from the summit, that it would have precluded the possibility of reaching Oviedo the next day. Besides this consideration, I had the strongest doubts about the cleanliness of the houses in this region, where the personal habits of the people are very different from those of Moorish Spain, or even those in the Castiles.

When his grand object had failed, he was still

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determined I should not make Pajares, but began a series of eulogiums on Buisdongo, the last village before you reach the Puerto, and in particular of a posada he called "de caballeros," as frequented by travellers of note. My recollections of the villages near the summit were any thing but favourable, still I thought it very probable an inn had been built for the accommodation of those who might have to pass the night in this bleak situation, and as his manœuvres had caused so much loss of time, it was out of the question reaching Pajares before ten o'clock: I therefore desired him to make for his favourite caravansera. We traversed the wretched village in all its length, and at the very extremity arrived in a place which had exactly the appearance of a stable yard or corral, the entrance being nearly inaccessible from the accumulated filth, that was diluted by the showers falling plentifully during the day, and making the most deep and dirty approach possible to be imagined. The inside exactly corresponded with the exterior, and I stood aghast on inspecting the posada de caballeros. On inquiring for the people, I was addressed by a young girl in the plainest possible garb, but her answers to my questions and observations were made with so much grace, and in such a peculiar manner, that I began to think better of the quarters, and finally determined to remain. The kitchen, which I had first tried, was a square hole with no chimney, so that the instant the fire was lighted it was filled

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with smoke, and to remain inside was impossible. Above stairs there was a spacious and tolerable room with beds, one of which I took possession of. I found afterwards that the hostess, who was not more than seventeen, had lately been left with a sister, a little older than herself, orphans, and the necessity of carrying on the house had quickened their natural talents, so that they were known for the "gracia," or mode of address, which had instantly struck me, all over the country. The elder sister had lately married, and the sole charge devolved on the younger one, who had very numerous friends disposed, like my guide, to give her every possible assistance in supporting the rude hostelry.

Shortly after my arrival I observed a character amongst the others assembled, who soon took a fancy to accost me, but without any regular preliminary address or opening on any particular subject. I had therefore no ground for making any reply, and paid little attention to his movements, being engaged in digesting various matters that had occurred at Leon. This mode of proceeding only made him the more persevering in his attentions, and at last he followed me about exactly like a shadow; when I went up stairs he followed; when I descended he descended also; and when I took a seat he followed my example; and when I rose he did the same, muttering something, of which the only audible part was maledictions on the head of Mendizabal. This was by far the worst part of his programme, and

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anything but a favourable introduction, as besides the promise I gave to my friend the Xefe politico, and was determined to keep, if possible, even beyond the letter, political discussion at this time, and in a place like Buisdongo, was anything but desirable. Finding him still persevere in this disagreeable topic, I at last fairly, but civilly gave a hint that I wished for the present to be alone, and he instantly withdrew. After a time, however, I began to think my proceeding a little churlish, and inquiring of the people who he was, they said the Cura of the place, when I instantly sent for him, begging him to be seated, and he passed the evening with me. There was still something peculiar in his manner; he asked many questions about England and on other subjects, and when the answer surprised him, he crossed himself, adding the words to the act, a rare proceeding in these days. He soon informed me, that he was an exclaustrado, or unfrocked monk, from the great Benedictine monastery of Sahagun, according to the orders of Government, enjoining that on the suppression of the convents all those qualified for the office should be appointed as Curas in their respective dioceses, when vacancies occurred to absorb them. This at once accounted both for the singularity of his appearance and manners, as well as for his "curses not loud but deep" of Mendizabal, who is the ogre of all such personages, and the subject of their sleeping and waking dreams, having been

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devoted to much worse places than were ever imagined by Dante, from the part he took in breaking up the ecclesiastical foundations. I found him to be extremely good-natured, with a great deal of original character and peculiar information, from the mixture of the avocations he had been employed in. He was a native of Oviedo, well acquainted with the country, and was extremely desirous I should take up my quarters during my stay there with his family, who, he said, would receive me with the greatest pleasure; but of course I declined this very kind offer, which would have entailed the necessity of living as a visitor and interfered with my arrangements there, that required my time to be absolutely at my own disposal. He was very much captivated with some Turkish tobacco, of which a small quantity was presented to me at Paris, and had been reserved to solace the evenings in the wildest part of my tour, and as I was silent when he proposed to purchase it from me, probably imagining I thought he had no money, threw down a dollar on the table, begging I would use my discretion and take as much as I thought necessary! I had a small travelling pipe, which equally excited his notice, and that of others who came to see it, who, after due examination pronounced it to be a "barbaridad," a singular expression used in Old Castile and this part of the country, but not common elsewhere, to express surprise and admiration of anything. They ap-

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peared never to have seen a pipe before, and complained of the difficulty of purchasing tobacco.

I passed an indifferent night, for although the linen was clean, the gracia of the juvenile hostess had not operated to destroy the fleas that were in considerable numbers, and at an early hour I gladly left the posada de caballeros. Above Buisdongo there is a small and ruinous establishment, which I believe was built in the time of Charles the Third, when they first thought seriously of opening the great pass into the Asturias, but there appears to be little use made of it at present. Above this are merely open boggy pastures, like those in the highest parts of the northern Alps, and we soon reached the water-shed. In the upper part of the pass the Pinguicula grandiflora was in great beauty, and the Menziesia polifolia began to make its appearance. I had previously noticed the Erinus alpina, which grows abundantly on the rocks near the summit of the range. Pajares is considerably below the puerto or highest part of the pass, to the north side, and the distance from Leon is ten leagues, which are a good day's work, requiring an early start and good cattle to make them. Behind the village I had the great and unexpected pleasure of finding the beautiful Aquilegia granulosa, blue with a white rim in the inside, lately introduced to our gardens, and said to be a native of Siberia, or of southern Russia. The peasants

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told me there were great quantities of it in the shady woods.

The vegetation now assumed quite a northern character, all our common trees, with the addition of the chesnut, adorning this valley and relieving the eye, so long accustomed to the monotony of the central and southern regions. I dined at Campomanes which in this great alpine pass represents Lanslebourg or Brig in the Valais, at the foot of their respective mountains. I had certain favourable reminiscences of the inn, unfortunately as it turned out, and desired the guide to stop there, but the master had died and the place was nearly closed, one large room and a kitchen which filled it with smoke, being all that remained open. The attendant was a perfect Maritornes, which personage was an Asturian, but the successor was better looking and radiant with rude health and luxuriant form. Whilst they were preparing the repast I wrapped myself in my capa, and lay down on the oak bench that was opposite the spacious table, large enough to dine twelve people, and forming a curious contrast with the pigmy furniture seen in those places in the central regions. I had however little opportunity, for the said table being the roosting place of the fowls that supplied the house with eggs, they were by no means disposed to quit their accustomed haunts, and as the attendant, judging probably by experience, thought the only plan of expulsion was by catching and securing them, un-

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dertook the office, and my person forming their line of retreat, the repeated movement, as they were equally determined not to be caught; with the clacking they made as she persevered, completely frustrated my intention of getting rest, and forced me to rise again. The situation of this village is extremely picturesque, especially at the lower part, and reminded me of some situations in the Grisons, and the verdure in all this valley is like that of Devonshire.

The line of road from this to Paxares is on a quite different slope from that on the Leon side of the mountain, having been made in the olden time, and although perfectly kept and in beautiful order, is so steep that the carriages occupy an entire day in passing the puerto from this point, although the distance is only 5 leagues, or little more than 20 miles. The misfortune is, that it will be necessary to take an entire new line, a rather difficult and expensive operation in these times and in such a country. The view from the summit of the pass is very striking, and was favoured by a stormy and unsettled morning, shewing the bold and lofty peaks to the west with their whitened summits, to great advantage, reminding me of some parts of the Val d'Aosta. In descending, the valley widens and improves in cultivation, but the houses are poor and dirty until you reach the great flat of Mieres, where spacious and comfortable mansions, with gardens ornamented with flowers, made a most

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agreeable change. Here the coal formation begins to shew itself, and after a very long rise, with a corresponding descent to the passage of the Nalon, and another still more tedious cuesta or ascent to the summit of a high limestone ridge, we descended to the capital of Asturias.

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CHAPTER VI.

OVIEDO—INNS—MUSIC—CATHEDRAL—CONVENTS—ANCIENT CHURCHES.

THERE are two principal posadas in Oviedo, one called the Catalana, the other the Tiñana, and I had ascertained that the last mentioned was the better of the two from the Cura, who had recommended it to me as preferable to the former, of which I had no very favourable reminiscence from my former sojourn there. The guide however was connected in some way with the people at the Catalana, and not only used his utmost eloquence to persuade me to go there, but when we were passing the door made a dead stop, and a final effort to drag me in par force, exposing the alabardas, and the whole of our sorry turn out, to the criticism of a large party of majos, who were lounging at the door. He pretended not to know the other house, and even to doubt the existence of any such, but by taking a boy as guide the matter was soon settled. I was well rewarded for my perseverance, as the inn is not only one of the most comfortable in Spain, but I found a very pleasant party there, at the head of whom was Senor Schultz, the professor of geology and mining, employed by Government, for whom I had a letter of introduction, expecting we should meet in either Asturias or Galicia.

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I waited on the Xefe politico, who was established in the immense Benedictine convent of S. Vicente, and was perfectly well received by him, being assured of his protection in the usual manner. Every thing remained in tranquillity, no pronunciamento having as yet taken place, although there were parties extremely desirous of following the fashion, now become so general.

The following day was the festival of S. Peter and Paul, which is kept with great solemnity all over Spain. I went to the cathedral and heard some beautiful music, with an excellent sermon from one of the canons, bearing entirely on the celebration of the day. In the afternoon I walked to the Campo de San Francisco, a large open field or park to the west of the town, belonging to the public, and used for games and amusements in the holidays, as well as promenade at other times. There is a neat modern paseo in one part, and extensive walks by the side of the road. In the centre is a magnificent oak (Q. pedunculata) vieing with the Pansanga tree, which it very nearly equals in size and form. I was sorry to see a number of poplars planted near, in order to fill up a vacant space, instead of the nobler species, to which the soil and situation are so evidently suited.

Whilst passing a detached part of these walks I heard a noise of voices, singing much in the manner so common in the gardens and other places of public resort on similar occasions in Germany.

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On going to the spot to ascertain the cause of this unusual proceeding, I found an immense crowd assembled, and dancing going forward; the noise I had heard proceeded from the voices of the parties engaged, who furnished the sole accompaniment. The dancing was in circles, men and women mixed indiscriminately without reference to the proportions of either sex, or the smallest limitation as to numbers. In one set I counted more than one hundred persons. They held "hands round," moving circularly, and making a step forward each time to the centre, and then back, the whole rather in slow time, and changing the ground very gradually. In the centre of the circle were men and women, detached, but principally the former, who came forward challenging any of the females in the ring, who immediately left their place, and after setting to him, and dancing a short time, resumed their station. The air they sang was extremely striking from its great life and expression; but it was impossible to any one unaccustomed to make out the words, which were varied constantly, and I suspected were sung differently by the various parties. There was little display of steps or figures, but the movements of many were very graceful, being with the body, and not merely the feet and lower extremities as practised by the peasantry in many countries. The most distinguished amongst the men was dressed in a common jacket and cos-

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tume of the town, but his head was surmounted with a curious sky blue cap, intended to stand horizontally on the head, but he had it adjusted so that it hung nearly perpendicularly over one ear, giving him a very dandy look. This fellow might have gone to Ronda, and fearlessly challenged the majos of Andalucia to dance with him.

On inquiry, I found that this custom was of the most remote antiquity, having been always practised in the country, and they assured me that some of the songs occasionally used, which are handed down traditionally by the peasantry, refer to the deeds of Don Pelayo, and the wars with the Moors. There is however great difficulty in procuring the words, as they are not written, and the people, especially the women, who are the principal depositories of this kind of lore, are unwilling, from a little shyness, to repeat them to strangers. Some specimens I heard recited were more like what might have been expected in the courts of the Paladins addressing their ladies in the olden time, than the common effusions of peasantry, as daily used. The air was extremely simple, but animating to an uncommon degree ; and I constantly heard the young girls in the cottages repeating it at their work. The following may serve as specimens of the style in these curious collections. These are amongst the couplets addressed to the females when asked to leave their station and dance in the circle :—

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Ay! Paloma de mi vida
Paloma de mi corazon.
Se quieres que te quiera
Bailaras el Rigodon.

Salga bailar, dama hermosa
Con pulido marinero
Aunque no tiene figura
Tiene caridad decirle.

There are many other descriptions of songs existing amongst the native peasantry, and they would well repay the trouble of collecting, which can only be done by time and becoming acquainted with them.

One of these songs is the following, which, as it is Castilian, may exist in some of the numerous collections that have been printed, but I have never seen it. The subject is a young girl, who has been absent from home at unusual hours, and is chidden by her mother, to whom she pleads the excuse of having gone to pay her devotions at the altar of the Lady of the Pilar.

Adonde vas, Niña?
Adonde vas?
Mama! No me riñas.
Vengo de rezar,
A la Virgen del Pilar.

Mucho polvo he recogido
Muy sucia la Iglesia esta
Si la varais con la saya
Haceis mas que el Sacristan
Adonde vas, &c.

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Mucho rezo son tres horas
Para niñas de tu edad
Muchas son las oraciones
Algun santo muy galan.
Adonde vas, &c.

Como vienes tanta turbada
Y perdido el color
Si son las once punto
Y salisteis a la oracion.
Adonde vas, &c.

Where are you going? my daughter,
Where are you going?
Mama! do not chide me,
I come from praying
To the Virgin of the Pilar.

Much dust have I picked up,
Very dirty is the church.
If you sweep it with your saya, (or petticoat)
You do more than the Sacristan.
Where are you going, &c.

Three hours are rather long for prayer
For girls of your age;
Many were the sermons,
Some very gallant saint.
Where are you going, &c.

How come you so disturbed
And your colour gone;
It is now eleven precisely
And you went out at the oracion,
Where are you going, &c.

I had been requested from an influential quarter previous to leaving England, to procure if possible

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some of the sacred music practised in the Spanish Cathedrals. I endeavoured to do so at Madrid, but without success, owing to the want of time, as in this country nothing out of the common routine, and very little in it, can be managed without giving the parties full time to deliberate and turn over the many sides of a question, before they make up their minds to act upon it. I took the opportunity to make the same attempt at Oviedo, being charmed with the style of the music played early every morning, which I never failed to attend. I called on the officiating organist, who I found was only the second or supplementary performer, the principal being "absent," the motive for which I presumed, and made no further inquiry about him. To my great surprise the party informed me there was not a note of music in the cathedral; that for some cause or other the Cabildo had never required the successive organists to deposit copies of their compositions, as is the almost universal practice in Spain, so that they had no records to consult, and that the music I had been so much pleased with, was his own extempore composition! This curious information was borne out by the performance, which, when he mentioned the circumstance, at once struck me as having the character of poetical, and may almost be said inspired music, rather than that of elaborate and studied composition. He said however that a change was about to take place in the arrangement, and that orders had been given to

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preserve the files, as in other places; the usual practice being to stipulate for the deposition of a certain number of pieces in the year in the archives, where they remain for ages and are never printed.

I made a more full and detailed examination into the building of the cathedral, than the cursory stay, and the state of the weather allowed during my previous visit in 1831. The main edifice is of the 14th century, about 100 years subsequent to that of Leon, to which in plan and scale it bears some resemblance, but the architecture is lighter and certainly more pleasing than that of the sister church. In my own opinion, this is the most beautiful of all the cathedrals in Spain, although in scale it must yield to many of them. The great defect in the interior, is that the aisle behind the altar was built after the change of style in Spain took place, and it is of the classic form, or that of Herrera, being of extremely good design, exactly resembling the corridors of the Colisseum, where the artist must have studied. The body of the building has been little interfered with, but there are several chapels on a large scale, and equally incongruous with the style of the church as that already mentioned. The entrances to them are so managed, however, as not to interfere with the general effect, for you may examine the interior without scarcely seeing them. There is a clerestory gallery quite round every part of the building, the same as at

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Leon, but of lighter and better design. There are several most absurd "hojarascas" in the shape of gilt altarpieces, which ought to be kicked out, as they have no concern or connection with any thing about them. Amongst other minor absurdities is the trascoro or back of the choir; the centre being occupied by a beautiful gem of pointed design, of similar date or nearly so with the main building; this they have daubed over with whitewash, so that the fine work is nearly obliterated, and on each side in close contact is an altarpiece of dark grey marble, of very bad classic form.

The exterior is extremely interesting, especially the western façade, which, had it been finished according to the original design, would have had a considerable resemblance, with more simplicity, to that of York. There were to have been two towers, one of which was finished, the other hardly commenced. That which is concluded, is a simple and very beautiful specimen, similar, but on a larger scale, to some of the best of our church architecture of the same date, nor could any thing be in better or more pure taste. About two centuries afterwards, the cabildo called in a plateresco architect, who, instead of finishing the other tower, added a pinnacle or spire of his own, with an ornamented base, which he perched on the summit of the original tower! This I clearly made out to be the history of the present tower, which imitates and rivals those of Burgos. Being determined apparently, that the

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other tower should exhibit a specimen of his own skill, unfettered by being obliged to superpose only the weight the original building (that was not intended to have such a crest put upon it) would sustain; he began from the foundations, intending to make it considerably larger than the opposite tower. He was only able to carry it up to the height of the nave, or thereabouts, when death, or probably a change in the cabildo, or the want of funds, caused it to be discontinued, and to remain as described. Had the cabildo of the time ordered the money expended in this absurd manner to be laid out in finishing the façade, as intended by the great artist who designed it, they would have had a perfect specimen of that era, and might have devoted any superfluity in their resources to the erection of plateresco in some other part, where it would not have interfered with the general plan. As it is, they have spoiled the whole; and if ever any thing be done to finish the building, which is very possible, they have entailed on their successors the necessity of either taking down what is already erected, at a great expense, or of concluding in a style more and more wide from the original intention.

There is one thing noticed in my former short account of this cathedral, the noble porch at the west end, that merits more particular description. The towers stand of course at the flank, and are open below, with a connecting arch over the centre, giving lightness and convenience also to the build-

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ing, and it is only surprising such a plan should not have been more frequently followed in other edifices. The arch under the northern tower is oblique, the plane being directed towards the corresponding entrance door. I tried in vain to conjecture the motive for this curious arrangement of the plateresco architect, and as he is no longer present to explain his reasons for adopting such a singular plan, they will probably remain a mystery to future observers. At the north transept is a very beautiful circular or marigold window, and at the west end is one of inferior merit which has been very much and badly repaired.

The cloisters are of small extent, the locality being very much circumscribed, and the object appears to have been to make the greatest possible display of work, so that although of exceedingly good design, the lightness that ought to characterize this kind of building is altogether wanting, and they are chiefly remarkable for the great solidity of the stone work. The style is very nearly that of the church, but I think they have been built subsequently. Most of the windows differ from each other, and the forms are so good, notwithstanding the fault I have mentioned, that they would repay the inspection of any architect who attends to the work of this period.

We must now pass to the examination of the Camara Santa where the relics are kept. This depository is extremely remarkable in the history of the Spanish

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church, as it professes to contain the remains of those that were concealed from the Moors, during their temporary occupation of the country. Amongst them is a cross said to have been borne by Pelayo, which is of oak, ornamented with gilding and precious stones, or imitations of them. One is inclined to give some credence to this romantic story, which is borne out by the style of the work, evidently of that distant era. The same cannot be said of the letter-holder, or portfolio of S. Andrew, and other specimens of the same description they shew you. But there is an ancient oriental crucifixion in ivory, with a piece of the wood of the cross, which, whatever be the claim of the latter part, has come very probably from Jerusalem, and is of very early date. The building which contains these relics was part of the original edifice prior to the foundation of the present cathedral, and dates from 800, when the basilica, on the site now occupied by the main building, and two chapels were built by Alonzo the Chaste. You ascend to the Camara Santa by a staircase from the south transept, and the chapel is so built in with the cathedral, that nothing of it is seen from the outside. The first part entered is a lofty ante-chapel with a groined roof, and leading to the sanctum or inner chamber, which has a circular roof, with a recess for the altar at the east end, where are short columns of a sort of Corinthian. There is a frieze rather in the pointed style, and the arches of the roof rest on double Caryatides

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of very rude design. Below these, as I have subsequently ascertained, there is a crypt, but I was not aware of it at the time, and did not ask leave to enter it, which I am certain would have been granted by the courteous canon who shewed me the relics, and I believe it contains nothing remarkable.

On the opposite side of the transept was the celebrated chapel of Santa Maria, the burial place of the Re Casto, and still known by his name. This chapel, which is particularly described by the old writers who had seen it, must, by their description, have been a Byzantine structure, with three naves and antique columns, supposed to have been brought from Lugo. In an evil hour for the arts, at the commencement of the last century, the barbarians in the cabildo decreed the demolition of this curious edifice, and executed this vandalic plan so completely, that not a vestige remains. The present chapel is large and spacious, but rather low in proportion to the dimensions. The details and ornaments are the most utterly absurd and barbarous that can be imagined, the very bathos of the art, being executed when good architecture was extinct in Spain. I looked for the tombs, and found with some difficulty a set of small sarcophagi of execrable form, placed in a dark chapel enclosed by a reja, where they are ranged over each other, reminding one of the story of Abbé Sieyes and his constitutions. Not a vestige of the old monuments or inscriptions is to be seen, but there is a long

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catalogue of the contents of the sarcophagi on a modern tablet. One of the canons told me the tradition was, that the chapel had been injured by lightning, but in that case the rebuilding ought to have been on the original design. The present structure has not even the recommendation of sanctity in the model, for it has very much the appearance of a spacious hall, belonging to a palace or building of some profane description.

Close by the cathedral on the Plaza in front of the west end, is the church of S. Tirso, which the form and appearance made me immediately conclude to be of great antiquity, but the alterations and arrangements have completely destroyed every thing of positive testimony as to the style, and I was on the point of giving up all hope of discovering any data to confirm my opinion, when I found a double arch with columns in the exterior wall, which, owing to some accident or other, had been spared by the moderns. I have subsequently ascertained that the church is cotemporary with the other chapels I have just mentioned, and that it was built by the same Alonzo.

At a short distance, in a small plazuela, there is another very old church dedicated to San Juan, of which I cannot find any notice in the books I have been able to consult. Round the front of it is the billet moulding, which I omitted mentioning as one of the characteristic ornaments of the basilica of S. Isidoro at Leon, and if this be admitted as a crite-

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rion, will give 1100 for the age of this church, corresponding to the appearance of it in other respects. Near the cloisters of the cathedral is a very old tower of a Norman style, but the arches at the upper end approach the Moorish or horse-shoe form, I could not make out or conjecture what this tower had belonged to, and it is totally distinct from and unconnected with every thing near; but there may have been a fort of some sort, afterwards demolished to make way for the cloisters or other adjuncts of the cathedral.

Immediately adjacent to the locality we have described, is the Benedictine convent of S. Vicente, a most enormous structure, containing vast quarters for the monks, besides which is a convent of nuns attached to the foundation, and a college that was conducted by the order. The convent, at least a part of it, has been converted to public purposes as already mentioned, and the printing office, estanco of tobacco, and various other departments, are accommodated in the lower part. The most curious part is the nunnery, which is still untouched, and is in fact under the same roof with the monastery, although of course the communications were cut off. The prior, under whose superintendence the nunnery appears to have been, lived in a handsome lodge standing between the two convents, and I rather think communicating with both. I have no doubt this singular arrangement proceeded from the immense establishment having been formed out of a cluster of smaller ones, founded in the

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

middle ages for the subsistence of the younger sons and daughters who were not otherwise provided for, and did not take part in the wars, the only employment for gentlemen at that time. In consequence of the abuses that existed in these small detached proprietary establishments, where the sexes lived together much as they did in some convents in England, prior to the Reformation, they were swept away, and the inmates collected in the large monasteries of Asturias and Galicia, of which we shall hear more at Santiago. This I have no doubt is the solution of this singular arrangement, of which I never met an instance in Spain previously. It may be necessary to observe that, in modern times, no abuse was known to exist in those establishments, as might be inferred from the situation of the buildings, and the important office of superintending, was of course always conferred on some one of age and habits, to secure the due performance of the duty he was charged with. I heard mass performed in the chapel of the nuns who are still there, the church being, as usual, open to the public during the time of service, and it was quite independent of that belonging to the monks, which is shut up.

On the outside of an enormous wall, forming the exterior boundary of these convents to the north, is encased a monument to Jovellanos, the site being exactly opposite the great road to Gijon, and so far appropriate, but the mode of arrangement, although

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rather novel, is little ornamental, and the placing it in some public square would have had a better effect.

The spacious convent of S. Francisco, in the church of which was the curious inscription mentioned in my former work, where a person of noble family had the fancy of introducing a bullock during a certain mass in the year, and bribed the monks by an annual gratuity of wheat to permit this irreverent action; has been made a general hospital, and all the minor establishments in the town transferred thither; an excellent arrangement, the locality and extent being well suited to accommodate them. The great convent of S. Agostino, nearly opposite, and in an equally good position, is now the foundling hospital, but I heard this important establishment was badly managed.

The greatest curiosity in this neighbourhood remains to be described, the famous ancient churches of Sª. Maria and S. Miguel. Below Oviedo, to the west, is a valley, and on the opposite side rises a lofty hill of red sandstone, called the Cuesta de Naranco; on the side of this hill stand these celebrated buildings. The principal is called Santa Maria de Naranco, and is a parish church in constant use; placed on the face of the hill, so that the entrance on the upper side is nearly on a level with the floor, but the south side is considerably elevated above the ground, leaving space for the residence of the Cura, which is built against it as a lean-to. I immediately went to his house, but he was out, and

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the Ama, or housekeeper, begged me to go up to his room until he should return. I found his quarters plain but extremely comfortable, and commanding a noble view of the town and adjacent mountains. His easy chair was by the side of a reading table, and a volume of the Spanish translation of Bossuet's Variations was lying open, having the moment before occupied his attention. The owner soon made his appearance, a middle aged man, stout and healthy looking, a plain spoken, hearty fellow, exactly answering the description of the old parochial clergy in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and he was delighted to see any one take interest in the buildings under his charge. There is an under church or crypt, the door being near the Cura's house, but contained nothing remarkable, being now occupied as a cellar, or for similar purposes, and had merely been intended as foundations, and to secure the church from the damp of the climate. The entrance of the church is by a portico, with a small flight of steps each way; the doorway is rather of the pointed manner, and I suspected had been subsequently added. The outside wall on both sides is supported by pilasters, with their faces and capitals plainly, but rather neatly ornamented. Under the roof is the ordinary finishing, in the shape of the ends of tiles, bedded in mortar, so common in many parts of Spain, but especially this part of Asturias.

The inside is divided into three parts, the centre,

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and a space at each end. The main body is about forty feet long by fifteen in breadth. The detached space of the altar is raised by one, that of the west end by three steps above the floor of the church. There are eight columns on each side, which are double, swelling in the middle, and are wrought in the form of twisted ropes ; they are placed on plinths of the same diameter as the columns. Above each column is raised the arch of the roof, which springs from a plain frieze, and descends with an ornament in form of a shield, near the intersection of the arches. Both the shield and part joining it with the frieze are carved or engraved, and the roof is completely circular. At the west end of the church are three arches, with a shield over each, and a corresponding one at the opposite end of the wall. There are two arches to each side of the lower end, with double columns, shield, and drop.

Behind the altar are three low arches, with whole short columns, and a sort of Corinthian capital, with the shield ornamented. The baptistry is at the west end, on the north side, having two whole columns and an arch. Behind the altar is a modern addition, forming a sort of sacristy ; from the fragments I saw lying about, I have no doubt this end had given way and been rebuilt in a modern style, in which view the Cura concurred. There was an absurd and indecent legend respecting the use of this room, which is noticed and confuted by Morales.

The walls are of great strength and solidity, as

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may well be imagined, when it has stood since the middle of the 9th century, and is still in perfect repair. There is a curious piece of rude sculpture on the capital of a column, representing a female, which is considered by the people to refer to the tribute paid by King Mauragatus to the Moors, as mentioned in the account of the Maragatos. This of course does not amount to proof, but in such a place, and amongst such a people as the Asturians, and of contemporary date or nearly so, it is certainly not only entitled to some consideration, but I confess has materially contributed to confirm my belief in the story of the treaty with the Mahometans. The church is in perfect order, having been put in repair, painted and coloured by my friend the Cura, who had expended upon it, out of his own pocket 5000 reals, about £50., a considerable sum in this country to have been contributed by one individual, and reflecting infinite credit on the party, who had done the work extremely well, with the exception of some painting in rather bad taste. He had coloured the columns, which are of sandstone, with a wash of nearly the natural colour. The columns, as before observed, represent a kind of twisted rope, and I thought were of one piece, although I was not quite certain, being divided perpendicularly almost in the way the fasces are represented. There are traces of carving in different parts, but that already mentioned as representing a female, is the only one I saw that had a

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distinct subject, and the bearing on the story is the more remarkable on that account. I had observed that the baptismal font was modern, and when we came out I noticed a round hollow block of white marble, about a yard in diameter, perfectly plain, but looking like a piece of a column, lying near the entrance, and on inquiring, he said it was the old font, and that when he repaired the church, he had turned it out! I made a sort of remonstrance on this strange proceeding, when he said, with a hearty laugh, "I take care of antiquities and things valuable, but I care nothing about such as this, and so I kicked it out, and put a better in its place!" The substitute was a sort of bad classic imitation of porphyry, which I noticed, and thought of course it had been put there merely to fill the space. He said he could do no more in the way of repairs from his funds being so much reduced. The sum he had received was very trifling, and on a Xefe politico visiting the place, and suggesting some alteration, he said, you must give me money, for they have taken all mine from me, on which the functionary was silent. He made no sort of complaint, but remarked, "They cannot find money to pay the troops, how can those like me expect any thing?" concluding with the hearty laugh, which generally followed his observations.

The other church called San Miguel stands at a short distance higher up, and is equally curious, but in a style more oriental and less original than that

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of Santa Maria, being cruciform, and of very circumscribed dimensions in the present day. At the end of the transept are windows, with two whole and half columns, and a sort of Moorish fretwork above them. The north end is partly destroyed, and there is a steep staircase to the choir, whilst above are two arches, with a small oratory on each side. Such they appeared to me, but the people have no account or idea for what purpose they have been intended.

At each corner of the transept is a short massy column with arches over them, and the highest is at the altar end. The whole length of the church is about 30 feet. There have been pilasters on the outside like those of Santa Maria, and at the east end there appears to have been a greater extent of building, as the adjacent walls are encrusted with fragments, and there are considerable remains of other edifices lying about.

The church is fast going to ruin, and parts of it are applied to profane uses. It is nearly of the same date as that of Santa Maria, both being of the middle of the ninth century, and considered by the Spanish antiquaries to be by Tioda, the architect of Alonzo, although built by Ramirez the successor of that King. I confess, however, that I cannot think the two churches are by the same architect, but there is the greatest possible resemblance between those of S. Miguel, S. Julian, and what we know of the chapel at the cathedral, prior to its

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demolition. I should consider these structures and the Camara Santa to be by Tioda, and Sa. Maria del Naranco by a different artist.

There is another very interesting church about a mile outside the town on the road to Gijon, called S. Julian del Campo, which has three aisles, and regular arches on square columns, with three higher arches at the altar, the centre one being the most elevated; these arches separate the altar from the side aisles.

The proportions of this church are good, excepting that it is rather low, but the general effect is excellent. The chancel is raised one step; the columns on each side the altar are short and of grey marble; the capitals differ from each other, and one I observed was very near correct Corinthian. On the exterior, at the east end, is a small open window, with bastard low columns, and unequal intercolumniations. The roof is modern tile work, the original having been stone, supported by corbels, some of which remain.

This church is of 800, being of the same date as the Camara Santa, as already noticed, and no doubt gives an idea of what the chapel of Alonzo at the cathedral was before its demolition, the style being in fact Byzantine, or a modification of the art as brought from the east.

I have been more particular in describing these curious churches, as no account of them, to my knowledge, exists in modern writings in this country,

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and to the student of ecclesiastical architecture, the epoch previous to the introduction of the pointed style is extremely interesting. The advantage, or in fact necessity of employing the term pointed, and discontinuing that of gothic, is not only advisable in treating of Spanish architecture, but is absolutely indispensable, as in those countries they justly term the works of these early ages, "Obra de Godos," whilst they call the pointed, the tudesco or German style.

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CHAPTER VII.

OVIEDO—UNIVERSITY.

The university occupies a spacious quadrangular building of modern style, and the school of Rodriguez, just outside of the town. There is a good library, and I had every facility for consulting the few books I required, but the deficiencies are very great, even of the most common classic works in the language, and I urged the people to apply to Government for copies of the various publications of the Imprenta real at Madrid, to which these establishments are fairly entitled. The director was a very amiable and intelligent person, who also superintended a reading room attached to the principal café, and maintained by the subscription of the gentlemen in the place. They gave me free admission to the room during my stay, and would not hear of any payment. The Spanish, French, and even English papers are received, and I was surprised to find the Examiner on the table, some admirer of that ably written paper, who was employed in the mines, having, as they informed me, recommended it.

The principal market day is Sunday, as usual in the Asturias and Galicia, the usage having existed from time immemorial. The women come in

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vast numbers with their respective goods for sale at an early hour, and immediately as the operation is concluded, hear mass in a church upon the Plaza, where about eleven, a prodigious number was assembled with their baskets, which they carry in along with them. In the afternoon dancing takes place in different parts of the town, always to the national vocal music, and I never heard instruments of any kind used on those occasions.

The women in general wear the trensa or long platted hair, of which many splendid specimens were to be seen. They told me that this custom was based partly on convenience, for the wearing the enormous quantity many of them are provided with, upon the head, is not only troublesome, but when employed in labour, causes headache. Although the sex throughout Spain is tolerably well supplied with this ornament, I have been inclined to think, that whether it be owing to the moisture of the climate or some other cause, it is more abundant in the northern or humid region than any other. The prevailing colour here, as in every other part of Spain, is a dark brown, black being very seldom seen, so much so that I have great doubts whether it would not be as difficult to find a genuine head of black hair, as it was in London when the search was made in consequence of a bet recorded to have been laid during the convivial moments of the younger days of George the Fourth.

There is a peculiar look of cheerfulness and good

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humour that characterises the people, running through all their manners and deportment; nor do I think the old Spanish character is more apparent any where than in this "Thule," where they have had, until recently, so little communication with the rest of the kingdom. Like all the native Spaniards, they are strongly attached to their natal soil, considering it to be the first country in the world, and I was nearly being in a scrape, owing to a mistake on this subject. The landlady, who was a person of superior style in her station, and owing to ill health, produced by domestic misfortunes that had befallen her, seldom appeared, came one day with a very grave face, and said, "Have you been giving out that I am a Bizcaina?" This was delivered exactly as I suppose a lady might do, about whom evil reports had been raised. I replied that I certainly had understood she was a native of the Provinces, and might have said so inadvertently. She then said with great dignity, "No! it is an entire mistake. Thank God, I am an Asturiana, and have not the slightest wish to be any thing else."

Respecting the story of the tribute of damsels, said to have been paid by Mauragatus, one writer in Spanish history doubts the fact, because he seems to think it would be difficult to find the number required, of quality fit to suit the taste of the Arab connoisseurs. If he had visited the country, probably that remark would not have been made: so contrary is the real fact, that it is another proof to

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me of the strange history being founded on reality; for the style of the women, their fine complexions, and magnificent hair, the first charm amongst orientals, very probably suggested the idea of such a tribute; and the more it is considered, the less is it probable, however discreditable the fact may be to the memory of the patriarch of the Maragatos, that such a rumour could be the effect of fabulous invention, and still less satisfactory is the absurd explanation, that the wish to encourage alliances between the races should have given rise to the tradition. It is much more probable that the admixture of Asturian blood may have improved the African race, and that some of the Zoraydas and Zaidas owed the charms that are sung in the Moorish romances, to the treaty of Mauragatus, and the introduction of their ancestors from these wild mountains, where the physiognomies are so very different from those common in the regions the Moorish conquerors came from.

The great coal field of Asturias was visited by me in 1831, and a short account of the then existing state of it was given in my former work. Since that time the workings have assumed a greater degree of activity, and as the history of it is still little known, some particulars I learned from the authorities on the spot as to the economical part, will be given, leaving the geological position to be treated under that head in the appendix.

With regard to the bringing this vast mass of

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coal into a real productive state, as it ought to be, extremely little progress has as yet been made; so much so, that I was quite surprised to find the condition the works are still in. There are four large companies and several smaller ones at present engaged in different parts of the basin, the mass of which has been covered by a formation of chalk, and again denuded in parts, where the beds are at present exposed to day.

The first established and most considerable company, as far as the result is concerned, is that of Aguado, the great contractor who resided at Paris, and died recently during a tour of inspection made to Asturias. The part occupied by his heirs is that upon the Nalon, which was particularly mentioned on my previous visit, and is rather more than a league distant from Oviedo. I found there was a difficulty about seeing the workings of this company, and as I already knew the locality, and had correct information respecting their proceedings, I left them to enjoy their useless churlishness. They have, I understand, driven a working gallery into the side of the hill, which serves at the same time for desaguadero, or drift-way, to carry off the water, and from that cut across the beds to the right and left. A carriage-road has been made to Gijon by this company, who have the monopoly of it for a few years, with the power of raising tolls; after that time it becomes public property. The death of Aguado has, of course, influenced the state of this

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concern, the operations of which are nearly suspended; and it is said, the proprietors, if they could find purchasers, would not be indisposed to transfer their shares.

The next is the English company, which has obtained the grant of an immense tract on the lower Nalon and its great western tributary. The beds in this allotment, as I understood from the agent, comprise 135 feet of coal, covering a great extent of ground; one of the beds is 13 feet thick, but the greater part, as usual in this field, are much smaller, four or five feet being the common thickness. They say the best coal is in this portion of the field, but unfortunately it is inland, far from the sea, so that to bring it completely into play, a railway of thirty miles would be necessary, leading to a port near the mouth of the Nalon; the communication with Gijon being long, difficult, and expensive. This company had not commenced working in earnest when I was there, but the agents were employed in making preliminary observations and inquiries.

The next considerable company is the Spanish and Belgian, which has possession of the great bed of Arnao near Aviles, and will be described hereafter.

Besides these there are some others, principally French, who have taken the small detached spots where the overlying beds, being removed, have left islands of coal in different parts of the field, principally to the eastern end of it. These companies,

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I was told, work with small capital and smaller results.

Such is the present state of these mines, which must one day exercise great influence in the manufacturing history of Europe. The quality of the coal is much vaunted of in Spain, and it certainly gives clean and good samples, very much superior to the French and other sulphurous coal. It will not, however, stand competition for steaming purposes, with ours, and in consequence the Peninsular company have the privilege of receiving their own free of duty, which was conceded to them; the French of course claimed and obtained the same exemption, and then the Spanish steamers, using the national coal, being left behind by their competitors, were also compelled to solicit the same favour, so that this considerable resource is at present lost to the speculators. In fact, excepting the few smelting-houses and other establishments in the south of Spain, and a certain portion taken by the French for common purposes, I do not know where they can look for any considerable vend. Even at present, as mentioned at Malaga, there is a strong competition between parties interested to keep up the monopoly, and those who are disposed from interest to open the trade and let in the English coal. The latter party threaten, unless the companies very soon produce the quantity of coal required at a cheap rate, that they will take steps at Madrid to lower the import duties; in which plan, as they are wealthy, and

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every thing of this sort is managed by bribery in some shape or other, it is probable they will succeed. It seems extraordinary that coal, wrought to day, without the necessity of steam-engines to draw the water, or deep shafts for the abstraction, that cause the absorption of such enormous capital in our collieries, should not operate to give the Spanish mines the immense advantage at first sight it might be supposed to confer, enabling them to ruin our sale in the open markets ; but so it is, and it appears we have at present little to fear from their formidable array of apparent superiority.

Another peculiarity, only to be accounted for by the singular habits of this country, is that the manufactories lately established on the Guadalquivir and other parts of the south, should not have been attempted in Asturias, where coal is so abundant, wood almost equally so, and water in enormous quantity is poured out in never-failing streams. Besides these considerations, there is a dense, and most sober, active and willing population, fitter than almost any in Spain, from their hardy and industrious habits, for manufacturers ; the climate also would appear more favourable to all occupations carried on in doors or under shelter, than that of the southern provinces, where the Andalusians and others find it so difficult to resist the pleasure of "taking the sun," which the glorious luminary is perpetually holding out to them, his temptations being much more scantily dealt out in the moist and cloudy region of Asturias.

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The food of the peasantry is almost exclusively the maize or Turkey wheat, and the culture of that grain is proportionably great; all the lands suited to its growth, being applied to that purpose, and watched with quite as much jealousy as the potatoe lands are in some parts of Ireland, and interference with them as narrowly looked after. Potatoes are also in considerable request and the cultivation of them rapidly extending over the country. Chesnuts too, form a part of their winter provision in the higher valleys.

