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The
Spanish
Peninsula.



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THE SPANISH PENINSULA:

A SKETCH OF
ITS PAST HISTORY, PRESENT CONDITION,
AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

by
Robert Benton Seeley

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P R E F A C E.


MANY circumstances concur to make the Spanish peninsula an object of peculiar interest at the present moment. It is at once the most *advancing* and yet the most *stationary*, of all the kingdoms of Southern Europe,—of all the powers owning “the Roman obedience,”—of all the “ten kingdoms,” in short, into which the Western empire was divided. It is the most advancing;—for there are few instances to be pointed out (if any) of a realm which has exhibited the life and growth, in merely material things, which have been manifested in Spain during the last ten or fifteen years. Apparently decrepid from old age all through the reign of Ferdinand VII., it has sprung up into new life and vigour during the reign of the present sovereign, and is now growing in wealth, population, commerce, and political power, in a way, and to a degree, which no one could have anticipated, and which is almost without precedent.

And yet is Spain, at the same time, strangely *stationary*. Instead of being able to trace, in her late rise and advance, any result of an improved system of government, Spain remains, to this hour, in morals, in politics, and in religion, one of the most unchanged and immovable of all the kingdoms of Southern Europe. Her neighbour, France, has suffered strange mutations: Italy has been wholly remodelled: Piedmont and Belgium, which, a few years since, were firmly held in "the Roman obedience," are now materially changed, and are, in religious matters, nearly free: while the great Austrian empire is, even now, convulsed with internal struggles which threaten its very existence. Yet, in the midst of all these revolutions, Spain remains wholly unmoved; having little political liberty, and eschewing religious freedom altogether; although she is, in merely material things, making rapid progress. We say not that this singular state of affairs will continue; our anticipations would lead to another conclusion; but the sleep of Spain, while nearly all the rest of Europe is waking, may be an object of more painful interest than the struggles of other lands.

Nor is it possible, or at all desirable, to exclude the recollections of ancient times; or to forget how great, and how richly endowed, is the realm whose condition we are now contemplating. Standing, perhaps, at the head of all the nations of the earth for its many sources of wealth and material enjoyment, and possessing, in

the chronicles of the past, numerous and splendid records of greatness, Spain has a different and a higher interest for the student than belongs to any country of merely modern date. She has "many an ancient river;" she is rich in memories of the days of old;—yet she still lives. Babylon and Macedon, Rome and Carthage, have flourished and ruled and crumbled into ruins; but Spain, an object of attraction in the days of Moses, after a life of more than three thousand years, exhibits growth and energy still.

But we will not anticipate our story. Let it suffice to say, that there are few pages in the records of the past which contain so lengthened and diversified a narrative, or one so full of various topics of interest, as does any fair outline of the past and present of the Spanish peninsula.



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CONTENTS.

I. INTRODUCTION.—PAGE 1.

Natural endowments of the peninsula—Its geographical position—Its natural divisions—Mountains, and rivers—Numerous and valuable products—Mines—Ancient estimate.

II. ANCIENT SPAIN, UP TO THE TIME OF ITS CONQUEST BY THE ROMANS.—PAGE 9.

Known in the earliest times as "Tarshish"—The Iberians and Celts; and the Celtiberians—The Phœnicians—The Greeks—The Carthaginians—Wars between Carthage and Rome—Expulsion of the Carthaginians—Spain a Roman province—Viriatius—Numantia—Submission of the Asturians and Cantabrians—Descriptions of Spain by Diodorus, and Strabo—Roman emperors born in Spain: Trajan, Adrian, Marcus Aurelius—Flourishing state of the peninsula in their days.

III. CHRISTIANITY IN SPAIN—ITS EARLY INTRODUCTION—THE FIRST PROTESTANTS.—PAGE 20.

First introduction of the gospel—Absurd fiction, of the preaching of St. James in Galicia—Probability that St. Paul visited Spain—Council of Eliberis A. D. 305—Hosius of Corduba, president of the Council of Nice—Council of Sardica—Council of Cæsar Augusta—Priscillian—Council of Toledo—Spanish writers: Pacianus, Gregory, Aquilius Severus, Himerius, Prudentius, Olympias, Orosius, Vigilantius.

IV. IRRUPTIONS OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS—THE GOTHS IN SPAIN.—PAGE 36.

The Suevi, Vandals, and Alani, break into Spain—Its utter devastation—Division of the country—The Goths gradually expel the Suevi and Alani—The Vandals pass into Africa—Gothic kings—Roderic—Landing of Tarik—Battle of Xeres de la Frontera—Death of Roderic—Fall of the Gothic monarchy.

V. MOHAMMEDAN POWER IN SPAIN—GRADUAL RISE OF THE PRESENT KINGDOMS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—PAGE 43.

Tarik and Musa, emirs of the Caliph, overrun Spain—It falls without a struggle—The Gothic princes, Theodomir in Murcia and Pelayo in Asturias, preserve some kind of independence; but the rest of the peninsula submits to the Moslems—But to rule the peninsula from Damascus is found impracticable, and a period of dissension and weakness among the Moslems follows—Then Abderrahman, of the house of the Omeiyahs, becomes king, and for two centuries the Moorish kingdom of Spain is powerful and prosperous—At the close of the tenth century the great Almansor ravages Galicia, and almost extirpates the last vestige of Christian rule; but with him the period of Mohammedan predominance expires—The eleventh century finds the Moslem kingdom rent by dissensions, and the Spanish sovereignties of Castile and Aragon rapidly advancing—The twelfth and thirteenth centuries show the Moors continually losing ground, and Catalonia, Valencia, and at last the principal portion of Andalusia, fall into the hands of the kings of Aragon and Castile—In 1238 the Moslem dominion is reduced to the little kingdom of Granada; and four-fifths of the peninsula belong to the sovereigns of Leon, Castile, Aragon, and Portugal—Two centuries more elapsed, before the Mohammedan power was finally compelled to succumb—Continual jealousies and contentions between the Spanish princes postponed the final victory; but, at last, in 1479, the two chief Spanish kingdoms, of Castile and Aragon, were united; and in 1492 the city of Granada was besieged and taken, and the last Moslem sovereign forced to descend from his throne.

VI. RETROSPECT OF THE STATE OF SPAIN UNDER THE MOSLEM SWAY.—PAGE 67.

The Moorish kingdom of Spain a splendid period of Spanish history—Equitable laws; agriculture, commerce, and manufactures encouraged; literature and the fine arts cultivated—Spain the most civilized and wealthy of all the European kingdoms—Splendour of its cities: its libraries, schools, and public institutions—Vast populousness of Spain at this time—Great revenues of the government—Alhakem II. a munificent patron of literature—Palaces, of Azzahra and Alhambra.

VII. CHRISTIANITY IN SPAIN IN THE MIDDLE AGES—GRADUAL ENCROACHMENTS OF ROME.—PAGE 80.

Independence of the Gothic Church of Spain—Isidorian Liturgy—First Romish Mass, A. D. 1071—Albigenses in Spain—Persecutions—Rise of the Monastic system—Dominic, the first Inquisitor—Claudius of Turin—Prudentius—Arnaldo—Raymundo Lully.

VIII. REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.—PAGE 89.

Establishment of the kingdom of Spain—Noble character of Isabella—Her reforms—War with Granada—Columbus—The discovery of America—Religious disposition of Isabella,—perverted to superstition and intolerance—The Inquisition—Persecution of the Jews, and of the Moors—Uniformity established—One cause of the national decline.

IX. PORTUGAL AND ITS MARITIME DISCOVERIES—COLUMBUS AND THE NEW WORLD.—PAGE 106.

Portugal: independent, A. D. 1095—Alfonso I.—Joam I.—Don Henry: colonizes the Azores and the African coast—Joam II. "lord of Guinea"—Diaz—Vasco de Gama—Columbus—Patronised by queen Isabella of Spain—First voyage—Cuba—St. Domingo—Second, third, and fourth voyages—Death—Cabral at Brazil—Vasco de Gama in India.

X. CHARLES I. (OR V.), PHILIP II.—PAGE 116.

Political rise of Spain—Charles, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, a prince of Austria—Becomes emperor—His extensive dominions—The first sovereign in Europe—Beginning of the national decline—The war of the *Comunidades*—Suppression of the freedom of Spain—After Charles's long reign, he resolves to retire—Abdicates, and gives the kingdom to his son Philip—Charles in retirement—His bitter intolerance—His indulgence of appetite—His voluntary flagellations—His death—Philip II.—His bigotry and cold-heartedness—Cruelties in Flanders—Persecutions in Spain—Juan de Avila—Alfonso Valdes—Alfonso de Virves—Rodrigo de Valer—Juan Gil—Vargas—Constantine Ponce de la Fuente—Enzinas—Juan Diaz—Rapid spread of Protestantism—Alarm of the Romish ecclesiastics—Great numbers apprehended—The *Auto de fé*—De Seso—Maria Gomez—Doña Juana de Bohorques—Bartholomew de Caranza—Success of the Inquisition in the total extirpation of Protestantism—The rise of Madrid—Death of Don Carlos, son of Philip—Revolt of the Moriscos—Philip seizes on Portugal—The peninsula now under one sovereign—The Spanish Armada—Its utter failure and defeat—Philip's death—Its horrible circumstances.

**XI. SPAIN IN ITS DECLINE—THE REMAINING KINGS OF THE
AUSTRIAN LINE.—PAGE 154.**

Philip III.—His indolence, and sensual habits—Expulsion of the Moriscos—Independence of Holland acknowledged—"The golden age for churchmen"—Philip IV.—Of similar character—Loss of Portugal—Rapid decline of the population of Spain—Increase of convents—Weakness of the government—Charles II.—Equally worthless—The kingdom in the lowest state of decline—Revenue and population reduced to the lowest ebb—The king dies without issue.

**XII. SPAIN UNDER THE KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.—
PAGE 166.**

The succession disputed between Philip of France and Charles of Austria—After a contest of thirteen years, Philip is acknowledged king—His character good—Alberoni—His great ability—Rapid revival of the Spanish navy—Fall of Alberoni—Continued rise of Spain—Death of Philip V.—Fernando VI.—A good king—Effects many reforms—His death—Charles III.; also a good sovereign—But too much identified with France—Joins in assisting the American colonies to throw off the rule of England—Expels the Jesuits—Rise of the public revenues—Growth of the population—Decline of the Inquisition—Death of Charles III. in 1788.

**XIII. SPAIN IN THE DAYS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION,
AND OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.—PAGE 177.**

The fourth king of the Bourbon line, weak, and incompetent—Wholly devoted to field sports—His queen under the influence of Godoy—The French Revolution—Spain makes war with France—Partial success but ultimate defeat—Godoy makes peace, and binds Spain to France—Maritime war between Spain and England—Battle of St. Vincent—Battle of Trafalgar—Bonaparte resolves to seize upon the peninsula—A French army occupies Lisbon—Another army in Madrid—Charles abdicates, and his son Ferdinand is proclaimed—Bonaparte invites Charles and Ferdinand to meet him at Bayonne, where he forces them to resign the kingdom of Spain—Joseph, brother of Napoleon, named king—This violence and perfidy ultimately ruinous to Napoleon.

XIV. THE DELIVERANCE OF SPAIN.—PAGE 186.

Indignation of the Spanish people—Insurrections in divers places—Application to England for aid—Landing of Sir A. Wellesley and a British force at Lisbon—Battle of Vimiera—The French evacuate Portugal—Defence of Saragossa by the Spaniards—Capitulation of Dupont and 21,000 French soldiers at Baylen—Bonaparte enters Spain with a powerful army, and defeats the Spaniards in four battles—Sir John Moore, with an English army, forced to retreat to Corunna—The whole peninsula, except Lisbon and Cadiz, now in the power of the French—Sir A. Wellesley again at Lisbon—Battle of Talavera—Lines of Torres Vedras—Battle of Busaco—Retreat of Massena—Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo—And of Badajos—Battle of Salamanca—Wellington in Madrid—March of Wellington in 1813—Battle of Vittoria—Flight of the French over the Pyrenees—Enormous carnage of this prolonged war.

XV. SPAIN, AS RESTORED, AND AS NOW EXISTING.—PAGE 218.

Ferdinand VII. in Spain—Suppression of the Cortes, and of the constitution—In 1820 a new insurrection; and the king accepts the constitution—In 1823 Louis XVIII. sends a French army into Spain, takes Ferdinand out of the hands of the Cortes; and all the acts of that body are declared null and void—In 1833 Ferdinand dies, leaving an infant daughter—His widow, queen Christina, is forced into the hands of the constitutional party, and in 1836, the constitution is again proclaimed—In 1843, the young queen, Isabella, is declared of age—In 1846 she is married—In 1854, a fresh outbreak takes place, and the queen-mother is banished—But the clerical party again obtain influence, and Spain is again ruled by them—Sketch of the South American colonies, and of Brazil, now severed from Spain and Portugal.

XVI. DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH OF THE PENINSULA.—PAGE 227.

A rapid survey of the peninsula—Enter by the Pyrenees—Navarre—The Basque provinces—Asturias—Galicia—Portugal—Leon—Estramadura—Andalusia—Gibraltar—Murcia—Castile—Aragon—Catalonia—Valencia—Population of Spain—Majorca, Minorca, Ivica, Cuba, and Porto Rico.

XVII. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF SPAIN.—PAGE 250.

Townsend's sketches of Spain—Blanco White—Inglis—Spanish hospitality—Pride and external show—Everyday life—Morals—Superstition and Infidelity—Meyrick's visit to Spain—The Bull-fight.

XVIII. CONCLUSION—RECENT CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS
—PROSPECTS OF SPAIN.—PAGE 270.

Union of several distinct peoples in Spain - Question as to the causes of her past decay - A general view of those causes - Recent revival - Decay of the Conventual system - Increase of population - And of trade - And of the national revenue - Some of the probable causes of this improvement - Material prosperity unsatisfactory if alone - Spain rigidly closed against the gospel - A few transient openings, of late years - The eagerness of the Spaniards to receive the gospel - Strictness of the exclusion at the present moment - Recent persecutions - Conclusion.

APPENDIX.

- A. Chronology of Spain.
- B. The Inquisition.
- C. The Spanish Universities.



Note. The Towns of Phoenician origin are in outline thus Gades.

THE SPANISH PENINSULA.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE idea which is commonly entertained of Spain, its intrinsic powers, its endowments, and its condition, errs mainly in the point of defectiveness. Regarding that land chiefly through the medium of its government and its legislature, we lose sight of its natural characteristics, and of the wondrous liberality with which a beneficent Creator has poured upon it almost every conceivable element of national wealth and of individual enjoyment. But so soon as any one begins a closer examination of the subject, he quickly discovers that his principal care must be to set bounds to his admiration, to keep his imagination under control, and to avoid as much as possible the natural expressions of enthusiasm, in contemplating a land upon which God seems in an especial manner to have lavished the bounties of creation with an unsparing hand.

Yet even the most cautious and moderate view of these things will be likely to excite the wonder of those who have long regarded the Spanish peninsula and its inhabitants with sentiments of pity, not always unmingled with contempt. But that wonder may perhaps end in a modification, rather than a reversal, of

the sentiments previously entertained, when such readers find presented to them a case of abundant resources most recklessly dissipated, and of a national decay and impoverishment for which it is not easy to account.

It may be questioned whether any other land under the whole heaven can be pointed out, over which "with such lavish kindness the gifts of God are strewn."* Eastern travellers, indeed, have extolled the far-famed "Vale of Cashmere," where those who have been exhausted by the arid heats of India find refreshing breezes, cooled by the mountain-snows, and wafted over beds of flowers; but no one has ventured to compare the products of Cashmere with those of Spain. Nor will the most careful search, even when extended over every quarter of the globe, discover to us another land so extensive, so favourably placed, so richly endowed, so abundantly supplied with those various products which man deems desirable; combined too, with "blessings of the heaven above, and blessings of the deep that lieth under." Fertile fields, sunny skies, hidden treasures, mighty mountains, noble rivers, all abound in Spain. It is without surprise, therefore, that we find all geographers rising into the language of fervour, when describing the various endowments, the abundant wealth, and the singularly happy circumstances of the Iberian peninsula.