The dress of the lower orders of the people is little remarkable for taste or arrangement, either in form or colours. There is little regular costume, but the men are frequently seen in the ugly yellow, dyed from some plant grown in the country, that is the uniform of the cavalry, for which purpose, as far as appearance is concerned, it is singularly ill adapted. The women often add bright-coloured handkerchiefs worn on the head and neck, which give a rather picturesque effect in their dances; I saw some of the tallest men in the groups in the immediate neighbourhood I ever met with in Spain, and some I noticed would be considered first class prizes in our Life Guards. If Frederick were living and possessed steamers, we might expect to hear of cases of abduction, and some of these men and women also, being carried back to the country whence their ancestors probably emigrated to this more favoured region. The engineers in their re-

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ports to Government, complain of the indisposition of the people to work in the mines and there is little doubt that as long as they have abundance of food, and the amusements they are so much attached to, this evil, if it be one, will not readily be cured,

We must proceed to some notice of the political state of the province, which was rather remarkable, as hitherto no attempt to disturb the functions of Government had succeeded, although in the town there were parties extremely anxious to effect such an object, and every night meetings were held in the Plaza for the express purpose. Two circumstances prevented this consummation: the firmness and ability of the Xefe politico, and the assistance of the military authorities, who, by a miracle in Spanish affairs, acted cordially with him. The former personage was a Catalan, a civilian, and well known for his talents and public spirit displayed in other parts of Spain, and a distinguished promoter of improvements, especially in the roads, of which we shall hear more hereafter. He was a quiet, gentlemanlike person, stout, with light hair, and so much the appearance of an Englishman that he would be taken for one any where. At the outset of the revolt against the Government, being perfectly aware where the root of the evil lay, and the mode of applying the antidote, he managed immediately by skill and address, to procure money, not only to pay the arrears due to the troops, but by his influence in Galicia, where he had previ-

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ously served, obtained the liquidation of some antiquated bonds or certificates, that had been given to them at some anterior period, but had never been paid off. This perfectly satisfied the men, and as the commandant of a provincial battalion, that formed the principal force, was a person they stood very much in fear of, reporting him to be a man who would not fear to shed a little blood, the meaning of which is, that he would do his duty if called on, hitherto all the attempts of the party in the town had proved unavailing. The military governor was equally firm, and the three, with the troops, were too much for the characters in the place, who, being unable to effect any thing inside, had sent detachments of agitators into the villages of the neighbourhood to endeavour to excite the people, but were equally unsuccessful. In Spain, as elsewhere, there is no want of assigning motives for the conduct of public as well as private individuals, and as this numerous party generally select bad ones as the more probable, the report was that the two military chiefs were holding out, in hope of promotion from the Regent, which they certainly merited, and most probably obtained.

Some circumstances of considerable importance served to support these officers in maintaining the authority of Government. From every account I could collect, the province was in a state very different from that of most others, as the people were not only thriving, but actually becoming richer!—a perfect anomaly

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and exception to the almost universal rule in these days. The country suffered very little comparatively during the civil war; Gomez passed through it in his erratic excursion, but was beaten off at Oviedo, and little permanent damage at the villages he merely slept at, ensued. I rather expected to see a monument of some sort to Pardiñas, whose activity and courage were so fatal to the Carlists towards the close of the war, who I understood was an Asturian, but I found he was a Galician, and only at Oviedo in command of the Provinciales, when he so much distinguished himself. I was in the habit of seeing some of the parties who were desirous of a change, and fancied I could point out the embryo presidente de la junta, vice-presidents, secretaries, and other familiars, who were quite ready to take office, should they have succeeded in getting up the pronunciamento.

It is now necessary to bring up the narrative of the general state of affairs at the head-quarters of the Government. The papers during my stay arrived very irregularly, and there was some difficulty in ascertaining exactly what had taken place, in consequence of the mendacious statements put forth by the Gallo-Christino portion of the press, and the juntas, in the revolted towns, refusing to allow the Government papers circulation, the authorities at Madrid retaliated by prohibiting the issue of any others than those of their own party. This order acted as a prohibition altogether, and was not

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only injudicious, but I believe one of the causes that hastened the catastrophe. If the papers were mendacious, the private letters that supplied their place, were still more so, so that it was extremely difficult to know what to believe or what to discredit, amongst the heap of absurdities which were put in daily circulation. The important fact, however, became too clearly established, that the Regent was unable to execute his movement on Valencia, and rumours began to be spread that the Gallochiefs were on the coast.

I confess as soon as I was satisfied that the grand effort of the campaign had failed, I considered the case as hopeless, that the time for either receding or advancing had passed, and that there was no longer any hope that the power of the Regent could be maintained. Such was not however the general opinion at Oviedo, and I carefully retained my own impression on the subject.

Just before my departure I discovered a window at the convent of S. Francisco, which from having been long walled up, had previously escaped my notice. It is a perfect and almost incomparable specimen of the "flamboyant" style of our neighbours, and the only one I ever saw in Spain; the mullions were of extraordinary lightness, and the form fanciful and elegant in the greatest degree. Whilst engaged in sketching it, two men came up in the common working dress of the town, being mechanics or something of that description. They

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looked on with the same sort of interest the Italians constantly shew in the remote districts under such circumstances, and after a time entered into conversation. They pointed out another window in the convent, but of less interest, that I had remarked before, and after inquiring whether I had seen the churches at Naranco, gave me the valuable information that there was a very curious old church near Aviles, of which I made a note, and the result will subsequently appear.

The same evening, previous to setting out for Galicia, after returning home I sent my passport for the regular signature, but the messenger returned with the information that it was too late, as all the authorities had retired for the night, and that the business could not be done before the morning. As I had no doubt this was correct, and there was no apprehension of another representation of the Seville scene, I took the passport and went to the house of the Xefe politico, to ask the favour of his despatching me, by affixing his own signature. He immediately invited me to his cabinet, where we had a conversation on the state of affairs, of the province, and of the kingdom generally, of which as well as of the person, I shall long retain the remembrance. Our ideas on every point discussed most perfectly coincided, and he considered the case so far hopeless, that he told me by every post he expected orders to acknowledge the pronunciamento and allow it to take place without violence. These

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orders however never arrived, for reasons to be explained hereafter, and he continued to hold the province to the very finale. Amongst other topics I introduced that of " transaccion," or the marrying the Queen to the son of Don Carlos, which formed the subject of the waking dreams of so many persons out of Spain, and of so very few in it. I ought to have apologised to a person like him for the introduction of so absurd a question, which was merely for the purpose of hearing the form of reply he would make. He laughed rather impatiently, as greatly surprised I should think of such a plan, and then gave an answer so curious and characteristic, that only the respect for what was in fact almost private conversation, prevents my repeating it. The whole interview, which was rather long, was conducted with the same open candour, and the charm that exists in intercourse with the superior description of this people, to those who understand dealing with them, after their reserve on first acquaintance is laid aside. As far as I could judge, the being able to unburden his mind and communicate freely, which could not be the case in official and public intercourse, under the circumstances of the day, afforded this able functionary equal pleasure and relief as it conferred on me.

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CHAPTER VIII.

ROAD TO AVILES — MANZANERA — COAL MINE OF ARNAO—ROAD TO GALICIA.

I HIRED two horses and a guide to carry me to Coruña, with the reserved power, in case I should not approve of them, to dismiss them at Ribadeo, the frontier town of Galicia, and about half way to the destined point. I paid for these horses twenty-eight dollars, which sum covered the ferries and all the expenses of the road. The horses were good—the price rather below that commonly paid for the journey. They sent a remarkably fine young man, a relation of the owner, to accompany me. He had never been beyond the immediate vicinity of the town, but his appearance was so prepossessing that I made no objection to his ignorance of the roads in the wild country we had to traverse, trusting to the information we might obtain in passing along. We set out at an early hour, intending to sleep at Aviles, which is out of the common line of road, in order to see the great coal mine of Arnao the following morning.

The distance from Oviedo to Aviles is five leagues; the road, soon after you are clear of the town being very bad, and in winter-time parts are almost impassable. At a short distance we crossed

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a valley traversed by a pretty stream, on the banks of which stands a chapel, with a group of most noble trees of different kinds, reminding me of the scenery in the neighbourhood of our lakes. I gathered the seed of a platano or sycamore tree that was one of the group, but, although fully formed, it was not mature, and has not vegetated even under the care of the directors of the Horticultural gardens.

Beyond this, the exertions of my friend the Xefe politico were very evident, for we met groups of peasantry, amounting to some hundreds, engaged in opening out an entire new line of carretera, or carriage road to connect Aviles with Oviedo. These people were working extremely hard, with the greatest hilarity and cheerfulness, romping and laughing as they carried on the various occupations they were engaged in, but without the smallest intermission to their exertions. The chief part of the labourers were women, who did all the lighter work, the heavier duty of excavating and breaking out the materials chiefly devolving on the men, and there were some remarkably fine specimens of both sexes amongst them.

I arrived early at Aviles, and after dinner set out for Manzanera, in compliance with the request of my friends at Oviedo previously mentioned, expecting to find another specimen of old Asturian architecture. After crossing a long bridge and causeway over the ria or estuary of the place, I entered a tract

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of open country, exactly like parts of Cornwall, with patches of cultivated ground and open heath. The distance from Aviles is about a league, and the line extremely difficult to keep, from the number of tracks crossing each other, and diverging in all directions to the hamlets and single houses that stud the district.

I found the church to be situated in an open field, not very near any village or habitation, excepting a tower which has been converted into a residence, and is about half a mile distant. It was very evident from the exterior, the building was of a quite different style from that anticipated, and of a more recent date; but it was closed, and as I was obliged to send a messenger for the sacristan, who lived at some distance, I occupied the time he was absent in copying the following curious verses, which were painted on the wall of a spacious open porch, that covers the entire west end of the church, serving also as Campo Santo or burying ground of the parish :—

1.

De Manzanera vivientes
Miraz que habeis de morir
Y todos podeis decir
Estos versos siguientes.

2.

Aqui, hoi tenemos
La silenciosa mansion
Donde la resurrection
Dela carne, esperaremos.

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3.

En esta casa se ospeda
A los jobenes y ancianos
A su pasto de gusanos
Sin que aliviarles se pueda.

4.

Con fuerza ni con moneda
Sino con obras piadosas
Sacrificios y otras cosas
Por las que se conceda
El salir de Manzanera
Almas triumphantes, Gloriosas.

1. You who live at Manzanera, remember you are to die, and may all repeat these following verses.

2. Here, this day, we have the silent abode, where we must await the resurrection of the flesh.

3. In this house are received, young and old, for the food of worms, without the possibility of remission.

4. By neither strength or riches, but with works of mercy and other pious sacrifices, it is granted to quit Manzanera, the souls in triumph and in glory.

Below, is inscribed the following quatrain :—

Bello fue el autor poeta,
Bello es en todo sentido,
Bello es en su contenido,
Bella es esta quarteta.

The author's name is Bello, and the epigrammatic quatrain was added by a friend.

I had nearly finished the copy of these verses, the simplicity and piety of which are sufficiently striking, when the sacristan arrived. He was evidently

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surprised, and not very much pleased at the summons, and in finding the unusual appearance of a stranger at his little frequented spot. Before attempting to make use of the keys in his hand, he inquired most particularly into my reasons for wishing to see the church, which was natural enough, as I have little doubt he thought it might be a visit from the authorities, preparatory to paying him off, and shutting up the establishment; in a little time, however, he regained his equilibrium, not only performing the duties of cicerone most perfectly, but I had the greatest difficulty to be excused going to his house and partaking his hospitality. The ice was very much broken by the interest I expressed respecting the inscription, and I felt not a little surprised, on inquiring who the author was, to find I was addressing Senor Bello himself.

The outer door is of pure Norman, with a circular arch and three columns, receding on each side, the inside one being short, and very good work; the inner part is simple, and of good design; the capitals of the columns all differ from each other.

The interior opened a goodly view, the altar being raised and separated from the chancel by a Norman arch, without exception the most beautiful I ever beheld, and covering the entire space. The ornamental part is designed and cut in the most bold and masterly style possible to conceive; and from its being covered in, the carving of the sandstone

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was as perfect as the day the workmen turned it out of hand. The altar is placed in an apsis. The length of the church inside is about sixty, and the breadth about twenty feet. A peculiarity in the building is, that there appears to have been no window, but on the south side some extremely small openings have been made to supply the deficiency; no doubt after the doorway at the west was covered by the porch, and the light admitted by it was excluded in consequence. At the east end there is a small circular window with a column at each side, and the angles as well as the extremity are also ornamented by engaged columns. The roof at that part is of stone, resting on corbels, the extremities of which are curiously carved with birds and other animals. I imagined the whole building had been roofed in the same manner; and on making the observation, an elderly peasant who was there, said he remembered its falling in, and being replaced by the modern cover of tiles. The cornice is now formed in the manner already mentioned at Oviedo, by imbedding tiles in mortar, so as to leave the ends projecting in lines above each other; this style is called in Asturias Jarroz, but I think it is a provincial term.

I observed at the outside angle of the porch a rude fire place, with evident marks of being in constant use. The situation was such, that it was extremely difficult to conjecture the object of it; and after trying some time without success, I made

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inquiries, when they told me, it was for the purpose of warming chocolate for the Cura after he had said mass, as he lived at some distance from the place; a rather peculiar and characteristic mark of attention to the pastor, and creditable to him as well as his parishioners, giving another proof of the terms on which these parties live in Spain.

According to the tradition of the place this church belonged to the Templars, and no doubt the tower adjacent, although there appeared to be nothing in the exterior of the last building to mark the date, was once connected with it. They spoke in high terms of the proprietor, who is a lawyer, and wished me to pay him a visit, but the time already expended and my engagements at Aviles, prevented my doing so.

Amongst other peculiarities of this curious edifice, that of the lighting is not the least remarkable, as it evidently shews a connection with the style and practice of the East, to which region the Norman remains in Spain have considerable affinity. In fact, this building, with the exception of the ornamental part of the zigzag, which I believe is European; with its walls unbroken by light, save at the east end and the single entrance door, is exactly such a structure as it might be supposed the Crusaders, with a little variation, may have imported from the oriental regions they visited. I can find no notice of this church in any book I have consulted; and although frequented for the pur-

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pose of "Romeria" on certain days, by the people of Aviles, it is so little known in the country, that without the information given by my friends, the operatives at Oviedo, I should infallibly have remained in ignorance that this curious relic of the 11th century existed.

The town of Aviles stands upon the bank of an insignificant stream, but the tide flows up, making an ample ria, and reminding me of some of the small harbours in Wales. Part of the adjacent grounds are flooded, and an individual had lately commenced an embankment, the result of which will probably return a good interest for his expenditure. The town is well and substantially built, with a good plaza, and in parts of the streets are arcades to the houses; the inn is excellent but dear, and the proprietress is noticed for her attention and kindness to visitors. In all this northern region the manners of the women you have to deal with are infinitely more kind, attentive and affectionate than in any part of the south or centre. This observation applies equally to Asturias, Galicia and the Basque Provinces.

There is an old church near the harbour, which has a regular Norman entrance, but more ornamented and less bold and simple in the design than that of Manzanera. On the left of it is a good pointed doorway of nearly equal date, and in the inside is a curious marble tomb with lions at the corners in the style of those at the Alhambra.

The houses are chiefly modern, but I found a

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curious specimen, apparently of the time when it was customary to fortify the residences of individuals. The entrance was by a pointed arch and the windows of the upper part were divided by a column, forming two arches, and a circular light crowned the whole.

I had letters to one of the principal proprietors in the place, a man of rank and large fortune, who lives in a spacious house opening from the Plaza, but in the rear is surrounded with gardens and all the farming offices we see about old mansions in England, exceedingly well arranged and containing every sort of convenience. The walls were covered with fruit trees, much in the style and appearance of old places in Cornwall, and the whole exhibiting altogether the most perfect country residence I ever saw in Spain.

It was market day when I was there; crowds of people were assembled, in the utmost excitement of cheerful spirits, and they assured me, on the festival days nothing could exceed the exuberance of their mirth and jollity. I never left any part of Spain with more regret than this region, nor is there any I would more willingly revisit.

The notice of a few trees which came under my observation at Oviedo were omitted. The destruction of almost every good or rare tree within many miles of the capital, makes it difficult to obtain information, and the cabinet-makers to whom I applied, said that for all the best timber they used,

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there was a very long carriage, from quite the interior of the country. The holly is one species they use for furniture and inlaying, and I think the dogwood. The platano already mentioned is in very great request, especially for veneering and fine work, such as guitars, for which it is used, as the cypress wood is by the descendants of the Moors in the southern provinces. The most characteristic ornament in a botanical point, is the Menziesia polifolia (Irish heath), which grows in such quantities that it might well serve as an emblem of Asturias; I have seen it not only on the earthen banks that form the enclosures, but have actually observed it on stone walls, growing like a saxifrage or parietaria, which I never heard of the ericacæ doing before. I found a curious orchis near Naranco, but there is little of general botany in this district worth notice; I observed a flock of the Sturnus unicolor (the black or plain starling) the day I left Oviedo, and was glad to establish the habitat so far to the north, and in a new locality.

The following day I continued my route to Galicia, intending to see the coal mine of Arnao on the way. After travelling about a league we turned to the right, and shortly after came suddenly to the brink of the sea, at the bottom of a small rocky cove open to the whole Bay of Biscay. Looking down I perceived a small quay, similar to those in parts of the West Indian islands for embarking the produce of the estates, and a building

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or two where they were employed unloading a launch or large boat. This place was immediately below me, at the depth of perhaps 300 feet, but the descent was so precipitous, I thought it prudent to leave the horses at the summit, and on descending, found myself at the mouth of the mine of Arnao. The platform occupied by the establishment is just sufficient to allow a house for the resident engineer, room for the bullocks that work the winding engine, and a space for sorting the coals previously to their being put in the launches, which operation is performed by women. The height of this platform above the sea is about 30 feet, and every bit of coal they win, undergoes this process, being lowered into the launches in the most primitive manner, and then carried to a sort of harbour at the extremity of the ria of Aviles. The shaft is at present about 400 varas or yards in depth, at an angle from 30° to 40°, so that the vein is very far below the bottom of the sea. The whole concern was rather curious; the depth of the mine; the thickness of the seam when you are there being nearly 40 feet; the winding up by bullocks; the handpicking; and then striking into the launches, with the wild locality, open in deep water to the whole roar of the wide ocean, struck me more forcibly than any thing I had seen of the same description. Every thing here was in keeping and proportion; for the contrivances they had to facilitate the working might be supposed

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to date from the time of Don Pelayo, and to have been handed down along with their poetry.

The directing engineer was a Belgian, a most civil and intelligent person, to whom I could not help suggesting some improvements in the apparatus used at the crane, but he objected to the expense and difficulty of having such orders executed, which I dare say was very true.

At the summit of the hill, in fact I had passed over it in approaching the place, is another limb of the bed, which has apparently been dislocated, the marks being visible in the disposition of the strata, as you descend to this strange place. This portion has upwards of 30 feet of solid coal without a drop of water, and as soon as they can get the road altered, which is a trifling matter, will be worked to day, being barely separated from the surface by a very few feet of soil and shale! I entered the workings, which extend to some distance, and found them as dry as any rock could possibly be, not the smallest particle of damp being visible. For the present they mean to lower the coal down to the wharf, and ship it off in the primitive manner already described. The difficulty of making a railway to the port of embarkation is absolutely nothing, and the distance is little more than a league, so that it is easy to imagine the degree of enterprise with which their undertakings are carried on. I spoke about a breakwater, but

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they assured me the sea came in with such violence during the gales, that nothing could possibly withstand its fury, and the bottom being hard, with the water rather deep close to, oppose great, though probably not insurmountable obstacles to the completion of such an object.

After leaving Arnao we rejoined the great line of road to Galicia, and soon crossed the Nalon above the ria or estuary of Pravia. The river at the ferry is a noble stream of deep blue and the country bold and picturesque, with an old castle that formerly commanded the pass. Beyond this the scenery is very much broken, and deep barrancos with beautiful streams in the bottoms, cause great delay in travelling, but occasionally give good geological sections. The trees are very fine in many places, but the barbarous practice of lopping the branches prevails, as in most other parts of Spain, depriving them of their greatest beauty. The chesnut, oak (Q. pedunculata), birch, alder and elder are the species. My guide made acquaintance with a sickly looking man, who was riding a pony, and volunteered, as he said he knew the country, to serve as guide for five leagues of the road, when he should arrive at the point of his destination. Mr. Schultz had given me a note of the inns upon this line, which are in general excessively bad, but he had not marked any for the mid-day halt, and as we were not to pass any remarkable village, likely to furnish accommodation, our new companion under-

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took to point one out. He accordingly conducted us to a house, rather well situated, amongst some trees, but that was the sole recommendation it possessed, for on alighting and entering, I found it small, extremely dirty and apparently without any means of accommodation. There was no fire, and in the room I was shewn, two great hulking peasants were regularly in bed. I imagined they were ill, and was retreating, but the woman said they were merely "durmiendo la siesta," sleeping the siesta! I was considering what was best to be done, when the hostess said, "a little further on there is a 'meson' (the name given to posadas in all this part of the country) where they can accommodate you better than I have the means of doing." We then adjourned, and after crossing a little valley, ascended by a road through some noble trees, exactly like the back approach to a mansion in some of the finest and best wooded districts of England. This conducted us to the "meson," which is a spacious house like those in Switzerland, being built much in the same manner. The situation was beautiful in the extreme, shaded with lofty chesnuts and other trees, looking over a small valley, bounded by the mountains at the back. Leaving out the lakes, the place of which was supplied by the sea at no great distance, though not in sight; it reminded me very much of Interlachen in the old time, before the Vandalic introduction of boarding-houses converted it into a common watering-place. The inside fully

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bore out the pleasing anticipations it was impossible not to entertain, and I was ushered into a spacious room up stairs, provided with every thing that could be expected in the country. The windows were open, and I was not sorry to find they never disturbed the swallows that were established on the rafters overhead, where they appeared to have been from time immemorial. The attendant was a young woman of most pleasing manners, evidently superior to the station she occupied, and I found she was a relation of the host. In answer to my question about dinner, she said in a playful manner, "No hay nada, hemos comido," i.e., "There is nothing; we have dined:" the well known speech in America, but the mode of delivering it was somewhat different from that used by our descendants, nor could such unwelcome intelligence have been conveyed in a more agreeable manner; whilst in a very short time all I required was produced. I was looking at some old pictures that hung in the room, when the host appeared, and entered into conversation respecting them; I found he had been educated in part, at the Institute of Gijon, an establishment founded by Jovellanos to facilitate the instruction of the Asturian youth; he had some notion of drawing, but unfortunately had no means in this retired spot of following it up. He was a remarkably fine young man, evidently a proprietor, and not dependent on inn-keeping for his living, and there was every con-

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venience of a substantial farm about the place. I asked the attendant whether they had much custom, which I suspected could hardly be the case. She said that they had a certain number of amigos de casa, who made a practice of frequenting it, but that otherwise they had little to do in the line of inn-keeping. The name of this place is Soto de Rudinia, and it cannot be too strongly recommended to any one who may happen to travel this line, and I doubt, as a country inn, whether any thing like it be found in Asturias; it is the more necessary to be noticed being at a short distance off the road, and not at all known in the country. I wrote immediately to my friend Mr. Schultz to apprize him of the discovery, which will be more important to geologists than to any other portion of the community, being an excellent head-quarters for this district.

Beyond this the country became more open, and the heath in greater quantity. We crossed in the day's journey seven of these barrancos, most of them very deep and precipitous. We left the coal measures not a great way beyond Arnao, which is nearly at the extremity of them, and the tract which succeeded so exactly resembled in geology that part of Spain, I could have fancied myself there once more amongst the slates and quartzites of Estremadura.

The general line of all this country is a plateau or level, at a moderate distance from, and elevated

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above the sea, the chain of mountains closing in on the left, and leaving in places only a small distance at their base. The peasantry were busily engaged in the fields with their maize and potatoes. Nothing could exceed the civility, or the polish of their manners, which are out of all keeping with their dress and external appearance. The road was tolerably good, having been repaired and widened in many places; but the line was excessively difficult to keep, from the number of paths diverging from it to the various hamlets. The people not only gave information when asked, but constantly directed us unsolicited, from their fields, when there was any difficult pass or turn before us. Little boys, who, in all countries, are generally rude and unpolished members of society, ran by the side of the horses, previously taking off their caps, and asking permission to do so; and when parting company, said, "Beso la mano, a V. Caballero," with the grace of little courtiers; a practice I never saw in any part of Spain, or indeed in any other country. We crossed a stream towards the evening by a deep ford, in preference to losing time by waiting for the ferry boat, and on the opposite side found a great number of peasants employed on an extensive operation in remaking the road. This, and all the other improvements I had noticed, were due to my friend the Xefe politico, in whose province we still were travelling.

I slept at Barcia, a small hamlet with very few

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houses, but most of them new, half a league short of Luarco, where Mr. Schultz said the inn was excessively bad. The meson was tolerable, and the bed good, but the rooms rather dirty, as usual in this district. One of the attendants was as complete a Moor as could be seen at Granada or Murcia, whence no doubt her ancestors had come, and she was totally unlike any thing else to be seen of the native race in this part of the country.

In the morning, the guide informed me the horse I rode had been so ill in the night that they all despaired of his life, which they had great difficulty in saving. This was rather bad news, but would have been worse, had they failed in relieving him. I chid him for not calling me, but I found that very fortunately, in the scanty population of the place, there was a man who had some knowledge of farriery; and had prescribed for the case, which was a severe colic or griping, caused, as they conjectured, by eating green food on the preceding day when heated with his journey, but it more probably proceeded from his drinking cold water. I inquired the mode they pursued in the treatment, expecting to hear of something original; when they told me, that after covering him with all the mantas they could muster, and closing every aperture in the confined stable, they had driven in a flock of sheep and shut the door; when the heat caused the horse to break out into a profuse perspiration, and instantly relieved him! Besides this, they had pre-

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viously given him a drink, principally made from raisins, and other ingredients of no sort of value, and the cure was no doubt effected by the curious mode I have described, which is well worthy of note by those who may have to travel in these wild districts.

At half a league or rather more from Barcia, we came to the summit of a deep barranco, at the bottom of which stands Luarco. This place is so picturesque and peculiar in the position, that I regretted very much the miserable state of the inn having prevented my sleeping there. The town is well built, with very good houses, standing in a most wild ravine, where two streams unite, and fall at once into the sea by a small sandy beach, with the tide overflowing; without the ria or estuary, the dirty appearance of which so disfigures the mouths of most other rivers in this part of the country. The sea view is most striking, the coast being extremely bold, and successive headlands closing in, so as to give a perfectly scenic effect to the landscape, the little port or cove forming the foreground. The view inland is equally good, the grounds up the course of the stream being beautifully broken, and terminating in the distant chain of mountains; nothing but wood being wanted to make it the most beautiful sea port or bathing place, upon a small scale, in Europe.

The Pinaster began to appear, clothing the base of the hills on the left. In despite of care and in-

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quiry we made a mistake in the road, but were shortly set right, by cutting across a tract of wild heath, like Dartmoor, when we recovered the line. I was pointing in a direction I thought would carry me to the bridge over the barranco below, when a man at a very great distance called out to keep higher up, which we did, losing some time by his civility, for the line I had chosen was much shorter and perfectly practicable. In many of the hamlets in this part are towers of ancient date, evidently once serving for defence of the principal houses. They are sometimes inhabited, forming part of the dwellings, and at other times quite detached from them, and are often ornamented with embrasures in the parapets at the upper part.

We dined at Navia, a small place on the ria of the same name. The houses are badly built and grouped together, on a sort of promontory a little raised above the marshy banks of the stream, but the streets are filthy and were crowded with market people. The inn was tolerable and a contrast in the culinary department with that of the preceding day, as on entering the kitchen to reconnoitre, I found a goodly array of ollas, containing savoury messes of various kinds, to an extent rarely witnessed in Spain. There were three or four sorts of fish, not badly cooked, oil being fortunately scarce and dear, so that they were obliged to use butter or lard. There were two people in the room where I dined; a female of most prepossessing appearance, with

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clear complexion and blue eyes with a profusion of the darkest hair, like the Virgins of Murillo; the man was dressed in peasant's costume, and I presumed was a wealthy proprietor, but evidently of inferior grade to the lady. The people said they were novios or a couple on the point of marriage, and as they were engaged in making purchases, their reports were more than probably correct.

The style, appearance, manner, and language of the people began to exhibit a visible change as we were approaching Galicia, where the race is different from that of Asturias, and there was evidently a mixture of the two in the numerous population assembled at the market. We crossed the ferry in a boat crammed with these people, who reminded me very much of the lower orders in some parts of Ireland, so much you might imagine the party were crossing the Shannon. They were badly dressed, but in high spirits, laughing and joking, and bantering the ferryman on the large sum they said he would receive from the strangers. The view from the rising ground opposite is very striking, and the country above the place is beautiful, with substantial looking country houses, resembling those in some parts of Devonshire and Cornwall, but with magnificent back grounds terminating the distance.

The guide had made acquaintance with a man travelling to Ribadeo, who promised to accompany us, but after waiting some time I proceeded without

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him, and we soon picked up another on foot, who offered to perform the same service. The country between the Navia and Ribadeo is extremely wild and little cultivated, with boggy lands and open forest, very much like some parts of Germany, but the Ulex stricta, or upright gorse, made rather a distinction from that region. I observed they had spaces inclosed in many parts where this plant was grown, for the purpose of being cut down and carried to the fold yards. The trees were chiefly oak and pinaster, the latter never being allowed to grow to any considerable size, and generally mutilated by pruning the branches.

The cattle are small, but neat and clean made, not unlike the Kerry breed, but I think better shaped. The sheep are black and badly bred, but very numerous, forming with the oxen the principal part of their stock.

My guide and the companion we had picked up very soon became intimate, and concerted a plan of operations without consulting me, or even hinting a word on the subject. When we were within about a league of Ribadeo, we made a turn to the left, which I evidently saw was a departure from the direct line of road, and on inquiry I was informed that they proposed crossing the wide ria at Castropol, which is nearly opposite to Ribadeo, but higher up, and to the left of the great line of road. I knew the resources in these parts too well to like this proposal, and I urged the probability of there not being

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boats fit to embark the horses. To all the objections that I could urge, they had answers ready prepared, and at last when every thing else was likely to fail, my own guide said that it was the custom of their house to ship the horses at that point, and not at the regular ferry. I then yielded, but with some misgivings as to the consequences. The pedestrian was a native, as he said, of Castropol, and consequently was perfectly acquainted with every thing about the place.

We skirted the bay for some distance, there being just tide sufficient to allow us to pass at the foot of the rocks, whence the views are exceedingly pretty, much resembling those on the upper parts of Hamoaze. When we arrived at the outskirts of Castropol, the first thing I noticed was the disappearance of our friend, which did not tend to remove my suspicions that he had misled us. I rode up a steep and narrow street to the Plaza, near the summit of a plateau, on which the better part of the town stands, and by this time we were assailed by a troop of men, women, and children clamouring about the boats to carry us over. They said, there was not only no horse boat, but that from the embarcadero of the town the animals could not possibly be embarked. In fact, it was a very steep and slippery staircase, the lower part perpendicular or nearly so, and ending in very deep water at the bottom. They said there was a good boat ready for us, but that we must go to a certain place higher

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up the bay, in order to ship the horses. I accordingly followed a set of urchins they had detached for the purpose of escorting me, and crossing some garden and other ground, came to a precipitous bank with deep water close to it, where a common four-oared boat was waiting to receive us. Besides the danger of getting the horses into the boat in such a place, it was quite out of the question trusting them and our own lives in such a conveyance, and I at once told the guide we must go round to the regular ferry on the great line of road we had left. He did not relish this plan, but said nothing, loitering behind as I was passing through the town, and after losing some time, I found him in company with a young man, the son of the proprietor of the horses, who had left Oviedo with another party a little after us. This person did not approve my intention of going to the other ferry, and at first was disposed to speak rather authoritatively on the subject, but I soon silenced him by observing that if any error were committed, it was by the guide, who had persisted in coming this way, contrary to my opinion and wish; and that as I had hired the horses from his father, I had nothing whatever to do with him; he said not a word after this, being only anxious that we should cross over from our present position. I then asked whether he would take the responsibility of embarking the horses, and stand the loss in case of accident, and on his answering in the affirmative, we began to make preparations

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for the purpose. Castropol is a place where the principal portion of the inhabitants appear to live by fishing, or similar pursuits, and as this sort of population have been very much the same in all countries since the time of Homer, who first described them, we had a curious scene of noise and wrangling about the fares and other arrangements, consequent on our having unexpectedly offered such a prize to their cupidity, as we had done by the folly of committing ourselves to their charge. Whilst we were in discussion about the horses, they had moved a large boat round, and were lying off upon their oars, and a large portion of the population being assembled, of all ages and descriptions, they made a noise rivalling that of the negroes on the jetty at Jamaica, every one who could possibly have an excuse joining in the clamour, and the only party absent being our friend the guide, who never gave the smallest assistance in extricating us from the trouble his ill-judged interference had caused. When every thing else was arranged, the serious part of the price to be paid had to be settled. With this I had nothing to do, but left it to the guide, on whom they made a most exorbitant demand. I then mounted my horse, and made a show of starting for the other ferry, which produced an immediate abatement. I listened, without taking any part, and when, after considerable wrangling, they were screwed down to a rather moderate key, told the man to pay what he had calculated as the proper rate, and I would make up the difference. After

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this every thing was quiet, and we proceeded with the embarkation. I had no fears about this boat, which had six oars, being regularly built for the sea, fit for the Bay of Biscay; but the stern sheets were small, and there was little room for the horses, which completely filled them. These animals, like most of the better sort of the Spanish breed, were extremely docile, and entered from the beach over the gunwale with very little trouble; they were very much frightened when we first put off, but soon became quiet, and we crossed the beautiful ria without difficulty.

I had some hopes of being accompanied to this point by Mr. Schultz, but to my very great regret he was unable to finish the business he had been engaged in, previous to my leaving Oviedo; and I suspected also very justly preferred remaining in the place, to travelling, in the unsettled state of the country, in which he might in some way or other be compromised or put to inconvenience.

I was recommended to the house of a Frenchman at Ribadeo, but there was some difficulty in making the place out, and found that he was lately dead. His widow, however, an old Spanish woman, continued to carry on the concern, and although very small, the accommodation was good. My guide was obliged to go elsewhere with the horses, and he told me the meson where he slept was extremely good, which is noted for the use of travellers, although I do not particularly recollect the designation of the house.

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CHAPTER IX.

ENTRY INTO GALICIA—JUNTA—RIBADEO— MONDONEDO—VILLALBA—BETANZOS—CORUNA.

I FOUND the place in a state of pronunciamento, a condition it shared with nearly the whole kingdom of Galicia, for which I was perfectly prepared. Shortly before this, the junta, finding it impossible to prevail on the Asturians on the opposite side of the bay to join them, had actually put an embargo on the frontier, and allowed no one to cross the bay from the Galician side. I imagine the reason for this order, which is very characteristic of a junta, had been the fear of reaction and possibly some latent apprehension from the activity of the authorities at Oviedo. I made no inquiry as to the parties who had suddenly travelled from that place, as already mentioned; but from several circumstances that occurred, I had no doubt they were emissaries sent on some mission to confer with the authorities at Ribadeo, and most probably to ask assistance from them.

In the evening, I was sent for to the Ayuntamiento, not specially, but, as they informed me, every stranger or traveller had to undergo the same routine. In the phrase that used to be the fashion

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with the Americans during the war, "I was treated politely," nor could anything exceed the civility of the Alcaldes, who received me very well and accompanied me down stairs after the interview, the greatest mark of attention that can be paid in Spain. They informed me that there was no news from Madrid, as the journals were entirely stopped, and some private intelligence they gave proved afterwards to be incorrect, another proof of what was observed in the account of the transactions at Oviedo, respecting the bad effects of stopping the communications. At the door of their habitation were mounted sentinels with muskets and white hat-covers, but no other uniform.

The town is tolerably well built and regularly laid out, many of the houses being provided with arcades, a most comfortable arrangement in this or any climate. The situation is on the precipitous bank of the noble ria, which is wide, and of a deep sea blue, and were it not for the bar near the entrance there would be accommodation for a fleet. Castropol at this distance reminded me of Saltash, but is situated higher and bolder than that town. In Italy, these two places would have probably been rival republics, and the ria and adjacent banks in early times the scene of the exploits of their pigmy fleets and armies.

On the very summit of the hill is a large open Plaza, with an alameda that might be made extremely fine from the commanding situation. At one cor-

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ner is the spacious, but dirty and neglected church of the Franciscans, which has been reserved as a parroquia, but stands very much in need of being cleaned and put in order. At the other end are the foundations of another spacious church unfinished, in fact little raised above the level of the ground, but there is sufficient to shew the design was of good style. The reason of its never having been finished, they told me, was the opposition of a wealthy individual, who feared the annoyance to his house from the bells! This happened many years ago, when the ecclesiastical power was in great splendour, and I never heard a similar instance of interference with anything undertaken under their influence.

Whilst walking about, I was followed by a boy who had not the appearance of a beggar, but was muttering something in a low voice at intervals which I could not make out; I desired him to speak out, when he said "La puntita del cigarro por mi padre," "The end of the cigar for my father:" the only time I ever noticed this most humble and lowly, as well as affectionate mode of soliciting charity.

Mr. Schultz has discovered some workings of tin mines in the outer part of the ria, beyond Castropol, which are, I think, in the granite that occurs here; but I did not hear of their being resumed, although it is extremely probable they would repay the cost of clearing out. I understood they were

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near the water level, and that they were now filled with vegetation and bog, which the damp of the climate causes to be rapidly produced. A short time before I passed, some bullocks had been bought for exportation to England, but they must have been of very different quality from any I saw in the vicinity.

I was so well pleased with the horses and guide, notwithstanding the scrape his youth and inexperience had led him into the preceding day, that I kept them on the remainder of the journey, and in the morning took the longer road to Coruña by Mondoñedo and Villalba. I had the choice of three plans, one of crossing the country to Ferrol, which Colonel Elorza advised me to do, but the state of the country indisposed me, very fortunately as it happened, from following this plan. To Coruña there are two lines, one by Puentes de Garcia Rodriguez, which is the shortest and most difficult for a stranger, and I determined on taking the more frequented communication through Mondoñedo and Villalba, sleeping at the latter place, and the following day make either Betanzos or Coruña, as time might admit.

We crossed a dreary country to within two leagues of Mondonedo, where it begins to improve; and the situation of that place is extremely good, being towards the head of an Alpine valley, with fine character in the landscape, and the remains of the ancient forest still standing in scanty fragments.

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The town is well built, and the streets clean, for which the precipitous position, and their being well flagged in this rainy climate, gives great facility. It is the seat of a bishopric, but the church was closed, and I could not obtain admittance. There are tombs mentioned in the books as existing there; over the entrance is a heavy circular window. At the upper end of the town is the alameda, and every thing about it appeared respectable and well kept, like a miniature capital.

At the entrance of the town I met with a troop of Maragatos, travelling towards Ribadeo, with the most magnificent mules I ever beheld, trappings and every thing else proportionate. I drew on one side to let them pass, having no wish to encounter their heels in the narrow lane, when the leader immediately formed in my rear, and the whole filed successively and quite regularly behind him; giving the men, who were in the rear, and were not up in time to prevent them executing this manœuvre, some trouble to reform the line.

From the summit of the town there is a long and dreary cuesta or hill of nearly a league, when you pass along an elevated table for about the same distance, or rather more. All this upper region is wild and almost uncultivated, excepting in scanty patches, cleared for the purpose of growing rye. I rode forward, and conversed with some men who were engaged in stubbing the furze to make way for the crop. They told me, that after one crop,

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the land lay for many years before it recovered a state fit to renew the process. They work with large mattocks, taking out the entire sod for about a foot from the surface. Some of this is carried to the fold yards, and the rest burned, and a little manure laid on, when they have a very heavy crop, much beyond any thing I ever saw in Estremadura or the Castiles; but the system is excessively bad, and I could easily see, by the appearance of the vegetation, where the crops had been raised in former years, from the exhaustion of the soil. They agreed that it would be better to enclose a part, and crop it successively, but custom, the sovereign law in Spain, forbade it. These men were rather of the superior class of peasantry, and of very good manners, speaking pure Castilian, and no way answering the description given of the Gallegos by the Andalusians.

After traversing this table, we descended a little, crossing a rivulet that is one of the right feeders of the Miño, and at a short distance came to the Tamboga, a most beautiful stream of some importance, which we crossed by a bridge. The country along the banks of this river is rather pretty, being well wooded, and in parts decently cultivated, with small cottages and single houses, but no village or even hamlet appeared in the whole distance from Mondoñedo to Villalba. At about a league distance we came to a flat and dreary tract of moor, with vast quantities of birch, and in many places the soil was black and

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a perfect bog. The oak is in considerably quantity, generally the Q. pedunculata; and I also observed the Q. Cerris, which I have no doubt is more abundant lower down the Miño. A new road was commenced in places, of great breadth, and evidently intended to be a carretera, but had been left with little more than the lines traced out. This was done by my friend the Xefe politico of Oviedo, who was formerly in this province, where he had taken very active measures in causing the repairs and construction of roads; but as usual in Spain, he had been removed elsewhere, and his successors had no idea of following up what he had commenced to so good purpose.

The views to the south were of great extent, and this part of the country is evidently a regular table, although not so described in the books or maps. After traversing a considerable distance of this swampy land, reminding me of some part of Bohemia, we reached Villalba. The approach, which is at the east end, is covered by a large octagon tower, resembling at a distance that of Cecilia Metella, with the base covered by outworks, belonging to a family in the place, and is very much out of repair. Soon after nightfall a noise of music commenced in the Plaza, and continued almost all night, accompanied at intervals with the firing of squibs, and other fireworks of the most miserable description. The object of this was to celebrate the election of a deputy to the general

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congress of Galicia, intended to be convened shortly at Lugo, a kind of double and permanent pronunciamento, by which the raising taxes and all other functions of government were to be discharged. The authorities were fortunately so much engaged in the operation, that I was not troubled by any summons to attend them.

The inn is tolerable for the interior of Galicia, and the beds clean; but there was no white bread, the only kind that appeared to be used, being rye. In the morning they informed me that the bridge over the Ladra had been broken down by the floods of the spring, and that I should have a considerable round to make, through a rather intricate country. I therefore took a guide from the place, and crossed the river lower down by a deep ford, near a wear for taking the trout, which they said were sometimes four pounds weight. This stream, in scale and appearance resembles the sister Tamboga, and was clear as the very crystal. We then ascended the right bank for a considerable distance, through broken corn lands and other cultivated ground, interspersed with trees, amongst which I saw the Q. Tosa, arriving at the point of the river that we ought to have crossed, had the bridge been in proper order.

After leaving the banks of the Ladra we soon emerged from the cultivated ground, and came to wild and open heaths with hills of gradual elevation, reminding me very much of some part of the country on

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the borders of Scotland: the vegetation is similar to that seen on the road from Mondoñedo. The Cytisus floribundus of the Germans, was in great quantity, and there were a few oaks, but the birch forms the greatest part of the timber in this district. The roads or rather paths were very numerous, each scattered hamlet or single house having its own line; and as they are exactly the same in size and appearance, it is extremely difficult to keep the direction. We made one mistake from my own fault in neglecting a caution given by a man I spoke to, but were soon set right by a young woman of rather singular appearance, who spoke only the rudest Galician, which I should have had some difficulty to comprehend, but for the help of the signs that accompanied her uncouth diction. We halted at the foot of a hill in a romantic nook, and after ascending a long heathy hill, came to a meson or venta at the summit. A group of women were lying on the ground under shelter of an outhouse, to whom I spoke; and in answer to my question as to their being tired, observed, "We may well be so with the work we have to do," which I fully credited. In fact, we met some of them on this line of country, staggering under weights they carried on their head, that would excite amazement in many parts of the world. One portion of the toils that devolve on the females is to carry home the loads their helpmates have grubbed up for fire wood, or for the use of the stock, and it is merely their proportion of the daily labour.

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This venta, which is of the rudest description, stands near the summit of the pass, from which is a most extensive and magnificent view over the north of Galicia, and the ocean beyond it. From this we began to descend, when in about an hour, pines appeared, and the country resembled a partly cleared forest. We descended continually for three hours, the cultivation improving as we advanced, but without any habitation, or hardly a sign of one being visible. The pines occupied the highest part of this tract, and were succeeded by a zone of oak, with a few other trees; and after making our way through most intricate and difficult roads and paths, we emerged at once into an enormous vineyard, unbroken by any other cultivation, in the middle of which stands the town of Betanzos. I could not obtain information as to the reason of the vast despoblado existing in such a vicinity, where I expected to find better cultivation and habitations; but it is very probably caused by the nature of the holdings, and that the late possessors were monks of some kind or other, or the secular clergy, not improbably the chapter of Santiago.

Betanzos is well situated, on a kind of peninsula, and as there are curious old granite gateways to many of the streets, might have admitted a Spanish defence in the narrow lanes. There is an excellent inn, where they brought me an admirable consommè, a rare article in Spain, and doubly acceptable after the late rough travelling. After dinner, finding there was time enough to reach Coruña in

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the evening, I set out for that place. The ride or drive from Betanzos to Coruña is one of the very best and most pleasing in Spain. The country is highly diversified, and richly cultivated, producing all sorts of crops in abundance. The views exhibit mountain and water in the greatest perfection, being finely broken and designed, reminding me, but on a larger scale, of the districts of the lower parts of Switzerland, as that of the Gaster, near the Lake of Zurich. I entered Coruña just before nightfall, and although a regular fortress, seaport and chief place of the province, (Cosas de España) not a sentinel was mounted in the works.

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CHAPTER X.

CORUNA—PROCESSION—COSTUME—CHURCHES.

The day after my arrival, preparations were made for a fiesta, which at first I thought must be connected with the pronunciamento, and the new order of things; but it turned out to be one of a set of ceremonies that take place at certain intervals, and have survived the downfal of the greater part of the ancient church solemnities. The procession was formed and started from the church of St. Nicolas de Bari, who was the patron of the day. The statue of the saint, with the children he released from martyrdom, formed one group: a most extraordinary looking angel followed next, dressed in a loose tunic of blue silk, resembling those in the ballets, with flounces and trimming of various sorts. He wore a flowing peruke of very common hair, and imitations of jewellery and precious stones in various parts, so that the costume belonged rather to the female than the male sex: the lower extremities were so carefully covered, that he might have been thought to be equipped by a committee of young ladies at New York or Philadelphia. A child accompanied him, to which he was supposed to officiate as guardian, who was dressed in corresponding style, but the proportions

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of this figure were so curious, the head so large, and the whole air so singular, that the attention was rivetted to it, being in fact a complete caricature of sculpture. The Virgin and S. Ignacio formed part of the suite, and were rather good sculpture of the painted style. The whole was preceded by the Gaita Gallega, or national bagpipe of Galicia, one of the least noisy or dissonant of the tribe, and improved by a small sharp drum, like those used by children, but struck in a particular manner to mark the time and break the monotony of the most unmusical of instruments. A procession of priests and of national guards brought up the rear, and many halts were made in the streets, the time being occupied in singing, whilst the soldiers knelt with presented arms, producing a very good effect; the whole was conducted with the order and solemnity of the olden time.

There are several peculiarities to be noted in the costumes of this place. The women of the higher class, wear the regular mantilla at the paseo, and are as completely Spanish in style as the Andaluzas; but those of the bourgeoisie are dressed in a quite different mode. A showy "foulard," or English printed handkerchief of the new fashion, is tied loosely over the head, hanging down in a sort of bag behind, sometimes concealing the hair, but frequently allowing the trensa to appear below it; a shawl is added, and a peculiar swimming gait

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they have in walking, well suited to their luxuriant forms, give an air and grace that characterises the place. Their complexions are in general very fine, and a cheerful and pleasing air adds still more to their appearance. This costume appeared to be frequently adopted by some of the higher orders, who sallied out in it in the morning, as a sort of deshabille. The dress of the lower orders is after the same model, but the materials are more scanty, and their robes less flowing than those of their superiors in station.

The men from the country wear a very high montero with a red plume, in general, at the top and a peacock's feather invariably on one side; an ornament like the cross or double cross, is worked in the felt of the cap. Below, they wear loose long drawers appearing under the knee, and gaiters on the legs. The prevailing colour with both sexes of the peasants, is dark chocolate, which, with the red and white, has an exceedingly good effect. The women frequently wear a simple red cape over the brown saya, a neat and far from unbecoming dress.

The new town, as it is called, is altogether modern, the houses well built, chiefly of granite, and are substantial and comfortable. A practice prevails here I did not observe elsewhere in Spain: there are large and continuous balconies to the better houses; these in recent times have been regularly glazed, forming admirable additions to

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the rooms that open into them, in this moist climate, so like that of the milder parts of our own islands; to which this arrangement, especially in the very small and confined rooms in most of our towns, would be perfectly adapted, and in general could be fitted with very small expense. The ladies are constantly seen working in these galleries, which are delightful at almost every season of the year.

The new town is built on a low isthmus between the bay and the sea. There is, or rather was, a double line of fortification, both very bad, the principal being barely sufficient to resist a *coup de main*, or an attack of peasantry or guerillas. The inner line that covered the old town, being quite useless, is in progress towards demolition, and the glacis, if well laid out, will be ornamental to the place.

There is an extensive peninsula beyond the isthmus, of high and broken ground, admirably suited for a town, and it is only surprising the government had not retained possession of it; by which means, and by keeping the buildings back to the rear of the actual site, they could have had a good and very strong front at little expense, leaving that of the present town for the glacis, which would have been completely commanded by strong and elevated ground on both flanks.

The old town contains the governor's house and other buildings, and is also decently built and very clean. In this part I found two curious old parish churches, which are not mentioned in the Spanish

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books of architecture. That of Santiago has a pointed arch at the western end, with two rude figures in the doorway, and a set of smaller ones concentrically placed above it, with three columns on each side. Above this on the lofty façade is a bold pointed entablature, that appears more modern than the body of the church.

One of the side doors has three columns on each side, with capitals well cut, and all differing from each other. The most curious thing about it, however, is at the south door, where are bulls' heads on each side, filling up the angle at the upper part, and projecting to the middle so as to support a short architrave. A circular, or kind of Norman arch is formed above this, ornamented with fleur de lys in rather good style. From the appearance of the bulls' heads they would appear to have rested on something like those of the western doorway, which was subsequently removed. If it were so, they formed the termination of rude caryatides, a style I never saw in any architecture of this epoch.

The inside is one spacious nave, with very bold and high arches, pointed, but very little, being nearly circular, and springing from extremely short columns; the effect reminding me somewhat of the cathedral at Florence.

The great altar is in an apsis, with a smaller one on each side. These lateral chapels are not parallel to the plane of the church but converge, their centre line striking the middle of the western

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doorway, or thereabouts, a circumstance I never observed in any other church. All the apsides have round arches, with some massy columns, and are quite a different style from the rest, being evidently older, and having a decided oriental character, but are partly filled up by modern work.

The pulpit is an ancient piece of work, with a column at the back, and on the pedestal that supports it, a curious group of females is sculptured, with arms interlaced; the lower extremities terminating in the pedestal, after a rude antique form of capricho or arabesque.

The baptismal font is placed on a lateral building, nearly circular, with very much the form of ancient oriental work, but it has been recently restored and painted exactly like the green room of a provincial theatre. On the outside, the apsides are ornamented with columns, and there are a circular and a lancet window now closed up.

Attached to this church is a solid square tower, with a circular window on the east side, now built up. From the corners of the tower, which are strengthened for the purpose of supporting them, rise flying arches intersecting at the centre, on the principle of those at Newcastle and Edinburgh, but low and massy, being of solid pieces of granite, and at the junction they support a cross. The corner supporters of this work have somewhat the form of antique altars.

Beyond any doubt there are three epochs in this

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curious building; that of the east end to which the pulpit and baptistery belong; that of the nave and the side doors; and the more recent work at the upper part of the western façade, which last may be of 1400. The early part is very probably of 8 or 900, and the quasi-Norman of 11 or 1200. There is little modern work or ornament inside, but you see some neat painted figures, in rather curious and unusually shaped retablos, which recede from the front and are much cut and ornamented.

The other church of Santa Maria is a collegiata, or half cathedral, with a cabildo attached. It has three naves with lofty pilasters and engaged columns to each; the roof of the centre aisle is rather of pointed design.

The great altar is in an apsis, but with a groined roof of the pointed manner. The church is very dark, hardly any light being admitted but by a circular window at the west end; the cabildo occupy a choir over the centre aisle. The porch at the west end is pure Norman, with three columns receding on each side, and a bold, ornamented cornice. In one of the doors is a grotesque figure of an angel painted, but the companion is wanting and the door has been raised. A side entrance has the same arrangement at the upper angles with that mentioned at Santiago, but angels occupy the place of the bulls' heads, some sculpture above is rude and ancient. The opposite door appears to be less antique and has some good work in the details. This church has a

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tower somewhat like that of Santiago, but terminating in a pyramidal structure very much resembling that mentioned at Leon, which is of 1200, nearly the probable date of this edifice; the tower is ornamented outside with mouldings and other carved work in rather good style.

There were few convents in the place, the principal of which was S. Agostino, in the new town, with a modern classic church, so good as to be nearly perfect in design and execution, as far as the scale admits. This has been converted to parochial use, and the convent to that of the Ayuntamiento and other public bodies. A parish church, which was small and stood in a locality not at all suited to the purpose, has been demolished, and a theatre built on the spot, and although it must be allowed the conversion appears a little irreverent, the parish and the public have equally gained by the change.

The inns have always been bad at Coruña, and as yet very little has been done to remove the imputation on so important a place. I could not procure admission to what is called the principal in the high street, and went to one on the marina, the situation of which is good, but is the only recommendation. There is an excellent and liberally managed club, principally supported by the merchants, with reading-rooms and other conveniences in a very good locality, but they propose building a spacious house expressly for the purpose. The people assemble very much in the evening, pro-

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menading on the marina to a late hour at this season, when the weather allows, and a general activity and cheerfulness are very apparent in all classes, although heavy complaints are made of the stagnation of commerce.

I visited some market gardens outside the town, where there was little variety in the productions, but strawberries were in abundance, principally a large light pink kind, similar to those chiefly cultivated at Lisbon, and not highly flavoured; but another kind which they praised very much, and appeared to be one of the Alpine varieties, was out of season. The potatoes were delicious, somewhat resembling the Cornish kidney, and they perfectly understood the cooking them, a rare occurrence in Spain. I inquired about their mode of treating asparagus, which was now out of season, but they assured me to be of superior quality, quite equal to that of the Basque Provinces. They merely mulch the borders every year with common manure, and in making the beds put a quantity of stable dung at the bottom, on which the plants are placed; they said they found this plan was the best; and do not make any use of night soil or of salt in any shape, although the gardens are close to the sea. Their strawberry beds are treated much in the same manner, being cleaned and forked over each season, the plants lasting four or five years.

The monument of Sir John Moore is in perfect order and preservation, on a pretty paseo or gar-

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den at the extremity of the old town, overlooking the harbour from windows in the wall, built to protect the promenader in bad weather; the inside is prettily laid out with flowers, and a sentry mounted to prevent damage being done to the place. No situation could have been better chosen, and it is infinitely preferable to the ramparts, where I always understood it was placed. I was sorry to find, in a trifling Spanish tour through Galicia, said to be by two friends, and recently published, the authors say, they should like to erase the inscription, as wounding in some degree "la delicadeza Española!!"

Coruña, like most other towns, was in a state of pronunciamento, the presidente being, I believe, an officer of artillery; and as Ferrol still held out for the Regent, in despite of every effort to prevail on the garrison and squadron to pronounce, there was an embargo or interdiction of communication between the places. I was told that I might have a passport to go there, but for several considerations, and very fortunately, as the sequel proved, I did not think it prudent to risk detention, in the very unsettled state of the neighbourhood. There is a regular steamer, built in Scotland, that plies between the places, but owing to the blockade, she was laid up, and from what I heard, it was doubtful, owing to her heavy construction, being far too large for the purpose, and requiring a great quantity of fuel, whether the profits of the company would allow her being continued.

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When the time of my departure arrived, for fear of any accident, I went in person to the Ayuntamiento with my passport, which was immediately signed, without any observation. I then went to the office of the Xefe politico, where I was received and most civilly treated by the secretary, a very gentlemanly young man, who had been educated in England. I took some papers with me, and offered to shew them, but he declined seeing them, as unnecessary, saying, "We know every thing about you?" He took me into his private room, where we smoked cigars, and had a long discussion on the state of public affairs, the aspect of which had materially changed since my arrival. The newspapers being entirely stopped by the Government at Madrid, the chasms of information were supplied by private letters, both exaggerated and mendacious, or by fragments of the journals cut out and forwarded in envelopes. It soon became, however, certain that the Afrancesado chiefs, Concha, Narvaez, and others, having broken up from their quarters at Paris, had appeared on the southern coast. This news wrought a very sudden change in the opinions of many persons, and the very day after my arrival a schism took place in the junta, who were on the point of "despronunciar," or retracing their steps, being, I believe, only prevented by the ridiculous appearance such a step would cause them to make. Their bando, which was meant to conciliate both sides, had the

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usual fortune of pleasing neither, and a more absurd or ridiculous document has seldom figured, even in the annals of Spanish juntas; further notice will be taken of this precious morsel in the general account of the pronunciamentos.

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CHAPTER XI.

ROUTE TO SANTIAGO.

I TOOK my place in a miserable diligence, that runs every day from Coruña to Santiago. The fare is rather high, but a breakfast is included, and was served in a venta, half-way between the towns. I had heard most hyperbolical accounts of the beauty of the drive between those places, but found it ill deserved the reputation. There is about a league of cultivated and decent country, after which we ascended a very long cuesta or hill, by a regular and well-levelled line of road; beyond this are open hills, as dreary as the country between Mondoñedo and Betanzos, and continue without change or relief to Santiago. The approach from Coruña is any thing but striking, and little is seen to announce that you are approaching so celebrated a place. No gardens, or enclosures, or any marks of civilization to indicate the vicinity of a capital: for dreariness of aspect it may vie with Madrid.

We saw detachments of troops on the road, proceeding to join the garrison at Ferrol, and the officers were gaining ground so fast, that there were hopes they might be able to assume the offensive, and release some of the towns from the thraldom of the juntas.

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One of my companions was an elderly ex-Dominican monk, a man of some reading, and rather inquisitive. He had evidently been one of those engaged in the literary work of the order, probably as a censor, and was acquainted with heretical literature, more especially the work of Cobbett, which he appeared to have learned by heart. For the first time since entering Spain, I was put to delay and inconvenience, by a miserable old wretch insisting on examining my baggage. I thought it useless to oppose his almost illegal proceedings, and to save time, yielded; but I had mislaid a key, and the lock of a large trunk was obliged to be forced. He did not molest my apparel, but took hold of a parcel of papers, which on my authoritatively telling him he had no business to meddle with, he laid down and gave no further trouble, and as he examined no other passenger's luggage, I have little doubt, from circumstances that transpired afterwards, he was acting by special order; the derecho de puerta examination at the gates had been previously abolished by a decree of the Regent.

There is a tolerably good inn, kept by a respectable widow from the Basque Provinces, and I was agreeably surprised at the cleanliness and good order of the establishment, the report of the accommodation in the place having been always very bad. There was in the family a young girl, who had been shot through the chest by one of the absurd gambols with fire-arms that so often

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cause these accidents. She was slowly recovering, but the surgeon in attendance, who was reputed, apparently with great justice to be extremely able in his profession, said that many months must elapse before her almost miraculous cure could be completed. I soon paid my respects to the shrine of Santiago, which I did with the greater interest from having no data whatever to form an idea as to the style of building in which the remains of the Saint were enclosed. Some old prints I had seen gave a notion of a modern edifice, and I was prepared to see even something in the style of the Pilar at Zaragoza, so that I was not a little surprised and pleased, after passing an enormous modern tower and accompaniments, to find myself at once in a building almost purely oriental in its character. The aisles being narrow and lofty, with high arches almost of Moorish form, first attract the attention, whilst the Saint is seen in front of the great altar through a solemn twilight, caused equally by the style of the architecture, and the colour of the walls, and heightened still more by a portion of the scanty lights originally supplied being closed, to give more effect to the numerous lamps that once illumined the shrine.

The Saint is represented on horseback in full armour, as he is fabled to have appeared at the battle of Clavijo, and it is impossible on entering this temple not to carry back the recollection to the time when the knights entered the sacred enclosure

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in full fervour of belief, to solicit strength of arm and dexterity in managing their steeds, more effectually to combat the infidels, whom the Saint was considered to have been the principal agent in overthrowing or overwhelming; and we may easily imagine those engaged, when animated by religious and patriotic enthusiasm, issuing forth, their seats more firm, and the falchion more ready to fly from the scabbard, after being shrived in this great sanctuary of chivalry. After Jerusalem itself, probably no place existing has the interest, in the history of the middle ages, and the influence on the romance of modern history, that is exhibited by this grand depository, now destined, like every thing human, to undergo the vicissitudes of time and altered circumstances.

At present, nearly the whole mass of light is admitted from the western end, and the casing, which, as will be explained, covers the original external façade, has not been allowed to interfere with the half Moorish windows that now remain inside, and throw gleams of light up the naves, especially in the afternoon, producing the most striking and pleasing effects.

By rare fortune the original building has been completed by the architect who planned it, or from his design, and it remains almost perfect and untouched. The numerous chapels are so arranged that their entrances interfere very little with the general outline of the edifice. The form is a Latin

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cross, although it is said by Cean Bermudez, and other writers, to be in the Greek form, with all parts equal, but I paced it more than once, and made it to be nearly 350 feet in length, excluding a sort of apsis at the east end, which is twenty feet in addition; by 240 in the transverse section. I do not give these dimensions as more than approximative, but the proportions of the parts to each other are correct. There are three naves, all extremely narrow, the middle only being thirty feet between the columns, and the laterals between nine and ten feet. The great nave is 200 feet in length, and these proportions, and the great height, give the peculiar effect so striking in this building. The pillars are extremely light, like those in edifices of the best time of the pointed style. This arrangement enabled the architect to dispense with flying or other buttresses, and to trust for support entirely to the external walls, which are in most parts no less than ten feet in thickness; and being built entirely of granitoid rock, like an excessively hard coarse grit, it has not only stood perfectly, but seems destined to arrive at very great antiquity. The solidity of the construction is more striking, from the situation being the precipitous side of a hill, so that on all sides, excepting the north, the ground rapidly falls from it. Round the outside naves, the billet ornament, mentioned at Oviedo, is carried, the date of the edifices being not very dissimilar, and both prior to the introduction of the pointed style.

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The eastern end terminates in a small narrow apsis, forming a chapel, which they told me belonged to the King of the French, of course as sovereign of that kingdom. Near it are other chapels in a sort of oriental style, no doubt part of the original edifice, but by far the greater portion of the twenty-three which they tell you are attached, are modern additions and alterations in every kind of manner, most of them, as usual, perfectly incongruous with the character of the original building. The more remarkable are those of the reliques, on the north side of the great aisle, and one near it, close to the transept, which is the Sagreario or place for administering the communion to the pilgrims, with the proper accompaniments of confessional boxes, for preparation to receive the rites. Immediately opposite, on the other side of the transept, is the magnificent chapel of the Pilar. This was built by an archbishop of Mexican family, who was extremely rich, and meant to have it made entirely of silver, as an appropriate memorial of his country; but some of the cooler and more reflecting members of the Cabildo, pointed out, with a shrewd forecast of the times they probably foresaw were not far distant, that he had better adopt a more permanent mode, and one that would not give the temptation to abstraction of the material that composed it. He followed their sage advice, and appears to have adopted the plan of the tomb of the Medici, but the proportions of his chapel are better than those of

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the prototype. It is one mass of inlaid marble and other stones, and I was told, on good authority, had cost more than the execution of the apparently more expensive plan originally intended, would have done.

Near the extremity of the north transept is what I at first took for a chapel, but found it to be an independent parish church, appropriated to the ordinary devotions of the pilgrims and other temporary sojourners, being called the Cortesela, or parroquia de los extrangeros. It communicates with the cathedral by a passage, but has its own external and independent entrance, bells, &c. This building is a perfect and most beautiful specimen of the purest Norman or oriental Norman, if I may use the expression, forming a cross, and approaching Byzantine in the arrangement. It is nearly unaltered, and with the exception of a wooden gallery, erected for some purpose that was not very evident, could easily be made a complete model of the style.

The length of this edifice is about fifty, and the breadth thirty feet. There are three naves, separated by single columns, and the body is nearly a square. At the eastern end are three apsides. The arches and roof are all circular in form. The greatest defect is the painting, which has been recently done in a mode more fitted for the saloons of Astley's Amphitheatre than for a place of worship, especially for one of that age.

At the west end of the cathedral is a porch with groined roof, formed by the external casing put on

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during the last century, which is a good arrangement, so far, that it assists the preservation of some very fair early sculpture of painted barro, that was originally outside. Under this western end is a crypt which was the original church, as they informed me. They seemed unwilling to shew it, assuring me there was nothing whatever to be seen but the foundations of the present church, and I was satisfied with their statement, without attempting to force admittance.

At the trascoro is a shrine of great sanctity, of the Angustias; representing the Virgin in the extremity of suffering after the crucifixion, a favourite subject in old Spanish devotion.

At each side below the great altar, in the usual place, are pulpits or reading desks, respectively called by the name of the Epistle and Gospel, those portions of scripture being read from them; and also used for preaching from, for which purpose they are well situated, by their contiguity to the place where the auditory congregate, between the choir and great altar. These pulpits are of brass, and of exquisite work; a little profane in some of the subjects, as constantly occurred when they considered the design more than the fastidious criticism, that from our want of feeling for art, we are accustomed to lavish on them. I could not ascertain the name of the author, but they are of the great time of Spanish art, and might stand by the side of any thing of Cellini.

There is, as usual, sculpture in the silleria of

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the choir, and of rather good ancient style, but I thought not of extraordinary merit. The shrine of the Saint has been mentioned as to the general effect, and it loses nothing by close examination, nor can any thing be better placed, or more completely in character than the statue which of course surmounts the tomb, but the strangest part belonging to it remains to be described. Immediately behind the shrine, filling up the whole back of the chancel, is an erection, of which it is difficult to give an adequate idea, being one of the most enormous, ill-designed, absurd, and preposterous monstrosities ever engendered in the imagination of the most delirious of the school to which it belongs. So vast are the dimensions, that the country may well be denuded of timber, for the waste in carving it must have been something extraordinary. It is a mixture between the classic and the Solomonic, with a due proportion of the heathen in addition, and they have so managed to fill the locality and to place it, that the spectator cannot help shuddering for the fate of the Saint, should any thing give way, as in that case, he must inevitably be crushed to atoms. To complete the absurdity, the want of geometrical support in the enormous machine, is supplied by two Herculean angels, who are in a position between flying and falling, each with one foot on the cornice, and from the position the artist has assigned them, there is no room for wings of proper size, so that these appendages bear about the proportion of those

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of ostriches to the body of that bird; and they are not only off their balance, but if suddenly animated, they must inevitably go souse down on the Saint below them! It is utterly inconceivable how the Cabildo should have allowed a similar erection to be put in such a situation; and to complete the disorder created by the introduction of it, they have built up the arches of the tribune behind, instead of leaving them open and perfectly clear, as designed by the original architect. It is a flagrant disgrace to the noble edifice, and if ever a junta de purificacion be established, one of their first acts should be to demolish and transfer the whole concern to the bakers, for whose use it is best adapted. The cost of gilding alone must have been enormous, and like so many other similar productions, the construction has taken place when the Cabildo had immense resources with neither taste nor skill in the employment of them.

There are a number of tombs in various parts of this most sacred building, as may well be imagined. The principal are those of the royal race of Leon, and others connected with them; amongst whom is Pope Calisto II. There are, as may be supposed, many relics, some of undoubted antiquity, and curious as works of art. The custodia is of pentagonal form. The chapel of the Pilgrims is a circular building of good proportions, of the modern school, resembling on a larger scale the beautiful entrance to the museum at Madrid.

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The cloisters are of 1500, of noble size and design for that period, being rather of the plateresco style; there is a pyramid at one corner somewhat like that of St. George's, Bloomsbury, and quite out of character with the rest; they are hung with tapestry on particular occasions. Near this is a suite of beautiful rooms, built in the last century, to receive a library presented to the Cabildo, by an individual, I think Fonseca, which appeared to comprise some admirable and costly books of modern literature. The style is perfectly suitable to a palace, and in the best taste; and, although not in unison with the rest of the buildings, is so managed as to be quite independent, and not in any way to interfere with the general effect.

The exterior of the cathedral remains to be described. Very nearly the entire building has been enclosed within a gigantic casing of different ages, but the parts harmonize, and form a coating as unique in its way as the interior. The only part of the original building I could discover is at the south transept, where some old and bad sculpture, with other ornaments are seen, and have probably been the cause of this fragment being allowed to remain uncovered. The portada, or principal doorway below it is rather of Norman design. The principal features of the modern part are three enormous towers, of which the idea may have originated from the Giralda at Seville, or the tower of St. Marco at Venice. They are well proportioned and

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magnificent in the outline and general plan, but the minor arrangements are deficient, the architect having, as so frequently happens, not trusted to his general design, but added an infinity of details, pilasters, and other frippery, &c. that break it into fragments, and on examination diminish the effect. Two of these towers are placed at the south transept, and one at the north, and their outline gives the modern appearance to the building already noticed, and would completely deceive any one who had merely seen the exterior; and it is only to be regretted, though these towers are in themselves very grand, that the authorities should not have selected a style more suited to the original character of the edifice.

The cathedral, as already observed, is placed on the precipitous side of the hill, so that although you enter from the north side by actually descending, the south flank and the west end stand nobly above the spacious plaza below them. The western façade was built in the last century by Rodriguez, the restorer of classic architecture in Spain. It is an imitation of the great front of St. Peter's, and the ascent is by a magnificent staircase closed by rejas which are kept locked, and there are no public entrances at this end. From the west end to the south transept are various buildings belonging to the Cabildo, with colonnades and other ornaments, bad in the design, and totally out of harmony with everything near them.

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On the north side of the plaza is the celebrated Hospital of Santiago. The façade is modern with a noble balcony and ornamented chain work, beautifully carved from the hard granitoid rock, which the Galicians have always been celebrated for their skill in working. This front is modern, and probably represents respectable architecture of the fifteenth century; when it was founded. The inside is spacious, with four patios, and every sort of convenience for lodging the numerous pilgrims who formerly frequented this Mecca of Spain. In the hospital part there is a chapel, which is carried up to the roof through the different stories, and is so managed that the patients in the wards can hear the service without difficulty, or the inconvenience of moving from their beds. In the entrance hall are indifferent portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella, the founders of this noble establishment: the architecture of the interior patios is of the bad classic style.

The Casas consistoriales, an extensive and fine building on the other side the square, belonged to the Cabildo, but has been appropriated to the use of the Ayuntamiento. Near it were two colleges, one founded by and called after Fonseca; they told me one or both of them were seminaries of priests, and belonged to the cathedral, but like all other establishments of the same description, they have been wisely suppressed and added to the university; one of the buildings is used for the head-quarters of the na-

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tional guard, the other was occupied by the junta of the pronunciamento. The palace of the archbishop is on the north side of the cathedral, but was uninhabited, as the archbishop, who had been originally an Andalusian Capuchin, of whose appearance and manners they spoke very highly, had not adhered to the new order of things, and was in temporary exile, from which he has since been released. I have, however, heard that he was not suited in other respects for this great elevation, and that his discourses and charges savoured too much of his original mendicant profession, which is far from being improbable. I visited the palace, which was partly closed up, but it is ill fitted for the residence of such a dignitary as the archbishop of this diocese.

The chapter, which consisted of about forty canons of different grades, was as usual reduced to about one half or less, by deaths and banishments. I conversed with some of the canons, who were the best specimens possible to meet of the order, nor could any thing exceed their attention and civility, although I had no previous introduction to any of them. One day as I was examining the Cortesela, one of them entered the cathedral, when I accosted him, and after giving me the information I required, he accompanied me over every part of the church; nor in the course of my life do I remember meeting any one whose manner and appearance on transitory acquaintance, have left a more deep and lasting impression—a perfect gentleman, scholar,

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man of the world, master of every thing about the place, with the grace and simplicity of the best Spanish manners, he might have served for a model of the upper ranks of the Spanish clergy.

It has been already mentioned, that the shrine was very much lighted up in the olden time; the places of the magnificent chandeliers yet remain, but the metal has disappeared. The practice, as they informed me, during the jubilees and other great festivals, was to leave the church open all night, a practice, as far as I know, confined solely to this sanctuary. An enormous chandelier seems to be suspended over the crucero, from massy bars of iron gilt that cross the lantern, and have the appearance of tye beams. This machine is, as I understood, for the purpose of showering incense to the whole church, by swinging back and forward on the most solemn festivals; another practice, I should think unique.

The musical department has always been well attended to at Santiago; and notwithstanding the reduction of the funds, affecting every thing of this kind, that I heard could not be excelled in sweetness and melody, both in the organ and the accompanying voices.

The original cave or place of refuge of Santiago, previous to building the first church, as has been mentioned, is in a street not far distant, and looks like an oratory, being closed by a reja, but is neglected, and stones with other rubbish have been thrown in by the idle portion of the community.

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I have entered into more detail respecting this most curious and interesting cathedral, as no description that I am aware is to be found of it, and the deficiency is a general source of complaint in Spain. Excepting the dates of the original edifice, and of the western façade, little mention is made of it by Cean Bermudez, in his account of Spanish architecture; nor are the vast additions of the towers and other exterior work at all described. I have no doubt they are of about 1600, or soon after. The omission is the more remarkable, because, surely in the archives the names of the architects and other particulars must be mentioned; but it appears few of the writers on these subjects, have, in modern times, visited this remote, and until lately, almost inaccessible district.

The next building to the cathedral in extent and importance, is the celebrated Benedictine convent of San Martin. The principal façade is opposite to the great northern entrance of the former building, and is of bad style but on an enormous scale. One flank, which is built to a vast height over a barranco or ravine at the back, is about 700 feet in length! This immense edifice, which has patios, and every thing in proportion, is now partly occupied as barracks. A garden of considerable dimensions is inclosed within its ample area. The church is on the north side, with an insignificant entrance, to which you descend, having little idea of the sight that awaits you, as the interior is not only magnificent, but is one of the very finest specimens of

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church architecture in Spain. Grand, simple, noble in design, the plan has been little interfered with, and there is no visible defect, excepting that the choir used by the monks, which is over the west end, and thrown across the great aisle by a beautiful arch with cassoons, has given way in one part, and if not looked to shortly, will very probably come down. The greatest blemish is the huge retablo at the great altar, somewhat in imitation of that in the cathedral. Behind it is the silleria, where the cabildo and dignitaries of the order attended the service unseen by the congregation in the body of the church. The seats are in double rows, and are well carved, with some inlaid work; and there are some decent sculptures in the church, but not of extraordinary merit.

In the crucero or transept on each side are representations in relief of the sun and moon, allusions I did not understand, and never saw in any corresponding situation. The vault of the coro is painted. There is a small dome, but apparently only for the purpose of giving architectural effect, as the church is lighted independently of it.

The great sacristy is magnificent, being a domed circular temple, large enough for a parish church, and is deservedly pointed out as one of the curiosities of the place. Near it is a spacious chapel too much painted to be in good taste. This noble church is preserved, having been devoted to parochial use, in place of a small and bad one in an adjacent part of the city.

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This immense establishment is mentioned by Jovellanos, as formed out of smaller foundations of the middle ages, that were originally retreats for the sons and daughters of noble families, the heads of whom were engaged in the wars. This convent is nearly the largest mentioned of that description, having been the aggregation of no less than thirty-five of those small societies. He does not mention the fact of these female convents being connected with the Benedictine monasteries, but I have little doubt that the separation of the sexes, which must have necessarily accompanied the reform of them, caused the existence of the curious connection. Jovellanos states, as a reason for the reform, the scandal attached to the mode of life, which was always rather civil than ecclesiastical, and the superior sanctity of the secular clergy causing the public very naturally to draw unfavourable comparisons between them.

Very near the last mentioned church, at the lower part of the barranco, on the brink of which the convent of St. Martino stands, is that of St. Francisco, which of course is now untenanted. It contains little in the exterior to attract notice, but my attention was fortunately directed to the church, which is rather smaller, but, if possible, finer than that of the neighbouring establishment. The plan is somewhat similar, but the lateral chapels are covered by a spacious and noble corridor running along the nave, and connected with the choir at the west end. The roof appeared to be entirely vaulted

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with stone in every part. Behind the altar they shewed me a curious portrait of Monroy, who was, I understood, a benefactor of the church, and has been allowed to remain; it is ancient, the style apparently of 1500, but more remarkable for the manner than the merit of the artist. In this convent was a regular hospital for the sick brethren of the establishment. This church has also been given to one of the parishes, but the arrangements were not complete, and it was as yet unoccupied, so that I had considerable trouble in effecting an entrance.

I looked into a curious old parish church which appeared to be, from some parts about it, of 1200, but data are wanting to fix them positively. There is a statue of St. Julian in a court suit complete, of red velvet, silk stockings, sword and cocked hat! The artist was so proud of his performance, that he signed it Lucas Crespo, fecit, 1785.

To the east of the cathedral, forming a flank to the upper town on that side, was formerly the enormous convent of S. Agustino. It has long been in a state of dilapidation, which commenced in the war of independence, but has been very much increased by the neglect of the authorities, and will soon be a ruin. I procured access to the church, which contained nothing worthy notice. My conductor was a poor monk of the order, who voluntarily performs the daily service, by permission of the authorities,

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but without appointment, fee, or reward. I asked him whether he had a congregation, but the reply was in the negative, and that scarcely any one attended to second his pious energy.

To the north-east of the cathedral, on a plaza, is the extensive convent of Benedictine ladies, which was connected with S. Martin, as that mentioned in the account of Oviedo, belonged to S. Vicente, but unlike that, it is at a considerable distance from the monastery. There is a story current in the place, of a nun having been killed in making her escape from one of the windows over the plaza; the height from the ground renders this story not only credible, but pretty certain, as the result would be almost inevitable destruction to any one bold enough to make such an attempt.

As in this country I generally made a practice of entering every church that was open, I very fortunately adhered to it with one that had little exterior attraction, called the Animas; a rude representation, allusive to the doctrine of purgatory, being over the entrance. I was not a little surprised to find the altar and greater part of the chapels filled with excellent painted sculpture, representing the passion of our Saviour, in successive pictures, of which there are nine in all; the high altar, two collaterales or flanking pieces, and three chapel altars on each side; over the great altar is of course the crucifixion.

The design and execution of these subjects is of very high order, only alloyed by there being

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occasionally rather too great a display of anatomy. In some of the pieces there are four or five successive reliefs or lines of perspective: the colouring is plain, good, and untouched. They are by an artist called Prado, of whom I could only learn that he was a common working man of the city, whose natural talents had called forth this mode of display. But for the assurance that he had never left his native country, it would be difficult to believe he was not a pupil of Roldan, whose style these pictures so completely resemble and rival, that they may justly and fairly be compared. On inquiry I was informed that no other works by him existed in the place; all the sculpture I saw in the other churches was of a quite different school from this remarkable artist, who is not mentioned by Cean Bermudez, nor in any book I have met with.

The university is a modern building of the Ionic order, of the very best form and construction, and I have little doubt that the design was by Rodriguez; at least the style is entirely of his school. It forms a quadrangle of about 200 feet each way. One side is occupied by the library, one of the finest rooms I ever saw, and I believe the collection is extremely good. The locality being already filled, they were arranging that formerly at St. Martin, in another room, which is too small to accommodate it properly. There was an infinity of small volumes, almost all on theology as they informed me, and many manuscripts, but not of great

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value, being chiefly written by monks of the order. They shewed me a curious and interesting book, one of the earliest printed in Spain, and the title is as follows, "Fue Acabado y impresso este primero volumen de vita Cristi, de Fray Francisco Ximenes de la grande y nombrada ciudad de Granada, en el postri mero dia del mes de Abril A. 1496, por Bernardo Ungut y Johannes de Nuremberg, Alemanes, por mandado y espensas del muy reverendisimo Señor Don Fernando de Talavera, primero arzobisbo de Granada de la Santa Iglesia de esta ciudad."— "This first volume of the life of Christ was finished and printed by Fray Francisco Ximenes (the celebrated cardinal) of the great and celebrated city of Granada, in the last day of April, 1496, by Ferdinand Ungut, and John of Nuremberg, Germans, by order and at the expense of the most reverend Don Fernando de Talavera, first archbishop of Granada, of the holy church of this city." There is a curious watch by Marfignon of Paris, apparently about the same age, ornamented with miniatures.

The establishment seems to be in a thriving condition, and I was much pleased with the professors at the head of the respective departments, from whom I received all kinds of civility and attention. The minor colleges have been suppressed and united to the principal one, and there is every appearance of its success. The natural history department is in the hands of Senor Casares, a medi-

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cal man in the place, who has also charge of the baths of Cuntis and Caldas. This gentleman is extremely zealous for the advancement of the sciences under his care; and rooms were being fitted for the reception of the specimens they already had, which were far from good, and for the addition of others, especially for those connected with the province.

The patio, or inner quadrangle is of the Doric order, which is certainly best suited to the purpose of arcades; the style is lighter than that of Herrera, but resembles it. The convent of the Jesuits adjoined it, and their church, which is small, is connected by a staircase with the patio, so as to serve for the use of the establishment. The present rector is not an ecclesiastic, but an eminent literary character of the modern school, and well known in Spain. I was taken by these gentlemen to see a small but interesting collection of birds and insects that had been made by a monk of St. Martino, who now occupied apartments in the hospicio: some of them were very good, although far from rare specimens, and I only regretted, that from the want of books to consult, and of assistance in other ways, this zealous and intelligent individual was unable to carry on his researches.

Soon after my arrival I was informed that a grand "funcion" was to take place at the convent of the Carmelites, a small establishment of nuns, which is yet standing, outside the town, near the entrance from Coruña, and that there would be very good music; I

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attended the rehearsal, which took place the evening previously. The church was darkened and lighted up, and every thing very neatly arranged. The statue of the Virgin, which was to be carried out in procession, was beautifully dressed in brocaded silk of great value.

I was not a little surprised to find that the principal performer was a soprano, like Velluti, and those at the Vatican; and I ascertained that this personage had been long attached to the cathedral, where I afterwards heard him sing. This description of singers is known here by the singular designation of "capon," and in the olden time there were always two or three in the choir of that establishment. He was of course very well known in the place, and I heard that his voice was natural. His appearance was extremely prepossessing, although he is now stricken in years. He had been passably rich, but dissipated a great deal of money in gay living, principally as reported, amongst females, who, it may be imagined, were not the most select specimens of society. His voice was extremely good, although they said it had failed of late years. The next day the procession sallied forth with sky-rockets and all the usual accompaniments, in the old fashion of these ceremonies. The greater part of the population of Santiago attended, and every thing went off perfectly well. As I knew from the present state of the finances of the convents, the nuns could not afford any expenditure, I in-

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quired how that part was managed, and was informed, that the chief surgeon of the place, the same gentleman mentioned previously as attending the young woman at the inn, defrayed the expense; and he figured as honorary guest, in a conspicuous place during the ceremony.

The town of Santiago is placed near the head of a valley; the higher part of the ridge on which the upper town stands, being a few feet above the suburbs by which you enter from the road to Coruña. The streets in the upper part are narrow, uneven, badly kept, and very steep; there is a small, irregular-shaped plaza in this part, where the market is held. The best portion of the town is on the level of the Plaza Real, or as it has been recently baptized "Plaza de la Constitucion." In this division the streets are clean and commodious; and in some of them there are arcades like those of Berne, a most convenient arrangement in this wet climate. The principal one had the name painted in splendid letters, "Call del Pronunciamento!" In the general situation, the place reminded me somewhat of St. Gallen, but the lake is wanting. From any commanding point in the upper town there is an extensive view down the valley below the city. The height above the sea is called in the Spanish books about 2000 feet, and I should think, from appearance, that estimate must be near the truth, but if any thing, within the absolute elevation of it.