This realm, almost square in form, and sometimes described as in figure resembling an extended hide, is placed at the western and southern extremity of Europe; looking upon Africa from its southern coasts, and regarding, from its western, the wide expanse of the Atlantic Ocean. Such a position might be expected

* Heber.

to give it a soft and relaxing climate ; but this probable disadvantage is counteracted by its extensive mountain-ranges, and its surrounding seas. No European country, except the small territory of Switzerland, is so mountainous as Spain. Some geographers reckon five, but others speak of seven, great ranges of mountains, which extend across the peninsula from the south-west to the north-east. The first of these, to the north-west, the mountains of Santander, or St. Andero, shut in, and in ancient days defended, the kingdom of Asturias. The next, in the centre, the Sierra de Guadarrama, divides New from Old Castile. A third, more southward, the Sierra de Guadalupe, separates New Castile from the plains of La Mancha. Then comes the famous Sierra Morena, which bounds Andalusia on the north ; while the Sierra Nevada divides Granada from Seville and Cordova. These ranges occupy the central and western districts ; while on the eastern we find the Sierra Sagra, the Sierra Alcaraz, and the Sierra Molina, which is continued northerly up to the Sierra Llena, in Catalonia. The Pyrenees, as much French as Spanish, divide these two great kingdoms.

One natural result of this formation is, the rise of several magnificent rivers, which, commencing amidst the hills, traverse the valleys lying between these mountain-ranges, and finally reach the Atlantic, or the Mediterranean Sea. The whole peninsula is divided by geographers into five larger and five smaller basins. In the larger, we trace the Ebro, through its course of 400 miles ; the Tagus, which runs 520 ; the Douro, or Douro, 455 ; the Guadiana, 460 ; and the Guadalquivir, 280. In the smaller basins, we find the Guadalaviar, the Jucar, the Segura, the Minho, and the Mondego : the length of which rivers varies from 120 to 250 miles.

And thus, while the coast of the peninsula is washed, on its four sides, for more than 1,500 miles, by the waters of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, its various provinces are traversed and fertilized by streams which pass through more than 2,500 miles of the interior.

These mountain-ranges also serve to divide the country by a kind of natural boundary, into about six principal regions, which have been thus described :

1. The Central ; embracing New and Old Castile. This part of Spain consists chiefly of plain or table-land. The olive is only found in the southern portion of it ; but the ilex and the vine are everywhere abundant.

2. The Bœtic or Andalusian—a district warmer than Sicily, and famous for the wines of Xeres (sherry). Here the fig-tree, the orange and the lemon, as well as the vine and the olive, flourish and abound.

3. The Iberian, or eastern district ; embracing Murcia, Valencia, and Catalonia. Here also, with the vine and the olive, we find the myrtle, date, fig-tree and mulberry-tree in great profusion.

4. Next, is the Lusitanian ; whence we obtain the rich wines of Oporto and of Lisbon.

5. The Galician, north of Portugal ; and,

6. The Cantabrian ; both of which districts lie too far north for the orange-tree or the vine, but which yield abundant pasturage, and are filled with productive orchards.

On a review of the whole, Laborde says : “ While one half of this beautiful country lies fallow, the productiveness of the other half proves what it might be made to yield. Everything grown is of a remarkable quality : the corn loses only five parts in a hundred by

grinding, while everywhere else it loses fifteen. The olives are twice as large as those of Provence, and would produce as good an oil, if the people only knew how to make it. The wines of Malaga, Xeres, and Alicant are universally valued. The wools of Spain have long excited the admiration and jealousy of neighbouring nations. It is in Spain only that we meet with forests of palm-trees without crossing the desert, and plantations of sugar-canes without seeing slavery."

Malte Brun is equally enthusiastic. He says: "No part of Europe is more favoured by nature than the Spanish peninsula. So great is the variety of its climate, that the productions of the tropics are blended with those of the temperate zone. Lofty plains, fruitful in useful plants; hills covered with vineyards; rich valleys watered by streams and rivers, so situated as to afford easy communication by means of canals, are the elements of an agricultural wealth, which might be rendered by industry more valuable than the largest colonies; a vast extent of coast, with safe and spacious harbours, open to the navigation of two seas, are not less favourable to commerce." With wonder and lamentation, this writer proceeds to ask, How it is that man has contrived to frustrate this special kindness of the great Creator?

These writers have in no degree exceeded the limits of truth and soberness, in thus dilating on the natural wealth and favourable circumstances of Spain. Even in her decrepitude, we can discern abundant traces of those elements of prosperity which might have placed her, under better moral and religious guidance, among the first of the nations. If, as Laborde remarks, the employment of one-half of her productive power enables her to export largely, what might she not do, if her

means were more judiciously employed, and her strength more systematically put forth?

In corn, the first of all necessaries, Spain has always been rich. Two thousand years ago, she largely contributed to feed the people of Italy; and now, even with poor and inadequate cultivation, her wheat is the finest in the world. Her cattle have been famous in every age; and her sheep, reckoned at more than twenty millions in number, still cover the land; and the wool yielded by them forms a never-failing source of wealth. The fruits, the oil, the fish of Spain, are known in every European market; but its wines are the most celebrated and valuable of its exports in modern times. Spain shipped for other countries, in 1849, 3,630,563 arrobas of wine,* 1,487,401 arrobas of olive-oil, and 1,629,586 arrobas of raisins. Portugal is reckoned to produce annually 80,000 pipes of red wine, and 60,000 pipes of white.

Another remarkable feature in the natural wealth of Spain is found in her mines. Other lands boast of the possession of one, or two, or three metals; but Spain has given forth prodigious stores of them *all*. Its iron has been celebrated in every age of the world, and a "Toledo blade" is still the most highly prized of any. The Phœnicians, three thousand years ago, resorted to Spain for its copper, before its treasures of gold and silver were known. These, however, when discovered, became to Carthage and Rome what California and Australia, in our own day, have been to England and to America. The amount of these two metals drawn from Spain must have been prodigious. Polybius tells us that, in his day, the silver mines of one district, New Carthage, yielded 25,000 drachms of silver *daily*. These

* The arroba is equal to a little more than three gallons.

mines may have been exhausted, or they may now require the use of more powerful machinery than has yet been applied to them ; but it is evident that, two thousand years ago, they greatly helped to promote that wealth and luxury, under the relaxing influence of which Rome finally succumbed. In modern times, the chief mineral products have been lead and quicksilver ; of which metals large quantities are still annually exported.

Thus, on the whole, the language of one of the historians of Spain seems fully borne out, when he tells us, that “ of all the provinces which were incorporated with the Roman empire, there was not one productive of so much gain—not one in which *such inexhaustible sources of wealth* were discovered, as the Pyrenean peninsula. Mines, rich in the precious metals, satisfied the thirst of the Romans for gold ; and a soil, nowhere surpassed in productiveness, filled their granaries with food.” Nay, even the glowing language of Moses, when describing the promised land to which he was conducting the children of Israel, does not exceed the reality, which is attested by numerous witnesses, of the natural wealth of Spain. The peninsula is, indeed, “ a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills ; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates ; a land of oil-olive, and honey ; a land wherein thou mayest eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it ; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.” (Deut. viii. 7—9.)

Whence, then, has it arisen that a country so signally blessed, so wondrously endowed with all kinds of earthly possessions, has fallen to its present condition ?

This is a question which will naturally present itself to every mind, when it is recollected that the Spanish peninsula is larger than France, more fruitful, more happily situated, and yet that it supports scarcely more than half the population, and possesses not a tithe of the influence and power. But the answer—the reason of this remarkable difference—cannot be supplied in a few sentences ; it must develop itself in the course of the following narrative.

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT SPAIN, UP TO THE TIME OF ITS CONQUEST BY
THE ROMANS.

SPAIN and its cities may justly claim a very high antiquity. Long before the foundations of Rome had been laid, we find the prophet Jonah "fleeing to Tarshish," which is generally believed to have been the ancient Tartessus, now Tarifa in Andalusia.* Gades, now Cadiz, was a well-known Phœnician port and settlement a thousand years before the Christian era; and some historians venture even to date its origin so far back as 1500 B. C., at which time the Israelites were still in their Egyptian bondage.†

The earliest facts in Spanish history on which we can place any reliance, seem to be, that the peninsula was originally possessed by a brave and hardy race, called the Iberians; and that these aboriginal inhabitants being disturbed by that strange and wandering people known as the Celts, a warfare arose, as at a later period in our own country between the Saxons and the ancient Britons; which warfare ended, after a lengthened struggle, in a compromise, by which it was agreed that the land should be divided, or possessed in common between them. Soon after, probably arising

* See Jer. x. 9, coupled with the fact, that the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon traded largely with Tartessus for silver and other ores.

† Tarshish, our readers will easily remember, was the name of one of the grandsons of Japhet. Gen. x. 4.

from frequent intermarriages, the new term appears, as designating the united population, of the Celt-Iberians.

These contests and agreements, however, probably had reference chiefly to the northern and central portions of the peninsula; the Celts making their entrance originally through the Pyrenees. Meanwhile, or possibly long before, the great merchants of the east, the Phœnicians, had been establishing their settlements along the coast; just as England, in modern times, erected her Indian factories at Calcutta and Bombay. Tyre in Syria is believed to have been founded by them in the days of Gideon and Barak; but Sidon had then been long a place of note and of great commerce. The golden days of Phœnicia's wealth and prosperity seem to have been nearly coeval with the reigns of David and Solomon; and as the Sidonians are expressly said to have been greatly enriched by their trade with Spain, and by working her mines of gold and silver, it appears probable that many of their towns in Andalusia, Gades (Cadiz), Tartessus (Tarifa), Corduba (Cordova), and Malaca (Malaga) were really thriving places in the days of Eli and Samuel, and long before the foundations of either Rome or Carthage had been marked out.

These enterprises of the Phœnicians were quickly imitated by the Greeks. About eight or nine hundred years before Christ, or in the days of Elijah and Elisha, the Rhodians landed in Catalonia, and founded Rhodia, now Rosas; and they were soon followed by the Phocians, who also built one or two towns on the same coast. The coins, medals, and ruins, often discovered in various parts of Spain, attest the long continuance of both Phœnicians and Greeks as inhabitants or colonists of that country; but history records no serious

attempt on their part to assume any sovereignty or dominion in the land.

After several centuries, however, disputes arose, probably having reference to the treasures of gold and silver which the traders from Tyre and Sidon were continually abstracting from Spain, and carrying into Phœnicia. The inhabitants of the country might naturally feel aggrieved at this abstraction, and might endeavour to repossess themselves of the mines which the Phœnicians had opened. Thus much is known—that about five hundred years B. C., or shortly after the return of the Jews from Babylon, the native tribes of Spain pressed the Phœnicians so closely, that, in their peril and distress, they took the unwise step of applying to their descendants, the Carthaginians, for assistance against their assailants.

The younger race of Phœnicians who had settled at Carthage were a more warlike people than their progenitors of Tyre and Sidon. They could not be ignorant of the fame of “Tarshish”* for wealth and commercial importance; and they eagerly responded to the call. The result resembled that which the ancient Britons experienced, when they called in the aid of the warlike Saxons. The Carthaginians landed in Spain, and they soon possessed themselves of all the more important portions of the southern districts of the land. From that moment we hear little of the Phœnicians; although, doubtless, they were still at liberty to carry on their mercantile concerns in the ports where their new masters, the Carthaginians, now ruled.

The greater part of Spain, however, still remained free; Carthage not then aiming, like Rome, at universal dominion. About two hundred years pass away, and

* See 1 Kings x 2. Jeron. xx 36; Psalm lxxii. 10

in the third century B. C. the two giants, Carthage and Rome, had now grown up to such might and stature, and evinced such mutual jealousy, that it became evident that one of the two must fall before the other. Young Hannibal vowed eternal war with Rome; and the senate of Rome responded with the cry, "Let Carthage perish."

Each of these great rivals seized upon all the accessible territory which it could conquer. Hamilcar overran almost all the hitherto unconquered districts of Spain, and subdued Granada, Murcia, Valencia, and Catalonia, which he added to the Carthaginian empire. Barcelona is said to own him as its founder; and New Carthage, now Carthagena, is ascribed to Asdrubal, his son-in-law.

Rome, about 227 B. C., thought it time to interfere. The Italian republic cultivated the friendship of the still unconquered tribes of the peninsula, and began to appear as their protector. A Roman embassy was sent to Carthage; but we may discern the ascendancy of the Carthaginian power at that moment, in the moderate demand put forward by Rome. The ambassadors only asked, that Carthage should not push her conquests *beyond the Ebro*; thus leaving in her power the far larger portion of the peninsula.

This demand was granted; and safety was also promised to Saguntum and the other Greek colonies in the north of Spain. But this latter stipulation was observed with what the Romans were wont to call "Punic faith." Asdrubal, and after him the great Hannibal, resolved on the conquest of Saguntum. It was besieged by a Carthaginian army of 150,000 men. The Romans were tardy in sending succours; and the Saguntines, worn out with hunger, sallied forth, were

beaten back, set fire to the city, and perished to a man. Rome, enraged at this catastrophe, soon began the second Punic war.

The details of that war cannot here be given; it must suffice to state, that after a vehement struggle of about thirteen years, the Carthaginians were entirely vanquished, and Gades, or Cadiz, their last stronghold, surrendered to the Romans. From that time forward Spain was regarded, and was treated, as Roman territory; being divided by the senate into two provinces or governments, the Citerior and the Ulterior, or the Hither and Farther.

But the native tribes of Spain were still unconquered; and with these the great Italian republic had to wage a war which lasted through several generations. About the middle of the second century B. C. a very remarkable man arose among the native chiefs: a man who, as a patriot leader, has scarcely found his equal on history's page.

Viriatus was a shepherd, born on the Lusitanian coast. Driven to fury against Rome by a bloody massacre of his countrymen by the consul Lucullus, he devoted himself to the task of avenging the wrongs of Spain. For about eleven years (B. C. 150—139) he kept the field against all the power of Rome, now already the mistress of the world. He defeated and slew the prætor Vitellius; he triumphed over Nigidius, prætor of the other province; he routed Plauteus and Unimanus; he stormed and took Segobriga in Valencia, and relieved one half of Spain from the presence of her oppressors. The consul, Quintus Fabius Maximus, with a fresh army of 17,000 men, was sent into Spain, but defeat and victory were alternated, and the resources of Viriatus seemed so inexhaustible, that Pompeius Rufus, the second successor of Fabius, offered

peace—partly, indeed, to escape an almost inevitable defeat.

This treaty was confirmed by the Roman senate; which body, however, to its eternal disgrace, sent secret orders to Cæpio, another commander, to prosecute the war without implicating them. This commander seems to have divined the real wishes of his masters. He corrupted some of the attendants of the Spanish leader; who, induced by his golden promises, assassinated the patriot while sleeping in his tent. With him perished the last hopes of Spanish independence. Numantia had caught somewhat of the spirit of Viriatus, and resolutely held out; but its fate resembled that of Saguntum. After a struggle of fourteen years, it was subdued by investment and famine by a Roman army of 60,000 men, commanded by Scipio Emilianus. Fire and the sword destroyed the place and its inhabitants in one day; and “the place where Numantia stood” has been an object of interest through twenty succeeding centuries.

The fall of this stronghold gave the Romans quiet possession of the largest part of the peninsula. Yet, from this date (B.C. 133), a wild and predatory warfare continued for more than a century. On Spanish soil, too, were the contests of Marius and Sylla, of Pompey and Cæsar, often carried on. At last, in the days of Augustus, about 19 B.C., a final submission of the stubborn Asturians and Cantabrians took place, and peace was once more restored to the peninsula.

There can be no doubt that the establishment of the Roman authority, and the full incorporation of Spain with the Roman empire in its zenith of power and civilization, must have introduced a period of rapid growth and prosperity. This great colony was highly valued at

Rome. "No other conquest had cost the Romans so much. The numbers who had perished in battle, and the treasure sacrificed in these wars, were beyond computation. But, from the inexhaustible riches of the country, the acquisition was deemed well worth the price."

Diodorus, who lived about the period of the final pacification and settlement of Spain, gives us a lively picture of the native Spaniards, derived, doubtless, from the testimony of those who had met them in the long-continued wars.* He tells us that "they wore black rough cassocks made of wool; some of them using the Gaulish light shield; others, bucklers; having greaves about the legs; and brazen helmets adorned with red plumes. They wielded two-edged swords of steel; having also daggers, which they used in close contest. These were so tempered as to cut through everything; neither shield nor helmet being able to withstand them." He adds, that "though cruel towards their enemies, they were courteous and civil to strangers. They lived upon all sorts of flesh, of which they had great plenty; and their drink was made of honey, with which the country abounded." Doubtless he is describing the northern districts, in which probably, at that time, the culture of the vine was scarcely known. In the south—the Xeres district—wine was made, assuredly, long before this period. Diodorus speaks also in strong terms of the richness of the Iberian mines. He says, "Almost all this country is full of mines, whence is dug pure silver, by which the Phœnicians greatly enriched themselves." He adds that, "after Iberia came into the possession of the Romans, the mines were managed by a throng of Italians, whose covetousness was gratified by the acqui-

* See Diod. b. v. c. 2.

sition of great riches, for they brought over a multitude of slaves, by whose labour they worked the mines to great profit."