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Amongst the fashions of the place is holding the principal market on Sunday, when great numbers of the peasantry attend. This custom was abolished by decree in the time of Ferdinand, but such discontent and clamour were raised on the subject, that soon after his death, the Government were obliged to yield, and re-establish a usage which the order states in excuse "to have existed from time immemorial." The only exemptions now are Thursday and Friday in Easter week and the day of Corpus; even that of their patron saint not being mentioned in the decree. Nothing can be more unpleasing than the appearance, dress, and manners of the peasantry in this district; so unlike those of Coruña, at only ten leagues distance; and I should think they are about the very worst specimens of this class to be found in the Peninsula.

There is a remarkably neat and well kept paseo at the extremity of the lower part of the town, adjoining an oak forest, which tree with the pinaster once covered these now bleak and barren mountains.

In the modern changes, this important place has no longer been continued as the seat of government, but now belongs to the province of Coruña. There appears to be no good reason for this alteration, which the loss of the vast revenues of the ecclesiastical bodies and the central situation, as well as the abundance of buildings suited to public estab-

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lishments would seem to have pointed out as the better site for the capital. Coruña has no one advantage, except the paltry fortifications, and the commerce it enjoys, with the advantage of being a sea-port, to compensate for the transfer. Although I heard no causes assigned for the new arrangement, it is by no means improbable it proceeded from a dislike to the clerical body, who naturally have considerable influence in the place, and could not be supposed very friendly to the new system.

There are some booksellers' shops in the town, far from well furnished, but much better than those of most Spanish cities, and a little printing is carried on, though strange to say, there is no decent guide or description of the place.

The evening before my intended departure, I walked to the alameda, near the entrance of which is a modern and rather good looking building, having the appearance of an hospital.

I went to the gate for the purpose of making inquiries and of looking at the inside, but found it closed, and in front was a kind of sentinel, a stout ill-looking fellow in jacket and trousers, with a cartouche-belt upon him, but rather lounging than officiating in a military capacity. I accosted this character, whose manners as well as his appearance were so uncouth, that an Andaluz would have pronounced him a true specimen of the Gallego, in

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their acceptation of the term. Whilst I was endeavouring to extract some information from him, a gentleman came up, accompanied by a miserable looking officer of Provinciales. This personage immediately accosted me rather abruptly, asking what I wanted. Before I had time to reply he addressed the sentinel, and asked him where the guard was and why the gate was closed. The answer was "estan durmiendo," they are asleep. This was a lovely summer's evening about six o'clock. He was evidently very much disconcerted at such a display on the part of the authorities who had undertaken to overthrow the Regent, and to govern Spain on a better system. He then went inside, in order to rouse and put them on the alert, but shortly returned without success; I suppose like the Alcalde of Leon, they had *to dress*, before being able to appear. When he returned we entered into conversation, which at the commencement was not carried on in a very amicable manner. He appeared to have heard a good deal about me, and said, "I hope you are not other than you represent yourself?" I smiled and answered, "Certainly not." He then added, "I must tell you we have had a very unfavourable report sent from Coruña respecting you, and are desired to look strictly after you. I understand you have been examining all the buildings and entering the barracks." The former part was of course true, and I admitted it; but the latter

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was a rather serious charge, and I met it by a flat and peremptory denial; after which no more was said on that subject. He very soon, however, changed tone and became very civil. He said, if I had called on him I should have had his protection, and inquired whether I had seen various objects of interest in the city that he mentioned, and understanding I was going to Vigo, offered to recommend me horses in case I had not procured them. This was the president of the junta, and a part of his ill-humour at the commencement no doubt proceeded from the display made by his guards, and also from a little wounded dignity in consequence of my not having called on the authorities.

Notwithstanding the extremely amicable manner in which the interview terminated, I was not at all pleased with what had taken place, and foresaw that the plan of secret reports having been adopted, I might be put to further inconvenience. The rule I had laid down for my own guidance, was never to call on any of the new authorities, unless sent for, and to take no part whatever in anything that was going on, trusting that if I got into difficulty, I should be able to make my way out of it. As to the visiting the barracks, I knew the people far too well to attempt anything of the sort; even in the most quiet times, they have a paltry and contemptible feeling of jealousy on this subject, highly discreditable, and at this time when the soldiers were

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frequently of a different opinion from the officers, when the existing state of rebellion was brought about mainly by tampering with or corrupting the one or the other, it was doubly incumbent on any traveller acquainted with them to prevent any possibility of his acts, however simple, being misinterpreted.

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CHAPTER XII.

JOURNEY TO VIGO — PADRON — CALDAS — PONTEVEDRA — ARREST — JUNTA — ROAD FROM PONTEVEDRA TO VIGO.

THERE is very considerable traffic between Santiago and Vigo, and no want of horses or means of transport, but as I was tied to time on account of the sailing of the packet, I hired a set from the person recommended as attending the inn where I lodged; I erred in doing so, for I found out afterwards that, instead of employing his own horses, the dealer had sold his bargain at an exorbitant profit after the manner of the Italian Vetturini, and that I was travelling at double fares on return horses. They were, however, so good, as well as the attendant, that I had no reason to complain, only I should have preferred the proprietor of those I actually rode having the profit, rather than the party who had neither trouble, expense or risk.

The descent from the elevated situation of Santiago is long and monotonous, but the distant views are striking and the valley improves as you descend. Towards the bottom there is a remarkable church, with the singular name of Santa Maria de la Esclavitud, formerly a noted refuge for criminals, and

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most conveniently situated to receive those who were connected with the enormities at one time too common in this part of the country; but the right of sanctuary is abolished, and the robbers have disappeared. The inside was ornamented with a prodigious number of votive tablets and waxen representations of various parts of the human frame, hung up in grateful remembrance, by those who considered the Virgin patrona to have been instrumental in their recovery, and some were of very recent date. The inscription still stands as before, "Esta Iglesia sierve de refugio a los delinquentes."

A little beyond this is Padron, a large straggling village in a beautiful valley, watered by the Ulla, one of the prettiest rivers I ever saw. There are boats upon it and projects have been entertained of making it navigable to near Santiago, from which a feeder descends. In this place Santiago is fabled to have landed, previous to taking up his quarters at Compostela. We crossed a ridge to the next valley, the stream of which is much smaller, arriving in time for dinner at Caldas, a well known watering place in the district. Whilst my repast was being prepared, I repaired to the baths, which were not yet regularly opened for the season, but they allowed me to bathe. The waters, to judge by their effect, must be most salubrious: they are nearly odourless and tasteless, the temperature being about 32° Reaumur. The effect was delicious, the skin after even one immersion feeling exactly the same as if the

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finest cosmetics had been applied to it, in a degree I never experienced in any natural water, not even in Germany or those of the Pyrenees.

The arrangements for taking the baths are rather singular; there are two square basins about 6 feet each way, made of granite, and all in the same row, separated by a thin partition, just sufficient in height to prevent any one looking over. One of these is for men, and the other for women; each is calculated to hold ten persons, five on each side, who thus closely packed, sit and recline on a stone carved into the form of a bolster opposite to each other. Although the parties are respectively invisible, conversation may be easily carried on, as it no doubt is during the season, by the parties engaged, and would to a much greater extent by the more social and loquacious inhabitants of the south. There is another establishment nearly similar to this, with a large public receptacle for the multitude, and in each a small number of comfortable private baths, in one of which I was accommodated.

The baths of Cuntis are about a league distant, and I believe the waters are much of the same nature, but more sulphurous, also acting well on the skin, and both are extremely useful in dyspeptic cases. As in Spanish watering places, the accommodation is usual scanty and the arrangements for lodgers bad, although the country produces abundance of every thing necessary for comfort and good living. The posada was tolerably good and kept by some very

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decent people from Navarre. Having arrived just after the regular hour I had great difficulty in finding a vacant room. They tried very much to prevail on me to be contented with a very small one, in which a man was regularly in bed, just over the table! nor could they comprehend the meaning of my repugnance to this and similar arrangements they proposed; and after going through the whole, which were more or less objectionable, they at last gave me a very good room with two alcoves, both of them occupied, I supposed by people they considered ought not to be disturbed.

The appearance of the peasantry in this beautiful part of the country is extremely unfavourable, as they are badly drest, dirty, and of most forbidding exterior, not at all improved by their manners, and very many have a look of abject poverty, nearly similar to that of the peasantry in the worst parts of Ireland. I have no doubt that many being driven by distress to emigration, their uncouth manners have fixed the sobriquet so common at their expense all over Spain, and in every respect they are considerably behind the inhabitants of the eastern and northern parts of Galicia.

We crossed another ridge, when Pontevedra shewed itself, the first view being very striking from this side, as it stands on the precipitous slope of a hill, somewhat like Ribadeo, but is turned from the ocean, which by the ria of its name, and the estuary of the Lerez flows up to the walls. The entrance is

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by a long bridge, at the end of which is the town gate, where I was stopped by a character like a sergeant, and some particulars asked respecting me. After he was answered, he said, "You will have to go to the Ayuntamiento, who will send for you at the time they want you; probably about nine o'clock."

When I had made the necessary arrangements at the posada, I walked out to look round the place, which is clean and well built. At the upper part is a church that is seen for a great distance, like the Superga at Turin. I had been told this was very old, and "obra de Moros," but I found it a mere shell of modern and excessively bad architecture, and only striking as a distant object. Further on are the ruins of a convent of Augustinians, with a beautiful church of the fourteenth century, partly covered with ivy, very much like one of our abbeys, which appeared never to have been finished, and its devastation was evidently of the date of the war of independence. Adjoining it is the alameda, an extensive promenade, with beautiful views in every direction, second to very few in Spain. There was a considerable crowd assembled to see a parade and drill of "nacionales" without uniform, evidently just formed. I kept aloof from the crowd, but I noticed several persons looking very much at me, which is unusual in Spain, and was by no means a pleasing observation to make.

I returned to the posada, where the people of the

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house came to me, evidently in considerable alarm, and said, "Have you a passport?" "Certainly." "What a pity it is you went to the paseo; if you had stayed at home, they would not have noticed you. They have been making inquiries about you, and the consequences of such circumstances are often very unpleasant; only the other day, they (the junta) arrested two gentlemen here, and sent them off to Santiago, where they are in prison, 'incomunicados;'" that is, without any intercourse being allowed with them. I observed, "I am an Englishman, and having done nothing, have not anything to fear from them." They answered, "If they take in their heads to arrest you, they care very little who you may be;" ending with a deep expression, "God send Espartero were here to bring them to order, and put an end to their proceedings."

It was now very clear that I should have to appear before the junta, and as the hour was approaching at which the sergeant had announced I should be "wanted," I sent for the guide to conduct me to the place. Whilst I was waiting for his arrival, a sergeant, attended by a soldier armed, came, and very civilly summoned me to accompany him to the Ayuntamiento, whither we immediately proceeded, followed by a mob of persons, who penetrated quite into the building, but were perfectly quiet, and well behaved. I found the place of assembly to be a gigantic Franciscan convent, that stands at the higher part of the town, and with its whitewashed

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walls, is seen from a great distance. I was conducted through various corridors to a spacious room, of which I could not conjecture any conventual use, unless that it may have served to accommodate the general of the order, when he came in state, with his tiro, as grandee of Spain, to visit the district, when it probably may have served for his hall of reception. There was a gentleman writing at the table in the middle of the room, who I found afterwards was the president of the junta. After begging me to be seated, he asked me a few questions, and continued writing. Presently the other members of the junta arrived, when he moved to a chair of state, at the head of the room, and they took their seats on a mahogany and scarlet sofa, on his left. Opposite to them was another corresponding, and these enumerated, with a very few chairs, were the sole furniture in this vast apartment.

Shortly after the conclave had assembled, I was called up and interrogated; the questions relating principally to the objects of my voyage, and the motives which could induce any one to be travelling in Spain at such a time, &c. To the last question I answered, that certainly it was not a time any one would select who did not know the country perfectly well; that I had been in Spain at all times, and in all circumstances, and that as I always respected the laws and usages of the country I had nothing to fear; that I knew the national character, and if ever I should find myself in any difficulty felt con-

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fident I should have gentlemen to deal with. After a time I withdrew to my place at the middle table, leaving them a while to digest what I had said, when I again rose, and added fresh matter; repeating this process until I had nearly exhausted all the topics that it appeared necessary to introduce. Each time, when I withdrew to my seat, to carry the scene more completely through, in the Spanish fashion, I lighted a paper cigar, and after finishing it, rose again to repeat the process. When the junta first assembled, they sent for the Xefe politico, who, for reasons best known to himself, was not forthcoming, and they appeared extremely sensible to his apparent neglect of their repeated peremptory summons. At last he arrived, with some "expedientes," or official papers in his hand, and sidling up, took his seat near me. He was an elderly, very sharp-visaged person, evidently an escribano, representing an attorney of sharp practice, of the description so well known about the Old Bailey. He did not salute me, and his manner was any thing but prepossessing; casting sidelooks towards me, from time to time, of the most sinister expression. The papers he held were the reports that had been sent against me, from Coruña and Santiago. Although by no means pleased with his appearance, I persevered in the same course, and after a time began to perceive, that so far from losing, I was evidently gaining ground, and that they were rather in a dilemma as to what proceedings it was right to adopt.

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After the last time I had addressed them, they motioned me to take my seat, when they closed in and held a long consultation, the greater part of which was inaudible, but I heard distinctly the words, "There would be little difficulty, but from the two reports we have had," (Coruña and Santiago). I now saw that it was my time to take the offensive, and by bringing up my reserve, finish the affair. Foreseeing that I might possibly require them during my tour in this part of the country, and that they would not be of any use to Dr. Daubeny, I kept the original mandates of the Government, to the authorities in Estremadura and other parts, with which we were provided at Madrid. I rose, and with the greatest possible coolness, stating that I had such documents, asked whether they would like to see them. They most gladly assented to this proposition, and I set out for them, but it occurred to me that the guide might as well fetch the trunk in which they were, without my taking the trouble of going to the posada, and as he was amongst the spectators, listening to the proceedings, I despatched him, and returned to my station.

The documents were soon brought and examined, when the business was shortly at an end, and general conversation ensued, which gradually passed into civility. The sharp-visaged man was amongst the first to change his manner, and after looking through the papers, said, I should have no further trouble there or elsewhere; that to prevent any report

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reaching Vigo, he would write a letter, which would be forwarded to me in the course of the night, to state every thing in my favour, and to prevent any bad consequence, should the authorities there have been written to in a similar manner.

Amongst the parties who figured in this scene, besides the president and others, was a stout consequential personage, evidently the medico of the place, who inquired very much about the phosphorite of Logrosan, and was extremely desirous of seeing a specimen, which, from not foreseeing that it might be wanted, I was not provided with. He had some chemical knowledge, which he rather paraded on the occasion, and confounding the phosphorite with the phosphate of lime was extremely anxious I should inform people in England that abundance could be had in the vicinity of Pontevedra, from the shells on the coast. I was in no way disposed to enter into controversy with him, and it was not my policy to risk making an enemy, as I should very probably have done by shewing him his error; so I allowed him to retain his opinion and the matter to drop, but I corrected the mistake when I wrote afterwards to the junta. There was another young and very gentlemanly man amongst them, who came over and conversed with me for some time, after the business was settled; and I found he knew several people with whom I was acquainted at Madrid. Before leaving the room I heard them say "Es un guapo muchacho," an ex-

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pression considered extremely laudatory in Spain. The president asked whether I took notes, when I handed my book, which of course he could make nothing of, but they inquired particularly whether I had made any on the various pronunciamentos I had witnessed, of which I had given the catalogue, to the no small progress of my defence; to this I replied, there was no occasion, for they were engraved too indelibly on my memory. This reply, which cut either way, and was by no means meant to express any favourable feeling towards these performances, was taken in their own acceptation and appeared to give great satisfaction. When I took leave, they apologized for the trouble I had been put to, from which I entirely absolved them, stating that I knew the reason and the difficulties they were placed in; which were very much increased by the reaction now threatening every part of Galicia, from the overt acts of the French party in the south, as already mentioned, making the situation of these revolted juntas extremely critical, having the mob to fear as well as the consequences of their illegal acts on the other side.

Although I received part of the information connected with this transaction, at a subsequent period; to prevent the necessity of returning to it, the account of both the cause and of the steps taken in consequence will now be given. The whole business originated at Coruña, where I was in a great degree a stranger, and in no town of Andalusia or in any

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other where I had previously been would it have happened. Some person or other went to the junta and represented that I was travelling for a different purpose from that given out, and in fact was very probably sent by the Government of the Regent to work a counter revolution. So suspicious are this peeple very often in their dealings, that no sooner was this absurd idea suggested, than they began to collect facts and reasons to support it. My banker's arrangements were mentioned when we set out for Estremadura. On my last departure from Madrid, I drew for the sum of money estimated as probably necessary to serve me for the remainder of my tour ; but as it was possible some accident or other circumstance might make an additional supply requisite, I begged Messrs. Goya to give an order to their correspondents at Coruña, that if I wanted any they should supply me on my draft, without the necessity of waiting the return of post from the capital, a delay of several days. This was accordingly done, and Messrs. Goya in the same style I had been introduced to them by my friend Don Camilo Balmaseda, desired their agent at Coruña in general terms to let me have any money I might wish for. Nothing could certainly be more fair or less open to suspicious interpretation than a proceeding of this kind, conducted without the smallest idea of any other motive than that I have represented. The banker, who is one of the principal merchants in the place, happened also to be a member of the

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junta, or was affiliated with it, and after my arrival they made inquiries of him about me. He answered that I was strongly recommended to him, and that he had an order of unlimited credit for any money I might want. As such a practice is not common in Spain, a miserable section of the body drew their own inference, and concluded the order could only be given for the sinister purpose already hinted. To complete the wretched and despicable part they had acted, instead of summoning me and making a regular inquiry about my proceedings, which they had a fair and legal right to do (that is, so far as any proceedings of theirs could be legal,) they allowed me to depart, then sending the secret reports previously mentioned to Santiago and Pontevedra. I have the strongest reason to believe that the master of the house where I lodged and a friend of his, an ignorant, loquacious, and braggart character, a fierce opponent of the Regent, without any reason I could hear, who was apparently trying by intrigue to be elected to the junta; were the movers in this most mean and pitiful transaction.

Besides the very great danger I had escaped, entirely by my own perfect innocence of the pitiful charge they had raised, and my knowledge of the language and the mode of dealing with this singular people; I felt that in the public manner I was travelling, such conduct was almost a national insult, and I determined to notice it in a way the parties should hear of; leaving the blame to rest on

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those who were really concerned, which I imagine was only a section of the junta, who were then sitting with the danger of the people interrupting their machinations, and possibly executing the justice on them the Government were unable to do.

The instant I was out of the hands of the parties, I therefore resolved on writing to the junta at Coruña, leaving the letter to be forwarded after my departure; but there was not time, as the packet arrived sooner than I expected, so that I carried it into effect on the passage home, despatching it by post after my arrival in London.

In this despatch I reproached them with the wretched and contemptible act of writing behind my back; of the tyrannical nature of such a proceeding, worthy the inquisition or a set of Franciscan monks, formed into a governing junta under the Pretender (the bitterest comparison possible to make to such a body), with very broad hints as to the sources of the information on which they had acted, and the most severe remarks on the stupidity that had caused them to adopt their course. I recommended them, should other cases occur, to use a little circumspection, and not trust the reports of the "tunantes" (vagabonds) about inns and such places, who might again mislead them. In short, I believe as much was said in the space allotted, as possibly could be, under the circumstances; and at the same time I contrasted their miserable behaviour, with that of the authorities at Santiago and

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Pontevedra, which was that of Spanish gentlemen; concluding in the courteous style of official correspondence with the prayer for their preservation for many years. They were addressed as the "*junta sublevada,*" (revolted junta) of Coruña, and a copy was sent to the junta of Pontevedra. I should under any other circumstances have complained to the Minister or to the Government at home of such a proceeding, but no harm in reality had been done; and this rabble were amenable to no one; I might, for anything they cared, have been sent to prison and left there, as I had no consul or other authority on the spot to aid me, so that I felt fully justified in using the severe expressions referred to. I have since been truly thankful that I happened to be travelling in this direction and not to the interior, as in a place like Villalba, for instance, such a circumstance might have produced very unpleasant results. I shall have to make further mention of these juntas, and of the province, in the remarks on the pronunciamentos.

The president of the junta, who, although a gentleman, appeared by no means intelligent, had particularly inquired about the length of time I intended remaining, and appeared considerably comforted, when I said that I not only proposed to start very early in the morning, but that it was a case of necessity, as I had barely time to save the packet. I was not in the least disposed to break my engagement, and therefore I started at an early

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hour. Immediately after leaving this very pretty place, you cross a tract of broken ground with distant views of the ria of Vigo and the hills beyond it, that cannot be excelled; there is little in Europe so beautiful or that would better repay a landscape painter for giving a little time to the novel subjects that might be picked out from this lovely region.

The view in riding along the banks of the ria of Vigo is less pretty than that above mentioned, from the want of foreground, and a greater monotony in the sea view. The rocks are chiefly granitic, and there is an abundance of the most beautiful springs it is possible to imagine. I found Vigo under considerable excitement, in consequence of an occurrence that had just taken place. The junta were, as usual, divided in opinion, and there was a very strong feeling against the Afrancesado leaders, who, it was now known, were at the head of affairs in the southern provinces. The people in all this part were inclined to support the Regent, and the place was all but formally dispronounced (despronunciado). Under these circumstances, two of the leading inhabitants of the place, men of rank and property, but known to be moderados or of the French party, were about setting out for Coruña, as they alleged on private business; but it was believed, with the intention of entering into correspondence with some friends there of the same way of thinking; and without any warning or notice, they were

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arrested and conducted in the middle of the day through the town and shut up in different forts, where they were "incomunicados," a beautiful term and practice derived from the inquisition! Such were the bodies who had undertaken to supersede the regular government and take the management of public affairs.

Another rather curious and characteristic occurrence had taken place in the immediate neighbourhood. Following the notable example set them by the larger pueblos, a small place on the bay had set up the standard, and elected a junta of its own to govern the pigmy district; a regular burlesque of pronunciamento. The first act of this junta was to issue a bando containing a variety of articles, the greater part inflicting the penalty of death on all who should infringe them! A leading one was the imposing this penalty on any who should scandalize or speak ill of the families of any of the said junta! Thus revealing the secret that private scandal ran high in the petty circle of this society. The tyranny of this bando, and the dread of the threats being carried into execution were so great, that complaints were soon made at Vigo, and the junta there sent out an armed force, arrested the whole body, and conducted their brethren to prison! I inquired, how such a proceeding could be justified, as there certainly was no apparent reason why any subordinate place should not have its pronunciamento as well as the larger towns; but I was told that they had com-

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mitted themselves by assuming certain legal functions (probably at the suggestion of the escribanos,) which were at variance with the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and that the capturing them was not only justified, but imperatively called for by their dealings, to prevent the occurrence of greater evils. This curious transaction very probably will one day furnish a subject for a sainete, or farce, in which all such scenes of local ridicule are treated with a truth and spirit I know nothing equal to in any other country, and that fully indemnifies the spectators of them for the inconvenience the realities on which they are founded sometimes produces.

There is little worthy notice at Vigo, which is built on the precipitous bank of the ria or bay, as we generally term it. As in other places the old churches are the chief objects of curiosity, in this a modern and unfinished one is the principal attraction. It is a temple, with a double row of noble columns, one on each side, supporting the nave, which is arched, and appeared to be entirely of stone. The interior is quite plain, and to many persons appears naked and unornamented, but the architectural effect is very noble. The principal, and I believe only inn, is tolerably good, but deficient in accommodation, under the new arrangement of steamers calling there once a week, and leaving passengers each time. It was nearly filled with Catalans, who had brought a cargo of their wretched cottons, most of which, no doubt, were

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supplied by their French friends, and stamped as the product of Spanish looms. I dined in company with these people at the table d'hôte, and listened attentively to their conversation, which was carried on partly in Castilian, but chiefly in their own barbarous patois. The chief purport of it was, if the "Catalan pronunciamento" does not succeed, we shall have the treaty of Algodon (cotton), meaning the general treaty of commerce, admitting all goods at a fixed and moderate duty; thus proving one of the causes of the revolt against the Regent; and that, even at this time, the end of July, the result, to these parties so strongly interested and in general so sanguine, was not considered by any means certain.

The people of this place and immediate neighbourhood are an active, industrious, cheerful, well-looking, polished race, quite unlike those noticed in the interior towards Santiago, who might be supposed to belong to another region. They appear to have every thing in abundance, excepting wine, and I was told, that notwithstanding the greatest efforts had been made, and many experiments tried, they had found it impossible to make it of any thing like good quality.

The chief improvement going on in this neighbourhood is a new line of road to Madrid, which is to pass near Tuy, and thence by Orense, and a string of small places to Medina del Campo, near Valladolid, where it meets the other great carretera of Coruña, that is fast advancing to completion.

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This new undertaking is of the greatest importance to all these districts, and there was considerable opposition made by parties interested in the direct line, by the people of Coruña, and other places in the north of Galicia, but it had been overcome, and a part was actually finished. The junta of Pontevedra commenced their operations by seizing 30,000 dollars that had been subscribed for the purpose; a transaction, not only scandalous, but bordering on the iniquitous, for which they ought to be made to suffer, although there is little probability of it. The country to be passed by this line is for the greater part wild and dreary, with few places of importance to pass through, but they told me there were no natural obstacles in the way, and certainly no part of Spain wants opening out more than the tract in question. If it be completed, it will be the best communication between London and Madrid, as an express might reach Vigo from the Spanish capital in thirty hours, or thereabouts, and as it is only four days from Vigo to Southampton, despatches would travel very expeditiously.

The state of the country prevented my making an excursion to Tuy, on the Miño, which I very much regretted, on account of the wines, of which I heard an excellent account, and if what they told me be true, they might be imported into this country to great advantage. They said that those which were well made and kept for some time were delicious, being, no doubt, a lighter Port, and, according to their accounts, are perfectly sound. At present

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they are almost unsaleable, and left to accumulate in their stores.

From what has been stated, it will be easily imagined I had no trouble with the authorities at Vigo, and the excellent Vice-consul dissuaded me from the trouble even of forwarding the letter I had been supplied with at Pontevedra, assuring me that under no circumstance I had the slightest ground for apprehension of annoyance, nor did they ask a single qnestion about me. I omitted mentioning that one reason of the cabal at Coruña not troubling me whilst in the place, was, that the Vice-consul would have immediately interfered. Both these gentlemen are Spaniards, wealthy proprietors and most intelligent, excellent and zealous officers.

In the steamer were embarked some very fine bullocks, and there was every probability of an increase in the trade, as it was found that the really good animals and in high condition, answered the purpose of the dealers on both sides of the water. They had purchased a high bred short horned bull and cow of Mr. Bates's kind, with the view to improve the native race. Like the coal owners, with this article, however, the agriculturists have little to apprehend from any interference in the market from the import of Spanish cattle, which can never be brought in sufficient quantity to affect the price of the native supply, on which we must always be dependant. An account of the geology and mineralogy of this province and of Asturias will be found in the Appendix.

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CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE PRONUNCIAMENTOS AND FALL OF THE REGENCY.

ALTHOUGH, as stated at the outset, politics form no part of this work, having seen so much of the proceedings of this extraordinary people at this crisis, and having had previously sufficient knowledge of them to explain many things which to strangers are rather incomprehensible, I will give a summary of the facts which came under my observation, leaving every one to draw their own inferences. I must premise that the whole object is to state the truth, and neither to support one party or the other. I happen to have very many valued friends both of the moderado or French party, and as many in the national, or that of the late Regent, and therefore, if not naturally disposed to do so, I must almost from necessity speak impartially. I have no reason whatever personally to speak ill or well of the Regent, from whom I received the attention and civility any one would under the same circumstances, with the strong recommendation I carried to him from our own Government, and assisted by the kindness and attention of the Minister at

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Madrid, but nothing more. Therefore, in all the transactions under consideration he is to all intents a public and historical personage, his acts are open to discussion and criticism on all bearings of the momentous questions they embrace. All these subjects will be treated, as much as possible, in their Spanish or national bearings, and entirely on the arguments respectively furnished by the numbers of people of every shade of opinion with whom I conversed; this report must be considered a digest of a vast mass of conversations.

It is impossible to avoid expressing some feeling towards the fallen government of the Regent; the sole cause of which is, that having attended very closely to their concerns for several years, I was under the conviction that the best hopes the Spaniards ever had of rational freedom and delivery from the tyranny and mismanagement that have for so many ages weighed down and lowered the situation of the country to the point it has reached in our days, were to be found in the guarantee of his firm and prudent character, and his attachment to wise and constitutional liberty. On no other account had he in his public situation any other prestige or cause of partiality.

With respect to the people themselves, every one may judge in some degree, who has perused the preceding pages, in which my endeavour has been to paint them as I have always found them in my rather extensive dealings in Spain, and whe-

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ther they deserve the character so frequently conferred on them by strangers; but certainly never by any one who has had the opportunity or the means of knowing them.

I would certainly prefer the giving this account without referring at all to certain neighbours who have always felt and expressed interest in the affairs of the adjoining kingdom; and have described the scenes that have taken place as wholly Spanish; but it is utterly impossible, and I should not only fail in the attempt, but my friends in Spain would either suppose I was in jest, or that I had some motive for doing so, were I to follow the etiquette of official persons in high station, and declare that the whole eventful business was really Spanish, and that no one else was concerned in it; I must therefore point out the probabilities, which will be done as lightly as possible, having the greatest possible good will and respect for our allies, whose proceedings in Spain are certainly one of the most objectionable parts of their system, and those of 1843, it is to be feared, almost worse than any other that have preceded them.

In the general resumé of the state of Spain, we left the Regent at Albacete, on his road to attack Valencia, where he made a long and fatal halt. The reason of this delay, which was not immediately known, was the failure of the eastern division of the army, which was to have co-operated by advancing on that side; the force under his immediate orders being

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insufficient alone to effect this extensive operation. The corps alluded to, by the defection of officers and men, was paralysed, and the movement failed in consequence. After that unfortunate event, there remained only the road to Andalucia open, and as Van Halen was repulsed at Granada, Seville alone was left, so failing to take that place, he had only the alternative of making his way to Cadiz, and leaving Spain. Seville was put in a state of defence, principally, I believe, by the exertions of a gentleman, called Hezeta, and I fear, those of my friend the Canon Cepero, who, for reasons so wholly Spanish as to be inexplicable, had taken a line in opposition to the Regent some time previously.

There has recently been some correspondence between Senor Hezeta and a morning paper, respecting the part he took in this affair, and as he has laid the matter before the public, a remark or two may be made. Senor Hezeta, as a Spaniard, certainly owes no allegiance to England or English interests, although he may have lived and thriven under our protection, and as far as the interests of his country were concerned, he was to follow the dictates of his own judgment. In his defence, he says, he made a tour, and gained the information on which he acted. This tour must have been to Paris, where he probably met the parties there, who were fully able to persuade any one disposed to listen to them, to take the part he appears to have done. The curious thing in his

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letter is the assertion as a grievance, that the election of Espartero to the regency was the effect of intrigue!—a strange accusation to make from such a place, and with such associates. It would appear Senor Hezeta had lived so long out of his country as to have forgotten how matters are managed in it, and it is rather original to hear such a charge made. Was any thing ever managed in any other way, we should be glad to know, and with all respect for Mr. Hezeta and his friends the circle of the hotel Courcelles, they should not have been the first to use the old proverb, of throwing stones amongst such brittle materials. I took the trouble to send for the letter he published in a Liverpool paper, as stated, in the hope of gaining information, but was disappointed, as it contained little else than a violent tirade against the Regent.

Whether an instantaneous march into Seville would have been attended with the result generally calculated, and have ended in the surrender of it, I know not, and have had no opportunity of obtaining certain and correct information on that head; but there is reason to believe that it would, and it is more than doubtful to those who know the Andalusians, whether one of their cities would have been defended had the troops marched boldly in. However, that cannot be decided, but must remain matter of opinion. After the failure at Seville the Regent embarked, and as our neigh-

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bours say, " Voila la pièce finie." We must now touch on the causes that led to the catastrophe.

I was much surprised when out of Madrid, and fairly amongst the Spaniards, to find the popularity I expected to be enjoyed by the Government, had almost entirely passed away, and that almost every where, even in quarters I anticipated the prevalence of a completely opposite feeling. The cause of this was not in the Regent himself, but partly in the individuals he had been obliged to cull his ministers from; but far more than any thing else, in the Cortes, with whom all the blame of the unfortunate state of things that has resulted, and is likely to continue, must finally centre. The failings of this body proceeded from what has always been, and will continue to be the curse of Spain, that is personal jealousies, hatreds, and a want of subordination and of cohesion between the respective parties. Hardly any one, in the weakness of national character on this respect, would allow a leader to occupy a paramount place and act under him, although aware that he could not lead himself, and that no other plan could deliver the country from the stagnation that every one was aware extended through all the management of public affairs. Session after session was passed, the greater part being devoted to the most paltry intrigues, and speeches resulting from them, whilst the public business was nearly at a stand. In these circumstances the Regent had

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dissolved the Cortes more than once, in the vain hope the electors would return a chamber with some ascendant interest, sufficient to bear down the rest, and allow the government to go on. The elections to the last Cortes, which were opened the day I entered Madrid, were entirely in the liberal or progresista interest, which upheld the Regency. Of the great moderado or Afrancesado party (for it is a mere trifling or waste of words to separate them) there were only ten members returned, and of Carlists not one. In fact, it was merely a question of personalities between the leaders that prevented the chamber being nearly unanimous, for I am not aware of any great question on which any difference of opinion prevailed amongst them, nearly the whole being of the progresista or movement party. It was soon known that the ministry of the day would not be able to withstand the coalition against them, should the sections unite to oppose, and the question arose who was to succeed them. Nearly every man on all sides of politics had been tried, and every one had broken down under the weight of the government, more especially of the finances, which are in Spain what the management of Ireland is in this country. The first question that occurred was the election of the speaker, and the ministers were in a minority. The Regent then sent for Senor Cortina, a lawyer of Seville who had been elected, and desired him to form a ministry. After consulting his friends, he declined doing so, on the ground that he

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could not command a majority sufficient to carry on the government. The next in influence and talent was Senor Olozaga, also a provincial lawyer, who was sent for; and the same request being conveyed to him, the same result followed. It is important to remark this state of things, because the opinion of the best and most able men in Spain, was, that by uniting their influence, these two men could have formed an administration strong enough to carry on the government, and prevent the disastrous consequences that have ensued.

The next step of the Regent is the most important of all, and the most difficult to explain or account for; therefore, no more will be attempted, than merely stating the facts that took place. He sent for another lawyer, of Alicante, called Lopez, whose name will hereafter figure in the history of his country in a way far from enviable, owing to the consequences resulting from the extraordinary proceeding of appointing him to such a situation; and very little, I really believe, from the fault of the man, who had thus a momentary "greatness thrust upon him." No one, I ever knew that did not deplore the fatal step taken in selecting this person, who, although of universally admitted talent, and possessed of the fatal gift of eloquence to an uncommon degree, had none of the requisites for governing a country at any time, much more at the crisis we are speaking of, and ought, by the universal admission of every Spaniard I ever heard speak on the

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subject, to have been the last man selected for such an office. However, the mischief was done, and soon the consequences of so imprudent a step became manifest. By way of making a party, to supply the influence he was totally destitute of personally, he put forth the famous "programme," the Pandora's box that has brought such real misfortunes to this ill-fated country. This document appeared when I was in Estremadura, and in a party, of which I was the only foreigner, we amused ourselves by analysing it, and laughing at the pretensions set forth, many of which were absurd enough, little thinking of the important consequences that were to follow. The practice in Spain has been, for each ministry on its first formation to hold out some plan, *ad captandum*, of their intended mode of proceeding with the public business, no one article of which has ever yet been carried into execution; so that these projects, if read at all, must either be read in the negative, or as promising the very reverse of what the parties really performed, whatever may have been their intentions when they were drawn up. As this programme in general was merely composed of the ordinary professions used on these occasions, the only article that requires particular mention is that of the amnesty, which was so speciously made out, as to completely answer the purpose for which it was intended, that of paving the way for bringing back the Afrancesado leaders, who were engaged in the attempt to carry off the Queen

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in October, 1841. It may strike many persons as rather singular, that this amnesty, though couched in general terms, was not intended at all for the Carlists! Quite the contrary; not one was to have been admitted; and this fact alone, with the consequences that ensued, would prove, that although they were the dupes, the plan was not Spanish, and was for a special and particular purpose.

The general opinion is that this scheme was suggested from abroad, a question on which I shall only observe that circumstances strongly serve to bear out the suspicion to that effect. The professions of unanimity of all Spaniards, forgiveness of the past, and other phrases they put out, either in the document itself or in the explanation of it, completely took the Spaniards on their weak side, and were received by the ignorant and unreflecting mass with unbounded enthusiasm. If the sending for Lopez was an error, the agreeing to that part of the programme, was still greater and more irretrievable. The discussion that occurred and the steps taken, soon proved that the intention of the parties engaged, was to isolate the Regent, by dismissing every one about him, in whom his confidence was placed, even to despatching his own regiment to Majorca. They proceeded step by step, to impose their conditions, the greater part of which were actually made, and the rest were certainly known to be intended. On the last batch of dismissals, which included seventy persons, one of whom was his private secre-

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tary, the Regent felt as any man would in like circumstances, and resenting very naturally the insulting indignity attempted to be put upon him, dismissed Lopez, and dissolved the Chamber. This produced the catastrophe, and it was in this stage that the Malaguenos and Valencians took the field. It is undeniable that by this mistake of first sending for Lopez, then agreeing to his programme, and afterwards repudiating it, that the mischief was done. The cooler and better informed part of the community were aware of the causes, and made allowance for the unparalleled difficulty the Regent had been placed in, solely by his wish to govern constitutionally and by the individual who should appear to have the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies. It is impossible not to respect and admire the firmness with which to the very last he not only carried through the principle, sacrificing his station and rank to it; but as far as the interests of his country were concerned, no greater mistake was ever made in government, than the selecting Lopez.

Had the Regent, when the programme with the amnesty was brought to him, at once refused its acceptance, and declared to Spain that it was impossible the Queen could receive the men who had shed blood in her palace, and attempted violence to her own person a few months before, the result would no doubt have been very different: worse it could not have been, than the entering the fatal defile he was now engaged in. Amongst many other ob-

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jections to the plan, neither time nor circumstances suited the issuing an amnesty. Such an act should appear to proceed from the Sovereign herself and at a fitting time, and not a mere trap-clap of an upstart, newly elected minister, endeavouring to catch a little popularity, by placing the Queen in a situation neither dignified nor fitting to her exalted station. This point of view immediately struck me, and all the reflecting part of the community to whom I imparted it, agreed with me, although it was never urged in any public writing or speaking that came to my knowledge.

The national character is essentially light, sanguine, buoyant and fain to forget past difficulties and misfortunes, looking forward to the panacea of the day for a permanent remedy; and such principle of action was completely carried out in all this eventful proceeding. In the south more especially, they absolutely believed, that a millennium was approaching, and the universal cry was for peace, unanimity, and the union of all Spaniards under one "Capa." Very shortly, when they found the Regent was of a different opinion, and was determined when too late to hold out, the cry arose, which was heard in almost every mouth, "Are we to sacrifice all our happiness and prospects for *one man?*" In the fervour of hope and ignorance, they looked on the Regent as the sole obstacle to the ascending to the highest heaven of public happiness and prosperity!

There is another circumstance to mention, of

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great importance in judging of the transactions of this extraordinary people. After the Regent had finally dismissed Lopez, he had no one to fall back on, but some of the old ministers, Cortina and Olozaga, who must for ever in the history of their country bear the greatest blame for the catastrophe we are considering; so far from assisting the man they had almost unanimously placed at the head of the Government only a few months before, and whose sole fault was in adhering too literally to the constitutional law, he had, in common with the whole of them, sworn to maintain, they did their utmost to embarrass and involve him in greater difficulty. Therefore they were out of the question, and he sent for Becerra and some others, who had served on a former occasion. Another peculiarity to be noted is, that amongst this people, when a Minister has failed and has not produced either the results of his programme, or fulfilled the sanguine expectations they invariably indulge in, upon every change, he is laid aside, and no more thought of. They never consider the difficulties or obstacles that may have occurred, but judge solely by the results, and there is scarcely an instance of a man holding a high situation for the second time. By this continued succession of failures the whole race of statesmen or pretenders to the name, have been employed under different governments, and the Regent having tried the only new ones to be found, as they failed also, he was obliged to go back to some of

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the old treasury retainers. This step, although absolutely indispensable and unavoidable, was another very important cause of the clamour that every day became louder. The ministers newly appointed, who, no doubt, were the best the Regent could select from what I have heard our neighbours denominate in nearly similar circumstances, "La Gallerie des Antiques," although in Spain the average services of a minister being little more than a year, they enjoy rather a green old age, were assailed with abuse even greater than that lavished on his head; as, excepting at the very last, some appearance of decency, fitting his high station, was maintained.

Having stated the general grounds on which this extraordinary proceeding has been so far conducted, we will now notice the particular and more personal opposition that helped to produce the catastrophe. The first to be mentioned is the army; a very great number of officers, in nearly every regiment, were personally hostile to the Regent from various causes. The guards had been disbanded, a course absolutely necessary, chiefly on account of the habits of the officers, acquired by mixing in politics during the war. Some hundreds of those were, after being dismissed, as they could not be allowed to starve, gradually absorbed into the effective army, and formed a nucleus of discontent everywhere. Some few were attached to Leon, and some to Narvaez and other chiefs, and very many to the

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court of Christina. Most of those who belonged to the higher ranks of the aristocracy were of this way of thinking, and I have heard some of them declare that at the time the Gobernadora went to France, they were ready, if she had wished it, to attack the regiments that stood by the Regent and force their way back to Madrid. This I give as I have heard it, and do not answer for the absolute correctness of it, or of the probable consequences had such an attempt been made.

At a very early stage of the pronunciamentos, the juntas, in the regular Spanish style, assumed the functions of government, and amongst others, that of promoting the officers who joined them. This was very soon, as a matter of necessity, followed by the Regent; and as they proceeded in the same course, every one, whatever side he took, was certain of at least one step! We have heard of rapid promotions in the war, and sickly seasons, but nothing so wholesale ever existed as in this singular and anomalous country. The men were, I believe, almost without an exception, disposed to adhere to the Regent, and unless by the persuasion of the officers, very few defections would have taken place. The great cause of defection, as it was, proceeded from want of pay, and even of rations. The army on foot was too large for the means at the disposal of the treasury, and as soon as the juntas became possessed of means to pay and feed them, the desertion rapidly increased. Could the Government, soon after the commence-

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ment, have suddenly laid hands on a considerable sum of money, and caused immediate distribution, so as to pay off the arrears due to almost every regiment, the result would have been very different. I have already noticed, in the account of Oviedo, how matters were settled there, and the same thing happened at Ferrol, where the officers took possession of a quantity of copper coin at the mint, and paid the troops with it, not only enabling them to keep the place, but to receive reinforcements, as previously mentioned. A principal cause of Madrid standing so firm by the Government was, that there the empleados being on the spot, contrived to be regularly paid, and had no ground to complain. Notwithstanding all that has been stated, there was great difficulty in keeping some of the regiments from returning to their allegiance. There were instances of their leaving the officers, and dispronouncing; and some of the commanding officers, as well as those under them, and the men, even at Valencia, conducted themselves well by preserving their adherence. At the outbreak the colonel commandant of a cavalry regiment threatened to shoot the deputation that came to him, calling them traitors, and withdrew from the city, with his men, when unable to resist the torrent. Another regiment in the same neighbourhood, broke from the officers after they had pronounced, and withdrew under command of the sergeants, as I was informed, but of course, all these had finally to yield.

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The preceding remarks apply to the regular army; the next division is the provincial militia, an excellent force, resembling the Prussian Landwehr, which was put on a better footing, and assimilated to the line during the civil war. These men are paid, and kept by their respective provinces, and in some cases the expense being extremely onerous, is much complained of by the people. As this corps owed their rank and consideration a good deal to the Regent, who became aware of their great value during his operations, it was rather expected they would stand by him, which they did in some instances, but I believe, in the greater part, they followed the stream. The worst of all, however, were the national guards in the great towns, in whose hands the civil government of the country might be said to be placed, but when the difficulties commenced, they were generally the first to put themselves at the head, and either originate or forward the pronunciamentos. With the exception of Madrid and Zaragoza, very few upheld the cause of the Government, and on them devolves a very large share of the important transactions of 1843.

In all the larger towns of Spain, there is a crowd of idlers, characters with little or no occupation, frequenters of theatres and cafés, great readers of journals, and considerable politicians pretenders to small-places, excessively ignorant, and ready to join in any movement, provided it be attended with little personal risk to themselves. A large portion of

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this description took a very active part in opposing the Government, and were delighted to figure in juntas, or fill other analogous situations, giving them a momentary importance, and possibly a few dollars at the public expense.

The commercial class were in many parts of Spain opposed to the Regent, from the universal persuasion that a treaty of commerce with England was about to be concluded. I had occasion to see many of these people, who in the towns of the interior are traders and not merchants, which class only exists in the seaports and a few of the capitals, and even there in small numbers. The conversation of these persons, when you talk to them, is made up of phrases, speeches, and dissertations supplied by the French commis, or commercial travellers, who overrun the country, and have the Anglophobia, especially in the rival line, to a most uncommon extent. The traders they deal with, are, to use a vulgar phrase, crammed with rubbish from the Gallic commercial organs, supplied from these sources, and in conversing with them, you must listen to the nauseating details they bring you as novelties, in the same manner the said "commis" furnish them with the fashions, that are long gone by, as new. The majority of this class were opposed to the Government for the reasons assigned, but unless in case of a pronunciamento, when adding their scanty means to the other malcontents, they are without power and consideration in the country.

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We must now speak of the great nobility, the principal part of whom live at Madrid, and who were almost unanimously opposed to the Regent. In the ensuing observations, I shall merely state what I have heard with universal acclaim from every Spaniard to whom I have spoken on the subject of this class of society. You must introduce the topic yourself, or else no one ever mentions or alludes to them; and a Persian or Chinese might very easily travel through the country without finding out there was such a body in it. The maxim the Spaniards follow respecting them is that of the schools, "de absentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio." This is literally the case; they are never spoken of with acrimony or severity, nor is there any feeling against them, as in France, or in some parts of Germany. They live almost entirely amongst themselves, and are in all public matters the most complete nonentity it is possible to imagine. It would naturally be thought that where no sort of violence has been offered to themselves, their properties, or their titles, none of which have ever been menaced, that by the mere force of their own weight, and of the *vis inertiæ*, if by no active power, they would possess some influence; but they form an exception to this plain and simple rule, apparently so natural and inevitable. The Spaniards tell you, that although universally attached to Christina, she fell without the smallest effort on their part to uphold

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her. Their opposition to the Regent, although of the most bitter and even absurd description, was confined to patronising a wretched paper, paid principally by them, to caricature and lampoon him, nor could their united influence, living and expending all they do expend, in the capital, procure a single member to represent them in the Cortes. It is to this negative character, completely distinctive of the body, that must be attributed the leaving them entirely out in the new constitution. Their pride would not permit their soliciting votes for the elective senate, where some of them might have been useful members, and when I was there, they were absolutely vegetating, without power, weight, or consideration of any kind out of their own immediate circles. Their sentiments were, as before stated, against the Regent, and I have given these details to shew the nature of their opposition, and that so far as they were concerned, it was an absolute nullity; so that without other means, and the exertions of the more active and stirring part of the community, Espartero would be still at Madrid; although many people naturally think their hostility would produce more serious results.

This situation of the nobility is a very great misfortune for Spain, as they certainly ought to be in a position more creditable to themselves, and more useful to the community, than that they now occupy. No wonder the Spaniards are not disposed to feel towards them as the people frequently do in other

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countries, they occupy, in fact, a position more to excite feelings of pity and compassion, than those of anger or jealousy. Amongst the many plans and suggestions I have heard from every description of people and party, I never knew any one propose a grandee for Regent; or any scheme discussed, or even mentioned, in which one single individual of them was to bear a part. Beyond doubt, their situation next the throne, from their rank, birth, and property, would have pointed out some one or more amongst them, as fitted to discharge the duty of Regent during the Queen's minority, failing Queen Christina, as when it was conferred by Ferdinand, and confirmed by the Cortes; but I never, by any chance, heard the name of one mentioned or alluded to, as a proper person for that high dignity. It is the more singular, because some of them are known to be men of good information and quite at par with the general run of society. To prove more completely the state of absolute insignificance in which they live, it might be supposed that the power of government under the Regent sufficed to account for the state of the elections at that time; but how stands the matter now? The party they support is in office; the court is re-established on the ancient footing, every thing belonging to the Regent has been put down by force, the field left open to their exertions, and their influence; whilst every member of both houses of Parliament elected by Madrid, is not only a supporter of the late go-

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vernment, but they are actually the former ministers, and the firmest and most tried friends of the Regent himself! The elections alluded to have taken place since the expulsion of the Regent, and the final fall of every one connected with him; so that it appears difficult to imagine a more complete state of non-entity than is supplied by these notorious facts. Before we leave this part of the subject, the strange event that took place at Zaragoza must be mentioned; the election of the Infante Don Francisco, the uncle of the Queen, as member of the house of deputies. This caricature, for it deserves no other name, was got up in order to enable that personage and his wife to come to Madrid, where her influence, such as it was, was employed entirely against the Regent. There was a good deal of discussion as to the legality of electing a man of his rank, but the article of the constitution is quite clear on the subject, and no Spaniard, under the conditions annexed, can be considered ineligible. There is no doubt, that in however trifling a degree, this strange step helped to embarrass the Government; the great object of it being to facilitate designs on the person of the Queen, who was to be wooed in another manner, and not by previous abduction, as attempted by the rival suitors.

Although the general remarks on the commercial classes, may be considered to include them with the rest of the community, the Catalans bear so important a part in this and everything where the

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Regent is concerned, that they require a few observations to be made under a separate head. This province, as is well known, in an evil hour for Spain, became the seat of cotton manufactures, and from their peculiar character and situation it has always exercised, and will continue to do so, a fatal influence on the general "republic" or common interest of the kingdom. To these miserable manufactures, only capable of producing about one half of what is required for the consumption of the kingdom, is the interest of the landed proprietors and commercial class, as well as that of the entire community at large, sacrificed. They very soon took the lead in the opposition, and to their obstinacy and the activity of the military leaders concerned, must be attributed an ample share in the catastrophe. By universal admission, borne out by the observations of every one who has attended to their affairs, this province is by far the most difficult to manage or to govern in Spain. The character of the people is quite different from that of any other portion. They have sympathy with, or affection for, no other of their fellow-citizens, thinking and acting quite independently; and they will always be the plague spot of the country, when insurrections and disturbances are concerned. So peculiar is their mode of acting and so mixed up with matters on which the other Spaniards seldom or never think, that, as I heard from very good authority, very recently at a town in the interior during a convivial meeting,

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they drank to the house of Austria! This referred to the part these people, at least their ancestors, had taken in the war of succession, the remembrance of which was still vividly impressed on their minds.

I think there only remain the peasantry to be mentioned, when we shall have enumerated the classes of opposition that caused the general movement. In this disturbance the agricultural portion of the community, with the exception of a very few places, where from their vicinity to, and daily communication with the cities, they may have assisted a little, in no province of Spain took any part whatever.

Of all this medley group, the most extraordinary and unexpected part was that taken by the army. Most people thought that the man to whom the termination of the civil war was mainly to be attributed, who had, the first for several ages, led a regular and well disciplined army to victory, would have not only established, but preserved a degree of influence that would have required stronger shocks than those we have enumerated, to shake him from the pedestal they had placed him upon. To explain this we must again draw upon the peculiarities of the national character. Few men, after the moment was passed, would allow he had done any good: they were in the constant habit of criticising his movements, talents and everything connected with him; so that, to hear them, a stranger might believe he deserved neither merit nor credit for anything he

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had done. Whether the hatred of obligation and their natural unwillingness to allow any motives for gratitude, had partly produced this feeling, or whether a great deal of it proceeded from the indisposition to allow that one man had done what another could not perform, the fact is so, and this is the exact result as I have described it. As a natural consequence, when the difficulties commenced I never heard a single man admit that he had any claim on their support or adherence. Like the ministers, as already mentioned, the instant troubles came in the way they considered his career at an end, and were only anxious to put him off the stage. Of course these observations apply to the great, ignorant and unreflecting mass of society; individuals there were in abundance who were fully aware both of the value of the services of the Regent, of his personal qualities, and of the stake the giddy multitude were playing in deposing him. I doubt whether in all history, when the time is a little remote and the description of the transactions that took place in the few weeks of 1843, is calmly and impartially given, a similar instance of heedless and unthinking ingratitude be found, to place by the side of it.

To those unacquainted with Spanish modes of proceeding, it may be well to explain the exact meaning of the word "pronunciamento," as they apply it. The practice appears to date from the war of independence, when in the outbursts against

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Napoleon, there was no general government, and the capital of every province establishing its own junta, set up for itself, hardly acknowledging any paramount authority, excepting always that of the beloved Ferdinand. From this time, although not practised, the habit had remained in embryo, and is so perfectly suited to the independent character of the people, and their custom of considering their own locality superior to every other, that it was called into play during the civil war, and we shall, very probably, live to see repetitions of it under some other head or front, at no distant period.

The priesthood have not been mentioned, because, although the majority were thoroughly opposed to the Regent, they took no part whatever, that I could make out, in any place in Spain, during this very serious business, with the exception, in a small degree, of those at Valencia; where, from the immense revenues of the archbishopric, previous to the abolition of tithes, and a prudent and generous use in the distribution, they had greater power, probably, than in other places. The reason of this will be explained in the remarks on the present state of the hierarchy. The sagacity of that body was never better displayed than in this forbearance of interference, for had they stirred at the commencement, independently of other inconveniences that might have resulted, there would, in all probability, have been a serious check to the pronunciamentos. In this they stood exactly in the same situation as

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the moderado or French party, whose success entirely depended on their keeping in the back ground, and making the fools, who were serving their purpose, work their ends, whilst they were acting under a very different impression.

Having now sketched the elements of opposition the Regent had to encounter, which, it must be admitted, were pretty strong when fairly brought into play, there is one observation to be made of the last importance in forming a judgment of the extraordinary event a few weeks brought about, which I can most positively assert to be fact. *The parties who begun the pronunciamentos had neither the intention nor the slightest idea that the result of their proceedings would be the fall of the Regency.* They engaged in this most foolish business merely on the grounds previously stated, and in utter ignorance of the nature of the amnesty; of the craft with which that masterpiece of Machiavelian policy had been concocted; of the second or supplementary part, by which, instead of being modified, as was generally expected, it was aggravated to the degree that the Regent had no escape from the false position he was placed in by accepting the programme, but by resorting to the sword, which finally failed him. On the occasion previously alluded to, after we had discussed and laughed at the articles of this document; one of the party, a military man, (who was as well informed as any in Spain,) with myself, talked this part over privately, and we were

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entirely of opinion that it was utterly impracticable, and in the execution must be modified, having apparently only been introduced *ad captandum*. So little idea was there of deposing the Regent, that long afterwards, when my own opinion, although carefully reserved, was, that he must succumb, I asked several persons at different times, who were wild and enthusiastic in opposition, "Is your object to get rid of the Regent?" The answer given invariably was, "No, quite out of the question; "he is INDISPENSABLE, we cannot do without him; he must remain until the Queen is of age."

As many persons may not understand the meaning of the term "Ayacucho," which was employed to designate the Regent and his friends, amongst whom the English were placed in the foremost rank, it may be well to explain that the word is of far more historical importance than as denominating a political faction; for it is derived from the scene of the last and decisive battle fought in South America, when the royalist army was beaten and obliged to surrender, with the exception of Callao; which Rodil, although included in the capitulation, refused to give up, and held out for a few months longer. At this battle Espartero was present, and as campaigning of that nature brings men tolerably well acquainted with each other, he had several friends, to whom, having subsequently always adhered to his fortunes, he was naturally and properly attached. The Gallo-Christino press designated these persons

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by the approbrious names of famillа ayacucha, pandilla ayacucha, with many equally elegant variations, and latterly, in similar phrases with those in use at Paris, added the Anglo Ayacuchos, as already pointed out.

We must now proceed to notice the finale, which began to approach. All the elements, hitherto enumerated, are solely and exclusively national. They are not only so, but it may fairly be said that in no other country, of the ancient or modern world, could the same causes and consequences have existed. Whatever be the results, whether good or evil, which time only must shew, as they cannot be safely predicted; the Malagueños, Granadinos, and Valencians may say, "On our heads be it," for without them the revolution would never have commenced, and without the extrinsic power from without, it may as securely be said, the termination would not have taken place. The supplies of money sent from abroad, the activity of the military leaders who came from Paris, more especially of General Narvaez, are the causes of the rapid close, consequent on the failure of the Regent to take the great towns as before mentioned. Being under no sort of official restraint to conceal or abstain from speaking the truth, and having by my own presence and knowledge of the country, tolerable means of knowing what was going on, it would be wrong to avoid giving what will hereafter be a notorious historical fact, when the actors on one side or the other have been removed from the

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scene. It is no wonder that many individuals, in so proud a nation as they are, should wish to conceal the truth, or avert their eyes from it; as, if true, which every friend of the country would wish not to be the case, the whole history reflects little credit on the people, the majority of whom, it is impossible to deny, were concerned in it. I had many amusing scenes at the latter part, when the result was inevitable, on hearing their incredulity as to the final consequences. They laughed at the idea of French party or French influence governing them. I generally concluded by saying, which I have no doubt some remember at this time, "You now imagine you are putting down a pandilla, as you call it. In six months or less, you will be in the hands of another pandilla of a very different description, and not so easy to get rid of." The information given on all this part of the subject, is the result not of one or two, but of a prodigious mass of conversation, and of discussion, than which nothing is easier than to elicit from this people, if you know the language and the mode of dealing with them. The key to the whole transaction is their sanguine and enthusiastic credulity, proceeding from the extreme good nature that forms the basis of the national character. To prove the position, as to the arrival of the Christino leaders, it is only necessary to observe, that they were far from well received in the south; and at Granada, where one of them appeared, I heard they were not only unwilling to give him any

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assistance, but coupled it with the condition that he was not to return again to the place. I believe the greater part of Spain would then, had it been practicable, have gone willingly back to the Regent, but always with the "programme;" and at the time he left Madrid, could he possibly have given way, or had the alternative so craftily formed and so pertinaciously forced on him, of conceding the amnesty, been possible, without the surrender of his personal friends, and the inevitable consequence that his power and life would have been sacrificed, he would in all probability have been at Madrid to this hour. But of all this, the giddy and ignorant multitude, whose knowledge on these subjects is in the inverse ratio of their natural talents, were profoundly ignorant.

The manner in which some of the provinces seceded has been mentioned, but others remain to be noticed. Galicia was lost by a false move, in changing the Captain-General, San Miguel, for that of Valladolid. His successor was a native of the country, and for some reason or other (cosas de España,) being no way suspected of disaffection, and probably like so many others, having little idea of the consequences, trimmed and temporised, even encouraging the disaffected to pronounce, as I was informed by unimpeachable testimony. As a just reward, the instant the juntas were formed, he was superseded and laid on the shelf, most probably for ever. A bando issued by my friends at Coruña

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was previously alluded to; this is a precious specimen of the millennium feeling so generally prevalent at the time. They were unwilling to join the French party, and ashamed to go back to the Regent; therefore this is an attempt to do neither, but to repose on the new, and as they call it, "Virgin party of Lopez!" – a curious term to apply to a political party, headed by a rather stale lawyer, of considerable notoriety in the courts, deserving any thing but "freshness" to be applied to his practice, or any thing about him. This rare morsel was continued in the same style of hyperbole, and the effect of it and other proceedings of the same kind was, that I heard the progresista or "go-ahead" party in the town, rose and drove all these temporisers and trimmers out of the place; taking possession of their seats, just before the final establishment of Narvaez at Madrid. At Pontevedra and at Vigo, the Regent's party not only gained the ascendant, but the new government was obliged to send troops to reduce them, especially in the latter place, and if events had not marched so rapidly in the south, the Regent could very easily have recovered Galicia, which important province held to the revolt by a mere thread. The two Xefes politicos of Leon and Oviedo held those provinces to the last, and never surrendered until every thing was over. Estremadura, with the exception, I believe, of the troops at Badajoz, and perhaps one or two places of no importance, never rose, but preserved their allegiance

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almost entirely. Aragon never took any part in the insurrection—the kingdom of the Peninsula, that all the Spaniards consider the most firm and determined in its resolutions, and the most truly national of any. The Basque Provinces, with the exception of the troops in garrison at one or two towns, never stirred, nor did a peasant belonging to them take any part. Madrid and Cadiz were the chief towns that held out, and any one who takes the map, may see what truth there was in the representation, that every village in Spain was against the Regent. The reverse is more near the truth, for not a village was against him, and the whole revolt was confined to the towns, or very nearly so. Seville was lost by the Xefe politico putting himself at the head of the pronunciamento, and a very ugly epithet was addressed to him in the Government journals. It will very naturally be asked, why did the Regent give up, and not continue the fight, when so large a portion of the country was still in his favour? The question was to be decided by arms, and by arms alone, the toga having been superseded by the musket, and after the failure of the attack on Seville, the only military blow that remained for him to strike, he had no alternative but to yield to circumstances. Certainly, without information only possessed by himself, and those in his immediate confidence, it is hardly fair to give an opinion, but this much may safely be said, that the Regent of the kingdom, and the head of the army

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should not have attacked a town without the certainty of being able to take it.

As to the bribery so generally alleged to have taken place, the universally known history of Colonel Echalecu, the governor of Montjuich, is sufficient evidence of the practice existing. The Ayuntamiento made the offer, but it is well known Catalans are not in the habit of parting so readily with their money, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether they were more than the channel of transmission; but, leaving this part, who was to supply the "French steamer," promised to be put at his disposal? Was that vessel under the command of the said Ayuntamiento? or was she not, as well as the money, part and parcel of the same concern? The fact became matter of perfect notoriety, as it was spread in order to entrap the unwary, that when the chiefs arrived from Paris on the southern coast, they had a large sum, from Christina, or other friends of hers, at their disposal. In the west, towards the close, the tariff of pay given to the sergeants and others as a reward for deserting the Regent, was publicly given out, and there can be little doubt that others, in higher station, were not proof against the temptations offered to them. The "French steamers" played an important part in all this business, and no Government was ever better served than that, by its subordinate officers, their activity from the very beginning, being universally admitted every where, to have been extraordinary. Many a stout heart

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that would have stood the roar of the Paixhans guns unmoved, yielded to the softer persuasives in other shapes, that glittered before their eyes.

Of course I only repeat what were the stories in current circulation, not having seen any money paid personally, I cannot assert positively that it was the case. Certainly a circumstance occurred shortly afterwards rather remarkable, and more than suspicious. In a neighbouring kingdom, just about the time when such accounts might be supposed in course of liquidation; by a process peculiar to themselves, a supplementary credit for 750,000 francs was opened for secret service money. Of course nothing was stated as to the employment of this sum, but in date and circumstance it very nearly agrees with what I heard had been contributed by one of the two parties engaged in promoting the pronunciamentos.

What was said in the country must also be mentioned, that at the outset of the business the sums paid were small, but increased as they went on, very naturally, as the result of the "investment" became more certain and the parties felt more secure of being reimbursed.

Vast numbers of soldiers were bribed by the promise of discharge previous to the proper expiration of their term of service, this argument acting on Spaniards like the promise of prize money on our sailors, or the sack of a town on the troops of Napoleon in the latter period of his career.

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With respect to the objects of putting down Espartero, by a certain personage, there were three. The Queen's person, and the taking her out of the custody of the Regent, as attempted by other means in October 1841, no doubt with a view to consequences that are not yet developed, but probably will be, very shortly.

The next was the determination to prevent, at any rate or sacrifice, the making a treaty of commerce with this country, or in any way freeing the Spanish tariffs from the condition that suits the views of the Gallo-Catalan manufacturers.

Lastly, the personal hatred borne to the Regent himself, which is too remarkable and important an historical fact not be noticed, and was so implacable that it became matter of certainty, it was (figuratively we mean) "guerra al cuchillo." Espartero having terminated the war, by Spanish means alone or nearly so, contrary to the plans and views of the parties alluded to, had done what could never be forgiven, and the more so as he was and could only be looked on, the head of the national party, and opposed to any protectorate in the quarter alluded to.

We must now proceed to some remarks on the causes of the unpopularity, which it cannot be denied, was encountered by the government of the Regent, previous to the breaking out of the pronunciamentos. In general, as already mentioned, the blame rested principally with the Cortes; the delays, squabbles, want of subordination to the

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leaders, in the various groups or sections, having utterly prevented the public business being carried on; but a large or undue share, as happens in every country, fell on the head of the government. In other respects, excepting the many acts, such as the confiscation of the property belonging to the secular clergy, which was certain to raise a host of enemies, I never heard any thing that could be fairly laid to the blame of the Regency. The great and eternal obstacle in Spain, as already noticed, is the finance department. From the embarrassed state of the treasury, it was found impossible to reduce the taxes, which were continued, even with the additional load of extraordinary contributions levied during the civil war. This was the real root of the evil; and I know that in almost every part of Spain, the smaller proprietors, who form the immense majority of the whole, had not only been obliged to submit to great loss of income, but had actually lost considerable portions of their capital, so that families who were in comfortable circumstances a few years back, were in a very different situation at the time we are speaking of.

There are two circumstances of great importance to note, bearing on this state of things. In this singular country there is a national talent for procrastinating and making excuses to avoid or delay payment of taxes, and other charges, aided by the absolute difficulty in most parts of raising money for a temporary purpose, except by paying enor-

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mous and ruinous interest. These plans are so general, that the weight fell on those more conscientious members who could not, or on those the circumstances of whose property prevented their resorting to such schemes; at the same time, the immense defalcations compelled the continuance of taxes originally intended only to be temporary. The other, of equal importance, as it has affected and will continue to affect the popularity of every government, until a total change of system takes place, which, unfortunately, the "neighbours" seem determined shall not be the case; is the deep persuasion throughout the people, that money sufficient is extracted from them to pay every demand and keep the finances in a wholesome condition; but that the greater part is devoured by the harpies to whose possession it is transferred.

One great error already hinted, was the keeping so large an army, which they had not the means of paying, or even feeding regularly. No doubt there were reasons for this, if we could hear them from the Regent himself, whose position was extremely arduous; but it cannot be denied this was one of the causes of the catastrophe. They would, very probably, inform you, in justification, that their position with certain neighbours obliged a large force to be kept up. The most unceasing efforts were made, as is well known, not only to rouse the Basques and Catalans to insurrection, but after Cabrera's force was finally driven across the frontier, they

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were, after the form of surrendering the arms had been gone through, reformed, and an appearance held out of their being poured back again into Spain, to recommence their career of robbery and spoliation. In fact, nearly the whole force under arms was employed in and about Catalonia, and on the Basque frontier, the western and northern provinces being nearly without troops, and many important places being left with mere skeletons of garrisons.

There are some observations to be made on the personal situation of the Regent in his exalted station, which, as the whole of these transactions are public and historical, and, as I heard a very great deal respecting it both from friends and opponents, must not be omitted. His personal enemies were chiefly in three classes, the nobility, the military, and the clergy.

Of the former, it need only be said, that the want of birth and previous position in society, were points they must have naturally felt with extreme sensibility. It is not in human nature that the grandees of Spain should relish seeing a man from the lower ranks of the people placed above them; but this natural feeling being admitted, they ought surely to have considered the country in which, however they may have played it, they have a very large stake; and the circumstances that had brought about the election of Espartero as Regent, more than the gratification of appearing at a court, which would in the course of a few months

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have been finally opened to them; without the possibility, had he even wished it, of his preventing their taking the stations near the throne, from which, by a feeling it is impossible to admire, they voluntarily secluded themselves at the period under discussion. After all, the court of Madrid at the best times, is a poor representation of anything like grandeur, and in comparison with those of the leading sovereigns in Europe, is hardly better than a burlesque, so that the waiting for that time could not have been any very great sacrifice.

If, as is very probable, these parties have assisted in producing a state of things which will place Spain under the tyrannical dictation of a foreign power, they have incurred a very great responsibility to their country and to posterity; solely from a petty feeling of jealousy, which it would have been infinitely more noble and magnanimous to have resisted, and not to have allowed to influence them under the unparalleled difficulties the monarchy was placed in.

Had so proud and ignorant a set of people as the majority of them are, condescended to look abroad, they could see a much better example; where an aristocracy, though many of them may be of inferior descent, are infinitely more powerful, enjoying influence and weight, of which the Spanish grandees have hardly a shadow, but are content to follow and almost it may be said to obey leaders, mere roturiêrs or from the lower ranks of society, whom

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their talents and the situation of the country have brought to the surface; inducing the sacrifice of their natural feelings, and the acting cordially with them.

The military officers have already been mentioned, and the nature of the ill will many of them bore to the Regent. Amongst these people, an habitual practice of denying his military talents, and every other sort of merit, prevailed, on none of which topics is there the slightest intention to enter. Many of the criticisms proceeded from Paris, from the parties congregated there, or our neighbours themselves, amongst whose weaknesses is that of never allowing any talent to an opponent, in which light they had long been in the habit of considering the Regent. As to his military operations, this is still less the place to enter upon them, but it cannot be denied that after the army was disciplined and provided, the want of which essential circumstances accounts for many unlucky adventures at the outset of his operations, as well as those of his predecessors, everything was well, creditably, and strategically done, nor is it of the least use, as they frequently tell you in Spain, to judge by the number of battles gained. The war was essentially of a different character, at the latter part, being one of detail or partisanship on a large scale, where, in the cause of humanity, the less blood shed in effecting the result, the more true glory to the conqueror. By universal admission, supported by the appearance

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of the better regiments, although most of the veterans had been discharged when I saw them, he commanded at the close of the war, 30,000 troops who would have fought the same number of any army in Europe, a circumstance that has not taken place since the time of Philip the Second.

To shew the unceasing activity of his opponents, amongst the list of wretched and venal publications at Madrid was one professedly military, on a diminutive scale and low price, evidently that it might find circulation amongst the men. I saw a few numbers of this production, the clear object of which was to attack and vilify the Regent, under pretence of criticising the conduct of the military department. They styled the Regent, General Espartero, a form always used in certain quarters, where the Regency was never formally acknowledged.

The best answer to another charge made against the Regent, in the pacification, so called, of the Basque Provinces, and that he had violated the agreement made, is, that the people themselves remain satisfied, instead of taking so favourable an opportunity of reclaiming their fueros. As to the article in the convenio of Bergara, nothing can be clearer than that they were to have a modification of the ancient fueros, according to the present constitution, and be amalgamated with and placed under the general law of the country.

Although, as already stated, it is not my intention to enter at all upon any military discussion, there

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is one rather important matter that must be noticed. When I asked the opponents of the Regent, who they would set up as their idol and his rival, the answer frequently was, General Narvaez. Now as this officer never commanded an army until his last operations, which had not then taken place, or done any thing to shew more than great energy and activity, which he is well known to possess, it was undertaking too much to place him upon a par or even superior footing, as they pretended, to the Duke of Victoria. His military achievements in the civil war are soon told, for I believe they are confined to an extremely rapid march, and a considerable advantage gained over the troops of Gomez; after which he commanded in La Mancha, and his energy and activity materially contributed to breaking up the banditti there, of Palillos and others, but as these people were mere robbers on a large scale, and not soldiers, the inferences on that head are of less importance as to the bearing we are considering.

At that period, a rather curious and elaborate plan for finishing the civil war was drawn up and published by him, proposing to form an army of the centre, behind Madrid, leaving the Basque Provinces, Navarre, and all the intervening country to the Carlists! This plan was answered very well and ably by Espartero himself; and when I proposed to let any military man decide between the judgments of the two from these documents, they answered by

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way of excuse, "the plan was not his own but came from abroad." There was some reason for this defence, such as it was, for I believe the fact to be that this notable scheme did come from beyond the frontier. Now this discovery, which has subsequently received confirmation, is rather curious, as it would prove the existence of a plan *somewhere*, to protract the war, which, unless the party that drew up that paper were entirely ignorant of what he was writing, must have been the sole intention of it.

We need not at this time enter on the question of the Clergy, which will be treated in another chapter; but notice must be made of other alleged errors of the Regent. He is accused of ingratitude to Christina, to whom it is said he owed everything. It is hardly necessary to say more on this subject, than that the war was brought to a close rather in despite of that personage, than by any acts or assistance of hers, and the less said about her during that period the better. The obligation is at least mutual, and had it been in his character to do so, the Regent might have said with greater justice, that her daughter owed her crown to himself.

The next is, that he should not have been made Regent, but should have simply retained the command of the army, leaving the charge either to Christina or some one else. Upon this I have not information enabling me to give an opinion, from not having been in Spain at that time, and not having troubled myself to inquire into a matter

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which is now of no sort of importance. Had the thing been practicable, however, there is no doubt he had better have done so; but I suspect it was otherwise, and that the bowing her out of the kingdom was a matter of inevitable necessity.

There is another bearing of this same subject that also requires remark. Failing Christina, should he not rather have allowed Arguelles, the sole rival he had, and the only one any person seriously thought of opposing to him, to take charge of the Regency, merely retaining the command of the army himself. In this there are some questions to consider (Cosas de España.) Would the parties have acted together? Was the situation of affairs in Spain, as far as personal feelings and other points we cannot enter upon, such as to make a similar arrangement practicable or advisable? There may have been insurmountable difficulties, from causes invisible to the naked eye, but I have always regretted the trial not having been made.

As to the third plan, that of a trinary regency, or one to be composed of three persons, it was absurd, as every one who knows this people will agree, that three persons with collateral power never yet were found to act cordially together; and to a certainty, in less than a year, the enemy would have found his way into the camp, and an end have been put to any good that could have been expected from them. I have reflected very much on this subject, and if I could offer an opinion upon it, I should say (with

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the reserve already stated) the appointment of Arguelles would have been the better plan, and would have obviated many inconveniences which have resulted from that they adopted.

From what has been stated, the mercantile class were divided in opinion, but as far as numbers go, I believe the majority were entirely on the French, or prohibitory side. No pains were left to deceive the public on this head. I was told, on the very best authority, that in an important city of the south, where the sentiments and interest of the people are equally in favour of a free intercourse with us, that the only journal which advocated the cause, was lately bought up by the Franco-Catalan association, and is now written in the spirit of the most violent hostility to the amended tariff. When every thing was nearly over with the Regent, the Catalans sent a deputation to the Malaguenos, urging them, as a matter of patriotism, to shut their doors against all English merchandise! This was done when every magazine was crammed to the utmost limit of its capacity, and provision had been made for many months.

I found the greatest prejudice in many quarters of the commercial class, about our proceedings with regard to the Slave trade. In no country I have ever been, is it possible to meet with a single individual who believes we advocate it for any other motive than self-interest. Whether the strange exhibition of philanthropy and legal tyranny, more

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like the proceedings of the inquisition than any thing else, in the late trial of a native of the country we are discussing, will tend to soften this feeling, is more than I can pretend to say. There is, however, little doubt that we shall have serious cause to consider, before long, whether the feelings of a few individuals, however good and laudable, should have been put forward as the head and front of national policy; and if, in consequence, we become involved in a general war, the effect on the world at large, and the distress and misery it may cause in every part of the globe, will be poorly recompensed by the reflection that a temporary and local stop has been put to a traffic, bad and indefensible in every way as it is: and whether it would not have been better, simply to employ our good offices to effect, what every day is more manifest, even by sacrificing our commerce and by enormous expenditure, we cannot do; whilst in the large and comprehensive view of the subject we are actually increasing the difficulties, and aggravating the hardships of those unfortunately the objects of our ill-judged philanthropy. We must hope for the best, and that these anticipations may turn out to be unfounded, but there is too much reason to believe that ere long we shall be called on to take up our arms for a very different contest from any war we have ever been engaged in, mainly produced by this very question, and whilst expending our resources in forwarding this favourite crotchet, we are leaving nearly every

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colony undefended and indefensible according to the new system of war; laying out annually vast sums in plans, however good and amiable in theory, which are visionary and impracticable, in their economical bearing; at the same time our valuable settlements are being left a very probable prey to the cupidity of those who are constantly employed in surveying and finding out the weak points, making the calculation of the profits they may gain by pillage or ransom of them. But we must return from this digression, which would not have been introduced but from what, I am sorry to say, was forced on my observation in Spain.

Amongst the officers mentioned as having been demanded to be dismissed by Lopez, in his tail-piece or supplementary amnesty, the private secretary of the Regent was alluded to. This gentleman is now in this country, and as the whole transaction is one of history, his position may be more particularly described. In the war of Catalonia, General Mina had as second an officer called Gurrea, whose early history I am ignorant of, but I believe he was a soldier of the war of independence. His activity, and the knowledge he acquired of the country, and the manner in which he had trained the troops under his orders, enabled him finally to beat the Catalonian insurgents at their own weapons, and by his assistance Mina was able at last to put down the murderers and robbers that overran it, as already mentioned. To those who have read or

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heard of the Maroon war in Jamaica, that so called in Catalonia at this epoch, bears the strongest possible resemblance; the Carlist troops or banditti representing the fugitive negroes, whose tactics they followed exactly; the same degree of humanity characterizing their proceedings, which, if they were published, would not be read or credited here. When the services of General Gurrea were no longer required there, in consequence of the complete pacification of the district, he was ordered to the Basque Provinces, where he had scarcely arrived before he was killed in a trifling affair of posts, being nearly the only person touched. He left a family really orphans of the country, and one of his sons, who was educated in England, is the officer alluded to. Now, the forcibly dismissing the private secretary of any one, is an act not only unusual, but upon which, amongst gentlemen, there can be but one opinion; but the circumstances I have mentioned give a strange colour to this part of the transaction, and go far to prove, that whosoever planned this amnesty, whether natives or foreigners, were influenced by the most blind, unrelenting, and personal hatred to the Regent; for in no other way, that I can find, is it possible to account for so unusual a proceeding.

Yet one other charge against the Regent remains to be noticed. They tell you, that whilst unnecessarily severe upon Leon, he acted in the other extreme towards the first insurrectionary junta

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at Barcelona, and that if he had dealt justice out as due to the chief in particular, who, I think, was called Carsy, or some such name; and insisted on the dismissal of the French consul, who was accused of inciting the revolt, and never satisfactorily exculpated in Spain, whatever he may have been at Paris, that the late proceedings would probably not have taken place. Not having been in the country at the time, I offer no opinion on this important subject, but I have very little doubt that the step of pardoning these people materially contributed to the late catastrophe. The first intercourse with a certain personage betrayed a degree of determined and calculated hostility, that might have satisfied any one conciliation was of very little use in dealing with him. The embassy of M. Salvandy, who, no doubt, only obeyed his instructions, was a deliberate insult to the Regent, and should have put him doubly on his guard, for the worst consequences that could have ensued by braving him, would have been less than those that have resulted from the vain attempt to avert his predetermined hostility. At the same time that proceeding shook all respect and popularity of the Regency in the country, only encouraging the opponents, who, as already stated, were principally at Madrid, and witnesses of these transactions.

Another most fatal mistake was made about this very time, by promulgating either an order or an understanding, which was current in the mouth

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of every one; that in case of disturbances, the troops were not to "hostilizar el pueblo," that is, to make use of their arms. Humane as the order was, it acted as a premium or encouragement to pronunciamentos, and although happily, with the exception of that of poor Camacho at Valencia, hardly any blood was shed, and the pronunciamentos, in most places approached the nature of Sainetes, the consequences on the general interests of the country have been, and will continue to be most disastrous. Such was their disregard to results, that when I left Spain, they talked of repeating the process whenever it might be thought necessary! No one ever dissented, when I remarked, that henceforward, no government could for a moment be considered secure. The plan of Narvaez, of shooting in the back wholesale, is rather different, like most of his proceedings from those of the Regent, and may probably prevent these demonstrations and exhibitions, being so frequent under his dictature.

But it is time to conclude this history of the Pronunciamentos, which we shall do by merely observing that the latter history of the three individuals, who were pointed out as the causes of the difficulties of the Regent and of his final overthrow, is rather remarkable. The instant the new parties were fairly in office, they were laid aside, and they are now located as follows:—Cortina in prison, at Madrid, incommunicado for many weeks, until quite recently; but still closely confined, no crime alleged

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but suspicion of wanting affection for the present order of things.

Olozaga, after being decked by his associates with the order of the Golden Fleece belonging to the Regent, from which and his other honours he was ordered to be considered degraded, (an illegal proceeding, for which the parties had no authority,) is an exile, and after passing some time in Portugal, came to this country, where, or in France, he probably may now be.

Lopez, who, according to my friends, the Junta of Coruña, was the head of the "Virgins," (a considerably larger number than the followers of Santa Ursula,) after being many weeks concealed, in order to escape being arrested simultaneously with Cortina, is now to be tried (I suppose for his life) as implicated in the rise at Alicante, his native place. His actual abode is unknown, and supposed to be out of Spain! Sic transeunt "Cosas de España," Pronunciamentos!

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CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE CHURCH.

As every reader may not be acquainted with the actual state of the ecclesiastical establishments of Spain, it is necessary to observe, that by successive decrees of the Cortes, every convent in the kingdom has been suppressed, and the sole exception as to being shut up, is that of the Escorial, to which the College of Missions at Valladolid is to be transferred. Some exceptions were at first made to these sweeping orders, amongst which were Guadalupe, the great convent of St. Benito el Real at Valladolid, the Escorial, and one or two others, but the protraction of the war, and other circumstances, have finally caused the whole to succumb, and the very habit of monk is strictly forbidden to be worn.

When in Spain previously, I endeavoured, but without success, to obtain the probable number of monks remaining, which I was aware were very much diminished of late years, so much so, that as then mentioned, many of the convents were only living skeletons, compared to their former condition. To show the ignorance prevailing in this country on such subjects, there was published at that very time, in no less important a periodical than the "Edinburgh Review," a statement of there being 400,000

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in Spain!— more than double the amount known to have existed before the revolution, and before a monk had been dismissed, or the slightest reflection thrown on the profession by any class of society; whilst, in fact, they were thriving under the ægis of the Santo Oficio, when any one that dared to lift a finger against them would have been instantly incarcerated.

The article in question was evidently written to demonstrate that Spain was entirely in the hands of the clergy, and the people as much priest-ridden as before; but we shall find the accuracy of the information alluded to, on which their calculations were founded. The only regret is, that established etiquette should prevent errors of this gross nature ever being corrected in these publications, so that a misstatement once issued, the public, who may not have the means of knowing better, are left in ignorance.

When they first began seriously to think of yielding to the clamour on every side for the suppression of these worse than useless establishments, which had already undergone the process twice; the last time by the consent of Ferdinand himself; on looking into the articles of the Council of Trent, it was found that the crown had the power reserved, of suppressing any convent of which the number of monks did not amount to twelve. Of eighteen hundred convents that existed in the kingdom, nine hundred, or one half, fell under this category,

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and were suppressed under a simple ordinance. If we take ten to be the number of monks in each of these, which is probably rather more than under the mark, it gives 9000, as the inmates of one half of the monastic establishments; and from what I have heard, although it can only be considered an approximation, no full and correct account existing, the whole would amount to between 30 and 40,000! So much for the accuracy of information in the journal alluded to, in which this absurd statement was put out. Jovellanos, than whom there could not be better authority, reckons the entire clerical body of all classes in his time at 180,000.