It was natural that the Romans should highly value such a territory, and that they should migrate into it in great numbers. Multitudes were drawn thither, just as our own countrymen are attracted in the present day to Australia, by the hope of speedily enriching themselves. But, besides this, Spain was not very distant from Italy, and many of the gentry and public men of Rome would visit Iberia, both to obtain employments under the government, and to buy, or otherwise to possess themselves of its fertile lands, its delightful gardens, and its fruitful vineyards.

It is evident that this influx of the masters of the world must have effected a rapid change in the condition of Spain. Abundant traces of this change may be found in the accounts given by Strabo, who wrote in the days of Tiberius, or one generation later than Diodorus, whose testimony we have just cited.

Augustus had been a wise and prudent ruler, a clement and magnificent protector. "He opened communications with the interior by the construction of roads and bridges; he founded new colonies, granted municipal privileges to many cities, and employed many of the natives in posts of influence." The Spaniards, recognising in him a friend, "erected altars to him during his life, and temples after his death."

Strabo, writing in the following reign, calls the peninsula by the general name of "Iberia." He recounts its divisions, or provinces—beginning with *Boetica*, now *Andalusia*, which was naturally the most civilized district, and that by which Spain was generally approached from Rome; next, he names *Lusitania*, now

Portugal; then he passes to "the northern mountains, where dwelt the Galicians, the Asturians, and the Cantabrians." A fourth district, he says, extended as far as the Pyrenees, and a fifth included "the Celtiberians, and those who dwelt on either side of the Ebro, as far as the sea-coast."

He writes in glowing terms of the beauty and fertility of the country. Of the valley of the Guadalquivir he says: "It does not give place to any part of the habitable earth for the excellence of its productions, both of land and sea." "A vast number of people dwell along the banks of the river, and you may sail up it almost 1200 stadia from the sea, to Corduba and the places above it. The banks and little islets of this river are cultivated with the greatest diligence. The eye is delighted with groves and gardens, which in this district are met with in the greatest perfection." "Turdetania (or Bœtica) is marvellously fertile, and abounds in every species of produce." "Large quantities of corn and wine are exported, besides much oil of the finest quality; also wax, honey, vermilion, salted fish, and wool." "The large amount of the exports is evinced by the size and number of their ships." Next he speaks of Lusitania, which, he says, "is fertile, and irrigated by rivers both large and small, most of them navigable, and abounding in gold dust." Then of the midland district, which, he tells us, "abounds in olives, vines, figs, and every description of fruit-trees."

Strabo, as a geographer, naturally describes the chief cities. Of these some were, even in his days, very ancient, as Gades (Cadiz), Corduba (Cordova), Malaca (Malaga), Tarraco (Tarragona), Dertossa (Tortosa), and several others, of Phœnician or Greek origin. New Carthage (Carthagenæ) had been founded by Asdrubal.

Besides these, there were Roman towns and cities which had already a respectable age, such as Hispalis (Seville), founded by Julius Cæsar, Augusta Emerita (Merida), Cæsar Augusta (Saragossa), Oria (Oreta), Castulo (Caslona). Other towns named by him were Munda, Urso, Ilerda, Pompelon, and Pallantio, in which we find the modern Monda, Osma, Lerida, Pampeluna, and Palentia.

The fifty years of hard and tyrannous rule, under Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, etc., ran their course, and now two or three eminent Spaniards ascended the imperial throne. Trajan, Adrian, and Marcus Aurelius, all laid the empire under deep obligations to Spain, in which realm they all first drew breath. Nor did they leave their native land without visible mementos of their paternal sway. The beautiful arch of Torre-den-Barca in Catalonia, the stupendous bridge of Alcantara in Estremadura, and the splendid colonnade of Zalamea de la Serena, carry back the admiring spectator's mind to the golden period of Imperial Rome. It seems probable, also, that the tower at Corunna, the Monte Ferrada in Galicia, and the aqueducts at Tarragona and Segovia, bear date from the same beneficent reigns. It is of this period that Gibbon thus writes: "If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the history of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of the

civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the laws.*

It was shortly before the commencement of this peaceful and prosperous period, that Pliny described Spain. He tells us that, in his time, Bœtica, the southern province, had four jurisdictions, or counties, and that its cities were one hundred and seventy-five; the nearer Spain, or Tarracona, had seven jurisdictions, and one hundred and seventy-nine cities; and Lusitania had three jurisdictions, and forty-five cities. Referring to this statistical account, Gibbon says: "Spain flourished as a province, and has declined as a kingdom. Her pride might be confounded, if we now required such a list of three hundred and sixty cities as Pliny has exhibited in the reign of Vespasian."

In fine, there are those among the ancient writers who assert the population of Spain in the days of Julius Cæsar to have amounted to forty millions. This is scarcely credible; but, giving due weight to the various witnesses who assert, in various ways, its populousness, the number of its cities, the strength of its armies, and the immense value of its exports, we may easily give credit to those who estimate its population, while under the Roman yoke, at something more than half this number.

* Decline and Fall, vol. i. c. iii. It is to this period, some writers have supposed, that the opening vision of the historic portion of the Apocalypse refers, when the inspired apostle says, "I looked, and behold a white horse; and he that sat on it had a bow; and a crown was given unto him; and he went forth conquering, and to conquer." The apostle had just concluded a review of "the things that are"—the state of the seven churches. He was now about to write "the things which should follow these things." He wrote about the end of the year A. D. 95. And it was in A. D. 96 that the golden period spoken of by Gibbon commenced.

CHAPTER III.

CHRISTIANITY IN SPAIN—ITS EARLY INTRODUCTION—ITS
PROBABLE PURITY—THE FIRST PROTESTANTS.

WE have now rapidly reviewed the condition of Spain, down to the period of the general promulgation of Christianity. Of the religious condition of the peninsula previous to the Christian era, little can be said with any degree of certainty. Like the rest of the heathen world, it lay "in darkness and in the shadow of death." The Celts had a worship in some respects resembling that of the ancient Britons. The Phœnician idolatry was a sort of admixture of the gods of Egypt and Babylon with those of Greece. Rome, when she subdued Spain, colonized it, and naturally the deities of Italy came in with the Italian people. Such was the confused state of Spain as to its religious worship in the days of the apostles.

Although the traces of the first promulgation of the gospel in Spain are both faint and few, there seems no reason to doubt the reality of two or three leading facts. Indeed, until several centuries had passed away, no question existed as to their truth. Then, indeed, a fiction in Italy gave rise to a similar fiction in Spain.

Centuries after the apostolic age, the church of Rome thought it needful, for the support of her lofty claims, to propagate a fable, or tradition, that the apostle Peter had been the first bishop of that see, and that he had,

by some unintelligible process, bequeathed to his successors in that chair all the powers and privileges which were assumed to be conferred upon him by the words of Jesus, which are recorded in the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. And when Rome had used this high prerogative until the other churches of the west felt the weight of her growing power, the natural envy and jealousy of the human heart began to show itself in precisely that way which might have been expected. Each country and each national church tried to discover some apostle, or patron-saint, to whose protection it might lay claim. As Rome had appropriated, without the least particle of right, the apostle Peter, Spain naturally looked about for some one who might be deemed in no wise inferior to Simon the son of Jonas. James, the brother of John, who had been the first among the apostles to lay down his life in his Master's service, was fixed upon. He, whose days appear to have been spent in Jerusalem, until the executioner's sword terminated his earthly labours—he, it was asserted, had received his Lord's commands to go and preach his gospel in Spain. It mattered not that the whole current of Scripture was opposed to such a story; that, so far from wandering into far distant lands to preach the gospel, this apostle remained in Jerusalem (Acts vi. 2; viii. 1) until, in A. D. 41, Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, was received into the church. It mattered not that, up to this period, the idea of the conversion of the Gentiles, as Gentiles, had not so much as entered the minds of the apostles (Acts xi. 1, 18). Nor did it shame the inventors of this fiction, that, in *the very next chapter*, we are expressly told that “about *that time* Herod slew James the brother of John with the sword.” Without the

least remorse they required us to believe that, between the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the Acts, the apostle James, who had dwelt quietly in Judea for several years, taking his part in the government of the church, was suddenly called upon to take a voyage of more than two thousand miles, to preach to the Spaniards, and to found the church in Spain; and then to hasten back, in the same wonderful manner, to be martyred in Jerusalem "about that time;" and, stranger still, that the writer of the book of Acts, who narrates it as a new and striking fact, in the eleventh chapter, that certain of the Jews at Antioch had "spoken to the Grecians," and who tells us of St. James' martyrdom in the second verse of the twelfth chapter, had forgotten to say a word of his wonderful voyage to Spain, which, if it happened at all, must have happened just before the martyrdom; and which would have been, if it had really taken place, the most remarkable fact in the whole apostolic history. But such absurdities as these always creep into "the traditions of men." We ought perhaps to observe, that though these legends respecting St. James are universally believed in Spain, they are not adopted by the Romanists of Italy, or in other Romish kingdoms.*

We should have had no such fictions as these, if the wholesome rules and canons which are now generally

* This monstrous fiction is not, perhaps, more preposterous than the previous claim of Rome to have possessed the episcopal chair, and the grave of Peter. The whole tenor of Scripture is opposed to both these fables. Peter himself has described his pastoral charge as being the churches of "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," and his home, or chief abiding-place, to have been at Babylon. (1 Pet. i. 1; v. 13.) And he again writes to the same churches (2 Pet. iii. 1), and tells them that his death is at hand (2 Pet. i. 14); but of any wondrous journey out of Babylonia into Italy, he says not a word. Both these stories are equally improbable, and equally opposed to the plain teaching of Scripture. There is every reason to believe that Peter died in Mesopotamia, and James in Jerusalem, and that neither of them ever saw either Italy or Spain.

admitted in historical writing had been accepted and obeyed by the ancient ecclesiastical historians. Most writers and critics are now agreed, that no statement can be received as establishing a fact in history, except it was made by some credible writer who lived at or about the time when the alleged event occurred. Now no one can be found, for hundreds of years after the apostolic age, to assert either that Peter ever was at Rome, or that James ever visited the Iberian peninsula. Each fiction was set up, in its turn, long after the alleged event, by the clergy of Rome, and by the clergy of Spain, to serve the purposes of their own ambition.

And it is remarkable, that each church "turned away from the truth, when it turned to fables." Both Rome and Spain might justly have exulted in the memory of an apostolic founder; but it is evidently probable that there was an instinctive dread of imputing too much honour to the great apostle of the Gentiles. There is no part of the Bible more distinctly opposed to the corruptions of Romanism, than the epistles of St. Paul; and it is not surprising that those who were bent upon setting up "the traditions of men" should have cautiously avoided any reference to those epistles, or to their inspired author.

But however they may abstain from making this claim, there seems sufficient reason to believe that the first great declaration of the gospel in Spain was made by the apostle of the Gentiles. In forming this opinion, we carefully eschew all reliance upon writers who lived long after the apostles' days; believing, as we have said, that a whole company of witnesses of this kind, who merely repeat one another, and had no personal knowledge of the fact, can give no satisfaction to a mind which has reflected on the real nature and value

of human testimony. We therefore pay little attention to the assertions of Caius, and Hippolytus, and Athanasius, and Theodoret, who all, in the third, and fourth, and fifth centuries, speak of the apostle's visit to Spain as an undoubted fact. The more solid reasons for giving credit to the story are of this kind :

1. St. Paul, in writing to the Romans (ch. xv. 24), speaks of an intended journey to Spain, as a purpose actually formed by him. This was written about A. D. 58.

2. The two epistles to Timothy were written at times separated by a distance of (probably) three or four years. The circumstances and condition and prospects of the apostle had greatly altered in the interim. When he first visited Rome, and was there imprisoned, or kept in custody (Acts xxviii. 30), he felt, being an inspired man, a confidence in his speedy release (see Phil. ii. 24; Philem. 22); and that release is taken to be a fact by all who have examined his history. But in his second epistle to Timothy he states his knowledge, that the time of his departure was then at hand (ch. iv. 6). There was, therefore, a period between the apostle's first imprisonment or confinement in Rome (Acts xxviii.) and his second or closer imprisonment as described in 2 Timothy. In this period of freedom, it was obviously probable that the apostle would fulfil his purpose of visiting Spain.

3. But to the fact, which has thus appeared *probable*, we have one competent witness. In his epistle to the Philippians, St. Paul mentions "Clement," as one of his "fellow-labourers whose names are in the book of life" (ch. iv. 3). Now this Clement, St. Paul's own friend and fellow-labourer, afterwards became pastor or bishop of the church at Rome; and in that capacity he wrote

a letter to the church of Corinth, in which, referring them to St. Paul, the founder of their own church, he says of him, that, "having taught the whole world righteousness, and reached *the furthest extremity of the west*, he suffered martyrdom."

Now some have argued from this passage, that the great apostle preached in Britain. But this may be questionable, seeing that Britain lay *beyond* the continental "bounds of the west." But Clement, writing in Italy, and looking across the sea to Spain, which had now been a Roman possession, and reckoned an important part of the empire, for nearly three hundred years, could hardly say of Paul that he "reached the utmost extremity of the west," except he meant that he had visited Spain, the most westerly limb of the great European continent.

It may, then, be reasonably concluded that, without laying any stress upon the assertions of Athanasius, or Theodorct, or other writers of the fourth or fifth centuries, the evidence of Clement, a personal friend of the apostle, and probably a witness of his martyrdom, may be safely received; especially when it concurs with what the apostle had previously told us of his purposes, and fills up a hiatus in the history between the close of the book of Acts and the end of the apostle's life.

We believe that St. Paul, then, preached in Spain, and that thus the Spanish church had indeed a noble origin. Of its subsequent history, for one or two centuries, we know but little; and the reason is obvious. Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and the other historians of the church, were all Greeks, dwelling in the east, and having their eyes fixed upon Constantinople; while of such distant lands as Spain they knew but little. This

fully accounts for the silence of the eastern writers ; and it need not lower the Christians of Spain in our estimation.

We may be sure that, in its main features, the progress and decline of the Christian church in Spain did not materially differ from the experience of the churches of Italy or Gaul. The power of the priesthood, the efficacy of the sacraments, the virtue of confession, absolution, prayers to saints, etc., all crept silently into the church ; and the most that we can venture to surmise for Spain is, that its downward course was probably less rapid than that of either Italy or the east.

One of the earliest councils of which we have any record was held at Eliberis, or Elvira, a place where the great city Granada subsequently arose, and in which a council of the bishops of Spain was held about the year A. D. 305, or about twenty years before that of Nice. This council passed a great number of canons (above 80), chiefly on points of church discipline. One or two of these seem to deserve a passing notice. One forbids the lighting of candles in the cemeteries, or before the tombs. Another prohibits women from spending the night in the cemeteries, on the pretence of employing themselves in prayer. A third denies the title of martyrs to those who are slain for overthrowing the idols of the heathen. The reasons given are sound ones. "Because the gospel commands no such thing ; nor do we read that such things were done by Christians in the days of the apostles." The sixty-fifth canon is important, as showing that the Spanish clergy, in the fourth century, might marry. It declares, that "any clergyman who knows that his wife commits adultery and sends her not away, is unworthy of the communion of the church." But the thirty-sixth

canon is that which has most perplexed the Romish divines. It says, "We would not have pictures placed in churches; lest the Object of our worship and adoration should be painted on their walls." This seems to show that in Spain, at that time, the idolatry which rapidly grew up in the Catholic church had as yet gained but little ground.

Twenty years later occurred the great Council of Nice, the first of those called Œcumenical or General. It was held at the city of that name in Bithynia; and as a journey of more than 2,000 miles must have involved great inconvenience, Hosius, bishop of Corduba, attended, in all probability as a sort of representative of the Spanish church. However that may have been, it is certain that he was received with great honour and respect, and was placed in the chair of that great assembly; neither Rome, nor Constantinople, nor Alexandria, nor Jerusalem, laying any claim to the headship or presidency. He, a simple bishop, is styled by Athanasius "the father and president of the council." We may easily gather, that much of this veneration was due, and was paid, to his personal character; but it is still clear that at that time no other prelate was known, whether of Rome or of any other city, whose rights could be compromised or invaded by the assignment of the chair to the bishop of Corduba.