After the death of Ferdinand, they were long in determining to take the step so imperiously called for by the common voice of the people; more especially that of the numerous families who had suffered or been ruined by the most iniquitous resumption of the lands sold between 1820 and 1823, which step has contributed, with others, to bring about the great revolution we are now considering.

Amongst other causes that produced this feeling in the public mind, against the monks, was the certainty that they were nearly unanimously on the side of Don Carlos. So certain was it, that previous to the suppression, several rather curious decrees were issued, calling on them, in the most expressive and significant terms, to mind what they were about. Orders were issued, that in case a certain number should be found absent from any convent, it should

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be shut up, and the remainder transferred to some other quarter, or even if one monk should leave without the authorities being informed within twenty-four hours. In short, no means were left to prevent their engaging in a cause, that but for the assistance of the ecclesiastical bodies, would never have made the progress it did. The suppression was hastened by the appearance of the cholera, and the belief amongst the people, (like those in Hungary with the medical men,) that they had been instrumental in producing the disease by poisoning the waters! The populace not only believed this, but acted upon it in some parts rather summarily, so that the authorities were obliged to interfere, and take possession of the buildings, to save the inmates from being massacred, who, a few years before, were the subject of universal respect, bordering on adoration! It is pretty clear, that when a state of things like this exists, the suppression of these remains of the dark ages, is, in the medical phrase, rather strongly indicated, yet the maintenance of them intact, was the grand object of Don Carlos and his supporters!

There is no doubt that many of these people have been left in an extremely unfortunate condition, as to the means of existence. There is a small or daily pay, allotted for their living, but the Government have not the means of paying them regularly. Some have been absorbed into the parochial service, as already mentioned, but many are unqualified for

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that office, so important in Spain. In the decrees respecting them, all who have not been ordained "in sacris," that is full orders, are eligible to fill civil employments. The others may teach branches of arts and belles lettres, if qualified and disposed to do so. There are instances of inmates of these establishments, having foreseen the storm that awaited them, selling their pictures and other moveable property, and by economising their revenues, instead of transmitting them to Don Carlos, retiring with abundant means of solacing their old age. Amongst others, I was assured the survivors of a Carthusian convent near Seville, divided 9000 dollars each, a considerable fortune in Spain; but these were exceptions to the general rule, and the greater part were very poor at the suppression. A strange thing is, that the richer convents were in general the least provided with inmates, whilst those of the mendicants, who depended for their daily subsistence on the charitable contributions of their neighbours, were mostly quite full. The chief reason of this was, that the upper classes of society had long given up the sending their sons to the former class of establishments, to which they properly would have belonged; whilst the mendicant class recruited amongst the lower orders, many of whom entered this holgazan, or idle life, in order to escape the conscription, the great dread of every Spanish peasant.

The oldest conventual foundations appear to be

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the very curious group alluded to in the account of Asturias and Galicia, to which kingdoms they seem to have been confined. There were no less than 400 of these small establishments, the greater part being "duplices," and containing both sexes! In fact, they were private endowments, and much more secular than ecclesiastical in their nature; nor do I suppose the inmates professed any degree of sanctity, or possibly even celibacy; but in these ages, every thing, to be secure, was obliged to be invested with some degree of religious character. A portion of these foundations were styled "herederos," meaning that they were proprietary, and belonged, by hereditary right, to the families who had originally endowed them. I am not aware of the existence of any thing analogous to this curious system, in any other part of Europe; and even in Spain it appears to have been confined to those provinces above-named. The dates of the greater number are in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, and it is considered, that the exhaustion and bad management of these properties, and the sinking them in mortmain, was the principal cause of the enormous increase of the mendicant orders; the lower classes of people, who were deprived of the means of existence, having very naturally followed the example of those above them.

So little were the monachal endowments part of "ancient Spain," that the people of Castile made the most strenuous opposition to their having any

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lands attached to them, and persevered for several ages in maintaining the fundamental law which forbade it. It was also prohibited in Leon by their law passed in the Cortes of Benevento. A long series of Cortes are quoted by Jovellanos, where the same prohibitory law was solemnly recognised; and after the conquest of those provinces from the Moors, it was extended to Toledo, Murcia, Jaen, Cordova, and Seville. The prohibition was equally a part of the municipal privileges of the towns, and was granted by St. Ferdinand and his son; and from the tenth to the fourteenth century, the kings aided the people in resisting the innovation, which, with the usual perseverance of the Curia, or court of Rome, they were endeavouring to force on. The opposition lasted steadily, until near the middle of the sixteenth century, the last stand being made by the Cortes of Madrid in 1534, when, as Jovellanos observes, piety and avarice working in concert, bore down all resistance. This was about the time that the last blow was struck to the liberties and constitution of the kingdom, and the final effort was the war of the Comuneros.

The exclaustrados, or retired monks, are frequently seen on the paseos, where their portly forms and gait, different from that of every one near them, with their strangely selected costumes, (probably the work of some of their brethren,) replacing those they dare not wear, cause them to be readily distinguished from the other promenaders.

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One good result has attended their suppression amongst others; they are no longer the subject of universal ridicule, as they formerly were, and the natural feelings of the people, respecting their fallen state, have completely operated to spare them; nor did I ever, in the course of this last tour, hear one jest or ill-natured remark at their expense, a very great change from that in the time of Ferdinand, when they were the common butt of all the active part of society. The Government ordered homes to be provided in the respective districts to receive the monks after they were turned out, but I am not aware of what success attended this plan: and no doubt, all who have families and connections, or the means of living independently, prefer doing so, to joining such assemblies, where the society cannot be very pleasant under the circumstances that have formed it.

THE SECULAR CLERGY.

However little prepared the public in general were for the quiet surrender of the property belonging to the regular clergy, they must have been still less for the tranquil manner in which the sweeping measure of appropriating the vast domains of the chapters and other bodies connected with them, was received. No one could possibly understand this, unless perfectly acquainted with the change that had quietly taken possession of the public mind on these subjects within the present generation. This topic

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strange enough to say, had been agitated in Spain, long before that of the far more useless and less defensible one of the collateral body had been seriously taken into consideration. Many years ago in the time of Charles the Third, the enormous property locked up by being in possession of the regular clergy, had been regularly brought under notice of the government, and the selling off that property and converting the produce into the public funds and securities for their benefit, was seriously proposed to no less a body than the Council of Castile, who could hardly be considered inferior in pure Catholicism to the sacred College itself. This is singular enough, but the fact that in the exposition made on the subject the monks are hardly mentioned, is equally so; the truth is that they were immediately under the charge of powers too dangerous to meddle with, otherwise it would be difficult to account for so extraordinary a distinction being made. The groundwork of this proposition for selling their lands at the time mentioned, was the fatal effects in the locking up such vast property, upon the agriculture of Spain, to raise which from its depressed condition was the cause of its being made. No wonder, if in his later days the bold innovator who dared to propound such doctrine should fall under the ban of these authorities, and should have had a few years of his life to pass in exile and confinement. Such were the views of Jovellanos, and those who acted with him, and the only difference in carrying them out is, that they

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do not now invest the proceeds, but assign moderate pay, to the once powerful possessors of these enormous, but waste and almost unproductive domains.

I have heard a quotation in Spain, said to be from Gibbon, but I do not remember it in his works, though it very probably may be found there; it is a sort of address to Spain, in these words, as they cited them, "What has Spain done with the four hundred cities she once possessed?" Spain might answer to this pithy question, "Ask the church, they can perhaps inform you." It is not to the *church*, but to the ecclesiastical bodies under that name, whose will was the law for so many ages, that Spain has all but been erased from amongst the nations of the earth. The persecution of the Jews, the expulsion of the Moriscos, the locking up of vast properties in mortmain, and the final establishment of the dreadful tyranny to consolidate and keep these enormities together, have destroyed the resources of the country, and converted probably one half of the finest part of it into the despoblados, that the traveller encounters whenever he leaves the beaten track, and even upon it, in some provinces. These causes and not the discovery of America, have reduced this first of European kingdoms to the state in which we behold it. Where are the forty towns of Toledo, that have disappeared since the time of Philip the Second? Ask the priesthood, for they are the real authors of such destruction. Where are the industrious people that teemed in Andalucia, the very name of whose

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locations are lost, although they once filled the country along the Guadalquivir, making it one vast garden and continued line of towns and villages? Ask the advisers and directors of the Catholic Kings, who are now held out as subjects for admiration. Who have caused the reduction of Estremadura, nearly the most beautiful region in Europe, to a vast despoblado? The same authorities. Let the traveller go from Burgos to Valladolid and from thence to Leon, returning by Benevente, or shaping his course as he may in that region, he will see every where, amid the most fertile land producing every thing to gladden the heart of man, little more than the ruins of decayed villages and towns, the shadows and spectres of former wealth and prosperity: the same heads and hands have produced these fatal consequences. Only the patient and submissive character of the people have enabled them to bear up against a state of things, to which there is happily no parallel in Europe, so that to find means of comparison, you must go to the dominions of the Mahometans, whom, in intolerance, the ruling body that produced these evils, most nearly resembled.

Can it be supposed a nation so shrewd and intelligent as the Spaniards, when their eyes have once been opened, can look with regret or sorrow on the fall of the temporalities of an establishment like this, the bitter fruits of whose dominion are written on almost every wall and spot of ground in the

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country? It is so far from being matter of surprise that they should at last have taken steps to deliver themselves from such thraldom, as that they should so long have quietly submitted to it.

Notwithstanding what has been stated, the feeling when I was in Spain before, was so little hostile to the secular clergy, excepting where individuals had made themselves obnoxious and occasionally drew forth maledictions on the body at large, that I am fully convinced, they would have been left unmolested, but for the occurrence of the civil war. It is to Don Carlos, to himself and his supporters alone, that the fall of this enormous establishment must be attributed. Had he not taken the field and played his stake until he fairly and completely lost it, no force would, in my firm conviction, ever have been applied, in this generation at least, to sap the colossal edifice.

This was the true secret, both of the support given and the opposition made, to that Prince; and facts will bear out this statement, that disastrous as have been the effects of the civil war in some respects to Spain, she will in the end be the gainer by it, having been enabled to shake off the principal incubus that depressed her energies. So entirely was this the case, that I can fearlessly appeal to any well-informed Spaniard whether, had the cases been reversed, and the cause of the Queen been that of absolute sovereignty and the inquisition, and Don Carlos that of the liberal and constitutional one, whether he would not at this instant be King of Spain. So little does

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that weak and ill-advised personage deserve the eulogiums passed on him from those who may speak from admiration of the cause, but certainly not from any knowledge they possess of the individual, the poorest creature who ever tried for a crown; that every Spaniard I ever heard mention the subject, declared, that if he *had been any thing but what he is*, he would have been King of Spain. One of the first acts of Don Carlos after entering Spain was to declare the Virgin, Generalissimo of the Army! and to issue a bull, procured from Gregory the Sixteenth, wherein his soldiers are to have the same privileges as those combating the infidels! They are to be excused from fasting, and may employ the feast days in war! Certain clergy are exempt from celebrating mass at unusual hours, provided the object be to pray God's assistance against the infidels! and may also bury at irregular times, if the parties be not excommunicated! exemptions from fasting and allowed to eat meat, &c. but clergy themselves, unless seventy years of age, are excepted. The begging box is not forgotten, and fifteen years and fifteen quarantinas are allowed of deductions from penitences imposed, and may share in the benefits of the general pilgrimage. Plenary indulgence to those who may visit five churches and pray against the infidels! All those who supplicate God, &c. may choose a confessor and receive from him full indulgence and remission of sins, even of those reserved to the Holy see, heresy excepted! once in their life-

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time and also in *articulo mortis*; but of sins not reserved by the Holy see, they may have indulgence as often as required! But the confessor is to impose penance, which may be commuted into payment for assistance to the expedition! Other minor privileges of pardon, &c. were added.

This bull is taxed at four reals, twenty-eight maravedis, about a shilling in all, dated Estella, 22nd August, 1837. Countersigned Joaquin, Bishop of Leon.

Such is the abstract of this curious document, which would appear to be a transcript of one from the eleventh or twelfth century, and a notable proof of the sort of government the Spaniards must have expected, had they submitted to this wretched representative of monkish and absolute power. So completely fallen is the high church party that not only, as mentioned in the account of the press, they could not support a journal, but as every one informed me, and as was evidently confirmed by daily observation, it was actually extinct. You could not find a Carlist in society, nor could any one direct you where to look for them. A character mentioned in another part of the work, a church dignitary, and one of the very ablest and most enlightened men in Spain, made use of this rather singular expression, when I was in conversation with him, "Don Carlos es una cosa," Don Carlos is a *thing*, not a person; meaning that he represents the inquisition, and the undue temporal power of the church

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now gone from the stage, possibly for ever. So little influence do they now possess, that the only instance I heard of their having a deputy returned, was in a small town of Old Castile, subsequently to the fall of the Regent, where, the instant the people heard on whom the choice had fallen, they rose and compelled the electors to make another election. I am very far from asserting that both Don Carlos and the cause he is identified with have not partisans in most places, but this is their bearing on society in general.

Although the great body of the ecclesiastics were opposed to the Regent, and gladly looked forward to any change, they carefully abstained from the smallest overt act of interference. In this they acted precisely as the moderado party, and if either had come openly forward at an early stage of the disturbance, some reaction would have inevitably ensued. I heard what has been stated respecting the decay of the Carlist party, not only from the liberals of both sections, but from people who had formerly belonged to it themselves, but had changed into a quasi *moderadism*, the nearest representative of it, from considering the cause of pure Carlism, as my friend designated it, hopelessly and irretrievably gone. If it were allowed to give an opinion as to any thing likely to happen in such a singular and anomalous country, I should say, that the power of the clergy over the great mass of people is gone for ever; unless, which is very possi-

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ble, and even probable, they regain a portion of it by cool and cautious management. It will be understood, as will be subsequently explained in the account of the state of religion, that a wide distinction is made between that principle as existing in the people, and the ruling or dominating power of the priesthood, which is here alluded to.

One of the numberless common errors in circulation respecting this singular country, is that the dominion of the hierarchy and the various anomalies resulting from it, are reliques of ancient Spain, and deserving of respect and veneration as such. The fact is directly the contrary. The usurpations and overweening power of the clergy are of comparatively modern date; by far the greater part of less than three centuries duration. The first remarkable instance of establishing a direct interference in the concerns of the Spanish church, was at the election of a Bishop of Cordova in 1300, but that is old compared to the abuses we have been discussing.

A circumstance came to my knowledge at Seville, so singular, that without its being communicated to me by the highest possible authority, I should have scarcely credited it. In the reign of Charles the Fourth a mandate was issued to the Cabildo of that cathedral, directing them to make a very extensive sale of fincas, or houses belonging to them in the city, and transfer the proceeds to the treasury; ostensibly for the public benefit, but in reality for

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the purpose of ministering to the "menus plaisirs" of the Prince of Peace, whose funds failing at the time, they thought of replenishing them from this extraordinary source. The quantity of property thus estimated, was from one third to one fourth of the whole of that description possessed by the establishment. It was not only done under sanction of the Curia or Vatican, but at that time such an arrangement was utterly impracticable without it.

As the most considerable undertaking of the personage alluded to was building the palace of Buenavista at Madrid, it is very probable that the supply was contrived in order to recruit the funds necessary for that purpose; in fact, it may be considered almost certain to have been the case. Now, from Espartero being the chief of the government at the time the property of the secular clergy was sequestered, the Curia, considering, no doubt, he was the absolute sovereign for the time, were on the point of fulminating a decree of excommunication against him, and were only prevented, as it is believed, following so absurd a course, by some of the more temperate and better heads in the conclave. It would have been truly curious if he had been denounced as a church spoiler, in the very palace built under the sanction of their immediate predecessors, who set the example, by allowing the robbery, to benefit a party whose claim to establish such a singular precedent in his favour we will not enter into. Certainly, under the circumstances he was

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placed in, the Regent might have been excused the abuse that has been showered on him from various quarters, as a spoiler of the church; for which he was about as much to blame as George the Fourth for being instrumental in passing the Emancipation bill; both parties having merely assented in their respective exalted stations, to proceedings imperiously called on for the public good.

The situation of the nuns is by far the worst of anything connected with the late changes in the religious establishments. Many of these carried their small dowries into the societies they were placed in, according to the arrangement of their families; who, until recently, where there were several daughters, generally made one a nun. I am sorry to say, these considerations have not prevailed, and everything has followed the common road of confiscation. The convents are not shut up, but a portion allowed to remain open, a minimum of number being fixed to those who have the license granted, whilst the others are recommended, in fact almost obliged, to join together and live, like the monks, in buildings appointed in the dioceses for the purpose. Their distress was such in many places, that the ladies formed associations for the purpose of succouring and relieving their necessities. However, it is only right to state, that one of the last decrees of the Regent, issued, I think, in June 1843, was to provide funds for the due payment of the allowances to the exclaustrados of both sexes, by

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assigning portions of the proceeds from the remaining sales of national property for that purpose. It is also fair to mention, that there was the greatest anxiety in the different governments to provide payment for their claims; and in looking through the mass of decrees issued since the suppression of tithes, and that of the other property belonging to the church, there are none of more frequent occurrence, or indeed so much so, as those upon this subject. But as my friend at Naranco truly said, if they could not pay the army, the claims of non-combatants were sure of being left on one side.

The pay assigned to the hierarchy under the last arrangement is as follows:—The Primate (Toledo), rather more than 1200*l.* sterling per annum, worth, at least, under the circumstances, 3000*l.* in this country. The other Metropolitans rather more than 900*l.*; and the Suffragans 700*l.*, but the Government may assign from one to two hundred pounds additional to the metropolitans, if their case be made out to require it; the scale of value of money rising in the same proportion.

The Dean of the primacy, about 190*l.*; the others equal, or some rather less; the Canons, from 150*l.* to 120*l.*, and the lesser dignitaries, corresponding to our Minor Canons, &c. in proportion.

The allowance of Parish Priests is to be from 100*l.* down to 30*l.*, according to circumstances; but they have surplice fees, and in the rural

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parishes, gifts and advantages of various kinds from the good will of their parishioners, who in general are extremely attentive to their wants.

In consequence of complaints of the irregularity of payment from the general treasury, orders were issued by which the local authorities collect the money on the spot, paying it over directly to the parties; and in the instances I heard of, the rural clergy have, although very much reduced in circumstances, no great reason to complain, nor has the profession fallen off so much as might naturally be expected from the great reduction in the allowances.

There is one curious piece of information that was forced on my notice, otherwise I should have scarcely credited it. For many years past an extremely altered and softened tone with respect to the invasion of Napoleon had been observable, and in these latter times it has passed the limits of neutrality, so that nothing is more common than to hear in conversation, that whatever he may have done in other countries, Spain had no great reason to complain of him; and why? because without his invasion they would never have got rid of the ecclesiastical establishment, and, to use their expression, would have been as much "fanaticos" as before! This strange reasoning will bear out the statements now and in my former work on this important snbject. Singular enough, I have heard them compliment Frenchmen upon the service their country had performed in this respect, as a

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real benefit conferred; but in the very varied intercourse I have had with every description of people, during my different travels in this extraordinary country, I never heard a hint in a single instance that to England they were under the slightest obligation.

The parochial clergy in the towns, are by no means so well paid as those in the rural districts. Being formerly possessed of fincas and other such means of subsistence, little or nothing was collected from the people, to whom the payment of "culto y Clero," was entirely new, and as it came in addition to the other heavy burdens, was not only ill received but in many instances they absolutely refused to pay it, leaving the unfortunate priests in a situation of actual poverty. Such were the difficulties of the times, when I was there, that Government had not thought it prudent to enforce payment, and so the matter rested.

It may be observed, that when the difficulties commenced, all these items were passed to the account, and charged against the Government. I actually heard many people, who, in the "abstract," were opposed to the clergy, and would have been the first to join a pronunciamento to protest against any attempt to raise them up, clamour against the Regent for the non-payment of their claims.

I endeavoured to obtain correct information as to the amount of property belonging to the church, that had actually been sold, but although every sale

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is published, from the necessity of adding up an infinity of items, it would have been difficult to collect the exact sum. I came to a conclusion that about one-half had been sold, and there remained, in June, according to the Government report, about twelve millions sterling to dispose of, which was calculated to produce double the sum of official or estimated value, and I believe some lots in Estremadura, subsequently sold, have quadrupled the valuation. The payments are made by instalments, spread over eight years, and composed of state paper of different kinds, and in various proportions, and metallico or money, which is required in toto for the very smallest allotments. This kind of property has been gradually rising in value for some time, and the better portions, when I was at Madrid, fetched 4 per cent or 25 years purchase. At the outset some large fortunes were made by the purchasers, as the titles were considered uncertain during the time of the civil war, and the fact of any sales being practicable whilst Don Carlos was in the country is rather curious, and shews the confidence they always entertained of succeeding in the object of the war. In many instances, where the parties had a little money and intelligence with it, to make improvements, after the first payment, the annual rent of the land purchased enabled the remainder to be made as it became due, so that it was almost a free gift. I could not ascertain the probable number of individuals who have purchased

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properties of this description, but it is not very great, considering the extent of territory and the population. The sales went on, even when Don Carlos was marching about the country, and it is just possible that the very ground he was upon, when in sight of Madrid, may have been selling under his feet, as that on which Hannibal was encamped under the walls of Rome. It is not, however, proposed to carry the comparison between those characters any further than to this possible similarity of occurrence.

To prove how little the overthrowing the Regency tended to arrest the sale of church property, and cause a restitution, as many persons in their simplicity or ignorance hoped would be the case, it is only necessary to mention what many of my readers may recollect hearing of, as the "monster contract." This concern was an assignment of nominally a third, but in reality, had it been carried out, of one half the remaining property of the church, to an individual called Salamanca, the principal jobber now in Spain, who has been raised in a few years from poverty to immense wealth, by successful speculations during the civil war. This enormous grant, which would have made him the richest individual in Spain, and given power proportionate, by the means left of disposing, as well as of selecting his vast appropriation, was nominally for the purpose of completing roads, but in reality for other very different uses, and amongst them, the repaying

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Christina for the money advanced to put down Espartero! This is the cause so many thought would serve the temporal as well as other interests of the church! However, the job was so flagrant, and the opposition so strong, it could not be carried into effect, but was relinquished, possibly to appear in some other shape, at a more favourable opportunity.

The situation of the hierarchy was rather curious in the personnel as well as in other respects. Nearly all the archbishoprics were vacant; Toledo, Valencia, Granada, Burgos, Tarragona (banished from the kingdom,) were all unoccupied, and the bishoprics in the same proportion. Seville and Santiago were living away from their dioceses under temporary exile. Of the canons, generally one half, and sometimes more were wanting; the greater part, being old men, had died, and some were in banishment for promoting disturbances and disaffection to the Government. The most significant orders were addressed to them at different times, and on one occasion they were told, "that in their sacred books, (if they will be at the trouble of consulting them,) are to be found abundant exhortations to peace and submission to the authorities." I am only aware of one instance of capital punishment being inflicted on any of them, and that was a canon of Burgos, who took the field at the very outset of the civil war, and was shot in consequence, not *pour encourager*, but *pour dè-courager les autres.* All the canons that came under my observation were

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men of hale constitution, in the prime of life, with all appearance of health and content about them, and I should think most of them, if they were paid regularly, would conform very easily to the new order of things; being men of the world, and perfectly cognisant of the total change that has taken place in the public mind on church affairs.

There is one very important historical fact to notice, which may help to explain some of the anomalies now daily being manifested. Until this generation, the ruling, consolidating, all-pervading, and all-managing principle of the government, was the ecclesiastical power. This was the lever that raised the nation, and kept it up during the war of independence. Now this great cause, having been, as we have seen, rather abruptly removed, not lowered by gradual progress, but suddenly, and to many unexpectedly, as yet no counterpoise has been applied to supply the place, so that the people in the time of public excitement are like a vessel that has suddenly lost her rudder in an Atlantic gale. This great change has occurred so quickly, that neither the education, habits, or knowledge of the people have made proportionate progress, and the mixture of corruption yet remaining of the old system of government, with the ardent and enthusiastic temper of the national character, have no balance to repress them, and the absurdities and inconsistencies we see and are likely to see for some time, are the natural fruits. Still to them the word

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anarchy, that is so fashionable, especially with our neighbours, who know even less of them than we do, is singularly inapplicable to them. There is no instance in Spain of a mob attacking property, which curious fact I doubted when it was first stated; but, like the attacking the palace, anything of the sort, if it ever happened, is not national; amidst all the deplorable scenes that have taken place, there is nothing exactly like or even bearing a comparison with the Bristol riots. No people in existence are so little anarchical in their habits, or live, unless under immediate excitement, in a more orderly and peaceable manner, nor are so easily governed. The presiding genius of the country is tranquillity and quiet inoffensive demeanour, in every class of society, and in every part of the kingdom; nor is there any necessity, unless where domination or unpopular and false principles is the object, for the application of force to coerce them at any time. What they want, by their universal consent, is a steady, progressive, and intelligent government, that will lead the way in the changes and improvements every class, at least the far greater majority, are desirous of seeing carried out; but which their indolence and easy habits prevent originating with themselves alone.

With respect to the effects of the late changes on the religion of the great mass of the nation, the question is very difficult to solve, and there are many opinions, generally very much regulated by

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the feelings of the parties themselves on this subject, as to whether there be any change or not. I believe, from the best information I could procure, that the great majority are as devout as they ever were. In the towns there was always a laxity in this respect, but that is unavoidable, and if Doblado's account be true, that the pastors themselves were tainted in their belief, it is not probable the laity have entirely escaped the same infection, or that the circumstances of the times should have caused a decrease in the number of free-thinkers. This much is quite certain, that dislike to the priests in these countries is very nearly, in its consequences, allied to irreligion, and that if the system of Don Carlos were by any chance re-established, the steps taken, as they would imagine, to secure more belief, would inevitably produce an opposite result. The proof of this, if any were wanting, is to be found amongst our neighbours, where, since the fall of the corresponding power, the effect has been remarkable in the increase of practical religion on society at large, to a degree few people once anticipated, and exactly in the inverse ratio to that effected by the "Missions," whose labours I had an opportunity of seeing at the time they were introduced upon the scene, when, as they told me, they preached to France as to a "pays païen!"

To prove the difficulty of judging from information, and how careful you ought to be in not hurrying to conclusions, I was engaged in conversation with

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a man of the upper rank, both as to position and information, in a large city of the south, who assured me seriously there was no religion in the place. I left his house, and went straight to the cathedral, where I happened to look into the sagrario, where the sacrament is administered, and found it, although of very capacious dimensions, actually crammed to an extent I never saw before with people receiving that rite; which is a fair proof that all so engaged were of a very different opinion from that reported to prevail by my informant. The parties were almost entirely men, and not females, who, in Spain, as in most other countries, are upon the whole the chief attendants on such occasions. Had I been a stranger to the country, nothing more natural than to have made a note of the information thus obtained, and given it as representing the condition of the people in the place.

Before we quit the subject of the church, it will be probably expected that some notice should be given of the success and consequences of Mr. Borrow's expedition. I obtained the necessary information, but with some difficulty; for excepting from the authorities, with whom his operations brought him in contact, hardly any Spaniard I mentioned the subject to had ever heard either of the expedition or the individual, which rather surprised me. As to the object of the undertaking, it was not only a most complete and entire failure, but of such a nature as entirely to defeat any future attempt of the same

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kind. No doubt can for a moment be entertained either of the good motives on which the mission was founded, or of the energy of the individual entrusted with it; but from what I heard, nothing was ever conducted in a manner more likely to ensure its certain and inevitable failure. The first great error was the printing without the Apocrypha; to say nothing of the notes, which the Spanish law, both civil and ecclesiastical, as yet unchanged, requires indispensably to be annexed to those distributed amongst the people. In a shop at Oviedo, where I was in search of old books, I saw one lot of a rather unusual appearance, and on inquiry the people told me they were Bibles left on consignment by Mr. B., but that they were totally unsaleable, being imperfect from want of the Apocrypha, and that even if asked for, they durst not dispose of them. I have not the smallest doubt, that nearly every copy put in circulation, is either destroyed, or in the hands of the curas and others, who, from the mode adopted, were placed almost in a state of hostility to the society. Had they commenced by reprinting either the Barcelona or Valencia Bible, at a reduced price, and asked the co-operation of the clergy in the distribution, no doubt whatever they would gladly have given it, and much good might have been done by such a course, provided it be admitted, that a defective Bible is better than no Bible at all. The idea of attacking, on such a subject, the whole body of the clergy of

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Spain, was neither a felicitous one, nor likely to produce any other result than that it has done, and it is now remarked, for the purpose of giving warning to others on the same subject should they be inclined to repeat it. The people told me the binding was objected to by the purchasers, were the sale even practicable in other respects. To shew that they are not quite inattentive to the subject in Spain, I was informed the Valencia Bible, which they consider the best, is being reprinted; a considerable undertaking in Spain, and that supposes a large demand, as it is rather an expensive work. It is impossible not to regret, that the very large sums annually sent out of the country from the most pure, and really religious and conscientious motives, on this and other undertakings, producing equally little result, were not devoted to the building or endowing churches and chapels in our own manufacturing districts, where they are so very much required.

The expression imperfect as used above, is of Spanish law, which considers any Bible, without the Apocrypha, "imperfect," and forbids the sale.

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CHAPTER XV.

ON THE ORGANIC CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION, AND DECREES RESPECTING THEM, SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF FERDINAND.

The most important change in the internal administration that has taken place, is the division of the kingdom, including the Balearic islands, into forty-nine provinces. These divisions vary in size according to the population and other circumstances, but on the average, they are rather more than half the size of a department in France. Each of them is under the management of an officer called the Xefe politico, some of whom have already been mentioned in the narrative. It may be well to explain that the word politico has various meanings in Spanish, and as attached in this instance, is intended to express polity, or referring to internal government; not, as the term might be supposed to convey, a political surveillance, like that exercised by certain characters at the French revolution; Hermano politico is brother-in-law, a rather curious application of the word. This provincial organization was carried into effect so immediately after the death of Ferdinand, that it must have been

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planned previously to that event. There is no doubt that it is one of the most extensive and beneficial alterations that have taken place; and were it possible to establish a steady government, would lead to the most important consequences. The responsibility of these officers is very great, since upon them rests the carrying into effect, not only the general instructions of the ministers, as to the maintaining tranquillity and causing the laws to be executed; but that of superintending improvements of all kinds, and checking the jobbing, delays, and evasions of the Ayuntamientos, one of the most fertile and inexhaustible sources of mal-administration in this curious country. One part of his duty is to regulate the proceedings of the diputacion provincial, a parliament elected in every province for the purpose of attending to the local business, and of fixing the expenses and other matters belonging to it, a duty also of great responsibility. The same voters elect the diputacion as the two houses of parliament, and I believe, were it not for the infelicity in working, that generally attends Spanish combinations, the whole of the arrangement would be perfectly suited to the purposes for which it is intended.

One of the complaints during the Regency was the constant change of the Xefes from one province to another, so that they had hardly time to gain local knowledge and become acquainted with the parties they had to work with, (a circumstance

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of the last importance with Spaniards,) when they were removed to some other, and had to begin the same operations anew. No doubt there may have been reasons to justify this system, but some of the best informed men assured me the practice had been extremely prejudicial to the public interest. They also complained, in some instances, that the capitals of the provinces were badly selected, being placed at the extremity of the district, and causing very often extreme difficulty to those located at a distance, who might have business or public duties calling them to head-quarters; but there is little doubt that these evils were nearly inseparable from the state of Spain as to communications, and the position of the better towns in many districts made them in a great degree unavoidable.

The military divisions of the kingdom have also undergone a modification, and are now better and more equally arranged, somewhat in the French manner, to which several of the late administrative changes bear a strong resemblance, nor could they, with some exceptions and deductions, have followed better models than those of our neighbours.

A decree was issued in the same year of 1834, giving a general power of establishing posadas to every one desirous of doing so, a cause of the misery of these establishments in former days, being, that they often were the property of the Ayuntamientos, under the head of propios, forming a part

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of their revenues for local purposes, as mentioned in another place.

Orders were issued at different times more and more stringent, respecting the establishment of public cemeteries, and prohibiting the burying in churches. Every place, however small, is obliged to have one provided, and if they cannot find waste or other disposable ground suitable to the purpose, they have the power of appropriating that of individuals, proper valuers being appointed for the purpose of regulating the price to be paid. A general and very long order was issued in the same year, respecting the inclosing and taking care of the forests; the ancient law mentioned at Pedroso, being virtually abandoned for the last time.

In the same year the death of Ferdinand took place, and his will was promulgated in the decrees. As many persons in this country believe that the title of the present Queen is derived from that document, an abstract of it is given. The ignorance on this subject is not greater than would be justly attributed to any Spaniard or other writer who should publish, that Queen Victoria ascended the throne in consequence of the will of William the Fourth to the prejudice of other persons. The King appoints his widow, Gobernadora, until his daughter shall attain the age of eighteen, and it is curious enough that the only part in which he attempts to interfere with the old law, that of altering

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the term of majority, should have been set aside; the ancient fundamental law of the monarchy making fourteen the age of majority, being restored. It is doubtful whether he had an absolute *right* to appoint his widow as Regent, but that was confirmed immediately on the assembling the Cortes, and was considered so little objectionable, that by the new constitution an absolute power to this effect is conferred on the reigning sovereign.

The preamble states merely the object to be the naming the Queen Regent, but fixing a council whom she is to consult on the public business; the will is dated Aranjuez, 12th of June, 1833, and executed in presence of a number of witnesses. The first clauses appear to have related to charitable bequests, or other matters of the same sort, and are not published but referred to. The 9th declares his marriage. 10. If all or any children God may be pleased to give me, be under age at my death, I wish my wife to be guardian *of the whole*. 11. If the son or daughter, who may succeed me, be not at the age of *eighteen*, I name my wife Regenta y Gobernadora of the *whole monarchy*, until they shall attain the age of eighteen years complete. 12. Appoints the consulting council of seven persons, the head being the primate; amongst the others are the Duke of Medina Celi, as head of the nobility, and the late Marquis of Amarillas, afterwards Duke of Ahumada. In case of the death of any of those parties, successors, or suplentes are ap-

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pointed. 14. Gives the Queen, in certain cases, power of appointing others to replace those who may be wanting. 15. Should the Queen unfortunately die before the son or daughter have attained the age of eighteen, the Regency is to be formed of the individuals named in the 14th article, who are also to be charged with the education of the other children. 16. Orders that a majority of votes is to decide the questions on which there may be a divergence of opinion, (an extremely necessary precaution amongst these people.) 17. Leaves all his property to the children, excepting one fifth which goes to his widow, according to the law of the monarchy, as well as the portion she brought, as settled in the marriage contract.

Such is the abstract of this famous document, than which nothing can be more clear, simple or well considered; nor, with the exception of the doubtful case, whether he ought not to have had the preliminary sanction of the Cortes, as convened to set aside the Salic law previously, and the right he assumes to fix the age of the majority of his children, is there one particle not strictly in conformity with the established laws of the monarchy. Every sort of care and precaution was taken to legalise all the proceedings which related to the pragmatic sanction and the abrogating the Salic Law. Not only was everything done in the most public and solemn manner, but the parties who co-operated were the first men in rank, station and public esti-

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mation in Spain: nor, with the exception of the attempted treason of Calomarde, who richly deserved the garrote he escaped by flying from the kingdom, was one step ever taken to my knowledge, either to alter, invalidate, or throw the smallest shadow of doubt on the legality of these acts, which were framed and carried out with the perfect knowledge every one concerned had, of the momentous consequences they might entail on the country.

It may be also necessary to observe that the attempted introduction of the Salic law, by which Don Carlos claimed the throne, was in 1713; that the transaction of its being put on the books was fraudulent, and immediately afterwards denounced as such by the council of Castile, the body charged with the power of seeing the laws maintained and no innovations introduced. To those acquainted with Spain, it is unnecessary to observe that at the time alluded to, this great and powerful body had no interest in either protesting against or supporting the law; but if either, from their position, so near the head of the monarchy, they must have been, if anything, disposed to sustain the objects of the reigning family, to flatter whose peculiar views the trial was made.

The term officially given in Spain to this business is "innovacion intentada," the latter word not merely expressing "attempted," but having a strong and varied meaning in Spanish. So perfectly was it known that the act was of the character I have

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described, that the instant there was a chance of its being acted on, which was whilst Ferdinand was a boy in 1790, the King his father took steps to set it aside and pass the inheritance to his daughters, restoring the fundamental law of the monarchy. That by which the present Queen succeeded, is merely the repetition of the same act by the Cortes of the kingdom solemnly convened for the purpose, the instant the Queen was declared pregnant in the spring of 1830 when I was in Spain. This is the plain statement of the facts as they occurred; but it unfortunately happens there are people disposed to misrepresent them, from ignorance and some probably from different motives. Another act of Ferdinand, already alluded to, by which Calomarde, who acted the part of a traitor in the case, and was in consequence driven out of the kingdom to which he never returned, has been mixed up and muddled with it. In this act, Ferdinand, then supposed to be dying, signed a revocation of the pragmatic sanction and set aside his own children! This was discovered on his having rallied again in almost a miraculous manner, and the law has remained as originally passed and decreed. The truth is so apparent, that the reader who has attended to these matters, will recollect that amongst the very numerous friends Don Carlos has in this country, no one in either house of Parliament whose opinion or dictum is of the smallest weight in or out of doors, ever said one word about the legal

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title of the Queen ; even at the time the question was unfortunately made a battle ground of the great leading parties.

There is one rather curious question, were it possible to have it solved. Don Carlos was hardly born at the time of the first pragmatic sanction, and the proceeding only took place, because Ferdinand's health made it doubtful whether he would survive, and to prevent the succession going to the other house. Now, was Don Carlos ignorant of the act of his father ? or of the illegality of the former "innovacion intentada" by which he claims the succession ? He was rather in the habit of attending the tribunals when I was in Spain formerly, but he appears to have given more time to the study of such lessons as his confessor might have supplied him with, than that of the law of the monarchy ; by which, whatever hardships may be considered under the circumstances to have befallen him, he has not a particle of legal claim.

As to the Spaniards themselves, the question from the first was so clear, as to the right and legality, that no one who valued the reputation of common sense and information, could possibly think of introducing it amongst them. The same reason applies to what they call " transaccion," or the marrying the Queen to the son of Don Carlos. Don Carlos either has, or has not, a right to the crown. If he has, he invalidates it by allowing his son even indirectly to have concern with it. If he has no right he cannot

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transmit it or give it to another. In this respect he stands exactly in the situation of the Napoleons, father and son. When the elder was driven from the throne, he lost the little right he had acquired, *de facto*, and had no power of transferring it to his own son, or to any one else. But in Spain, however, it was, as already stated, merely considered a question of good or bad government; that is, of certain bad, and of anticipated good; and if the situations of the parties had been reversed, or if Don Carlos had possessed one single qualification to govern a kingdom in a reasonable manner, he would have been quietly established at Madrid, long before the termination of the civil war.

In the same year 1834, the school of mines was reorganised and put nearly on the footing it holds at present; a trial had been previously made, subsequently to the throwing open the right of mining, not only the best, but almost the only good and useful law of the eventful reign of Ferdinand.

1835.—An alteration which had long been spoken of in the tribunals, took place by the appointment of Audiencias at Burgos and Albacete, and reducing the number of judges in those of Valladolid and Granada. The reasons for this change were very much discussed when I was in Spain before, being chiefly the immense distances parties engaged in the interminable lawsuits, only second to those in our Chancery courts, were obliged to travel in pursuit of what they call justice. In this decree, which is

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of great importance, other superior tribunals in the provinces are to be called Audiencias, and the limits of their jurisdiction regulated by the new territorial division, so that in every part the population may have easy access to their respective courts.

The breeding of horses, which formerly was fettered in a most characteristic manner, professing to improve the breed, but acting as usual in Spanish administration, inversely, was set free. Revenues of the vacant prebendal stalls applied to liquidate the national debt. This was merely the repetition of a power already held by agreement, with the Curia, or Court of Rome.

No less important a step took place this year than the suppression of the College of Tauromachia at Seville, established by Ferdinand. How Christina could have made up her mind to sign a decree, annulling the favourite and darling project of her husband, the scheme not only having originated with him, but being almost the sole foundation for the purposes of education, during his reign, I cannot undersatnd. It is true the preamble is drawn up with unusual care, and states there are calls of greater moment on the public purse, also that the noble art had always been well supported, and the best professors found, without the necessity of endowing a college for this purpose. This argument was certainly strengthened by the notorious fact that at the time of the foundation, when I was in the country, after a long discussion in the council of

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Ministers, under the presidency of the King himself, on the question whether they should give a chair of chemistry to the university of Seville or expend the money in stimulating the national amusement,—the latter alternative was carried by a large majority!

This decision may account for the ignorance of the physician at Alhama, as he was of the standing to have made his studies at that time, and as he may very probably have studied at Seville, where there was no professor of chemistry; his being unacquainted with nitrogen is less extraordinary. The funds contributed to this establishment proceeding from the various bull fights of the district, are ordered to be assigned to the purposes of education.

The trade, of dealing in corn and "bread stuffs," which had been subject previously to various vexations and impediments, is declared free. The Council of Castile is ordered to be suppressed, and the functions provided for by new organization. Some difficulties occurred in carrying out this sweeping alteration, and it was not finally effected until some time afterwards. The title of the new tribunal is Council of Spain and Indies. The functions assigned are of great weight and importance, being a court of appeal for almost every subject of consequence, and even the proceedings of the Papal see are in some degree cognisable by it. Part of the duties allotted to it are nearly analogous to those of our court of Queen's Bench.