In the year 381, we meet with another council, held at Cæsar Augusta (now Saragossa), the object of which appears to have been to condemn certain errors of the Priscillianists. This sect seems to have opposed itself, like Peter of Bruyes, and other reformers of the middle ages, and like the Quakers of Charles the Second's time, to the religious system and practices of the time. Whether Priscillian and his followers held any fatal

error, it is not easy, at the present time, to discover. Even Jerome, a severe judge, writes thus of this alleged heretic: "Priscillian, bishop of Avila, was executed in the city of Triers, by command of the tyrant Maximus, having been oppressed by the faction of Ithacius. He wrote many tracts, whereof some have come into our hands. Some accuse him of the heresies of the Gnostics, of Basilides, and Marcion; but others vindicate him, and maintain that he held none of the errors which are charged upon him." It will be remarked that Jerome, while he confesses that some of Priscillian's tracts had fallen into his hands, does not say that he had discovered any heresy in them.

Once more, in the last year of the fourth century, we meet with another Spanish council, held at Toledo in A. D. 400. Its canons are chiefly disciplinary; and the principal fact which comes to light in them is, that bishops, priests, and deacons still had wives. This is proved by the repeated reference made to the wives and children of priests in the ordinances then adopted.

We have now arrived at the opening of the fifth century, and must take a rapid glance, before we proceed, at the Christian literature of Spain in the first four centuries. It is probable, however, that our knowledge of its character and extent is exceedingly imperfect. The Greeks still retained their wonted ascendancy in arts and letters, and held the Gauls and Spaniards in low esteem. It was in the east that the great libraries were formed, and the martyrologies and church histories written. Hence, to expect in the pages of Eusebius, Socrates, or Sozomen, a just picture of the literature of Spain, would be a vain anticipation. Shortly afterwards, too, Spain itself was "swept with the besom" of the Goths and Vandals; and, still later,

it was again overwhelmed by the irruption of the Moslem hordes. For hundreds of years, every Christian writing was deemed only fit for the oven. It is much, then, that we can, after these exterminating processes, still name some few Christian authors of the earlier Spanish church.

Hosius himself, though he probably left a few documents or other remains, was more a man of action than an author. Still, Dupin reckons him among the church writers of the fourth century.

The writings of Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, who died about A. D. 380, are still extant. They show the progress which "high views of the sacraments" were already making; yet, for the reception of the grace of the sacraments, he demands *preceding faith*. He also disclaims all idea of defending the persecution of heretics.

In the days of Hosius, there also flourished Gregory, bishop of Elvira in Bœtica (afterwards Granada). He is spoken of as "a simple, plain, sincere man, and a zealous defender of the faith in the Arian controversy." It is doubtful if we have any of his authentic works.

Aquilius Severus wrote in the days of Valentinian, and died about A. D. 370. He is known as a Spaniard; but his chief or only work, "The Catastrophe," being a record of his own life, has perished.

Priscillian and his principal supporters were men of talent, and wrote much; but the destroying process, which the persecuting party in the church always adopted in the case of heretics, has robbed us of all their writings.

Himerius, of Tarracon (now Tarragona), proposed, about A. D. 386, some questions to Siricius, of Rome. The replies of the Roman bishop to him of Spain are

extant. They show how sedulously employed the Roman prelates then were in establishing everywhere the system which, in its matured form, we call "popery." But these letters of Siricius also enlighten us on the progress made, and the difficulties which still presented themselves. The pope is very severe with "those who, being in orders, do not observe celibacy." He enjoins that those clergymen who marry a second wife shall be reduced to the rank of laymen.

Prudentius was of Saragossa, and was made a judge in two cities. At the age of fifty-seven, he retired from public life, and resolved to spend the remainder of his days in retirement and devotion. He wrote several works, both in prose and verse. He seems to have been a pious man, but tinctured with the growing superstition. One of his labours appears to have been the compilation of a "Book of Martyrs" for Spain. He narrates the sufferings, under Gallienus, Diocletian, and Maximian, of the churches of Spain. We may accept his testimony so far as to allow that Spain, as well as other countries, felt the fury of the "ten persecutions," and preserved the memory of a great many Christian sufferers. But, as he lived more than two generations after the latest of these persecutions, his narratives can scarcely be regarded as occupying the place of authentic history.

Olympius, a Spanish bishop, who was present at a Council of Toledo, in A. D. 405, is praised by Augustine for his work on "Original Sin."

Orosius, of Tarracon, was a disciple of Augustine, and wrote, at his request, a treatise on "Divine Providence," and also a tract against Pelagius.

But now, chiefly through the influence of Jerome, corruptions and superstitions began to spread through

the church with the rapidity of a pestilence. He himself set the example of a monastic life, wrote high-flown laudations of the hermits, and by his writings and influence greatly forwarded that sort of religious mania which, in his days, sent thousands of seekers after salvation to dwell among the wild beasts in the wildernesses of Judea, Egypt, and Arabia. By him, too, the observance of fasting, celibacy, and penance was inculcated as the surest way of salvation. The merits of the martyrs were exaggerated, and they were lifted to the rank of intercessors with Heaven. The chief agent in all this mischief was the monk of Bethlehem, and his boldest and most enlightened opponent was a Spanish priest.

Vigilantius seems to have been born at Calagorris on the Pyrenees, about the year A.D. 364. His father was an innkeeper who amassed an independent property, and left his son in easy circumstances. The young man was taken notice of by Sulpicius Severus, a Roman patrician of wealth and piety, the friend of Paulinus of Nola, another senator of Rome. Both Sulpicius and Paulinus gave up the world, entered the ministry, and devoted themselves and their substance to God. Jerome was their chief adviser, and "the merit of good works" was their leading motive.

Under the patronage of Sulpicius, Vigilantius visited Jerome, in A.D. 396, at Bethlehem; and, after leaving Palestine, he spent some time at Alexandria for study, and then returned by the Alps towards Spain. He became the minister of a church in Barcelona, where he is supposed to have died.

His writings have shared the fate of all the works of men whom the Romish church chose to style "heretics:" that is, they have been destroyed. Hence, as in

the case of Priscillian, Jovinian, Sergius the Paulician, and many others, we can only gain any knowledge of their doctrines by perusing the vehement objurgations of their persecutors.

Jerome wrote, again and again, in dispraise of Vigilantius ; but the brief extracts which he gives us from the young Spaniard's writings show that the latter merely wrote, in the fifth century, just as Ridley and Latimer would have written in the sixteenth.

Thus, the monk of Bethlehem tells us, in violent anger, that "Vigilantius calls us 'cinder-gatherers and idolaters,' because we venerate the bones of dead men."

He quotes, from some of the tracts written by Vigilantius, the following passages :—

"What need is there for you, with so much respect, not only to honour but even to adore that which you worship as you carry it in a little vessel? Why do you, in your adoration, kiss dust folded up in a linen cloth? You give great honour, forsooth, to the blessed martyrs; thinking with a few waxen tapers to glorify those whom the Lamb in the midst of the throne enlightens with all the brightness of his majesty."

"The souls of the apostles and martyrs have settled themselves either in Abraham's bosom, in a place of refreshment, or under the altar of God; and they cannot escape from their tombs and present themselves where they please."

"So long as we are alive we can pray for one another; but after we are dead, the prayer of no one for another can be heard."

"As for monasticism, it is not fighting, but flying. Rather stand in your place in the battle, and resist manfully the enemy."

On the point of celibacy Jerome adds—

“He is said to have bishops associated with him in his crime ; if, indeed, those persons are to be called bishops who ordain none as deacons who are not already married.”

This young man, then, had been so far enlightened, we may trust by the Holy Spirit, that he broke through the strongest ties of friendship and gratitude, and boldly stemmed the tide of fanaticism, which was at that moment running in a mighty torrent ; withstanding the whole mass of error which was then overflowing the church. Sulpicius, Paulinus, and Jerome were the three greatest names in the church at that moment, and all three would have been his friends if he would only have agreed to “fall down and worship idols.” But Vigilantius rose above all lower motives, and resolutely withstood error and asserted truth. We perceive, too, that God gave him influence. Jerome, as we have seen, alludes to “certain bishops, accomplices of his crime, who would not even ordain a deacon unless he were already married.” We see here the working of party spirit, and the reaction from one error to another. As some bishops, or probably the majority, insisted on a celibate clergy, others, taking the opposite view, resolved to contend earnestly for a married clergy. We need hardly say, that the latter was the less perilous course of the two. But not among the bishops only was the influence of Vigilantius felt. Jerome says further, “The holy priests, Riparius and Desiderius, write to me, that their parishes are contaminated by the vicinity of this person.”

But although the young Spaniard thus relinquished powerful and attached friends rather than surrender an iota of truth, he was no heretic, nor could any intelligible charge of false doctrine be brought against him. No

one article of the creed had been questioned by him. He merely objected to practices recently brought in, and of which no one of the apostles had so much as heard ; —the veneration of dead men's bones ; the lighting of candles before the martyrs' shrines ; the addressing prayers to them ; celibacy, asceticism, and the setting great value on monastic seclusion, and the abandonment of all the ties and relationships of human life. Vigilantius declared that these things, instead of being good and meritorious, were foolish and harmful. Jerome had not the power to burn him, as Dominic, a few centuries later, would have done ; so he was obliged to content himself with railing and abuse, which he poured forth with his usual volubility. His language leads us to suppose that, if more fearful weapons than words had been within his reach, he would have found no difficulty in using them. He commences thus :

“ Many sorts of monsters have been born into the world.” . . . “ Suddenly arose Vigilantius, who in his unclean spirit fights against the Spirit of Christ, and denies that the sepulchres of the martyrs are to be venerated ; who asserts that vigils are to be condemned, and that continence is heresy. What wickedness !”

“ I am surprised that the holy bishop in whose diocese he is said to be a presbyter, should not, with his apostolic rod—his rod of iron, dash in pieces this useless vessel. . . . His tongue should be cut out by the surgeons. . . . Send me his doggrel books, that I may know what to answer.”

In this sort of language, continued through whole pages, we seem to hear the Bonners and Gardiners of the sixteenth century railing at the men whom they were sending to the fires of Smithfield. But the times were not yet favourable to those who desired to “ dash in

pieces," and to "cut out the tongues" of those who set their faces against the growth of superstitious practices. The empire itself reeled and tottered, and was soon to fall. Vigilantius, probably, contemned and scorned by the leaders of the religious opinions of his day, contented himself with the protests which he had made public; and dwelt quietly in his parish at Barcelona, till the inroads of the northern barbarians swept over Catalonia, and, for a time, uprooted and destroyed the visible Christian church. The fact of the youth of Vigilantius at the time of Jerome's attacks upon him, in A. D. 405-6; of the irruption of the Vandals shortly after, and of the disappearance of his name from history about that time, has led most historians to adopt the conjecture, which has a manifest probability in it, that the young Spanish Protestant perished in that irruption; not "fleeing" from his sheep, but sharing their fate. Had he consulted his own safety, by taking refuge in a less exposed district of the empire, it seems almost certain that his energy, and talent, and fearless enthusiasm would have left some traces of his existence in some other portion of the church.

CHAPTER IV.

IRRUPTION OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS—THE GOTHS IN SPAIN.

A. D. 408—711.

THREE HUNDRED years had now passed away, since the departure of the last of the apostles. But he had not left the earth without giving to the disciples of Christ the fullest warning of the events which lay before them. The death of St. John is generally placed at the end of the first century; and it was about the year A. D. 96 or 97 that he committed to writing the "Revelation which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants *things which must shortly come to pass.*"*

It does not belong to our present undertaking, to show how graphically or how accurately the apostle depicted the important events which were then about to take place. Suffice it to say, that after describing several different phases of the history of the Roman earth, he comes to one of terrible calamity. And Dr. Robertson justly remarks, that "If a man were called upon to fix upon a period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most calamitous and afflicted, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Theodosius to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy"—(A. D. 395—568).

Spain, by the remoteness of its position, enjoyed an immunity or reprieve of a few years, while Italy and

* Rev. i. 1.

Gaul were occupying the chief attention of the northern invaders. In A. D. 365 the Alemanni broke into Gaul; and in A. D. 378, the Goths defeated the Roman forces in the battle of Adrianople; but it was not until about A. D. 408 or 409 that the barbarians overflowed Gaul, and poured over the Pyrenees into Iberia.

The fame of this great and wealthy province of the empire naturally excited the cupidity of the plunderers. "In the fourth century," says Gibbon, "the cities of Emerita or Merida, Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved in the hands of an industrious people; while the arts and sciences flourished under the imperial protection." It was inevitable that, in the defenceless state of the empire, so rich a prey should speedily be seized upon by the ravagers who were now overrunning Europe; and we hear without surprise that three nations at once, the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani, poured in an irresistible torrent, and almost simultaneously, over the devoted fields of the Iberian peninsula. It is the most eloquent historian of Spain who thus describes the miseries of the land:—

"The irruption of these nations was followed by the most dreadful calamities, as the barbarians exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards, and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. Famine soon compelled the miserable inhabitants to feed on the flesh of their fellow-creatures; and even the wild beasts, who now multiplied without control, were exasperated by hunger boldly to attack their human prey. Pestilence soon appeared—the inseparable companion of

famine ; a large proportion of the people was swept away, and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends." *

Let any one turn to the descriptions given by St. John, and he will understand how the pen of history may interpret prophecy. But similar descriptions occur, in the course of the history of the fifth century, in the records of the devastations carried by the northern nations into every part of the Western Empire. Of Italy, the principal theatre of their attacks, pope Gelasius, who lived in the days of Odoacer, says, that in his time "the human species was *almost extirpated* in Emilia, Tuscany, and the adjacent provinces." What horrors must be implied in such language as this, when used with reference to a land previously teeming with population, and abounding with all the comforts and luxuries of civilized life !

The ravage and desolation of Spain, however, like all other great crimes or calamities, would come to an end by mere exhaustion. Vast hordes being employed in the work of destruction, three or four years sufficed to complete the ruin of the peninsula. Over its wretched remains the barbarians came to a kind of agreement ; the Alans taking Lusitania ; the Vandals, Bœtica ; and Galicia, Leon, and Castile falling to the lot of the Suevi.

The Goths were not among the first ravagers of Spain ; their introduction into the peninsula was a Roman device. The emperor Honorius, dreading their nearer neighbourhood, purchased their departure from Italy by a formal cession to their king, Ataulphus, of all Southern Gaul, Spain, and Lusitania. The Gothic king, thus endowed at once with two noble kingdoms,

* Mariana, lib. v. c. 1.

fixed his seat of government at Narbonne; from whence he issued forth southward, passed the Pyrenees, and made his triumphant entry into Barcelona. He defeated the Vandals on several occasions; but a conspiracy of some of his followers suddenly cut short his career, which was ended by assassination, at Barcelona, in A. D. 415.

Seventy years of contest followed, under Sigeric, Wallia, Theodored, and Richelan, kings of the Goths; during which continued wars between this warlike people and the Alans, Vandals, and Suevi were carried on. The Alans were gradually dispossessed of Lusitania, and their very name was lost by their incorporation with the Vandals. This nation long held the province of Bœtica; to which, indeed, they gave their name, styling it "Vandalicia," which, in process of time, became "Andalusia." But the Vandals' were tempted by the offers of the prefect of Africa to give him their aid in that country; and, about A. D. 427, they finally quitted Spain.

The Suevi alone remained to contest with the Goths the possession of the peninsula. Under Euric, the first Gothic ruler of the whole realm, they sued for and obtained peace. They continued to dwell in Leon and Galicia, but in subjection to the Gothic kings. Euric reigned from A. D. 466 to 483, his dominion extending over all Spain, and a large portion of Gaul.

The history of the Gothic kingdom of Spain is both obscure and uninteresting. The literature of this people scarcely exceeded that of the modern Abyssinians or Copts. Historians they had none; and the only record which remains of their real or fabulous history is that which we owe to a few Spanish or Italian priests or monks. The names of Amalaric, Theudis, Leovigild,

and Recared, are distinguished from a crowd of cruel or profligate sovereigns; and the reader hastens on until he reaches the reign of the last Gothic king, Roderic, who ascended the throne of his ancestors in A. D. 709, and who died on the plains of Xeres, in A. D. 711.

A vast amount of romance has been mingled with the history of "the last of the Goths;" and Southey has turned these fictions to the best account in his well-known poem. The few facts which seem to be sufficiently established are, that a conspiracy was formed to deprive Roderic of his crown; and that the chief conspirators, count Julian and archbishop Oppas, finding themselves unequal to the task of overthrowing the king, invited the aid of the Arabs and Moors, who soon overran the peninsula; reducing it to the condition of a province of the caliph, within less than five years from the period of their first landing.

The generals of the caliph had long coveted this fertile and still wealthy land; but, while the Goths were united, the Arab and Moorish forces were unequal to its conquest. So soon, however, as the dissensions among the Gothic leaders, at the opening of Roderic's reign, had led to an actual invitation, the African representative of the caliph, the emir Musa, no longer hesitated. He despatched from Ceuta a body of 1,500 chosen horse, under the command of Tarik; and, finding small resistance, a second armament, of greater strength, quitted Africa and landed under the rock Calpe, now Gibraltar, on the 30th of April, A. D. 711.

Some indecisive skirmishes took place; and, at last, in the month of July, Roderic himself, at the head of an army of 90,000 men, encountered the Moorish force on the plains of Xeres de la Frontera, not far from Gades, or Cadiz. The battle lasted through the whole

of three days ; but it ended in the entire defeat of the Goths, whose king died on the field, and whose empire in Spain is reckoned to have ended with that disastrous day.

The naked fact, that the whole power of the Goths, after an occupation of more than two hundred years, collapsed and vanished away after the loss of a single battle, shows how little root this nation had taken in the peninsula. In truth the Goths, like the Vandals, Avars, and other barbarian tribes of that day, seem to have been chiefly what one of their greatest captains styled himself—"the scourge of God." The Christian church and empire had corrupted itself ; and there seems to be a degree of enervation and depravity sometimes observable among nations, from which a revival of recovery scarcely ever takes place. But, however this may be, we know, without any question, that it was the will of God, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, to give up Europe to the sword of the northern barbarians, and Asia and Africa to the tyrannical sway of the pretended prophet of Arabia.

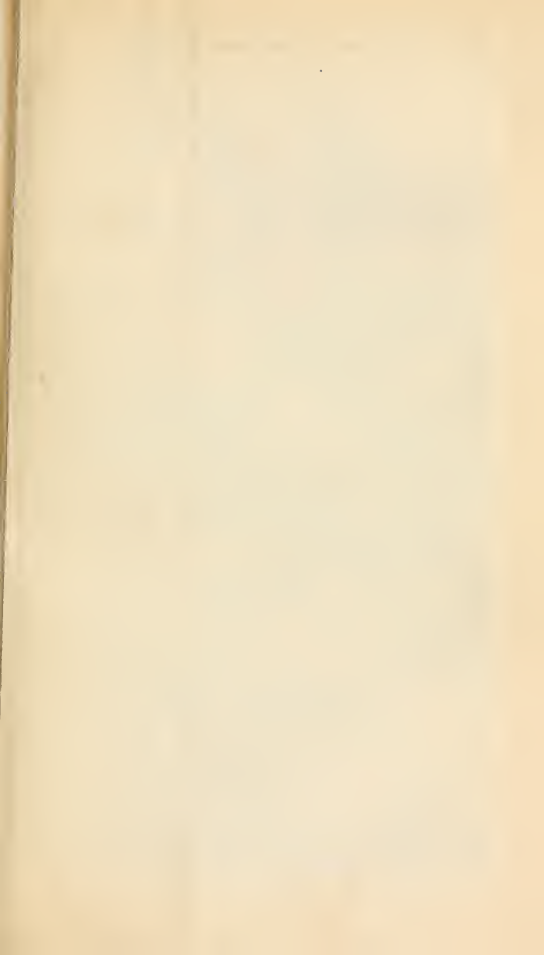
The Goths, as a mere scourge, had ravaged and ruled over Spain ; but they founded nothing, and left no traces of their power. Phœnicia, Carthage, and Rome had imprinted deeply the remembrance of their dominion ; and modern travellers, after the lapse of two or three thousand years, can still look upon walls, and towers, and quays, and say, "This was the work of Asdrubal," or "Here stood Trajan, or Adrian." But of the Gothic kingdom no traces remain. A modern historian remarks that—

"The obscure and unimportant character of the Visigothic annals extends over their whole duration. We survey a dreary waste of nearly two centuries,

barren alike in events either of intrinsic interest or foreign value. Through the thick darkness which shrouds all this period, we may indeed faintly discover the confusion and crimes of barbarian revolutions ; the disorders of a regal succession which was rather elective than hereditary ; endless civil wars and disputed pretensions to the throne ; assassinations, atrocities, and the fierce bigotry of religious persecution."

The Goths, during all the earlier part of their rule in Spain, were bigoted in their attachment to the Arian creed ; and Arians everywhere, when in possession of power, were the most furious of persecutors. The Gothic mission, however, was now ended, and the language of a modern poet may be justly applied to them :—

"While they their own arm trusted,
God wrought his purpose high :
Then, like a sword-blade, rusted,
Flung them dishonoured by."



CHAPTER V.

THE MOHAMMEDAN POWER IN SPAIN—GRADUAL RISE OF
THE PRESENT KINGDOMS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

A. D. 711—1492.

THE battle of Xeres, A. D. 711, had put an end to the Gothic dominion in Spain. The Mohammedans, who quickly overran and subdued the whole country, continued to hold the greater part of it until the eleventh century. The loss of the battle of Calat Anosor, in 1002, and the fall of Toledo in 1085, then showed very clearly the decline of the Moslem power; but that power still endured, though constantly diminishing in extent and in vigour, until the end of the fifteenth century, when the surrender of Granada, and the departure of the last Moorish ruler, terminated a struggle which had endured through more than seven hundred years.

Most historians divide this period into two narratives; first describing the successive reigns of more than seventy Moorish emirs or kings; and then returning back, and particularizing more than a hundred Spanish or Lusitanian sovereigns, who ruled, at various times, over Asturias, Leon, Castile, Aragon, and Portugal. But as it forms no part of our plan to give a detailed history of Spain, our review of this period must necessarily be confined to a rapid and general sketch of the rise, maturity, decline, and fall of the Moorish dominion, and of the origin and final establishment of the present kingdoms of the peninsula.

The caliph of Damascus had entrusted, in the beginning of the eighth century, the command of his forces in Africa to the emir Muza ben Nozeir; and he, invited by the enemies of Roderic, had sent into Spain his lieutenant Tarik ben Zeyad. By the latter was Roderic overthrown in the battle of Xeres; and thus Spain fell into the hands of a subordinate officer of one of the emirs of the caliph. When Harold and William of Normandy met at Hastings, two sovereigns contended for a crown; but at Xeres a far greater monarchy than Saxon England succumbed to the lieutenant of one of the Moslem commanders. We discern, in this fact, the vigour with which the followers of Mohammed, in the ardour of their early enterprise, executed the mission of vengeance which God had entrusted to them (Rev. ix. 1—11);—while the distance of Spain from Damascus, and the perilous uncertainty of a deputed government, account for the fact, that, although dominating over Spain for several centuries, the Moorish conquerors seem never to have become Spaniards. As foreigners they came; as foreigners they dwelt and ruled; and as foreigners they were at last expelled from it. Their history is usually termed that of “the Moors in Spain”—a phrase which sufficiently indicates their foreign and exotic character.

Nothing, however, could exceed the ardour or the success of the first invasion of Spain by the Moors. The emir Muza, when he learned the triumphant progress of Tarik, speedily followed him with a new army of 18,000 men. But the whole numbers stated to have formed the Moorish invading force, seem very inadequate for so vast an enterprise. It says little for the nerve or courage of Gothic Spain, that, apparently, before a force of scarcely 50,000 Africans, the whole

realm, with its lofty and strong mountains, its powerful and defensible cities, and its great population, fell prostrate in one or two campaigns.

Before Muza's arrival, Cordova, Malaga, Elvira, and the royal city of Toledo, had fallen into his lieutenant's hands. The emir himself, with his new army, speedily reduced Seville, Carmona, Libla, Ossonoba, Beja, and Mertola. Merida, an ancient capital of Spain, long resisted, but was finally obliged to capitulate. Then, although jealousies existed between the two commanders, policy obliged them to unite, and to divide the work of conquest by a mutual agreement. Muza reduced Saragossa, Salamanca, Lerida, Huesca, Tarragona, Barcelona, and Gerona. Tarik subdued Tortosa, Denia, Murviedro, Valencia, and Xativa. It is impossible to imagine that this march, of some myriads of fanatical Mussulmen, through a land filled with wealth, and sunk in luxury and superstition, could have been otherwise than terrible and calamitous. Isidore compares the horrors enacted to those which attended the fall of Jerusalem. The Archbishop Rodrigo tells us, that "every cathedral in Spain was burned or destroyed; that the children were dashed on the ground, the aged massacred, the women reserved for still greater misfortunes." But the fearful details of such an invasion may be as easily imagined, as portrayed from memory.

Spain, in fact, was wholly subdued by the Moorish commanders; with the trifling exception of one mountain-district, Asturias, which succeeded in repelling the invaders; and another which capitulated and paid tribute. The latter was Murcia, a south-eastern province, in which New Carthage was situated. Theodomir, a Gothic noble of this province, had been Roderic's

lieutenant in Andalusia. After the battle of Xeres, and the death of the Gothic king, some of the surviving chiefs called upon him to be their leader; and in Murcia, among his own people, he appears to have raised the Gothic standard, and to have fought for a time for the independence of Spain. But when Abdelasis, the son of the emir Muza, marched into his country, Theodomir seems to have felt it necessary to come to terms. He offered submission, and the offer was accepted. A treaty is still extant, by which Abdelasis grants to "Tadmir" (as the Arabs called him) free possession of his territory—he swearing fidelity to the caliph, and promising to pay tribute. The cities of Orihuela, Valentola, Alicant, Mula, Vacasora, Ota, and Lorca, are specified as belonging to Tadmir; by which we gather, that it was only a part of Murcia to which he laid claim. This little principality appears to have endured for about half a century. Theodomir was succeeded in 743 by Athanagild, who is said to have been cruelly oppressed by a Mohammedan viceroy. About A. D. 755 this dependent sovereignty seems to have expired, the district being united to the surrounding Moslem provinces, and the more warlike portion of the inhabitants probably migrating to the northern and only defensible and really independent portion of Spain.

It was in the Asturian mountains that the present Spanish monarchy found its cradle. In these nearly inaccessible fastnesses, a thousand years before, those hardy Cantabrians had dwelt, who, for two centuries, had kept even the legions of Imperial Rome at bay. The territory they occupied had always presented to an invader difficulties almost insuperable. It had often perplexed and baffled the Roman commanders; and

now the still more impetuous African was to be forced to recoil from a similar attempt.

Pelayo was by descent a Cantabrian, and like Theodoric, when the Gothic monarchy was dissolved, he betook himself to his mountain-home. Here, like many Welch and Scottish chiefs in the Plantagenet days of our own history, he soon became a natural leader of those who dreaded a foreign yoke. And when the Moorish armies began to appear in the neighbourhood of Asturias, Pelayo was called by the general voice to the headship of their little state.

The resistance of these remote tribes soon became known to the Moslem rulers in Andalusia, and some seven years after the first landing of the Moors, we find a force marching towards the Asturian mountains, by the command of Alhaur ben Abderahman, then the viceroy of the caliph in Spain. This expedition was commanded by Alxaman, and it was accompanied by Oppas, formerly a Christian archbishop, but now a renegade. The Moors reached the mountain-boundary, the natural defence of Asturias, and began to ascend without fear the defiles of mount Auseva, near the river Sella. But Pelayo and his Cantabrians, knowing this to be the natural way of approach, had taken measures for the defeat of the advancing foe. They had accumulated on the mountain-side vast quantities of stones, loose rocks, and other missiles; and when the Moorish force had sufficiently involved itself in the pass or defile, a deadly discharge of this hill artillery commenced, against which they could find neither defence nor means of retaliation. Thrown into confusion, the Moors retreated; but the Asturians rushed down from their hiding-places, and fell upon the fugitives with such fury as to convert the Moorish defeat into a disgraceful rout. The Moslem

leader, his colleague Suleyman, and Oppas the renegade, all perished ; and so disastrous was the whole affair for the Moors, that we hear of no second attempt of the kind until the days of Almansor, more than two centuries after. The Asturian leader, now the admired and beloved defender of his native land, reigned, without further question, for about twenty years, dying in 737—the first king of Asturias ; which kingdom gradually became united with, and merged in, “Castile and Leon,” and finally grew up into Christian, or “Catholic” Spain.

Asturias, or “the Asturias,” is a mere slip of the northern coast of Spain, washed, on its verge, by the waters of the Bay of Biscay, and defended on the south by the mountains of St. Andero, or Santander. Its extent is about one hundred and fifty miles from east to west, and about thirty or forty miles from the mountains to the sea. Like many other cradles of national independence, it is the least wealthy, the lowest in natural advantages, of all the provinces of Spain ; and it was, probably, for this reason, as well as on account of the difficulty of approach, that it was left in its obscure and rugged independence by those invaders who had possessed themselves of all the other provinces of Spain.

Henceforth, for upwards of seven centuries, we shall find the history of Spain presenting nothing but a long series of alternate victories and defeats ; marking the progress of the strife between the Moorish conquerors and possessors, and the Spanish and Christian leaders, who abhorred their presence, and strove continually to expel them. This long struggle is naturally divided into two periods of nearly equal length—the victories of the great Almansor, towards the end of the tenth century, ending the period of Mohammedan predo-

minance, and the rest of the history being that of Mohammedan decline. But, to gain a somewhat clearer and more definite view of the character of this long struggle, it will probably be expedient to divide the whole period into about seven or eight stages, each of which will be marked by some striking feature, either of Moslem ascendancy or Moslem decay.

1. The commencing stage is that of thirty or forty years, during which the Moors, except in Asturias, met with no opposition. Pelayo and his son Favila were left in their mountain-retreats unmolested ; but all the rest of Spain submitted, without a struggle, to the representatives of the caliphs.

2. The next period presents a different picture. The caliph was far distant ; those who professed to represent him quarrelled and strove with each other ; and in the midst of their strife the third Asturian king made considerable inroads on Mohammedan Spain. Alfonso the Catholic, son-in-law and successor to Pelayo—Favila having died in the third year of his reign—found it easy, in the divided state of the Moors, to add largely to his little Asturian kingdom. He may be said to have commenced the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. He seized upon Tuy, Lugo, and Orense, in Galicia ; on Braga and Oporto, in Lusitania ; on Leon and Astorga and Salamanca, in Leon ; and on Segovia, Osma, Sepulveda, and some other towns in Castile. So that already, within half a century from the Moorish invasion, almost one-fourth of Spain obeyed a Spanish king.

3. The dissensions of the Moors, however, after threatening their total ruin, ended in the sudden adoption, as king of Cordova and of Spain, of the great Abderahman, a descendant of the royal house of the Omeyahs, who had formerly held the caliphate itself

for more than a century. His accession to the throne was the commencement of a dynasty which ruled over the greater part of Spain for more than two hundred and eighty years; a large portion of which was a period of great strength and splendour. Some of the Spanish historians cite as genuine the following treaty; which others, however, strive to discredit: "The great king Abderahman grants peace and protection to all the Christians of Spain, on condition that they pay to him annually 10,000 ounces of gold, 10,000 pounds of silver, 10,000 horses, as many mules, 1,000 lances, as many cuirasses, and the same number of swords. Done at Cordova, A. H. 142." (A. D. 759.) It is not improbable that Abderahman may have issued such a document as this; but one manifest defect in it is, that there is no covenanting party on the other side. Still, those who question the fact of such a treaty having been made, do not hesitate to admit that the Asturians paid tribute. It is probable, that having repossessed themselves of parts of Leon and Castile, they were willing to pay the Moorish king an annual revenue out of these territories, rather than incur the risk of war with so powerful a monarch.

At the close of his reign, Abderahman convoked at Cordova the walis or governors of the six great provinces of his kingdom—Toledo, Merida, Saragossa, Valencia, Granada, and Murcia, with various other lieutenants and councillors, for the purpose of formally nominating his successor; for the Moorish kingdom of Spain had now assumed the form of an independent and hereditary monarchy. His choice fell upon his favourite son Hixem. His death took place in 787, and Hixem quietly succeeded him. So complete was the ascendancy of the Moors at this moment, that Hixem

resolved on extirpating even the insignificant kingdom of the Asturias. He sent two armies; one into Galicia, the other to the Pyrenees and into southern France. Galicia was ravaged; but Asturias seemed still impregnable. The second or Pyrenean army seized Narbonne, defeated one of the generals of Charlemagne, and returned laden with immense plunder. The king's share was devoted to the completion of the great mosque of Cordova, which his father had commenced. This splendid building was 600 feet in length, and in breadth 250. It rested on 1,093 marble columns, and was lighted by 4,700 lamps.