A severe order against the clergy, respecting the

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Lent preachings appeared this year, and decrees previously mentioned, respecting the monks leaving their convents, and joining the rebels; suppression also is ordered in case of harbouring rebels or munitions of war, or even for the holding juntas to the prejudice of the government or state. The goods belonging to such convent to be sold, and the proceeds of their rents to be devoted to the payment of the widows or orphans of those who may fall during the war.

The first Cortes, or those of Estamentos, on the plan of Martinez de la Rosa, were convened this year. The chief distinction of these Cortes was there being a regular house of Peers, under the title of Proceres, who were the archbishops and bishops, the grandees of Spain, titulos of Castile, who are next in rank to the grandees, and a portion of others who may have filled high official situations in the public service.

An order was issued on the rather curious subject of the military having been found pillaging the chest of the Cruzada, a tax levied on every one, for exemption from fasting in Lent, and other indulgences. This money was formerly sent to Rome, being levied by a sort of independent jurisdiction, but now passes to the public treasury, producing about £150,000. annually. Besides this, which might have been mentioned in the account of the clergy, was the collection of "Espolios," which is adverted to in this order, as subjected to the same

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depredations. In each cathedral was appointed an officer, as collector of Espolios, whose duty it was to proceed to the house of every canon and other dignitary, immediately on his demise, and seize all the money in his possession, which was considered to belong to the state! This and the subsidio, an independent tax levied on the whole body, were means in themselves quite illegal, by which the ancient government had gradually endeavoured to oblige this vast body to contribute a share to the public burdens. It appears that various officers, after the breaking out of the civil war, thought these funds should be made available to the service in their respective departments; and to repress this irregularity the present order was issued.

In this year Don Carlos and his line were solemnly excluded from the crown, by the Cortes.

The voto de Santiago suppressed. This was a rather heavy tax, levied on the lands latterly conquered from the infidels, and connected with the fabulous battle of Clavijo, already mentioned in the account of Santiago. In my former work I noticed this story as probably incorrect, for I could find no certain notice of it in any good historian, and that view was fully confirmed by the debates on the subject of suppressing so absurd a tax. As the proceeds were considerable, the decree contains orders to supply the deficiency in various ways. Canonries in several cathedrals and churches, besides that of the Saint, were paid from the funds

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raised by it, and the respective holders are ordered to be drafted into other establishments, and funds to be raised for supporting the hospital of Pilgrims, mentioned also in the account of Santiago, which were partly supplied from this source. They rather laughed at Martinez de la Rosa and the Andalusians, in Spain, for their zeal in this case, as their properties were subject to the tax, which, they say, gave force to their eloquence, though beyond doubt, both as to history and justice of contribution, they were right in their conclusion.

The inquisition, and 101 canonries dependent on it, were finally suppressed this year, and the functions assigned to the archbishops and bishops under a special arrangement. All the property belonging to the office, which had been given by various pious sovereigns and others, confiscated and applied to the public debt.

This year was rather productive of decrees, for there is a supplementary volume, and amongst them a prohibition of circulating any bulls, excepting those which have previously passed through an office called "Agencia general de preces," established for the purpose at Rome by Charles the Third. Orders, revoking the celebration of the feast of San Jose, ordered to be kept to purify the kingdom from the acts of heretics and others during the war of independence, and specially meant to apply to those of the British army.

Orders for reorganizing the Ayuntamientos, and

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appointing Alcaldes, or teniente Alcaldes, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. The chief alteration in this organization is the suppression of the office of Corregidors, who had legal functions, which are now concentrated in the ordinary tribunals, and the Alcaldes have merely the civil part of the duty to attend. It is proposed, that every place having 200 vecinos or hearths, shall have an Ayuntamiento.

In this year the suppression of the convents took place. The first batch consisted of 900, under twelve in number, of monks, as before mentioned; and of the twelve that formed the body, two-thirds were to be of the "Coro," or regularly professed, to avoid the possibility of giving wrong statements, and inserting the "legos" or novices amongst the number returned.

The property confiscated in 1823, and proceeding from the sale of convents during the sistema constitucional, to be restored to the families it then belonged to, and the remainder of the convents, with the exception of the royal foundations of Escorial, Guadalupe, Poblet in Catalonia, and some others, definitively suppressed.

The clergy are subjected to the ordinary tribunals. This decree is couched in severe terms, principally on account of the part they took in the rebellion, and on the fraudulent evasion of an attempt made in 1799 to effect the same purpose of reforming the law that applied to them, under the

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old council of Castile, which had caused great scandal in every part of the kingdom.

The provincial deputations ordered to be organized.—A long and expressive order respecting the conduct of the clergy, who are told that in the sacred books they would find "si los consultasen, preceptos sublimes de obediencia y mansedumbre que cumplir," sublime precepts of mildness and obedience to fulfil, and that when they behave properly, they are the true watch-towers (Atalayas) of the faithful entrusted to their charge; this, of course, refers to their transactions during the civil war then raging.

1837.—The first decree worth notice in this year is rather a curious one, relating to the breeding of horses, declaring that those employed in the islands in the service of the burras, or female asses, are not to be considered, or have the rank of Cavallos padres, or regular stallions! The preamble states that the Queen Regent is enterada, or perfectly understands the matter it relates to.

Another issued afterwards is also rather singular, as by it the "titulos" conferred on the leaders of the absolute party, who were chiefly instrumental in oversetting the constitution of 1823, are abrogated; at the same time the descendants are to be provided with recompenses of less ominous purport. Those abolished are Marquis of Lealtad (loyalty), to the son of Elio; Conde de Real Aprecio (royal esteem), to Eguia, and Marquis de la Fidelidad to Echevarria.

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It is rather remarkable that one of these titles is said in the public papers to have been conferred on a party concerned in the revolution of 1843, since the fall of the Regent.

The constitution nominally in force, being promulgated this year, is generally known by the date of 1837. The leading articles are much the same as usual in other preambles of a similar nature, but the tenth prohibits the confiscation of property, and no citizen is to lose his property but for the public good, such as improvements, and on being fully indemnified for the value. The Senate is to be composed of three-fifths of the number of the deputies; the election to be made by the King from a treble list furnished by the Provinces: not to be less than one senator for each Province, the additional number to depend on the population. The age is required to be of forty years, and every one is eligible, provided they have the means of living independently, the sum not being named. At each dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, one-third of the senate to be renewed according to seniority, but may be re-elected. The sons of the King and of the heir apparent, are senators at the age of 25.

Each Province to name one deputy for each 50,000 inhabitants. (In the Cortes of 1812, the number to elect was 70,000.) The election to be direct, and may be re-elected indefinitely. Age of qualification to be 25 years. The regular term of duration is three years. In case of dissolu-

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tion, the right of which is entirely vested with the King, the new Cortes must be assembled within three months. In case of the crown being vacant, the Cortes to be assembled extraordinarily. The two houses not to deliberate together, nor in presence of the King. The King and both houses have the right of initiating the laws. Before a law can be passed a majority of the house must be present.

The King sanctions and promulgates the laws. A special act is necessary to enable the King to alienate any portion of the Spanish territory, to admit any foreign troops, to ratify treaties of offensive alliance; for special trade; or of giving subsidies to foreign powers; (no mention is made of receiving subsidies, a much more probable contingency;) for leaving the kingdom, or contracting marriage himself, or the parties near the succession, or to enable him to abdicate the crown to his next successor. Succession to the crown to be according to regular order of primogeniture, always preferring the older line to the younger, and in the same line the nearest to the more remote, the male to the female, and the elder individual to the younger.

Failing the line of the present Queen, to go to her sister, and the uncles, brothers of her father, *supposing they are not excluded.* If these lines become extinct, the Cortes to name others as the nation may think right. This is a very important

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article, and no doubt has been fully weighed at Naples and at Paris.

The Cortes *are to set aside* (deberan excluir) those persons who may be unfit to reign, or have done any thing to cause their losing the right to the crown. When a queen reigns, her husband to have no share whatever in governing the country.

The age of majority is fixed at fourteen, and in case of minority, until the Cortes appoint a regency; the father or mother, or a council of ministers. The person named by the deceased King is to be tutor to his successor, provided he be not legally disqualified, and if he shall not have appointed any, the father or mother to be so *during their widowhood.* The duties of Regent and tutor can only be united in the person of the father or mother of the party.

These are the principal heads of the organic law that appear to be worth noticing, the rest being chiefly of routine, as usual in these documents, under the heads of Ministers, Justice, Provincial deputacion, and Ayuntamientos, National guards, contributions, &c. and are unnecessary to be detailed.

As far as my knowledge goes, this is the best constitution they have had, but of course there will be a difference of opinion about the Peerage. There is no answering the general assertion that the nobility, as a body, are unfit to constitute a chamber of themselves, as the Spaniards, who have no sort of hostility to them, appear to be pretty unanimous on the subject. I have sometimes thought that a

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part or portion of the whole might be elected by themselves to represent them. Unfortunately the bias of their neighbours, who have now great influence, being against their congeners of the faubourg St. Germain, there appears very little probability of any change taking place, and there is no doubt that so far as it went, the elected chamber was an exceedingly good one, very superior to the lower house.

In the course of this year (1837), the Council of Castile was finally suppressed; the University of Alcala transferred to Madrid, and a decree was issued regulating the course of studies at the Universities, in which Hebrew and Arabic are included; but, as I mentioned before, the system is not yet completed, owing to the want of funds to pay the many professors that are wanted in some important branches.

Another, and I believe a final order was issued respecting the convents, and the habit prohibited to be worn.

There appears in this year, perhaps the most singular decree of the whole to be found in the eleven volumes I have looked through in making this digest. It relates to the conferring a medal of honour on Doña Isidora Mora de S. Joaquin, an exclaustrada nun, who, as the preamble states, amidst imminent risk and dangers, had preserved the flag belonging to the national Milicia, of a place called Cabeza del Buey, in Estremadura, from the epoch of 1823 to this time! They may well call

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them imminent dangers, and her patriotism "acrisolado," or purified, for if she had been discovered in the time of Calomarde, at least the fate of Mariana Pineda at Granada would have awaited her. The medal is to be the same as one granted to the ladies of Vergara in the heart of the Basque provinces, for defending that place against the Carlists at the commencement of the civil war in September, 1834; an interesting fact, as proving the want of unanimity at that time in supporting Don Carlos, even in the very centre of the country believed to be unanimously in his favour.

The several individuals, whose names were alluded to in the account of Madrid, as specially ordered to be painted in the Chamber of Deputies, are Riego, Empecinado, Mijar, Mariana Pineda, Manzanares, Torrijos.

The church of Francisco el Grande, at Madrid, is ordered to be converted to a Pantheon. The alhajas of churches, with exceptions, where as objects of art they may be worthy preservation, to be sold, and the produce devoted to the expenses of the civil war.

The museum of Natural History ordered to be reorganised. The town S. Felipe near Valencia to resume the ancient name of Xativa, for reasons not stated. Xativa was the Moorish corruption of the Latin Suetabis.

On the 29th of July was issued the famous decree of the Cortes, signed by Mendizabal, alluded to in

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a former part, confiscating the tithes and property of the secular clergy, and declaring them national property. Mendizabal was in office for the second time, being an exception to the general rule mentioned previously, as applying to the common feeling of the public which makes a man, returning to office again, generally unpopular. The cry against Mendizabal was, that he had promised abundance of money from this measure, but, as usual, had been unable to fulfil his engagement.

In 1838, the most important decree was that relating to the pay of the clergy, of which an abstract was given in the preceding chapter.

The order prohibiting the further sale of the Bibles in Romani and Vascuense (Basque) of Mr. Borrow, and ordering them to be sealed up and given to him for exportation, being printed without the notes. The decree was founded on a report from the Primate (elect) and Bishop of Cordova, the former being, as a matter of course, one of those attached to the new order of things, and more probably on that account disposed to support the novelty introduced. The decree orders that a certain number of copies shall be preserved in the public libraries, "as the translations are not wanting in philological merit, that they may not be lost, and they are to be kept in the 'parte reserbada.'"

In 1839 there is little of an important nature in the decrees. Gandesa, a town near the Ebro in the district of Tortosa, is ordered to be rebuilt at the

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public expense, and called the "Immortal;" both titles being acquired by the constancy of the people, who either two or three times submitted to the dreadful lot of having their houses burned, in preference to submitting to the Carlists; being in the very heart of Cabrera's country, who never succeeded in making himself master of the fort to which they retired on his approach.

The fueros of the Basques are confirmed in the words of the convenio of Bergara, "Sin perjuicio de la unidad constitucional de la monarquia," words which, as already observed, convey a very clear intimation that they are to be modified and not maintained in the ancient form.

1840.—An order respecting the translation of the remains of Berenger the Third, to the Cathedral of Barcelona, states that some time in 1835, the tombs of the Kings of Aragon in their very interesting Pantheon of Poblet had been profaned, by parties only generally and not particularly designated, and gives directions to prevent the recurrence of such malpractices; whilst in Spain I was not aware of the transaction having taken place, otherwise I should have endeavoured to obtain information concerning the perpetrators of the excess. As before mentioned, occurrences of this kind are extremely rare, and orders had already been given by Government at different times to take care of all monuments in the churches of the suppressed convents. It is impossible not to contrast

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the behaviour of the lower orders in Spain with that of the French and English at corresponding periods of excitement; and I note this order as bearing upon a transaction which is in the widest sense an exception to the general rule.

In this year the judges are declared irremovable, the commentary on which was the forcibly superseding of the principal ones at Madrid, by Narvaez after his entrance, for declaring, that until the Regency was formally put an end to by legal means, the parties then in possession of the power could not be considered as lawfully constituted!

Orders were issued for the establishing normal schools in the Provinces.

The tribunal of Rota and Nunciatura to be closed, and the archives sealed up and sent to Government; the chief, called Arellano, being ordered to quit the kingdom, and all his ecclesiastical and public emoluments to cease. This was a petty and very bad tribunal, a sort of appeal for ecclesiastical affairs, under an officer appointed by the See of Rome, being by all accounts a scene of corruption and delay, and a very great public nuisance. This was one of the acts respecting which the Curia were specially annoyed with the Regent, but I believe no one else, unless the parties interested in keeping up the abuses of it. It is stated in the accounts from Madrid, that the wretched government which succeeded the Regency, have restored this tribunal, most probably by way of "conciliation,"

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and opening the door to a better understanding with the Curia, an effect by no means likely to ensue from it.

In 1841, a decree was issued on the important subject of destroying the locusts, which were more numerous than usual. Guadalaxara, Madrid, Jaen, La Mancha, and Castile were particularly pointed out as being ravaged by them.

Order for the sale of property belonging to the secular clergy, and assigning parts of the produce to their maintenance. The proportion of metallico, or gold to be paid by purchasers of the national property, is 16 per cent, and this is to be given to the clergy, as well as the annual produce, previous to its sale taking place.

A severe reprimand is given to the Cabildo of Toledo, respecting their adhesion to some bull or expediente from Rome, hostile to the Government.

An order, declaring a society of de propagacion de fe at Lyons, illegal, and prohibiting the circulation of the documents issued by it. The decree states, that no society or others can collect money in the kingdom, without the leave of Government, and that the practice is contrary to the fundamental laws. This is followed by another respecting the bulls and rescripts issued at Rome without the visa of the Government. The preamble states, "Las tentativas de la Curia Romana para invadir la potestad temporal y para ejercer un influjo *lucrativo* en los negocios politicos y civiles de España, &c." and

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refers to the wise measures of Charles the Third to repress them. The old laws are also quoted on the same subject, and orders given for their fulfilment. The Bishop of Pamplona ordered to be banished the kingdom, in consequence of the ideas and opinions emitted in an exposition made to the minister of grace and justice, being incompatible with the laws of the realm.

A law respecting the entails, explaining and making additions, in a great measure matters of form, relating to the law of 1836, and that of the preceding constitutional epoch of 1820.

I was unable to make out satisfactorily, the exact state in which the law of entail, so important to Spain, has been finally left. The old law of the Cortes of 1820, laying the whole power of cutting off entails entirely open, was restored in 1836, but has since been modified in some degree. I was told that this modification works very differently in the respective provinces, and that in many families agreements had been made amongst the members, annulling, or evading the provisions of it, and leaving matters nearly as before, although the existence of the strict law of entail was universally admitted to be one of the great causes of the ruin of agriculture. I think the heads of families have a power of leaving a certain portion to the younger children by the existing law.

An important decree was issued respecting the payment of the clergy, the total amount being

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fixed at rather more than a million sterling, a very large sum in the present state of Spain, of which about one-third is to be paid by the people of the towns and villages, and the remainder by Government.

Additional order respecting the locusts. The decrees in this year were extremely numerous, and many improvements were introduced, but few of them are deserving of more particular mention.

1842.—There are several orders respecting the sale of conventual buildings and other subjects connected with the payment of the clergy according to the new system. All emblems relative to the former occupation of the buildings are to be erased by the purchasers. There is also a stringent order, prohibiting any of the clergy officiating in the churches, unless they have a certificate of adhesion to the Government. The circulation of the famous allocucion of the Pope, which was substituted for the decree of excommunication intended to be fulminated against the Regent, already alluded to, is prohibited. This document had been printed at Toulouse, for the purpose of introduction into the kingdom. There is a decree respecting the building a digue or embankment at Caraca (Cadiz,) for the purpose of enabling merchant vessels to be careened, and one respecting a new line of road from Madrid to Barcelona, a part of which, that from Mora del Ebro to Tarragona is approved.

The only decree I remember of much importance

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in 1843, was one for the definitive establishment of a department of woods and forests, to be composed of four normal schools, Madrid, Jaen, Cuenca, and either Lugo, or some place in Galicia, where the only oak forests they possess are situated. There were already persons abroad obtaining information, amongst whom was a son of the late Professor Boutelou of Seville, brother to the professor of botany there, mentioned as having charge of the gardens at the Alcazar. The situations of Jaen and Cuenca were, for the purpose of attending to the immense pine forests of the Sierras de Segura and Cuenca, described in my former work.

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CHAPTER XVI.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS — BULL FIGHTS — ROBBERS — GENERALS OF DON CARLOS — ZUMALACARREGUI — CABRERA — MAROTO — DON CARLOS DE ESPANA — ARMY — CHRISTINA — COMMERCE.

In despite of the hard-hearted proceeding of suppressing the favourite endowment of Ferdinand, so very soon after his death, and before the public were enabled to judge of the effect produced by the able instructions of old Romero, the famous gipsy matador, on whom the dignity of Rector of the College of Tauromaquia had most properly been conferred, the science is in equal or greater repute than ever. The reasonings adduced, in such feeling terms, when the decree was issued, are perfectly borne out by the result, for there is not the smallest appearance of any falling off in the supply of talent for the Plazas. The day I left Ronda there was to be a mixed corrida, without horses, principally for the bringing some youthful performers on the stage; they spoke of one who was to kill a bull on that great arena, the chosen resort of the first majos aficionados, or connoisseurs, at the age of fifteen! nearly rivalling the performances of la jeune France in the three days, when they tell you boys of thirteen commanded battalions of veterans.

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The reason of the failure there in 1843, has been explained, and very probably, had Montes not been incapacitated from attending, they would have provided a better supply of bulls. The commencement of 1843 had been so fatal to the performers at Madrid, that in the advertisements, when I was there, a limit was put to the number the people were to expect, in case of their being disabled. I think on one occasion five picadores were in attendance, in order to be expended before the supply was exhausted, after which the people were to be satisfied. A new breed of bulls was introduced at the same time from Salamanca, the performance of which was extremely respectable. The papers, which criticize these exhibitions with quite as much fervour as they apply to the horse races here, were labouring to effect some improvements in the *style*, which they had partly effected, one great object being, that there should be always three picadores in the arena, the ordinary number being only two.

I saw an occurrence at Seville, to me quite new, and from the notice taken by the natives near me it appeared equally so to their more practised eyes. A horse was mortally wounded in the arena, and there not being time to remove him, he was merely unsaddled and left to his fate, the bull attacked and finished him, returning several times afterwards to the charge, which is unusual, after they have ascertained by smelling that the horses are dead. When the bull having received his fatal estocada, instead of

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staggering about near the barrier as they usually do, he walked deliberately over to the poor horse he had so savagely treated, and lay down to die by his side, resting his head upon the carcase, exactly in the manner of a dog when caressing his master. The act, and the manner of performing it, were expressive in the highest degree, if we could admit the possibility of its existence, of the feeling of sympathy and compassion for the unfortunate object of his ferocity, with whom his own fate had now levelled him, and certainly conveyed a mute rebuke to the audience for whose gratification the poor animals had quitted the light of day together.

In several towns they were rebuilding the Plazas, or making regular ones, where the ancient practice of merely enclosing the square had been considered sufficient for the purpose. The court did not attend the bull fights when I was at Madrid, the new school of education having considered the Queen too young for such an exhibition. However, the instant the other party were in possession of her movements, she was PRESENTED. One part of the customs of the old court was to attend during the stay at Aranjuez, the trial of novillos or young bulls, the more courageous of which are kept for the future honours of the Plaza; the others consigned to the more ignoble duty of the plough. An operation, not necessary to be more particularly described, was performed on the last class, in presence, as is well known, of the whole court! Of course the Queen

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will have to attend these exhibitions, as a great part of the change has been effected for the avowed purpose of restoring the ancient etiquette, the grand object of the Grandeza: and this custom must be classed with what I have heard designated, as "buenos principios," which, they said, the Countess Mina could not be supposed capable of instilling into her royal charge.

ROBBERS.

The country had not been so little troubled by this class of society for many years as during the latter time of the Regency. With the exception of a gang, under a leader called Groc, one of the subordinate commanders of Cabrera, most probably decorated by Don Carlos, but whose military rank I am ignorant of, there was no regular permanent band on foot through the whole of Spain. The scene of operations of this party was the Maestrazgo, one of the most inaccessible parts of the wild country in the interior of Valencia, and the most difficult for regular troops to manœuvre in. To this they owed their escape, having eluded all attempts of the force employed to capture them, and I believe they are still at liberty. As nearly every one in the kingdom, who had the smallest development of the organ of acquisitiveness, or coveted either his neighbour's goods, or his wife, or his ox, or his ass, had been enrolled in the armies of Don Carlos; his eagerness on these and other points of destructiveness, being,

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probably, quickened by the reflection that he was serving against the "infidels," and in any case was assured under authority of the Pope himself, that if it came to the worst, he was secure of being shrived; the restoration of the country so quickly to a complete state of tranquillity, is rather remarkable and characteristic. I have often conversed with Spaniards about it, and they all attribute it, chiefly to the comparative abundance of the necessaries of life, and the ease with which the people are contented as to their living. I have sometimes regretted we have no criminal statistics for this singular country, as I have not the smallest doubt, that in ordinary times, when there is a season of tranquillity, that the ratio of crime will be found very low compared with that of other states of the south and centre of Europe. With the exception of certain occurrences in the south, where the knife is too commonly used to settle disputes, and the multitude of cases engendered by the law of customs, which fill the presidios, and give an erroneous appearance as to the actual state of crime, it is very probable the calendar would be found smaller than in either France or England. Of course the average must be taken for the whole kingdom, and the northern division included. Allowance should also be made for the state of the tribunals, and that the Spanish peasantry are left more than any in Europe to their own guidance. There is no gendarmerie or preventive police of any kind, nor any check, unless from the

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influence of the clergy, and the natural disposition of the people to order, and respect for themselves as well as their neighbours, which, whatever may be thought abroad, or whatever inferences may be drawn from the absurdities and inconsistencies to be found in their dealings, are the base of the national character.

Two robberies of diligences took place to my knowledge during the time I was in Spain, both on the road of Andalucia. One was close to the gates of Andujar, by a party known to belong to the place, who, anticipating a good booty, had armed themselves and gone out for a short distance for the purpose. It happened that most of the passengers were officers, against whom the laugh was raised for being the victims on such an occasion. The other was in La Mancha, and I was sorry to hear they violated some young ladies who were of the party. This practice, which was formerly confined to the Moorish race in Andalucia, spread very much during the civil war, and it was not unfrequent for the bands of Palillos to carry off the captured females, if they approved of their appearance, to their camp, compelling them to remain for some days. There is a well-known, wealthy, and most respectable family from one of the ancient colonies, the daughters of which are unmarriageable from an occurrence of this sort. The French inform you, that at the Russian invasion the Cossacks always paid their devoirs to the oldest

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females, the grandmammas frequently offering to them the greatest attractions; but the taste of these half-Africans is quite different, the youngest being always the objects of their attentions.

A new mode of levying mail was announced as being carried on when I was in the country. In the neighbourhood of Cuenca, near the new line of road to Valencia, a small party had stationed themselves, amongst which was a woman they declared to be the worst of the whole. Besides picking up anything that might offer in the usual mode, the chief, who was too well known for his ferocity not to be fully obeyed, was in the habit, on the market days, of spreading his capa upon the road, at the entrance of a town, where every one who passed was required to put down a dollar. If he happened to be without money, he was desired to borrow it from some neighbour, or else take the consequences! This extraordinary proceeding went on for some time, according to the accounts I saw, nor did I ever hear of its being put a stop to. It was the more mortifying to the inhabitants, because a detachment of cavalry had been sent from Madrid for the express purpose of putting the gang down, who were quietly "descansando" at Cuenca, where they were probably waiting for information, whilst these enormities were going on a few miles distance from them.

The band of Groc, above mentioned, represents the higher grade of robbers; the last named people, the salteadores, a middle rank; and those I had

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the felicity of meeting, the third class or rateros, as explained in my former work, where they are arranged in the natural order.

There were also occasionally a few gangs of salteadores about the Guadarrama, and close to Madrid, which is always one of the very worst localities in Spain. To vary the scene, a party of presidiarios or convicts, employed on the canal in Old Castile, made their escape, and appeared in the district just mentioned. In one of the performances of this gang, after robbing the passengers in a carriage, but without committing violence, I heard they stripped the postilion, and then, putting his spurs on, made him mount his horse and proceed for Madrid!

THE GENERALS OF DON CARLOS.

I had very good means of hearing the history of Zumalacarregui, from people acquainted with his family and the individual himself. They all agree that his espousing the side he did with such fatal effect to his opponents, proceeded solely from resentment at a real or supposed insult that was offered to him. As I have heard the story very often, he was in command of a battalion, either at Lugo or some place in the interior of Galicia, when a movement of the people took place at the very outset of the great change that shortly after became general, and although his sympathies were entirely

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with the discontented, the exercise of his duty called on him to put it down, which was done rather summarily. For this he was publicly and severely reprimanded by the Captain-general, who, I believe, was Quesada, an extremely resolute, but rather rough man in his manner. Whatever took place between them, so exasperated Zumalacarregui that he resigned his command, and retired to his family in the provinces, where, the disturbances immediately breaking out, he joined the Carlists. This I have the strongest reason to believe is the truth, and they assured me the great chief was in his own sentiments a liberal, and took that part neither from original affection to Don Carlos or his cause, but simply for the reason assigned. This fact is completely borne out by the supreme and utter contempt he was universally known to have for the Pretender and the cabal about him, whom he treated more as a very harsh master might his servants, rather than a general his king, to the great anger and indignation of the parties concerned. There is another strong presumptive proof of the correctness of this information. The brother of Zumalacarregui, who is a lawyer, was equally eminent in his profession as his relative in that of his avocation, and from the very first, during the whole period of the civil war, was a consistent and steady supporter of the Queen. At the very time his brother commanded the Basque army he was officiating as President of the House

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of Deputies, and I believe he now holds a high judicial situation at Madrid. Had the great leader of the Basques simply espoused the cause of Don Carlos from attachment to it, he would have furnished a solitary example of desertion from the liberal ranks of any officer of talent. With the exception of those engaged by their connections in the provinces, and that also perhaps of Maroto, no regular officer, to my knowledge, ever joined the standard of the Pretender. Those who are called his generals, in other parts of Spain, were originally robbers, priests and monks, and of the lowest class of society. Palillos, one of the chief, as before mentioned, was, I have always understood, a presidiario or convict.

CABRERA.

Cabrera was originally a priest, but there is a doubt whether he was in sacris, or regularly ordained. In a century hence, the history of this man will serve for nursery tales to frighten children into subjection; and many of his adventures and performances would not be credited were they written in our day. We have heard more of him through the sanguinary act of putting his mother to death, a horrid transaction, made more so by the law of Ferdinand, intended specially to be applied to Mina, who was at one time unjustly accused of being the author of this occurrence, prescribing that mode of death to those who should incur the

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penalties of it. The cause of this poor old woman being tried, was that she had been concerned in corrupting, or attempting to corrupt, the garrison of Tortosa, which, if true, would have entailed the same penalty under some other form in any country cursed with civil war; but still it is very shocking. Of the character of the person, whose atrocities, no doubt, by irritating the parties concerned, caused the infliction of the dreadful sentence, the best proof is exhibited by his ordering thirty women, indiscriminately selected from those he might capture, amongst whom the lot fell on many ladies, to be executed in cold blood. Almost his last act was equally characteristic of his disposition. In the account of the northern provinces, an officer called Pardiñas is mentioned, who, after performing services of very great importance, by literally running down, or marching down, the bands in the interior, who had owed their escape, like Gomez, to their power of walking immense distances, was removed to the scene of war in Valencia. After a little time, the peculiar talent of Cabrera, his superior knowledge of the country, and the larger force he commanded, enabled him to surround Pardiñas; and after his death, which took place at an early part of the affair, his division, consisting of between 2 and 3,000 men, laid down their arms. Finding it impossible to prevail on the prisoners to join him, the blame was laid on the sergeants, who have great influence in the Spanish regiments, and they were, to the

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number of ninety-three, deliberately put to death in cold blood two or three days afterwards! This was towards the end of his career in Spain, and the people thought very naturally that a man so universally known for his atrocious cruelties, should not have been received as he was in France; especially that part of his force, called his guards, who, according to the accounts I have heard, for ferocity were unlike anything that has been seen in Europe since their ancestors came from Africa.

Under his orders, and associated with him, was a brigand called Tallada. After amnesty for ordinary cases had been granted by the Regent, and a stop put to the indiscriminate execution of most of these bands when they were captured, an officer of the guards, with a few men, was overpowered and obliged to surrender to this man, which they did on condition of their lives being spared. The officer was taken to a town, stripped naked, and publicly shot there! The brigand himself was shortly afterwards taken, tried, and the fact being proved, of course he underwent the same fate, and I believe this was about the last blood shed in the civil war.

MAROTO.

I understand Maroto was an "Ayacucho," and how he came to be in the service of Don Carlos, I never exactly made out, but after a trial he soon became disgusted with the cause, and it was not in the least likely he would remain where, as before-men-

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tioned, no one deserving the name of a soldier was to be found, excepting those belonging to the provinces, who had espoused the cause for local motives. It is quite natural he should be blamed by those attached to the cause of Don Carlos, for the part he took, but he acted in a great measure from necessity. The truth was, the people were weary of Don Carlos, and of the war. Circumstances had completely changed, there was now a regular army opposed to them, led with science and provided with every thing necessary to conduct operations on a proper scale, which was not the case during the time of Zumalacarregui, who had, in general, only half-formed recruits to deal with. After the last march of Espartero, previous to the convenio of Bergara, they had only one more line of defence, when, unless successful, which there was not much chance of their being, they would have been driven out of Spain. Under these circumstances, with the superior force arrayed against them, and the conviction that all Spain was steadily opposed to them, so that they must finally succumb, it is less surprising that they should have at last abandoned the miserable object their blood had so long been spilt, to defend. For these reasons Maroto will always be blamed, as the public seldom judge of the true cause, and that, as in many other transactions, the general or head is only representing inevitable consequences, and following the stream instead of directing it. The strangest

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occurrence is the shooting of the other generals, of which I never saw a really good account; but the defence of Maroto was exactly that of Dr. Richardson, in his dealing with the Canadian, which no one has ever impugned; neither do they in Spain that of Maroto, considering that he did only what the others would have done to himself had he not forestalled them. What a state of things, and existing under the eyes of the court of Oñate!

In some recent discussions respecting Don Carlos it is stated, as an act of forbearance, on the part of certain authorities, that he is withheld from appearing again in the Basque Provinces. I can only say, that if ever such an attempt is made by him, I should be very sorry for any one in whom I felt interested to be of the party, as the consequences would, most probably, not be very agreeable to those engaged in it. There is little doubt, that the real cause of the detention of Don Carlos, which it is said, the interests of France require, is, that he may serve to keep the Christino party in check, in case of their becoming refractory, as they in turn were used against the Esparterists. Amongst the most amusing of the combinations to those unacquainted with the parties, is the occasional speculation of a union between Don Carlos and the dowager-queen, which is about as practicable an object, as a few years since it would have been, to bring Napoleon and the Duchess of Angouleme to act together.

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DON CARLOS DE ESPANA.

Amongst the tragedies the civil war produced, few are more striking than the career and end of this celebrated person. It may not be known to the majority of readers that he was a Frenchman by birth, of a very old family at Foix in the Pyrenees, but being obliged to emigrate at the Revolution, he entered the Spanish service, where he served during the Peninsular War, and afterwards obtained the highest commands, being well known for his attachment to the pure monarchy. Like many military men he hated the priests and their party, quite as much as, or more than, the republicans or constitutionalists. After the Carlist insurrection of 1828, in Catalonia, he was left in command of that most difficult province, where his modes of enforcing obedience to the commands of the King were sometimes rather curious. In the discharge of his functions he incurred the displeasure of the Ayuntamiento of Barcelona, whom he thoroughly hated. They preferred a complaint against him, secretly, to the Council of Castile, who were charged with watching and checking all transactions of authorities who should transgress the law. They found the complaint to be proved and issued a decree accordingly, which was made out in form and sent to the King for his signature, previous to other steps being taken. Ferdinand, who was by no means remarkable for fidelity to his friends, by way of exception to his general rule of deserting them in difficulty,

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cancelled the decree and sent a copy of it to De España, to shew him the sort of people he was dealing with, and to put him on his guard for the future ; no doubt whatever existing that the Council were right and the Captain-general wrong. As soon as De España received the King's letter, which was autograph, highly approving his conduct, he sent for his orderly-sergeant, and gave him these orders, as repeated to me soon after the occurrence took place : " Take this to the Ayuntamiento when assembled ; do not allow the paper to leave your own possession, but hold it out and say that it is my orders they read it. As soon as they have done, tell them that I have just caused a new horca (gibbet) to be erected, and that it is more than probable some of them will be the first to test it." One would imagine this scene had taken place in Asia or Africa, and scarcely in Europe at this time of day. Such was his mode of governing that strange province, and no one was ever more successful, as no disturbances or robberies took place during his command. He was attached to the English, and extremely attentive to the officers especially, who went occasionally to Barcelona. His greatest dread was, that an Englishman should happen to be robbed and his administration be shewn up in the newspapers, so that he gave all possible assistance to those who might travel in the province.

Towards the close of his command, when it became certain that a change must take place in the

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system of government, some of his friends suggested, whether it would not be better to moderate his plans and conciliate a little in case of accident requiring his having some parties to rely upon. The answer, after considering a while was, "No, it will not do; whatever may happen I am ruined, and I may as well go through;" and in this way he remained until the overthrow of his party, when he escaped to Italy and thence to France, to the people of which country he bore a degree of hatred only equalled by that said to exist among monks. When the civil war broke out, he took the side of Don Carlos, as the more approaching to his own dogmata, although whilst in Spain he had strongly opposed it; and after some ineffectual attempts, succeeded in crossing the frontier, and establishing himself at the head of a guerilla in Upper Catalonia. Whether from his hatred having changed and become as violent to the Spaniards as it formerly was to his countrymen, the excesses committed under his immediate orders, were dreadful in the extreme. He burned the small town of Maulius and I think Ripoll, a place of considerable size, and committed outrages at Olot and other parts. In fact, his performances were such as only to be accounted for as proceeding from aberration of intellect, which they said had afflicted him at Toulouse. When this system had proceeded for some time, with the appearance of becoming worse instead of better, the junta who were associated with him, being not only shocked

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at the excesses, but fearing their cause would be more hindered than promoted by them, consulted together, and in the half oriental manner of these people, had him arrested, when in the act of presiding at their Durbar or council! He was, as I have heard, immediately pinioned and secured, then given in charge of some soldiers and despatched towards Urgel, on the frontier. What the orders of these soldiers were, is not, nor perhaps ever will be known, nor what took place on the road, but a few days afterwards his body was found in the upper Segre, where it appeared to have been cast over a bridge; and the facts were, as far as they could be collected, communicated officially to the Queen's government. Independently of other circumstances in this tragical end, a curious fact happened whilst I was in Spain. His emissaries had denounced a poor miserable devil, a native of Puigcerda, who was, as they informed me, incapable of doing either much good or harm to any one. He was brought to Barcelona, shut up in Montjuich, tried and condemned; from thence he was paraded on an ass quite through the province, by way of warning to others, and executed in his native town, a very few miles from the spot where the Captain-general met his extraordinary end some years afterwards.

This history, which may form hereafter the basis of romances, is not only quite certain but is confirmed by the conduct of these Carlists of Upper

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Catalonia; when their chief made an excursion amongst them, expecting no doubt a cordial reception; so little did they approve his visit that the manœuvres they performed could only be accounted for on the principle that their object was to starve and compel him to leave the province, which, but for the unaccountable conduct of the Captain-general in a sort of battle they had, neither himself nor any of his troops would have done. Could the object of De España, in these horrid outrages, have been to leave his name to posterity? If so, he has effectually done it, in a very different way from his rival and opponent at one time, Mina.

Allusions have been made to the improved discipline of the army. The striking characteristic of the Spanish soldier is his power of marching and living, almost without food. At the outset of the civil war, and long afterwards, the checks and reverses of the Queen's troops were mainly produced by this cause. In the extraordinary marches of Gomez, they made occasionally sixteen or seventeen leagues, above sixty miles a day! As the original material was the same, they soon trained the regular troops to follow the example, who, latterly, were fully equal to the insurgents in strength of muscle, or as they express it, in the jarretes. The ordinary march-step now used is quite peculiar, being a swinging pace, which they can easily augment to six miles an hour, and there is a degree of life and animation in their marches, that nothing I ever

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heard equalled. They have few instruments, and the notes are very simple, but the mode of striking the time produces the effect. With these powers, and the light, buoyant disposition of the men, they ought to be the first campaigners in the world, and the marches and hardships undergone by the conquerors of America are easily understood.

There is another peculiarity to be noted in these times respecting this strange country. Nearly every one in it either is, or has been, a soldier. There is scarcely a man who has passed twenty, that has not in the civil war carried arms on one side or other, and a vast number of them are really good soldiers. This would make a fearful difference to an invading army, who, were such a step to be taken, and the people could be united, would find a very different set of people to deal with, from those whom the troops of Napoleon had to engage. The great defect of the want of good officers, has also been in a great degree obviated by the new race that has been formed; and the Regent was extremely solicitous about the young men, to whom commissions were given, being properly qualified and educated for the purpose.

CHRISTINA.

Although it is not my intention to say any thing of Christina more than as an historical personage, in which capacity she is like all others amenable, it is only fair to state the faults those opposed to her

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charge her with. As to her marriage with Muñoz, it is seldom mentioned, and never with anger or acrimony. The title of an old ballet from her native city was "Tutto vince l'Amore," which might be adopted as an additional motto to the place, to which it is so singularly applicable. Her birth and the race she is descended from by both sides, would be quite sufficient excuse for a widow of twenty-four preferring married life to a state of celibacy, though it cannot be denied, that under her circumstances, greater glory would have resulted had she imitated some of the elders of her progenitors, rather than followed the example of their modern successors. Besides this natural and strong excuse, she has abundance of examples to bear her out, as the blind god has equally attacked every reigning family, even to the extreme north; nor is there, I believe, one royal house in Europe, where "marriages morganatiques" of some description have not taken place, by individuals of one sex or the other. This subject, then, is never mentioned; but they do say, and I have heard her friends admit the truth of it, that she is avaricious, and that whilst the armies were starving, and the war protracted from the want of supplies, (Espartero furnishing funds out of his own pocket to victual those under his command, upon which every thing depended,) she was pocketing an enormous salary, giving hardly any thing away, and keeping her children and suite in the most beggarly manner,

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remitting every farthing she could save to France. I remember, when I was at Madrid, a pompous announcement took place in the French papers of her giving a donation to the sufferers at Guadaloupe, when the Spaniards remarked, that she surely might have better bestowed her gift on some of the places that had been ruined in defending the throne of her daughter, more particularly designating those previously mentioned in Catalonia. They also say, that she was in her heart addicted to despotism, which is quite natural she should be; and that she only tolerated the constitutional party because her existence depended on it. Hereafter, the history of the changes of ministry that took place during the war, and whilst she was at the head of the Government, will be rather curious, should historians be found capable of diving into the mysteries of palace intrigues, camarillas and family embassies.

The writers of the diplomatic history of these times will require a very accurate power of discrimination, as to the results of instructions written and oral, the latter system having been introduced of late years, with prodigious effect. There must also be pointed out by these writers, the advantages of a constitutional system with apparently responsible advisers, to answer for a portion of the acts; whilst the secret department may be managed quite independently, and made to combine the advantages of what the Spaniards call "absolutismo."

The famous scena of La Granja was produced by

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some of those occurrences, and the failure of a long course of palace intrigues for a particular purpose, when the officers very naturally declining to act, the lead was taken by the sergeant, who has left his name to history. However, it was absurd to call a revolution, what was merely a change of ministry, and the substitution of the national party for that of the camarilla or clique that surrounded the Gobernadora; and the Spaniards declare, that far from Muñoz's life being in danger, as has been reported, on that occasion, he was, for fear of accident, put in safety long before the possibility of his being touched, although the habitual respect of the people for the palace of their Kings was quite guarantee for his security; and alone, without direct testimony, would make the scene so graphically described by a late writer, and unanimously denied by all the best informed Spaniards, doubtful.