The reign of Alhakem, the son of Hixem, was one of conflict, and not unmingled success. He had a serious struggle with the Franks, who invaded Catalonia. The Asturian king also, Alfonso the Chaste, broke into Lusitania, and entered Lisbon. Finally, however, the Spaniards were defeated and forced to sue for peace.

Under Abderahman II. we first hear of "counts of Barcelona," or Catalonia. But the Moslems maintained their ascendancy. Thrice was Spain invaded by the Franks, but they effected nothing; while a Mohammedan fleet retaliated by burning the suburbs of Marseilles. The Northmen also, as well as the Franks, began about this time to infest the coasts of Spain.

4. The remaining sovereigns of the Omeyah dynasty were scarcely equal in prowess to the first four. One or two of them were magnificent rulers, and patrons of literature and the arts; but towards the middle of the ninth century the Spaniards made large inroads upon the Mohammedan territory. Alfonso III. augmented Christian Spain by one-half. The forces of Asturias and Castile now eagerly engaged the Moors in the open field, and often discomfited them. Galicia and Asturias

dwelt in peace under Alfonso's dominion, while Leon, Castile, Navarre, and a part of Lusitania, acknowledged his authority. The internal dissensions of the Moslems increased. Civil war broke out between Toledo, Cordova, and other cities; while the Normans, who frequently ravaged the coasts of Andalusia, still further weakened the Moors. In the years 914—921, we find Ordone II., son of Alfonso, fighting battles in Estremadura, and even in Andalusia; and it seems probable that at this period, which was a little more than two hundred years after the first Moorish invasion, the Spaniards had regained nearly one-half of their native land. Castile now begins to be mentioned in history, and the counts of Castile appear among the Spanish leaders. Leon is also called a kingdom, and is added to Asturias by Ordone II. And now that the Spaniards had left their mountain-retreat, and showed themselves without fear on the table-land of Spain, it became a natural object of ambition with every knight of prowess to wrest some territory from "the infidels," and to establish himself in some petty sovereignty of his own.

5. But, after the decline of the Moorish power had continued for more than half a century, a new leader of the Moslems—the great Almansor—appeared, who for a time turned back the tide of victory, and once more established the ascendancy of the crescent in Spain.

Abderahman III. had worthily sustained the fame of his ancestors. He fought many battles with the Spanish leaders, and seems to have been often successful. He built the great palace of Medina Azahra, near Cordova, supported by four thousand pillars of costly marble. His reign has been deemed the most brilliant period of the Moorish empire in Spain. His son, Alhakem II., was the most celebrated patron of literature

and science that Spain ever saw. On his death, as his son was only eleven years of age, the regency was conferred upon Mohammed ben Abdalla, who speedily gained for himself the name of Almansor, or the Victorious.

His government of Spain lasted for a quarter of a century, or from A.D. 976 to 1002. And this was probably the most terrible period that the Christians of Spain had ever known since the first invasion of their country by the Moors. Twice in every year did Almansor march into the northern provinces, bent apparently upon the destruction of the Christian name in Spain. In 980 he reduced Zamora and other places; in 983 he took Gormaz; in 984, Simancas; in 986, Sepulveda; in 987, Coimbra; in 989, Atienza, Osma, and Alcova; in 992, Monte Mayor; in 994, San Estevan and Corunna; in 995, Aguilar; in 997, the cities of Leon and Astorga, laying waste the whole of Galicia; not sparing even Compostella itself, the bells of whose cathedral were sent to Cordova to be melted into lamps for the great mosque of that city. The terrified Christians removed their sacred things to Oviedo; and the mountains of Asturias once more became the last refuge of Spanish independence.

But this fearful assault upon Christian Spain came to a sudden close. The attention of Almansor had been drawn away by some African affairs, but in the year 1000 he resumed his purpose of extirpating the foes of the prophet from Spain. His preparations for a final campaign were immense; but the terror which they inspired probably saved Spain. All the Spanish leaders were compelled to unite, and, for the first time, the king of Navarre and the count of Castile entered into an alliance with the regency of Leon. The whole force

of Christian Spain was drawn out, and the two armies met at Calat Onosor, near Soria, a position which shows how large a portion of Spain was held by Almanzor. The battle commenced with the earliest dawn of a summer's day, and was continued till darkness separated the combatants. Neither side laid claim to the victory; but Almanzor confessed his failure by retreating the next day, unpursued, say the Arab historians, by the enemy. But the disappointment of his hopes to a mind so ardent was fatal. Refusing all comfort—some writers say, all support—he died a few weeks after the battle: A. D. 1002. His son, Abdelmelec, seemed likely to tread in his steps; but he died, in 1007, of a sudden illness—probably of poison—and "*with him ended the power and the prosperity of Mohammedan Spain.*"

6. The great Almanzor had been like a brilliant meteor; but when that blaze of light had vanished, darkness fell rapidly on the Moslem empire in Spain. Dissension and conspiracy again became rife. One hajib, or regent, quickly followed another, until at last, Hixem III. sat for a few years upon the throne of Cordova. Like his immediate predecessors, he was incompetent to rule a troubled state and an insubordinate population. In November, 1031, a riotous mob demanded his deposition. He willingly retired into private life, and with him ended the Omeyah dynasty and the Mohammedan kingdom of Spain. For the next two hundred years the great cities and provinces which remained in the hands of the Moslems had their independent rulers; but no sovereign of Moorish Spain existed. The collapse was marvellous. In the year 1000, Almanzor threatened the extirpation of the Christian name, and did, in fact, bear sway over almost the whole peninsula. In the year 1031 the dynasty of the Omeyahs suddenly

terminated ; no Mohammedan ruler of the peninsula existed ; and before the middle of the century had been reached, more than one-half of Spain was again under Christian rule.

For, while Mahommedan Spain fell to pieces, Christian Spain became more united and more powerful. In 1037, just six years after the last of the Omeyahs had ceased to reign, Fernando I. of Castile obtained Leon also by marriage, and thus the body of the present Spanish monarchy began to show itself. Having no single Moslem opponent of any power, he soon made vast acquisitions of territory. From Leon he broke into Lusitania, and conquered the province now known as Beira ; while he advanced the boundaries of Castile to the gates of Alcalá, and would have taken both that city and Madrid if the Moorish ruler of Toledo had not stooped to become his vassal and tributary. Such a change, within forty years after the departure of the great Almansor, is scarcely to be paralleled in history. Had Leon and Castile remained united, the Moors might then, apparently, have been driven out of Spain. But dissensions and family quarrels broke out, and the Moslems obtained a short reprieve. Yet they still remained without a head. The wali of Seville assumed the powers of royalty, and the governors of Toledo, Granada, Valencia, Malaga, and Algesiras followed his example. The opportunity thus offered to the Christians could not long be neglected. In 1072, Alfonso, son of Fernando I., again united the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. Asturias and Galicia were also his. In 1083 he invested Toledo, the ancient capital of the Goths, and after two years it capitulated. After a Mohammedan possession of three hundred and seventy-four years, its cathedral once more beheld an archbishop,

now ranking as the highest prelate in Spain. Madrid, Guadalajara, and Maqueda soon followed Toledo in its submission; and the remaining dominions of the Moors in Spain seemed about to escape from their hands.

7. But two sects of African fanatics now appear upon the scene, and give a sort of galvanic life to the expiring corpse of the Moslem power in Spain. The *Almoravides* were first heard of in 1058, and in 1086 they migrated into Spain. Yussef, their brave and fanatical leader, encountered the kings of Castile and Navarre on the plains of Xalaca, near Merida, in central Spain. The Spaniards were defeated, with a loss, say the Arabians, of 24,000 men. Yussef then reduced under his dominions the Moorish kingdom of Andalusia, and reigned over all Mohammedan Spain. The Christian kings seemed to have respected his prowess, and to have remained passive during his reign. In 1103 Yussef convoked at Cordova the walis and shieks of his provinces, and proclaimed his son Ali the heir to his dominions. Ali succeeded him on the throne in 1107, and in 1109 entered Christian Spain at the head of 100,000 men, destroying Talavera, and laying waste a large part of Castile. But now the rival powers of Christian and Moorish Spain were no longer unequally matched. Victories and conquests on the one side were frequently balanced by equal successes on the other. In 1116 Lerida fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and in 1118 Saragossa was taken, and the dominion of the Mohammedans in Northern Spain was finally terminated.

And now another sect of African fanatics appeared, the *Almohades*, whose leader, Abdelmumen, after defeating the Almoravides in Africa, passed over into Spain, where his son Yussef reduced Algesiras, Gibraltar, and Xeres; and finally possessed himself of Cordova, Malaga, and

Seville. The rule of the Almoravides came to an end; and the new dynasty of the Almohades, about 1149, began to reign over Mohammedan Spain. But the years of contest between these two African factions had furnished a golden opportunity to the Christian princes, and they failed not to avail themselves of it. In 1139 a count of Portugal triumphed over the Moors on the plains of Ourique, and was hailed, on the field of victory, with the title of king. And while Lisbon received with joy its king Alfonso, Alfonso II. of Castile reduced Baeza, Almeria, and Calatrava. The frontier of Christian Spain was now advanced from the Tagus to the Sierra Morena, and little more than Andalusia remained to the Moors. The king of Navarre and the counts of Barcelona and Toulouse agreeing to swear fealty to Alfonso, he vainly assumed, in 1135, the boastful title of *Imperator totius Hispaniæ*. But more than three centuries were yet to pass over before the crown of "all Spain" should rest upon any single brow. For frequent rivalries and contests between the Christian princes postponed for a long period their union against the Moors. At the latter part of the twelfth century Northern Spain acknowledged a king of Leon, a king of Castile, a king of Navarre, and a king of Aragon; while Portugal had now a dynasty of its own. This division of the power of Christian Spain naturally prolonged the Mohammedan rule, which might, had the Christian princes been united, have been brought to a close at least two centuries sooner than it actually was. Frequently Leon contended with Castile, or Navarre with Aragon; and during these strifes the Moslem power gained ground. But whenever two or more of the Christian powers fell upon the Moors, some territory was generally wrested from them. In 1177 the

king of Castile reduced Cacnza, and defeated the Moors before Toledo; and the next year the Portuguese triumphed over them at Abrantes. But in 1188 arose Yacub ben Yusef, who earned for himself the name of Almansor. In 1194 he engaged Alfonso III. of Castile on the plains of Alarcon, and defeated him with great loss. After this victory Yacub reduced Madrid, Salamanca, Calatrava, Guadalaxara, and Esalona. The next year, instead of finding Alfonso united with the neighbouring kings to oppose the Moors, we hear of wars, first between Castile and Leon, and then between Castile and Navarre.

Yacub's successor, Mohammed Aber Abdalla, was a very different man from his father. He collected a vast armament in Africa for the conquest of Spain, but was totally defeated by the Christian princes, in 1212, at Tolosa, with a loss, as the Spanish writers tell us, of 200,000 men. Doubtless, of the African levies, a great slaughter was made. Still, for a few years longer, intestine discord prevented the Spaniards from pursuing their victory; but, in 1225, a combined movement took place. Murcia was invaded, and Jaen besieged, by the king of Castile; Valencia was attacked by the king of Aragon; Badajos was taken by the king of Leon, and Elvas by the king of Portugal. And while, at this moment, concord reigned among the Spanish princes, the Mohammedans were disunited; and several cities and provinces, such as Valencia, Jaen, Seville, etc., had each its independent sovereign.

About 1230, Fernando III. of Castile became possessed of Leon also, and ruled over a territory which extended from the Bay of Biscay to the banks of the Guadalquivir; and it was not long before he commenced a series of wars with "the infidels," which, in

about fifteen years, stripped them of all their remaining possessions in Spain, with the single exception of the province or kingdom of Granada.

There were many Moorish chiefs at this period who showed both talent and bravery; but the superior power of Christian Spain bore them down, and their own dissensions greatly contributed to their ruin. In Jaen, Mohammed ben Alhamar reigned; in Valencia, Jomail ben Zeyan; and in Granada, Cordova, and Seville, Aben Hud. The first of the three, who afterwards became king of Granada, made peace with Fernando, and paid him homage. The other Moslem rulers all fell before the advancing power of Christian Spain.

In 1232, the great city of Cordova, with its magnificent mosque, the work of Abderahman and his son, capitulated to Fernando. The same year, Valencia fell into the hands of the king of Aragon. Jaen and Toledo soon afterwards surrendered to the Castilian king; and in 1248, the great city of Seville, the last which remained unconquered of all the fortresses of Andalusia, opened its gates to the victorious Fernando. The Castilian king made his triumphal entry, repairing at once to the Great Mosque, now to become a Christian cathedral; while 300,000 of the Moslem inhabitants, unable to bear the Spanish yoke, migrated to the last stronghold of the Mohammedan power, the new kingdom of Granada.*

8. For now commenced the final portion of the history of Mohammedan Spain. Broken alike in

* Such is the statement of one Spanish historian. A more recent writer, Gayangos, thus modifies it. "On the taking of Valencia by Jaymes, king of Aragon, 50,000 Moors quitted the plains of that kingdom, and flocked to the countries which still owned the sway of Islam. Three hundred thousand families are said to have evacuated Seville, Xeres, and Cadiz, on the occupation of those cities by the Castilians, and to have removed into the dominions of the Moorish king of Granada."

strength and in spirit, we may wonder that a Moorish kingdom was still allowed, for two centuries longer, to exist in one of the finest provinces of Spain. But there was still much strength left in the old Moslem population, and their immediate and entire expulsion might have proved difficult. One corner of Spain, therefore, was still left to them; and here they founded a new kingdom and dynasty, which, commencing in A. D. 1238, was not brought to a final close until 1492.

Five hundred years had passed away since Tarik, with his 1,500 Arab horse, had effected a landing in Andalusia; and now the position of the Christians and the Moors was entirely reversed. In 737, Pelayo, the first Christian king after the fall of the Goths, died ruler of the small mountain-territory of the Asturias; all Spain, save this obscure and inaccessible corner, being possessed by the Moors. In 1238, an able and valiant Moorish prince was glad to sit down content with the sovereignty of Granada, a principality in extent scarcely exceeding our own Wales, but now the only part of Spain which was left to the Moors. The whole peninsula, except this single province, had been reconquered by the Spaniards; and four Christian kings, of Castile, Navarre, Aragon, and Portugal, ruled over that wide and fair dominion which, in the days of Abderahman and Almansor, scarcely endured an open profession of the Christian faith.

Discord and intestine warfare had ruined the Moslem power in Spain. "Almost every accession to the throne was contested, and a succession of sovereigns, often wearing but the semblance of a crown, came and departed like shadows in a dream." Crippled by faction, the Mohammedan states were unable to resist the ever-increasing forces which pressed upon them from the

north. The ninth century saw the Spaniards on the Douro and the Ebro ; the eleventh found them on the Tagus ; the great battle of Navas de Tolosa saw the expiration of the last hope of Moslem ascendancy ; and by the middle of the thirteenth century, Granada was the sole province which Spain could be content to leave in their hands.

Yet it was, if small, still a noble possession. It contained within itself every element of wealth and prosperity. "Its broad valleys were intersected by mountains rich in mineral wealth, whose hardy population supplied the state with husbandmen and soldiers. Its pastures were irrigated by multitudes of streams, and its coasts were studded with numerous fortified harbours, the chief marts of the Mediterranean. In the midst, and crowning the whole as with a diadem, rose the beautiful city of Granada. Its walls were defended by a thousand and thirty towers, while seven portals gave abundant ingress and egress on every side." Its population at the beginning of the fourteenth century is stated by a contemporary writer to have amounted to 200,000 souls ; and this number must have been afterwards augmented, for various authors agree in asserting that, at a later period, it could send forth 50,000 warriors from its gates. Large additions must have been made by the migrations of the Moors from Seville, Valencia, and other cities, as they successively fell into the hands of the Spaniards. It is clear that the strength and vigour of this little kingdom largely arose from the fact, that in it were condensed and accumulated all that remained of that power which had ruled over the greater part of Spain for nearly five centuries.

This kingdom of Granada, then, commenced in 1238, and endured for more than two hundred and fifty years.

Its earlier sovereigns, like those of Cordova in the eighth and ninth centuries, were men of energy and talent; but their successors, like those of Cordova, were frequently indolent voluptuaries. Yet the chief apparent cause for such a duration of an *exotic* sovereignty was the continued divisions and jealousies of the Christian princes. So soon as Spain became *one*, under Ferdinand and Isabella, the Moorish kingdom was speedily swept away.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, when "the kingdom of Granada" first uprears itself, Christian Spain was divided between Alfonso x., king of Leon and Castile; Thibault, king of Navarre; Jayme, king of Aragon; and Sancho, king of Portugal. The first of these, Alfonso, surnamed *El Sabio*, or "the Learned," is connected with our English history, as a relative of one of the ancestors of queen Victoria. Henry III. of England, having some differences to adjust with Alfonso, touching the latter's claims upon Gascony, sent over his son Edward, afterwards pre-eminent among our English kings, to ask the hand of Alfonso's sister, "Eleanor of Castile." It was this princess who subsequently gave birth, in Carnarvon Castle, to our second Edward; and it was on her death that the most remarkable funeral procession ever seen in England took place. In the Abbey of Westminster, Eleanor of Castile now rests under one of the most splendid tombs in that venerable pile.

Mohammed ben Alhamar, the first Moorish king of Granada, felt compelled, at the very commencement of his reign, to become an ally and even a tributary of the king of Castile. He was obliged, by the terms of this agreement, to be present at, and to aid in, the conquest of Seville by the Spaniards. He then took

his departure, full of grief at the visible decay of the Moorish power, and foreseeing the day when his own throne and capital also, now the last remains of African dominion, should fall before the continued advance of the Spanish arms. Meanwhile he wisely gave himself to plans of internal improvement. Schools and colleges, hospitals, baths, fountains, and markets, were liberally established by him; nor was the defence of his territories overlooked. To him, and to his equally able and sagacious son, Granada owed the rise of the famous palace of the Alhambra—in all succeeding ages the wonder and glory of Spain.

Peace was the obvious and well understood policy of Granada; for war with Castile or Aragon, however well conducted or partially successful, could have but one ultimate result—the extirpation of the Moslem dominion. But peace was not always possible. The Africans were a warm-blooded and impetuous race, and the Spaniards were now becoming arrogant and overbearing. Forced into warfare by the quarrels of others, Aben Alhamar met the Castilians at Alcala Real in 1261, and suffered a total defeat. Yet he obtained favourable terms of peace, and returned home, when he soon had to deal with intestine conspiracy. Whether by poison or sickness, he expired suddenly in 1273, and was succeeded by a son of similar character. After a short interval, war was commenced by the Spaniards, and Mohammed II. gained some advantages; but he could not prevent a Spanish army from encamping, in 1280, within sight of Granada itself. Still, on his death in 1301, he left his kingdom little, if at all, diminished in extent or power.

With his successor, Mohammed III., began those intestine disorders which finally dissolved the last

feeble remnant of a Mohammedan kingdom in Spain. Frequent revolts among the walis—each governor of a city aspiring to independence; applications to Africa for aid, answered by the landing of hordes of Africans, who soon seized upon cities and territories as their own; these, and similar symptoms of dissolution, marked the whole of the last stage of Moslem decline. In 1340 one more great battle was fought, between Yussef, king of Granada, and Alfonso XI. of Castile, aided by the king of Portugal. The Spanish historians state the force of the allied kings to have been 60,000, while the Moslem army they estimate at 460,000; and the loss of the latter they modestly compute at 200,000. There seems no reason to doubt that the Moorish force, augmented by a body of African auxiliaries, was the larger of the two, or that Yussef was defeated with great loss. Algesiras naturally fell into Alfonso's hands, and the Moorish king was glad to conclude a truce for ten years.

His son, Mohammed v., "had virtues worthy of any throne, but they did not exempt him from the curse of rebellion." His reign was one long scene of civil war; as was that of his son, and several successors. Conspiracy, usurpation, restoration, aid sought from Africa, and African revolt, are the events which succeed each other, in never-ending round, during all this period. And thus we proceed, till we reach 1474, when the union of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile brought all Spain (viewed apart from Portugal), with the trifling exception of Navarre, under one authority. This event made the subjugation and banishment of the Moors, still a foreign people dwelling in Spain, a consummation to be naturally looked for—a termination of a great controversy which could not be long delayed.

To render this result more certain, and to bring it quickly on, Divine Providence suffered to ascend the throne of Granada, in 1466, a rash and impetuous prince, who wholly disregarded those dictates of prudence and policy by which the wisest of his predecessors had been governed. When the Spanish sovereigns demanded, in 1476, the payment of the tribute so long conceded by his predecessors, Abul Hassan haughtily replied, that "the mines of Granada yielded no longer *gold*, but only *steel*." Such a reply made it evident that the sword must soon decide whether the Moslem kingdom of Granada should exist in independence, or not exist at all. A reckless courage, rather than sound judgment, must have dictated such a reply from a king who held scarcely a tenth of Spain to the sovereigns who ruled over four-fifths of it.

In the same reckless spirit, in 1481, Abul Hassan surprised Zahara, a town in Andalusia, put the garrison to the sword, and swept away the whole Christian population into slavery. The wisest heads in Granada trembled when they heard of this fatal success. "Woe is me!" said an ancient councillor; "the ruins of Zahara will fall upon our own heads; the days of the Moslem dominion in Spain are numbered."

It was not long before this deed was emulated and surpassed, on the Castilian side. Alhama, in the Moorish kingdom, was surprised and captured by the marquis of Cadiz, and a lament, "Woe is me, Alhama!" was heard in the halls of Granada. Abul Hassan hastened to attempt its recapture; but the spirit of the Castilians was roused, and a war commenced, which gradually reduced the Moorish dominions, until, in 1490, the sovereigns of Castile resolved on the siege of Granada.

Meanwhile Abul Hassan, brave but inconsiderate, had been dethroned by his son Abdallah, and the latter, in his turn, by El Zagal. This civil war rapidly reduced the power of Granada. Each city took a side, and had a separate ruler, and the Spaniards found it easy to subdue them one by one. Malaga fell into their hands in 1487, and Baza in 1489. And thus, when 1490 opened, nothing remained to be done but, by the capture of Granada itself, to put an end to the dominion of the Moors in Spain. Hence, in the spring of 1491, king Ferdinand took the field at the head of an army computed by some historians at 50,000, but raised by others to 80,000. Both the sovereigns were present during the siege. Many sorties were made by the Moors, but they were invariably repelled with loss. At last hunger began to be felt by the great population of this famous city. Escape, or way of safety, there was none, and all aid from without was wholly excluded. Abu Abdallah was now the Moslem ruler in possession; and with him, in November, conferences were opened with a view to the surrender of the place. On the 25th of that month the terms were agreed upon, and on the 2nd of January, 1492, the king and queen made their solemn entry into Granada; the Moorish ruler took his departure, and the Moslem dominion in Spain came to a final close.

With the magniloquence which is common among Spanish writers, we are told that "after eight centuries of almost uninterrupted warfare, in which three thousand seven hundred battles had been fought, the last of the Moorish kings submitted to the arms of Spain, and the crescent faded before the all-conquering cross."

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF SPAIN UNDER THE MOORS, AND AT THE TIME
OF THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA.

A. D. 718—1492.

ON the 2d of January, 1492, nearly the whole realm of Spain (viewed apart from Lusitania or Portugal) owned the Castilian king and queen as its sovereigns. This remarkable era, at the opening of which the dominion of the Moors in Spain finally vanishes away, will obviously furnish a suitable resting-place at which to pause for a moment, and to take a rapid survey of that noble kingdom of which king Ferdinand and queen Isabella thus became the possessors. Such a retrospect seems the more necessary, from the strangeness of the fact which will gradually force itself on our notice, that for a long series of years after this transfer of power, the state of Spain seems to have been one of rapid and most lamentable decline. Such a retrograde movement would scarcely have been deemed probable by any European writer; but its reality and its fearful extent seem to be thoroughly established by the general tenor of all the existing evidence.

In many respects, the empire of the Moors and Arabs in Spain was a great, powerful, and splendid empire. In this view all modern historians and geographers, with a single exception, unanimously and enthusiastically concur. One of the chief students

of Spain and Spanish history in our day, was Mr. Washington Irving. He long dwelt in that country, and personally examined the records of the past. He thus writes :—

“The singular fortunes of the Morisco-Spaniards certainly form one of the most anomalous yet splendid episodes in history.

“Their career of conquest, from the rock of Gibraltar to the cliffs of the Pyrenees, was as rapid and brilliant as the Moslem victories of Syria and Egypt. Then, repelled from the invasion of France, they gave up the principle of conquest, and sought to establish in Spain a peaceful and permanent dominion. As conquerors, their heroism was only equalled by their moderation ; and in both, for a time, they excelled the nations with whom they contended. Severed from their native homes, they loved the land given them as they supposed by Allah, and strove to embellish it with everything that could administer to the happiness of man. Laying the foundations of their power in a system of wise and equitable laws ; diligently cultivating the arts and sciences, and promoting agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, they gradually formed an empire unrivalled for its prosperity by any of the empires of Christendom. Thus, diligently drawing round them the graces and refinements that marked the Arab empire in the east, at the time of its greatest civilization, they diffused the light of oriental knowledge through the western regions of benighted Europe.”

In a similar strain writes Sismondi, who says—

“The Abbassides, who mounted the throne of the caliphs in 750, introduced a passionate love for art, for science, and for poetry.” “Spain was especially the seat of Arabian learning. It was there that it shone

with the greatest brightness, and made the most rapid progress. Cordova, Granada, Seville, and all the cities of the peninsula, rivalled each other in the magnificence of their schools, their colleges, and their libraries. Metuahel al Allah, who reigned in Granada in the twelfth century, possessed a magnificent library; and there are still preserved in the Escorial a great number of the MSS. which were translated for his use. The number of Arab authors which Spain produced was so large, that distinct lists were formed of the authors of the different towns, and of the branches of science to which they devoted themselves.

“No nation, either ancient or modern, has ever possessed a code of rural laws more wise, just, or perfect than that of the Arab rulers of Spain; nor has any nation been elevated by the wisdom of its laws, or the intelligence and industry of its inhabitants, to a higher pitch of agricultural prosperity than Moorish Spain; especially the kingdom of Granada.”

The Encyclopædia of Dr. Brewster gives a similar description:—

“That portion of Spain which was subjected to the Moors enjoyed a degree of prosperity and civilization unexampled in Spain during any other period of its history. This people were particularly skilled in agriculture, and carried every branch of public and private economy to a high degree of perfection. They were the first to introduce into Spain the cultivation of rice, sugar, cotton, and silk. They were expert in the mechanical arts, and in almost every city they established looms, forges, mills, glass-houses, etc. The invention of paper is due to this people; * and silk and

* Probably it would have been more correct to say, “the introduction of paper into Europe.”

cotton stuffs, morocco leather, etc., were brought by them to so great perfection, that the tissues of Granada and Andalusia were highly prized in every part of the world. To all this industry the Moors added a love of science." "Several of the Mohammedan potentates were munificent patrons of literature and literary men. At the end of the eleventh century Mohammedan Spain could boast of seventy public libraries, and of colleges or public schools in all the principal cities. Among these collections were many hundreds of volumes by native writers. They had historians, poets, grammarians, orators, astronomers, physicians, lawyers, and divines. Their knowledge of botany was far-famed, and of chemistry not less so. Their skill in medicine was great; in mathematics, especially in algebra, their knowledge was celebrated. Optics and astronomy were much regarded; nor were the useful arts neglected: they cultivated these, especially horticulture, planting, and mechanics. Their cities were magnificent, the remains of which, after the lapse of a thousand years, bear witness to their splendour."

It would have been strange if some Spanish writer had not endeavoured to prove, that Moorish Spain *could not* have so greatly exceeded the same country under "Catholic" sovereigns; and we therefore feel no surprise that a single author, Señor Capmany, has in our own day striven to discredit all the ancient testimony to the splendour and prosperity of Spain under the Moors; or that one Scottish geographer, Mr. McCulloch, has adopted his views. The last-named writer considers that the prosperity of Spain in the middle ages, in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, has been considerably over-rated. But the evidence he produces in opposition to the general view is exceed-

ingly slender; and it is opposed, not only to a prodigious mass of testimony, but also to the evidence of *visible things*, which speak with a force which can neither be evaded nor misunderstood. Mr. Hallam alludes to this kind of evidence in the following passage:—

“I know not how to account for that vast populousness, that grandeur and magnificence, which distinguished the Mohammedan kingdoms of Spain, without ascribing some measure of wisdom and beneficence to their governments. These southern provinces have dwindled in later times, and Spain is chiefly interesting to most travellers for the monuments which these foreign conquerors left behind them.”

The “vast populousness” of which Mr. Hallam here speaks is a principal feature of the case, and decides, of itself, the whole question. And the proof of the abundance of people, compared with the population as it now exists, is found in the decayed and ruinous state of its cities, and the actual depopulation of hundreds of its villages. To these facts all travellers bear witness. Thus Mr. Ford, the well-informed author of the *Hand-Book of Spain*, says, “Granada has now a population of 60,000; having had 400,000 under the Moors.” “Cordova contained in the tenth century nearly a million of inhabitants, 300 mosques, 900 public baths, and 600 inns. It is now a dirty, decaying place, with a population of about 53,000.” “Toledo, from a population of 200,000, has dwindled down to 13,000.”

A French writer, Moreau de Jonnes, confirms and enlarges these statements, saying:—

“Seville used to boast its 300,000 inhabitants; its present population is 96,000. Valencia had between 500,000 and 600,000 inhabitants; it has now only

130,000. The last official census admits the existence of 1,511 desolate and abandoned towns and villages. There are 149 villages in Aragon which have no inhabitants ; 194 in New Castile ; 308 in La Vielle ; 202 in the province of Toledo," etc., etc. In fine, the historians of 1380 estimated the population of Spain to be 21,700,000 ; while, in 1821, it was only 11,248,000 !"

These facts, supported as they are by the testimony of all the mediæval historians, seem to place the former populousness of Spain quite beyond a doubt. But this single fact implies a comparative prosperity ; and this again is confirmed by the abundant evidence of the wealth of the Moorish sovereigns, and of the splendid works achieved by them ; and this wealth, power, and magnificence of the Moorish rulers of Spain become the more striking when brought into comparison with the state of other kingdoms of Europe during the same period.

It was in 1380, according to Moreau de Jonnes, that the historians of the time computed the population of Spain at 21,700,000 ; but only three years before this, or in 1377, the population of England and Wales was estimated to be 2,350,000. The chief Spanish cities, as we have seen, were said to have from 200,000 to 1,000,000 inhabitants in each. But an estimate, founded on actual taxation, represents London to have had, at that period, 35,000 inhabitants ; York, 10,800 ; Norwich, 6,000 ; Lincoln, 5,100, and Canterbury, 4,000. It has been objected, that a great pestilence about that time had thinned the people in the great towns of England. But if, on this ground, we *double* all these numbers, and if, on the supposition of exaggeration, we reduce the Spanish numbers by *one-half*, still the distance between the two will be enormous. In fact, a

single city in Spain exhibits a larger number of inhabitants than the five largest cities in England when all are added together.

In entire agreement with the reputed populousness and prosperity of Spain, is the view given of the revenues of her Moorish kings. A modern historian states the royal income to have been "eight millions of mitcales of gold, or nearly six millions sterling, a sum *fifteen-fold* greater than that which William the Conqueror, in the next century, was able to extort from his subjects by all the ingenuity of feudal exaction." The same writer then dilates upon the noble and useful works in which several of these sovereigns employed their ample revenues.

"The munificence of the Omeядes was displayed in their public edifices, palaces, mosques, hospitals, quays, fountains, bridges, and aqueducts, which, penetrating the sides of the mountains, or sweeping on lofty arches across the valleys, rivalled in their proportions the monuments of ancient Rome."*

Of the first Abderalman we read, that in planning the great mosque of Cordova, he purposed that it should resemble that of Damascus, and be of greater extent than that of Bagdad, which it was also to surpass in splendour and magnificence. He placed therein many precious columns of marble, the entrance being through nineteen lofty and spacious portals. The aisles were nineteen, crossed by thirty-eight avenues from east to west. The king carried forward the work with the utmost diligence, labouring himself therein daily for the space of one hour.