Whatever may be thought of many of the dealings of this extraordinary people, the quiet return of Christina to Madrid is rather creditable to them; as under the circumstances that have taken place with which she is mixed up, it would have been practicable in few countries. The truth is, that, excepting in cases of deadly feud, which sometimes happen, in no country is life more secure than where the people are generally considered to be extremely prone to cutting throats. A rather curious scene took place when I was there, on this very subject of the royal family. M. Guizot, whose speeches

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in general form a very great exception from those of too many of his countrymen on Spanish affairs, for once forgot himself a little, and launched forth in a style that would have been better omitted, our neighbours being amongst the last who should touch on so delicate a subject. It related to the Royal Infantas, when M. Guizot declared, that if any violence were to be offered to them, France would consider it a case of intervention!

This rather indiscreet speech, coming so soon after the business of October, 1841, produced some awkward associations and fired the national party. It was answered by Señor Infantes, who, in the best possible style, calm and dignified, after protesting against such a reflection being thrown on the whole nation, said, "Perhaps the ancient professor of modern history may not be aware that the word 'regicide' is not to be found in our dictionary; we are obliged to borrow the word, neither term nor practice being known to our history. He will, perhaps, inform us how many of the Kings of France since Henry the Fourth, which they consider a great historical epoch, have not been either put to death, exiled, or their lives attempted." I confess I was rather staggered with this, when my attention was first drawn by the Spaniards to the speeches; but it cannot be denied that one or other of the categories of Señor Infantes cover the greater part of those who have presided over the people, who were threatening again to invade their ill-fated neighbours

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in their new character of protectors to the royal race of Spanish Bourbons, who have been very differently treated by their subjects.

Of the same description, and same vocabulary with the anarchy alluded to in another part, are the affected fears of republicanism, of danger to the Queen, and other niaiseries of the same sort, occasionally put forth. I sincerely wish the lives of all the sovereigns of Europe were as secure as that of the Queen of Spain, whose sole danger is the want of respect for her authority, from the possibly officious meddling with, and monomania of directing her government from without, and that not to any extent. As far as the Spaniards themselves are concerned, no one need be under the slightest apprehension about her.

COMMERCE.

Next to the Slave trade, and even worse in some respects, for it came more frequently, was the subject of the treaty of Commerce. I was so bored about this, that I adopted the plan of Franklin in the United States, only having my speech ready for delivery, and not written on a card, which would not have been agreeable to Spanish etiquette. It was simply this, "I am in no way concerned with Commerce, and therefore speak impartially. I do not think the trade of England would be much affected one way or other by the making a treaty. We have already, in despite of obstacles, a very ample trade,

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which might be somewhat increased by its being carried on in a more regular manner, but to us the question is quite a secondary one, and if I had to do with these matters, I should not ask or solicit any such thing, but leave it to yourselves, to whom an alteration of system is of *vital importance.*" I never heard more after this had been dealt out, the meaning being perfectly intelligible to the parties it was addressed to. They had been primed by the "neighbours" on this as well as on collateral subjects, and what chiefly annoyed me was, the general opinion, so like many of theirs, that our workmen were all starving, and that our eagerness after the treaty, was to save a few of their lives! Believing, as they did, this stuff, which their friends, in their round of visits annually supplied them with, one would imagine, they would, for the sake of humanity, have been disposed to assist in relieving the necessities of our people, but their deductions were of a very different nature. I am sorry to say, I have heard too much on this subject for many years past, from all other nations, as well as the Spaniards; the system we have followed since the peace, with the help of our rivals, bearing an aspect rather easy of misrepresentation, in which our enemies have been too successful.

I met a number of French commercial travellers in every part of Spain, where they are constantly located. In general they speak the language, and manage to deal remarkably well with the people, being a very

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much better style of men than those of the same class were a few years back. Many of them are the sons of merchants, whose business they are transacting. I never met a single Englishman in the same capacity; only some foreigners employed by different houses, one of them was a Frenchman, a very good specimen, whom his countrymen in the same line assisted to obtain orders, as I ascertained from their conversation; a service they would assuredly not have rendered to an Englishman under the same circumstances. Although, as previously stated, one cause of promoting the pronunciamentos was to encourage certain branches of commerce, and to depress others; the immediate effect was to paralyze the whole, excepting in the south, where an enormous introduction of goods took place; and the commercial gentlemen whom I met in the north, towards the close of my tour, assured me they could scarcely procure a single order, even in the towns where previously there had been considerable activity, and where they were perfectly known to the dealers and in the habit of frequenting.

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CHAPTER XVII.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS — THE BASQUES — COURT OF DON CARLOS—CONCLUSION.

THE events that took place subsequent to the embarkation of the Regent, are too well known to require repetition here; but, as few readers have the means, even if disposed, to enter into the labyrinth of Spanish affairs, a few observations on the state of things that have succeeded, are necessary to facilitate the understanding them. Notwithstanding the adhesion of the greater part of the army and the possession obtained of the capital, there is great reason to believe that reaction would have ensued, but for the daring energy of Narvaez, to whom the establishment of the present "situacion," as they call it, is entirely due. It is not probable that any one of the military leaders acting with him would have succeeded in keeping down the opposition, without his reckless and fearless character to direct them. Nearly every act since his accession to power has been in positive violation, not only of the Constitution, but of the fundamental law of the country. Not one proceeding, that I am aware of, has any other basis than that of decrees, in the name of the Queen, from a ministry illegally constituted; and every act of which, consequently, is

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contrary to law. They had no power to proclaim the Queen of age—to arrest sixty or seventy persons on suspicion, and proclaim the whole kingdom under martial law, and suspend the civil authorities. But these things are done, and like De España, having no retreat, he must go through; we have yet to see whether it lasts. The average duration of a ministry in Spain is about a twelvemonth, and only one half of that period is yet expended.

The best and perhaps only good one of the *coups d'etat* which have characterized his career so far, is the disbanding the national guards. These troops ought to have remained under arms, and assisted in repairing the evil they produced, as before mentioned. Narvaez and his directors know them far too well to trust them, as they would infallibly have served him as they did the Regent; so that they merit the slight passed on them by those to whom their folly has given them the means of coercing them. It is the only one act that I can give the ruling party any credit for, and therefore I make a point of doing so; all the rest appear to be the offspring of pure military despotism, fit only to be exercised amongst Asiatics; and if the mass who rose against the Regent were alone concerned, they should have my fervent prayers for a long and fortunate continuance of their sway, and the hope that they would continue the iron rod they commenced with. But there are vast numbers of men in Spain who deserve a different lot, and even of the national guards, those

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of Madrid and Zaragoza are to be excepted. Amongst the acts more especially illegal and tyrannical, were the dissolution *in toto* of the Chamber of Peers, that of the Diputacion provincial of Madrid, and the nominating others by Government, instead of having them elected in the legal manner; a fact, the necessity for which speaks a volume, as to the feeling against the perpetrators. The judges who in their tribunals had declared, that until the Regency was formally abolished and a government regularly constituted, they had no legal authority, were superseded, contrary to the law of the land; as by the last Constitution established, the judges were made irremovable.

The only regret every Englishman who is acquainted with the transactions and the mode in which the results have been brought about, is the seeing a British Minister, to a certain degree, sanctioning them by his presence. The question is a peculiarly delicate one, and there are reasons no doubt for our immediately resuming the preceding diplomatic footing, otherwise, one would rather have seen an interim arrangement. As a proof of this, the instant the foolish disturbance broke out at Alicante, the English were assailed by a new term of insolent reproach, from the vocabulary, no doubt, of the character who had descended from his garret, by applying similar elegancies to Queen Christina; whilst at the very time, amongst other illegal acts, the press has been put almost entirely under

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the management and control of Government, by whose indirect sanction the insolence was put forth.

There is no doubt that the practical difficulties of governing this strange people in their present state, are very much increased by attempting to direct them. To write or speak respecting Spain at this time, without allusion to foreign influence, would be to verify the adage of acting the play of Hamlet, without the principal character. There is a scene in that tragedy, which the reader will recollect, between the Prince and Guildenstern, in which the impossibility of extracting music from an instrument the party does not understand the use of, is commented on. It is by no means improbable, similar difficulties may be experienced by those who are attempting to strike the Spanish guitar, the sounds of which, in foreign hands, are often any thing but musical or harmonious.

The greatest difficulty in carrying out the old scheme of governing Spain, without considering the Pyrenees, will be to find tools to work with; those hitherto employed have always been men of the smallest possible consideration or fitness for their office, especially during the war, when the struggle was between the Camarilla and the Gobernadora on one hand, and the national party on the other. Although now apparently beaten down by the fall of the Regency, the national party is too powerful to be long kept in the back ground. Some of the very Moderados themselves, though in the

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" abstract" disposed to yield, will probably not very much relish some of the proceedings certain to result from the protectorate; with the following up of plans foreign to Spanish habits and views, however well suited to the meridian where they may have been concocted. One of the principal causes of the fall of the Regency, as already mentioned, being the general belief that it was under the influence and direction of a foreign power; when they find, instead of this shadow, the real and terrible substance, and that the whole force, legal and illegal, possible to be wielded by the executive, must be used to keep them in office, little or nothing being left to ameliorate the condition of the country, we may expect to see and hear of some little discontent and its consequences. As it cannot be too often inculcated, the heads of this party, who live chiefly at Madrid, are powerless in the country, and without weight, influence, or consideration.

It is impossible to draw any inference from what has taken place since the arrival of Narvaez, to whom as already stated, the success of the revolt must be chiefly, if not solely attributed. But for his energy and determination, it is by no means improbable the Regent would have been immediately recalled, and in this point the unfortunate business at Seville is very much to be lamented.

One of the greatest of all the difficulties is to deal with the army, which may be said to have been almost demoralised by the changes it has gone

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through. The farces now stated to be enacting at Madrid will only tend to debase the parties concerned, in lowering themselves to a point never before witnessed in Spain; by paying the most fulsome adulation to the soldiers, but most probably, without drawing any permanent benefit from so degrading themselves. This mode may suit the country whence the practice has been drawn and possibly recommended, but it is in no way Spanish, nor will it produce any lasting effect upon the people at large.

Amongst the accusations against the Regent, is that of having tampered with the regiments, and caused measures to be taken to induce them to "pronounce" against Christina, immediately before her retreat. Not having been a witness in those times, I cannot say positively how far this was carried; but it is a very general complaint, and certainly if once adopted, was quite sure of being turned to similar account at a future time. I was sorry to see, amongst the hundred decorations worn by the army, one that they said was a recompense for the individual having shared in the pronunciamento in question! I give this merely as a very general subject of conversation, and without answering for the extent to which it may have been carried, but it is undeniable that if such a practice existed it furnished some ground for the charge of intrigue by the opponents, and it also may help to account for the easy desertion, so general in the ranks when the

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danger came. If the men are rather difficult to deal with under the circumstances of the times, the officers are still more so; and the fact announced in the correspondence of the best informed of our newspapers, that no less than 1,200 are located in the small town of Arganda, near Madrid, as unsafe to be trusted in the capital, is a decisive proof of the nature of the "situacion actual."

It is also stated, on good authority, that great numbers of Carlist officers are now employed in the Queen's regiments. There are two advantages in this plan: one, that these people are better fitted than their former rivals, to carry through the system of terror and military execution to which, if you are to judge by his public documents, the actual chief is strongly predisposed. The other, that they have no party to fall back on, and must go through for the present, at least, with those to whom they owe their unexpected advancement. How far such arrangements may last, and what may be their permanent effect, we have yet to see, but it is important to point out such an element in the "systeme Narvaez." It is more than probable, that in some shape or other, the national character will break out before long, and give us another exhibition of eccentricity.

All this was easily foreseen by any one acquainted with the country, and looking calmly on. It was no difficult matter, from the reasons previously mentioned, to rouse a people like those we are describing

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and induce a part of them to commit the egregious follies we have witnessed, falling headlong into the snares so artfully prepared, into which, abandoning their natural shrewdness and sagacity, they entered just as the simple wild animals of North America do those of the trappers of the Company. This is one stage, "facilis descensus,"—"sed revocare gradum," the governing with the same elements in operation that produced the catastrophe, is a very different matter; as we shall probably see by attentively watching the progress of the "protectorate."

In the causes that produced the fall of the Regent, one of some importance was not noticed; the knowledge that his power was only ephemeral, and that he had no solid footing of permanent authority. A vast number, especially of the military, deserted him on this account; a circumstance by no means creditable to them, but such was the fact.

In all the previous rather varied descriptions, no mention has been made of, or allusion made to, the great Northern Powers. The chief reason of this is, that they could not be introduced otherwise than by entering on political discussion, which was not intended to be the case. The next, as it is national, is of much more importance, since, like another body previously mentioned, they are never spoken of or even alluded to by the Spaniards, into whose ideas and speculations they never for one instant enter. Amongst the variety of discussions it was my lot to hear, with the exception of the curious

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anecdote related of the Catalans, I do not think I ever heard Austria mentioned, and the others never. This is the consequence of the steps taken by espousing the side of Don Carlos, as the advocate of absolute power, instead of that of the Queen, who was the true "legitimate;" the certainty being, that the principles of the parties reversed, the support would also have been given inversely. One deplorable consequence that resulted from this pertinacity, was the civil war; and whatever be the final result on the balance of Europe, by making the contest one of amicable hostility for the present, between France and England for the supremacy, it has, in all probability, wholly and finally separated Spain from the parties alluded to. The time of interference, by using their weight to cause the troubles to cease, has gone by, probably for ever, and the vain phantom of supporting the papal power, which was, beyond doubt, the ruling motive with some of them, has vanished in air, leaving the substance of the question to be very probably felt hereafter, by the same parties, in a more tangible form, in Italy and upon the Rhine.

The curious state of the relations of Espartero with the Curia has been alluded to, and some of the documents that passed between the parties, are to be found amongst the decrees, where the absurd "Allocucion," of the Vatican, was prohibited to be circulated. These matters being only religious, and not political, but essentially national, may be shortly alluded to. Had the Curia gone a very

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little further, and Espartero been what they represent him, I really believe by proclaiming aloud the separation entirely from the Curial Jurisdiction, in every thing of a temporal nature, no opposition, worth noticing, would have been made; and the army in particular, and all the active part of society, would have gone entirely with him. For ages past, there has been an "Anti-curial" party in the Church itself, and some of the best ecclesiastics Spain ever produced, have been of this way of thinking; still, I by no means think, that the smallest spirit of religious change beyond that prevails. There is no doubt, the people at large are attached to the Roman Catholic tenets, and have no wish to adopt any other; and I should say, there was not a germ of further innovation or spiritual secession in the country. I speak merely of the temporal domination of the Curia, and precisely the same reasoning applies externally, that was used to characterise the bearings of society towards the priesthood internally, distinguishing between spiritual respect and civil or political domination.

The considerations already offered, will make it clear, that the tampering with the plan of completing the sales of the ecclesiastical property, will be extremely difficult and delicate. In the first place, supposing they arrest the sales, what is to become of the property already disposed of? We may imagine, for instance, that one half of the revenues of Toledo are gone, a third of Seville, hardly any of

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Santiago, nearly the whole of those of Valencia, and so on. Are the remaining portions to be allotted generally amongst the body, or to remain for the benefit of the respective sees they belonged to? Had the business not been carried so far, the case would have been very different, and there is no reason why they should not augment the salaries and create funds to pay the clergy independently, leaving the management to themselves, if thought more advisable; but the stopping half way appears neither politic nor likely, in the present state of the public mind, to answer any good end. In reflecting upon the subject, when in the country, I often thought it might have been better to set aside a portion of the lands belonging to each church, leaving them for the use of the dignitaries, and at their own disposal, to make the best they could of them. But here again, "Cosas de Epaña" intervene. Two and two not only do not always make four, in the old phrase, but by no chance do they ever do so in this country. What was said respecting the monks of Guadulupe is equally applicable in this case, and the plan, however reasonable in theory, would be found impracticable in the working; the appointment of juntas, which would be unavoidable, being in Spain equal to the civil and natural death of the concerns entrusted to the management of that extraordinary combination.

Before any thing could be done by the Regent in the important matter of finally regulating the church

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establishment, an arrangement was necessary with the Papal power, who were insulting and trying every means, openly and secretly, to harass and annoy his government, though without the smallest glimmer of success; for, with all the promises so liberally dealt out to induce the "faithful" to stand by them, not a musket was shouldered to support their pretensions.

The whole system of the cathedrals requires a complete revision. What earthly use can there be in having ninety canons attached to one church? or regular Cabildos in country places with 3000 or 4000 inhabitants, surrounded by despoblados? All these necessary arrangements may be facilitated by giving way, as they now appear to be doing, but they are much more likely to produce an opposite effect, unless very well managed. Great firmness and circumspection are required in dealing with a power, whose pretensions are as lofty as their real means of carrying them out beyond intriguing, are insignificant.

In the remarks upon the church, I commented on an article of the Edinburgh Review, which attracted my notice at the time it came out, and in my preceding work, I criticised the assertion, as to their being 400,000 monks. Since those sheets alluded to were printed, I have consulted the article in question, which, if it surprised me at that time, has now absolutely astounded me. It must first be observed, that the last full account of the Spanish

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clergy, that I am aware of, is the census of 1787, at which time the church, in all its departments, was in the meridian. By this return, so far as I have been able to learn, there were of secular clergy about 70,000, including the cathedral establishments, besides sacristans, acolytes, or novices, employed at the altars. Jovellanos makes about 70,000, but I think he excludes the two inferior classes; of monks, there were 62,000; nuns, 33,000, including the beatas; syndics employed to collect for the mendicant monks and inquisitors about 7000; grand total, 188,625. Archbishops, 8; bishoprics, 46. Jovellanos states the whole in round numbers, 180,000. Now for the Edinburgh Review—Archbishops, 58! bishops, 658! abbots, 11,400! chapters, 936! parishes, 127,000; hospitals, 7000; cofradias or fraternities, 23,000; monasteries, 46,000!! convents, 135,000! in all, 180,000!! the reality being 1800. Secular priests, 312,000! inferior clergy, 200,000! total, 512,000!! the reality, 70,000! Monks and nuns, 400,000! the reality 95,000, as in 1787; grand total of the official returns in 1787, 188,625:—of the Edinburgh Review, 912,000, besides the dignitaries, who ought by this article to be excluded. In noticing this statement in 1834, I proposed a reduction of one-third, which would have brought the whole body to about 120,000, and have been very near the truth; as a few years afterwards there were about

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110,000. I have no doubt the entire body of clergy of all descriptions now remaining, including the monks and nuns, exclaustrados, will be from 80,000 to 90,000, two-thirds of whom are parochial clergy, and the others are yearly diminishing. I should like very much to know where the writer of the article in question obtained his data. The author whose work he was professing to review, although a popular and decent writer, was utterly unacquainted with Spain and Spaniards, and his credulity and avidity for collecting materials to sell his book, put him at the mercy of every one who chose to play upon him, of which some ludicrous instances came under my own observation; still I do not think he would have inserted any thing so absurd as this, and his "friend," which the reviewer evidently was, ought not to have made him responsible for it; and if the account be extracted from his work, he or the editor of the journal, should have prevented so gross a misstatement going forth to the public. If the statement were correct, the tenth of the population were employed in the church or near it, and of the active part one fifth! The reason of the decline of the greater foundations, with the exception of certain royal houses, has been already stated. The fact is, after the war of independence, hardly any one entered them, and the Spaniards are perfectly right, in asserting that the destroyer of fanaticism was Napoleon, as he dealt a blow it never recovered,

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although the final destruction of it is owing to the advisers of Ferdinand, and the abettors of Don Carlos.

The next great error after the non-acknowledgment of the Queen in the first instance, was the refusing that of the Regency, when it was by no means too late, and Spain might have been kept in a state of independence, which there is very little appearance of her being able to maintain at present. Circumstances would seem to bear out the opinion of many people, that officious means have been used to prevent the step being taken, which in no case could have been done very willingly, and that in the usual phraseology applied to this rather original people, that they are in a state of anarchy, without government, without army, religion, or any thing else to constitute respectability or claim to be admitted into the great European family.

Can it be intended to persist in not acknowledging the Queen? By the proclaiming her of age, illegally as they have done, she is certainly in a situation far from fit to be "presented" at the congress, although she might at the bull fights; but whose fault is this? The actors have been described in this greatest of farces, got up for the meanest and worst of purposes; but the blame not resting with her, it can hardly be said that her title is invalid on that account. Can certain parties have undertaken the duty of guardian or cerberus to watch the "Inferno," so many people consider the country

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under consideration? Or can it be that, amongst another class of people, the Spaniards are represented to be in such a state, that for pure mercy and to save the few that may be left, they will yet call on the honoured champion of the Curia to quit his retreat, and save them from utter annihilation? It is not improbable this feeling has survived the circumstances which made it once extremely prevalent; but like the "transaccion" already alluded to, after fighting for five years and carrying their point, there is little probability of their adopting a course, the fatal consequences of which they are too well aware.

There is one part which requires more notice, from its bearing directly on the subject. One of the greatest errors in the country in judging of Spanish affairs, was to confound the Basques, generally, with the whole of the Spaniards, with whom they were directly at variance, and had very little feeling in common. The Basques were an army, not banditti, like the others, and were fighting nominally for Don Carlos, but in reality for themselves and their fueros, which, before the outbreak, it was known one party would suppress, and as certainly known the other would uphold. At the very outset Don Carlos had a few friends in the "abstract," but they were lost long before the conclusion; and even Zumalacarregui, who was regarded here as a champion of pure loyalty, like the Scotch and border supporters of the Stuarts, was quite

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the reverse, and merely used him as a necessary tool to promote his own views.

I can speak positively on these subjects, from having passed some months in the provinces, for the purpose of making myself master of their history and dealings, in 1831 and 32, just previous to the death of Ferdinand, when everything was prepared in case of that event taking place, or any change from the absolute to the liberal system. It is quite true that the clergy retained their ancient influence, and that the "religion" was partly the cry, as in the war of independence, especially in the interior. In fact it was a regular war, *pro aris et focis*, between them and the rest of Spain, and they fought the other Spaniards, exactly on the same principle that the whole nation combated Napoleon, the real foundation of their exertions being the fueros.

The situation of the "court," at the close of the war, was probably unique. All those who knew the parties, and were not particularly desirous of the success of Don Carlos, were highly gratified by the successive arrivals of the personages that flocked to his standard, knowing that the more they congregated the more certain was the damage that must finally accrue to the cause from their fiery zeal.

Next to the chief himself, of whom we shall only remark, that he was totally unfit to control or regulate the groups about to be mentioned, came his wife, the sister of his former one, who might beyond any other individual be picked out to repre-

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sent the genius of violent fanaticism personified. This was not a "marriage morganatique," but a "marriage fanatique," since that appears to have been her chief recommendation for the high honour she attained of being a quasi queen. At the latter part of the scene the lady laboured under a monomania of assassination, not from the opponents, but from her own party, and in the very court! which considerably increased the difficulties of managing her. Amongst the other leaders were the famous Cirilo, the Archbishop of Cuba, who, as mentioned in my former work, was literally exiled by Ferdinand, as too violent to live in Spain during his time; Erro, a rather able philologist, the only man of any general talent that ever belonged to the party, who was also banished from Madrid at the time alluded to, as too violent for the good society Calomarde delighted in, with the general and all the staff of the Jesuits of Loyola! General Eguia, the most outrageous of the military men, going further even than poor de España. General Moreno (of Torrijos memory) also figured in this strange medley, with several priests, monks, and other zealots, of both sexes and of various descriptions. The most moderate of this party was sufficient to set the monarchy in a blaze, even with the whole of it to expand in; what must they have been when cooped up together in a corner of the provinces, and matters becoming every day worse for the cause? Wedgewood's pyrometer would have been inadequate to measure

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the fire that burned within some of their breasts; what would the "quemaderos" (funeral piles of the inquisition) have been that they were eagerly anticipating the lighting on their return to Madrid?

This is the corte or court of Don Carlos, and a tolerable specimen of the elements of discord it exhibits; but the camp or army was hardly, if at all, better. So high did the spirit of dissension run amongst the officers, that it happened the very guard at the King's palace, as they called it, was threatened with instant death on one occasion, by troops drawn up for the purpose, in front and rear, by one of the better generals of the party! As one of the factions gained the ascendant, the best officers were subject to be superseded and banished to Estella or some other quarter, until their turn for supremacy should come again. To this pandemonium according to some, panagion, according to others, Maroto was introduced; and I know no piece of history more interesting than his memoirs of the transactions in the provinces at this time, could he be prevailed on to give them. Besides all the elements already mentioned, there were half formed troops, the refuse of the army and deserters, who took no active part in the operations; but hung in the rear, and committed all sorts of disorders, especially towards the very close. On one occasion such a scene took place in the very palace, that an officer called Velasco, after being grossly insulted, withdrew in disgust, and when Don Carlos sent and persuaded him to return, he

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told the messengers they had made the King's palace like a "taberna" or the lowest kind of public house! The leader in this jarana or turmoil, was no other than, horresco referens! the titular queen herself! To read the accounts of the state of things of that time, it was quite evident it could not go on, and that the protracting the struggle was only the sacrificing the lives of brave men to no purpose. This was the real cause of the Convenio of Bergara taking place. When every thing was settled, Maroto was some time in front of the whole line of his troops, whilst changing their duties and putting themselves under the command of Espartero for the Queen; and if there had been a particle of treason or misunderstanding on his part, they could have instantly put him out of the way; or even if they had any feeling that he had misconducted himself, either to Don Carlos or the generals he had put to death, whom they knew perfectly, as well as all the circumstance relating to them. From what I have heard and read on the subject, I have little doubt that instead of judging Maroto as we do, posterity will consider he not only performed a great duty to his country, and to humanity, but that he had hardly any alternative than to act as he did.

The difficulty is to explain how he came there, and what were his real motives for entering such a scene. It is scarcely credible that he could have done so, with a view of finally bringing about the

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convenio. If he did so, it was a most perilous undertaking, and it is much more probable he went there ignorant of the existing state of things; and that the events which took place, subsequently to his arrival, with the want of supplies, for, according to the best account, the army was almost starving towards the close, had convinced him it was useless to protract the struggle and shed more blood. Amongst the other kindred subjects of discord, were the troops themselves, composed of Navarros, Guipuscoanos, Alaveses, Biscaynos, Castellanos, of which there were some battalions, chiefly kidnapped men, who could not desert, but were forced by the Basques to remain in the ranks. All these, with the officers, yet more discordant in their views, were to be consulted as to the campaigns, and the steps to be taken by the generals who commanded them, and as the dangers and difficulties increased, so did their situations become every day more arduous and irksome.

To prove more fully the correctness of this reasoning, it should be mentioned that General Eguia, was one of the first to enter into the "transaccion," or treaty with Maroto, and his character is too well known, and he was too completely mixed up with Don Carlos, whom he had accompanied from the commencement of the war, to admit of his conduct being explained on any other grounds, than the conviction of the inevitable necessity of giving up the contest. And it must also be fully allowed, that no people who ever undertook to support a cause, good

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or bad, ever carried it through with more determined resolution and bravery than the Basques, and although no friend to the Carlist part of their cause, I should sincerely regret that, being at last compelled to yield to superior force, they had lost anything by the change of system.

The end of Moreno was rather striking; when everything was over, he was retreating to France, as he could not have remained in his own country, but under the wing of Don Carlos, in whose interest he was during the tragedy of Malaga. He was attacked, as his aide-de-camp asserts, by special order, and assassinated. The perpetrators were some of the loose half banditti above mentioned, immediately attached to Don Carlos, but who the instigators were, we are left to imagine. It was reported he was carrying money, and his death was caused by some mistake about an escort that was to have accompanied him, and probably gave rise to the rumour. A graphic account of some of these transactions is to be found in a little work, translated from some foreign language, written by a man who was present, and the style and manner, as well as the reputation it enjoys in Spain, are convincing proofs of the sincerity and truth of the statements, his attachment to the cause being beyond all question, although his inferences frequently may not bring conviction to every reader. Before we finally leave the officers who have figured in one side or other, two more must be mentioned. When Torrijos

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made his truly unfortunate attempt in the south, some of his party broke out from Gibraltar, and effected an entrance into the Serrania de Ronda; amongst those was Colonel Manzanares of the engineers, who, after the complete failure of the mad business, put himself into the hands of two peasants, who, pretending to save him, betrayed him to the troops in pursuit. He was in a cave waiting for their return, as they promised, and the instant he saw the soldiers, knowing what they had done, he killed the leader, who was pointing him out, immediately after following the same fate himself. The survivor of the two men, who were brothers, had an estate near Moron conferred on him for his services on this occasion, by Calomarde, but the instant the change took place it was taken from him, and Manzanares' name ordered to be inscribed in the hall of the Cortes.

The other was an officer also of engineers, and mentioned in my former work, who was caught at Madrid in the act of writing a letter to Mina, then on the frontier. He escaped out of the window, and by the singular presence of mind of telling the passers by that he was engaged in a love affair, (an argumentum ad hominem in Spain,) was allowed to pass. This officer, whose name is a rather singular one, and I think Basque in origin, but I cannot recollect it, is now in Spain, employed in laying out the new lines of road, in which department he is considered to be one of the first men in the kingdom.

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After the return of Christina, as a matter of course, Colonel Dulce was dismissed, before she could enter the palace, the associations hardly permitting the expectation that a person who will be indemnified for the mortification, by the long record of his name in Spanish history, should encounter the royal frowns, which on such an occasion must have fallen upon him. This is only natural, but how happened it that the parties who invited her back, and the others who regulated her time of departure, directing her movements, and shewing to the last a parental solicitude about her, so contrived that the prime minister, whom she was bound to treat with every sort of kindness, and with the amiable and winning manners every one admits her to possess, should be the very person whose fame was made and whose advancement from the lowest rank in society was secured, by lampooning and caricaturing her own dear person and all her associations? This certainly was not well managed, nor has it been improved by the highest honours possible to bestow, being subsequently conferred on the same individual by parties with whom Christina is rather intimate. They used to say, things are better managed, in a country that shall be nameless; but this transaction is no proof that the adage is still applicable. The advisers who brought Queen Caroline to this country, after her voyages and travels, would scarcely have invited the editor of "John Bull" to welcome her, much more made him

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master of the ceremonies, which was very nearly the course pursued towards Queen Christina, by her "protectors." Certainly political, like other misery, makes us acquainted with strange company.

The question of new papal arrangements appears to be connected with the return of this personage, and she seems to have taken an active part in forwarding them. How is this? She has not yet reached the age of devotion, which in the olden time generally succeeded the other; but it is very probable that the attempt to raise a party amongst the clergy, has caused the recommendation of this plan, or rather that it should have formed a chapter of her instructions when she set out. No one who has to do with governing this country, or in fact any other, will overlook so important an object, as the body in question; but the bringing them again upon the stage will require some skill in the management, and not merely trusting to circumstances that may not in the result bear out the anticipations expected from them. There is not the smallest doubt, that any hasty attempt to unduly raise the church, would in the present state of public feeling in Spain, operate in a very different manner, and might seriously injure the cause of religion, and the interests of the priesthood itself, if they were to adopt any sudden and inconsiderate measures. I have thought a great deal on this subject, and am more and more satisfied the better plan for all parties would have been to go through with the plans originally intended,

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selling the whole of the property, then making a durable, independent and respectable settlement, enough to maintain in respectability the numbers that might be found necessary to be permanently maintained for the use of that once splendid establishment.

As we hear occasionally of Carlist plots in the interior, arrests on the frontier of parties about to take the field, and other occurrences of similar nature, it may be well to caution those who attend to Spanish affairs, that these stories are of a very doubtful description, and are generally got up to serve particular purposes. The same may be said of another branch of tactics employed for the same purpose, that at certain intervals Don Carlos lays commands on his followers to be quiet, and not to stir in any transaction expected to take place; of which the parties making these statements frequently have rather too much cognizance.

Insurrections are also spoken of in the Basque Provinces occasionally, all proceeding from the same sources. Unfortunately for Spain, there are parties who consider it their interest to call out the Basques once more, and attempt to re-establish the fueros. The original question always appeared of doubtful expediency, and by no means worth the price they would certainly be called on to pay for it; but the fueros having been given up, and the whole of Spain being placed under one system, the question of resuming them is a very different one. The chief

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supporters of the fueros are in Biscay, where a degree of tyranny existed, which to any other people would, in many respects, be insupportable. Amongst other abuses, the towns were divided into districts, to each of which were appointed shopkeepers, who had so complete a monopoly, that if an inhabitant went out of his quarter to make a purchase of any kind, he was punishable by a heavy fine! Ancient habit alone can account for people becoming attached to a system like this; and it is more than probable the parties now understood to be desirous of the restitution, are some of these advocates of monopoly. It is to be feared they also have protecting friends at Madrid, as well as elsewhere, these provinces and Catalonia being the special seats of commerce of a certain description, and they are certainly most convenient depôts for contraband trade. It is surely rather curious that levers should exist in two frontier provinces totally unlike each other, for raising disturbances on such different grounds; and if the fueros are re-established, the fact will be clearly proved, that there are others who admire them even more than the Basques do themselves. If this attempt be made, which is very probable, the Spaniards deserve little pity for the loss of the fruits of the civil war, as they will have entailed it on themselves; and if it succeed, the chances of ever re-establishing the finances will be very much diminished.

I have been frequently asked about the Spanish finances, almost the only subject upon which I never

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felt the smallest inclination to enter, and shall treat it very shortly. There is one thing that may be looked on as certain; they have the means of paying the interest of their debt, and keeping a proper establishment, if their affairs were properly managed. There is but one mode in which Spain can be raised from the financial abyss into which she has fallen, and that is by altering the tariff and admitting all goods that they require at a moderate duty. The sole obstacles to this are the Catalans and the French Government, who have declared openly at different times that they will do their utmost to prevent it, until their goods can sustain the rivalry with ours. Now, have the gentlemen on the Stock Exchange, who are mainly interested in the credit of the country, not the power of refusing to deal with the Spanish Government until they affect an alteration of system, and have the revenue put on a proper and reasonable footing, so as to ensure the regular payment of their debts? Unless something of this sort be done, there appears to be little probability of any beneficial change taking place. A letter was recently in circulation from Carasco, the minister, holding out a prospect that fresh burdens might be laid upon the land. I am not aware how the friends of the new state of things at Madrid, who are a good deal interested, would like the idea of further land taxes; but as far as the generality of the proprietors are concerned, the mention of such a plan is the most insulting irony, and should any other of

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the same kind be held out by himself or his successors, it should be watched and denounced. No doubt whatever, under the present party, there can be no public credit or confidence; and if it be true that they have raised a considerable loan within the country, it is a fearful omen to the foreign bondholders. If they can manage this, which must be at an enormous sacrifice by the public, for no Spaniard, especially of the description I have heard are associated in this business, will risk his money but at usurious interest; the bondholders abroad are quite sure to be the victims. Any loan, of a moderate sum, proposed by parties like those now in power, can only have for its object the dividing the spoil amongst themselves and their retainers, and co-jobbers at home or abroad. Amongst the first objects of these people, who have affiliations both in London and Paris, is beyond doubt the repayment of the arrears to the Gobernadora, the principal object of her visit being to effect this purpose, as well as discharge certain "commissions" she is understood to be charged with. Money is forthcoming for this purpose, as it used to be in the time of Ferdinand for that of the apostolicals, although every legitimate body was in a state of starvation. If this personage obtain her arrears of salary for the time she was in France, and the sum she is understood to have advanced for the pronunciamentos, all that can be said is, that the Spaniards deserve little better for their folly. Connected with this subject, is a

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late smuggling occurrence on the coast of Andalucia; where many lives are said to have been lost. This is the prohibitive system of imports; and if the same plan be applied to the other branches that they have recently to the tobacco contract, giving companies the power of arming vessels, there will be serious collisions of various kinds on the coasts, whilst the frontiers will remain open as before, the keeping them so being part and parcel of the same policy.

When I was in Spain, a good deal was said about the investiture of money in bridges, and other undertakings of the same kind, which return good interest; and I had so much confidence in my principal informant, that I intended giving some notice on the subject, but at present I shall decline doing so, and would certainly recommend no one to risk their money under a government which only exists by trampling the laws under foot. It is quite true that a change has taken place in the ministry, whilst these sheets are going through the press, and the "personnel" is now better than that of the last ministry, and perhaps not very objectionable; but the system is the same, and no confidence can exist with those who must depend on foreign support, and not on the national feeling, to carry them through. Large investments are made in the new lines of road now making in all directions, and already alluded to. The principal are the two great lines of Galicia to Coruña and Vigo, the former being nearly completed; and when I was

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in Spain, it was announced that all the money was subscribed. The direct line to Valencia by the Cabrillas is in forwardness; a new road by the left of the Ebro from Pamplona to Zaragoza, and, I believe, to take a higher line in Aragon to Barbastro and other places now difficult of access. An entire new line from Madrid to Barcelona, by Molina, Teruel, and Mora de Ebro, which will shorten the distance by thirty leagues. Lines to Malaga from Madrid, and also from Granada, but the latter is not new. In these investments the interest is paid by the tolls on the road as already mentioned, the principle being completely established, both for bridges, the remaking the old carreteras, and the establishing new ones.

A very important point to observe in the working of the present system is, whether they will convene the Cortes or continue to govern by decrees. There is little doubt this is the object of the dominant authority, but it remains to be seen whether it can be carried through. It is quite certain that if the Regent had determined to follow this principle, and could have acted up to it, Spain would in a few years have been in a very different situation from that she will attain under the Cortes, unless they act very differently from the last.

Opinions are very much shaken in Spain, even of those most attached to the principle of representative government, about the working of it, as it is organised at present. I happened to be

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one day in the house of a man of the highest rank and talent, universally known, was I to mention his name; a firm friend and supporter of the Regent and of the reform of the commercial code—in fact, of the very best and most enlightened of the new school. There were a few people present, and as we were engaged in conversation, he gave a sort of lecture on this subject; and being a very eloquent man, it had a singular effect. He ran through the succession of changes that had taken place, since the assembling the first Cortes by Martinez de la Rosa. As Infantes had three categories in his history of the French Bourbons, my friend had two in his constitutional description of his own country. They were, as he called it, "Piedrazas al Ministerio," literally pelting stones at the ministers of the day, to put them out and get possession of their places. The other was "Pronunciamentos," or insurrection of the towns, to carry certain objects in vogue for the time being against the government. His speech was little else than an enumeration in rapid succession of one or other of these processes, and there could not possibly be better authority for the statement he made. One great defect in the Regent, which has not been mentioned, (if it be a defect,) is the want of the power of intrigue, necessary in most governments, but supremely so in Spain, and more than supremely at Madrid, the focus and centre of it. Some of the better informed Spaniards, and not those attached to him, but the

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contrary, said, that he ought to have manœuvred between Cortina and Olozaga, and made them both subservient to his views. Unfortunately, he appears not to possess this talent himself, and he could not receive the instructions to guide him, from the great master of the craft, though his rivals possibly may, if they should require it.

To sum up the causes of the fall of the Regent, they appear to be these: the want of previous rank in society—the party in the army opposed to him—the monomania of governing by the law, in which he was not seconded by the multitude, too ignorant to comprehend the meaning of it, which was literally the case. (I got into the scrape at Coruña, mainly, by demonstrating that they were effecting by the bayonet and by illegal means, what they could do, if necessary, by lawful and constitutional ones.) Finally, by the assistance from without, failing which, he would have been still on the throne, though with strange elements around him to govern and carry on the public affairs.

The curse and bane of every thing, according to most of the better informed Spaniards, is Madrid; and they declare that the best members are ruined by going there, and the constant effect of living in such an atmosphere of intrigue and corruption. Of course this is meant to apply to the carrying on the government and subjects connected with it, and not by any means to private society or dealings, which are on a very different footing.

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One observation must be made for the use of those who, without the dictionary, are disposed to ponder over and even write upon the affairs of this original and extraordinary country. The power is now in the hands of the Moderado party, who, by way of making friends, and perhaps raising themselves in their own estimation, assume the title of Conservatives. This assumed title means nothing, as, in fact, they are not a bit more conservative than their rivals. Another is, that although powerful in name and respectability of the persons connected with them at Madrid, they are not a national party. A year ago their hopes of attaining power were perfectly futile. When all the electoral power in Spain had been tried to the utmost, as before observed, they returned ten members! In the overthrowing Espartero, their grand object; if they had attempted to take the lead, or to do anything openly, their chance was irretrievably gone. They have mounted to power, like the clown at Astley's on horseback, and by the folly, division, and ignorance of the progresistas, now the great predominating power in the panorama of Spanish society. No other merit can be conceded to them but calm circumspection, and taking advantage of the occurrences that were brought about. It was the thunder of the progreso, and not theirs that shook Espartero from his throne.

As to the future result; no Spaniard I ever knew, whose opinion was of any value, would attempt to fore-

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tel, even with certain data supplied, what the effect of any combination might be. In fact, no man who knows the nation would undertake to do so, and endeavouring to do it would shew ignorance of the people; we must look on in patience for the next turn. Not improbably every thing may turn out exactly opposite to what the natural inferences would appear to lead. As the best constituted and apparently strongest and most ably conducted government has fallen in a few months, the worst and most tyrannical may have a chance of surviving, and may produce effects the reverse of what might seem to be its natural consequences.

I must now conclude, having done the best I could to lay open some of the features of this most singular of people; the only one now containing much originality, and well repaying the pains I have taken and the many years I have devoted to the studying of them. As far as I am individually concerned, I leave them with the most sincere affection, and the most lively interest in every thing that concerns them which I can feel; and I pity the man who, knowing them as I do, will consider that the follies, weaknesses, absurdities and vices they share in common with all other children of our race, are not far more than compensated by qualities of very different nature, which will survive, and we must hope enable them to soar above pronunciamentos and the other combinations that have been recently offered to our view. In concluding my last work

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I wished them wise and moderate liberty. They have attained something like it; but much, very much remains to be done for its perfection, and the restoration of the rude frame of ancient Spanish freedom for a base, with the modifications the "progreso" of human society requires for the superstructure of the edifice. Having avoided the mixing with party in any way, and having only one view or wish on the subject, I take leave, wishing most sincerely success to their advancement and felicity, by *national means!*

THE END.

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