This was the first of the Omeядe princes ; nearly

* Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, chap. viii.

two centuries later we meet with another of the same name, of whom a modern historian writes :—

“The reign of Abderahman III. has been deemed the most brilliant period in the history of the Spanish Arabs. That commerce flourished, and riches were accumulated in an unexampled degree ; that a powerful navy was formed and maintained in full activity ; that the arts and sciences were cultivated with ardour, because rewarded with princely liberality ; that many splendid works were undertaken ; that the king was the friend of industry and of merit ; that his fame was so widely diffused as to bring rich embassies even from Constantinople—are undoubted and indisputable facts.” *

His son, Alhakem II., or Alhakem Almostansur, “commanded a register, or census, to be taken ; when it appeared that there were in Spain six great cities of the first class, capitals of provinces ; eighty of the second class, large cities, each with a great population ; and three hundred of the third class. The villages, forts, and castles were innumerable. In Cordova, in this reign, there were 300 mosques, 50 hospitals, 80 public schools, and 900 public baths. The revenues of the state were at this time twelve millions of gold mitcales yearly, besides the tithe paid in kind.”

Alhakem II. was the greatest patron of literature that Spain or any other country ever produced. Mr. Prescott says of him : “He was one of those rare beings who have employed the awful engine of despotism in promoting the happiness and intelligence of his species. In his elegant tastes, appetite for knowledge, and munificent patronage, he may be compared with the best of the Medici. He assembled the eminent scholars of his time, both natives and foreigners, at his court, where he

* Dr. Dunham's History of Spain, vol. i. 291.

employed them in the most confidential offices. He made his palace the familiar resort of men of letters, at whose conferences he personally assisted. He selected the most suitable persons for the composition of works on civil and natural history. Above all, he was intent upon the acquisition of an extensive library. He invited illustrious foreigners to send him their works, for which he munificently recompensed them.* No gift was so grateful to him as a book. He employed agents in foreign countries to collect and transcribe manuscripts, and in this way he amassed a magnificent collection, which is even stated by the Arab historians to have amounted to 600,000 volumes.”†

Mr. Prescott adds, that whatever allowance we may make for eastern exaggeration, “there can be no doubt that an amazing number of authors were found in the peninsula at this period.” The catalogues still extant bear evidence of this. “Even women of the highest rank devoted themselves to letters, contending publicly for the prizes, not only in eloquence and poetry, but even in more recondite studies.”‡ Nor was this unusual among the Arabs of that age. Valadata, the daughter of the caliph Mohammed, frequently carried away the palm of eloquence in her discussions with the most learned academicians.

And again we must compare this brilliant age of Spanish history with the profound darkness which reigned over the rest of Europe. It was at this very period, as Mr. Prescott remarks, “when a library of three

* To one author who had presented him with a new work, he sent 1,000 dinars; which would be equal to about 7,000*l.* of our money.

† We must remember that manuscript, written generally on one side, occupies far more space than printed books, and that it was usual to make each chapter of a work into a separate volume.

‡ Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, chap. viii.

or four hundred volumes was a magnificent endowment for the richest monastery ; when “ scarcely a priest south of the Thames,” to use the words of Alfred, “ could translate Latin into his mother-tongue ;” “ when not a single philosopher was to be met with in Italy, save only pope Sylvester II., who drew his knowledge from the Spanish Arabs, and was deemed a necromancer for his pains.”

Still, there is no doubt that after the midnight darkness of A.D. 1000 had passed, European Christendom began slowly to advance ; and at the same period, on the death of the great Almansor, the Moslems of Spain experienced a rapid decline. In A.D. 1031, the race of the Omeiyades ended ; and for two centuries there was no central government nor unity in Mohammedan Spain. Hence, the Christian kingdoms of Leon, Aragon, and Castile prospered and grew, and the Moslem power crumbled away. Province after province passed into the hands of the Spanish princes, until Granada alone remained. This little kingdom survived the rest for more than two centuries ; but at last, in 1492, it fell before the united power of Aragon and Castile, and the whole empire which had been Mohammedan Spain, became once more “ Catholic.” But before we begin to describe the course and fortunes of Christian Spain, it will be worth while to pause for a few moments, and to notice the descriptions handed down to us, by historians of the Arab times, of the great cities of the Mohammedan period.

Cordova, for a long period, was the capital or royal city of Moslem Spain. It lies two hundred and ten miles south of Madrid, and eighty-four miles north of Seville. It was probably the largest city in Europe for several centuries.

Ashshakandy, an Arabian historian, tells us that he had travelled through Cordova, with its suburbs Azzahra and Azzahira, for ten miles, by the light of lamps, through one uninterrupted series of buildings. The whole length of the city and its suburbs was six miles one way, and twenty-four the other; this great space being covered with houses, palaces, mosques, and gardens, spread along the banks of the Guadalquivir. In all the west (Europe) there was no city comparable to it either for population, extent, markets, religious edifices, or number of baths and inns. Cordova likewise possessed a greater abundance of books than any other city of Spain, and its inhabitants were among the most earnest collectors of them.

One of the most wonderful edifices ever raised by man was the palace of Azzahra, built by one of the caliphs, at the instigation of a favourite wife. The number of men employed on this building was 10,000, the beasts of burden, 1,400 or 1,500. Ibn Haiyan states that this palace contained 4,312 columns of various sizes. Of these, 1,013 are said to have been brought from Africa, 19 from France, 140 from Constantinople, and the rest from different quarries of Spain. The number of doors in the palace was 15,000. An officer of the court computed the cost at 300,000 dinars per annum during the twenty-five years in which it was building. All travellers agreed that nothing approaching to it had ever met their eyes in any part of the earth. Its length was 2,700 cubits, and its breadth, 1,500. The great mosque of Cordova has been already mentioned; its servants or ministers, employed in the daily service, were 300. The shops in Cordova, in the days of Almansor, were reported to be 80,455 in number; the whole number of houses, 212,000.

Seville, near the mouth of the Guadalquivir, was always one of the most considerable cities in Spain. Its population in 1247 was computed to exceed 300,000. In its vicinity were the celebrated olive-grounds and olive-presses. In the time of the Moors the farm-houses and olive-presses in the vicinity of Seville were stated to be 100,000. There are now not so many in the whole province of Andalusia.

Granada affords more than ordinary attraction, from its being the last stronghold of the Moslems in Spain; a seat and citadel which retained its independence, and successfully resisted the assaults of Leon and Castile for more than two hundred and fifty years. Mr. Hartwell Horne thus describes it:—

“The surrounding country is most beautiful, spreading into a plain (the Vega de Granada) watered by brooks and streams, while in every direction there appear villages and gardens; while the surrounding hills and mountains, for the space of forty miles, encompass the plain nearly in the form of a semicircle. At the extremity of this plain stands the noble city of Granada, rising partly on delightful acclivities, and partly extending itself into the plain. The city is divided by the river Darro, which flows to the east, joins the Singalis and waters the whole plain, and then swells into a broad stream and flows on to Seville.

“In Granada there was a garden to every house, planted with orange, lemon, citron, and myrtle trees, whose fragrance purified the air; while in every street there were copious fountains. The houses in the Albaycin, the highest quarter in the time of the Moors, were ten thousand in number, and were particularly elegant, being ornamented with damasquina work.

“On the other side there arose another city, called

Alhamra, containing the royal residence. Here were lofty towers, strong citadels, superb palaces. The outer walls of the city were surrounded by choice gardens ; and no spot was without its orchards, vineyards, and gardens. The royal farms covered the space of about twenty miles, and many towns lay scattered around the royal estates. The number of colleges and places of worship exceeded fifty ; and outside the city walls more than an hundred and thirty water-mills were at work."

"The population of the kingdom of Granada under the Moors is said to have amounted to three millions ; at present it is reduced to 661,000. The city, in 1492, contained 250,000 persons ; its inhabitants, according to a recent census, are only 50,000."

These brief and succinct sketches will perhaps serve to show to what a noble realm the Castilian sovereigns succeeded, and will impose upon us the task of endeavouring to ascertain why Spain, under a nominally Christian government, so sadly and constantly declined.

CHAPTER VII.

CHRISTIANITY IN SPAIN IN THE MIDDLE AGES—GRADUAL
ENCROACHMENTS OF ROME.

THE details which have come down to us of the internal state of Spain under the Goths, and under the Asturian kings, are so slight and fragmentary that anything like an accurate view of the condition or habits of the people, as to politics or religion, is clearly unattainable. Still it may be worth while to trace, in a few pages, the gradual and slow advance of the papacy to dominion in Spain; and to notice the fact that, although this realm ultimately became one of the most devoted members of "the Roman obedience," it was long before it relinquished its independence and sank into that subserviency.

In the Gothic period, before the Moors had landed in Spain, we have several proofs of the independence of the Spanish church. The ninth council of Toledo, held in the year 655, determined that appeals should be from a bishop to his metropolitan; and from a metropolitan, not to Rome, but to the royal audience. And, in 683, Leo II. of Rome, having sent the acts of the council of Constantinople to Spain, desiring the concurrence of the Spanish bishops, a council was held at Toledo in the following year, and that concurrence was given; but freely, and after deliberation, and not at all as an act of submission to the pope. Five years later, a corre-

spondence took place between the Spanish prelates and Benedict II., and the former resolutely maintained their position, rejecting the pope's view with firmness, and even with asperity.

It was at this period, also, that when a single presbyter, Migecio, contended for the supremacy of the Roman see, Elipando of Toledo replied to him: "The words of Christ, which thou appliest to Rome alone, were spoken of the universal church, scattered over the whole earth. How canst thou say that the church of Rome is free from spot or blemish, seeing that pope Liberius was condemned as a heretic, and that St. Gregory complained of the many wicked men who were found in it?"*

During the same century, also, the Gothic or Isidorian liturgy was established in Spain by a decision of the fourth Toledan council, and it continued in general use until the eleventh century, when the Roman office was brought in to rival and supersede it. The first mass according to the Roman form was celebrated in the monastery of St. Juan de la Peña, in Aragon, in A.D. 1071. Pope Gregory VII. celebrates this change as "the deliverance of Spain from the illusion of the Toledan superstition." But the fact is worthy of notice, that one thousand years had passed away since the fall of Jerusalem before the Romish mass was adopted in Spain. Down to this same period, also, the eleventh century, the metropolitans and bishops of Spain were nominated by the king, and consecrated by their brethren, without even the formality of acquainting the papal court with the fact of their election.

In other respects, also, the ascendancy of the papacy in the peninsula dates from about the same period.

* Dunham's History of Spain, vol. iv. p. 264.

Ramiro I. of Aragon (A.D. 1036—1063), according to pope Gregory's own statement, was the first Spanish king who recognised the pope and received the laws of Rome.* In 1204, Don Pedro II. went to Rome, and was crowned by pope Innocent III. Pedro then vowed obedience and an annual tribute; and the pope granted, as a special favour, that succeeding kings of Aragon might be crowned in Saragossa by the archbishop of Tarragona, acting as the papal vicar. Yet this sudden zeal in Don Pedro's veneration for Rome was but short-lived. It did not prevent him from going to the aid of his brother-in-law, Raymond, count of Toulouse, in whose cause he fell fighting at the battle of Muret, A.D. 1213, having been excommunicated by the pope for espousing the Albigensian side.

Not unnaturally, many of the Albigenses themselves, when bitterly persecuted in Provence, migrated into Aragon and Catalonia; and pope Gregory IX., in 1232, addresses a brief to the archbishop of Tarragona and his suffragans, exhorting them to make diligent search after the "heretics" in their dioceses. His successor, Alexander IV., repeated this injunction. Accordingly, in 1237, the flames of persecution were kindled in the diocese of Urgel, where fifteen heretics were burned alive, and eighteen disinterred bodies cast into the same fire. In the same year, also, we hear of "great numbers of heretics" in the diocese of Leon, and of the marvellous success of a deacon who succeeded in exciting the people against them.

During the fourteenth century, according to the Spanish historian of the Inquisition,† "scarcely a year passed in which some heretics were not led to the stake." These were mostly the remains of the great

* M'Crie's History, ch. I.

† Llorente, vol. i. 80—85.

Albigensian church of Provence and Toulouse. But at the beginning of the fifteenth century further migrations of heretics appear to have taken place, consisting of the fugitive Vaudois, Beghards, and "poor men of Lyons." These had wandered, or fled from their persecutors, and had taken refuge in Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca. The inquisitors, however, gave them little rest: hunting them out with unceasing vigilance; forcing many to "reconcile" themselves to the church, and handing others over to the executioners. "On application to John II., king of Castile, a band of royal musqueteers was sent to scour the mountains of Biscay and the higher districts of Old Castile; and these drove the heretics like cattle before them, delivering them to the inquisitors, by whom they were committed to the flames at St. Domingo de la Calzado, and at Valladolid."*

The grand engine, however, by which Rome fully established her dominion in Spain was the monastic system. This gained entire ascendancy and possession between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. In earlier times the Benedictine rule had prevailed, but the two great orders which then divided Spain between them were the Dominicans and the Franciscans: the first the most bigoted and persecuting, the last the most fanatical and enthusiastic. Both of these orders were warmly received in Spain. The Dominicans enjoyed the advantage of the papal patronage, and they gained and wielded great political power; but the Franciscans took stronger hold of the fears and hopes of the superstitious; and before the Reformation had dawned, these two bodies had gained full possession of all that was active and energetic in the mind of the Spanish nation.

* Mariana, l. xxi. c. 17.

Of Dominic himself, the founder of the order which bears his name, we ought, perhaps, to add a few particulars; seeing that this remarkable man, though chiefly heard of in other countries, was himself a Spaniard. His birthplace is said to have been Calahorra, in Castile, and the date assigned is A.D. 1170. He was educated in Palencia, and became canon of Osma in A.D. 1198. Accompanying the bishop of Osma on a journey through Provence, he became deeply indignant at the prevalence of what the church of Rome styled "the Albigensian heresy." He joined the crusade directed by Innocent III. against the Albigenses, preaching vehemently to the crusaders, and exciting them to the extirpation of the "heretics." When the country had been subdued, he instituted the order of preaching friars, or Dominicans—thus multiplying himself, as it were, for the prosecution of his work. These new agents, selected for their zeal, followed the poor Albigenses into every recess and hiding-place, converting them, if possible; but if not, denouncing them to the officers of justice. Substantially, therefore, Dominic became, voluntarily, the first grand inquisitor. But the "Sacred Tribunal," as it was termed, was not constituted until after his death. This event took place in A.D. 1221; and in 1229, at a council held at Toulouse, the "Inquisition" was established, and two Dominican friars became the first inquisitors.

Dominic himself spent the latter years of his life at Rome, where he acquired great influence. He induced the pope to set up the office of "Master of the Sacred Palace," for the examination of all theological writings. He accepted this office himself, and thus became a literary inquisitor for the whole church. He appears to have been a man of vast energy, talent, and enthu-

siasm, mingled with a furious and unrelenting zeal. He died at Bologna, and was canonized in due course. His order afterwards became very powerful in all parts of Europe. It boasted, long since, of having given to the church three popes, forty-eight cardinals, and more than two thousand bishops and archbishops.

Perhaps, however, we ought not to assign to Spain the odium of having produced a Dominic and a Torquemada, without at the same time alluding to some eminent Protestants of ancient and mediæval times who may equally claim the name of Spaniard. Of Vigilantius we have spoken in a former chapter; but a far more celebrated character was Claudius, archbishop of Turin.

Of this illustrious Spaniard many remains are still in existence, though for the most part buried in the dust of monastic libraries. A single commentary, on the Epistle to the Galatians, has been suffered to see the light among the cumbrous folios of the fathers; but this suffices to rank the writer among the most eminent of mediæval witnesses for the truth. In this work the writer,

1. Virtually denies the papacy; declaring Peter to have been at the head of the mission to the Jews, and Paul at the head of the mission to the Gentiles.

2. The doctrine of man's justification in all ages, through faith alone in the merits of Christ, and not by the works of the law, he asserts with the utmost fulness and precision.

3. He remarks, that, as the Galatians had swerved from the true faith, so the same lamentable departure might be observed in the churches then existing.

4. Heresy he defines to be a departure from a just interpretation of Holy Scripture; and he adds, that

heretics might be found within, as well as without, the pale of the visible church.

In a letter to the abbot Theutmir, who had been troubled by reports of his departure from the faith, he explains his position in these terms:—

“When, sorely against my will, I undertook the burden of a bishopric, I found all the churches of Turin stuffed full of vile and accursed images; and I set myself to destroy what the people were sottishly worshipping. Hence it was that many mouths were open to revile me; and, truly, if the Lord had not helped me, they had surely swallowed me up.”*

Very naturally, therefore, when the Romish prior Rorencó, in A. D. 1630, wrote the history of the Vaudois, and the kindred churches, he said, that “Among the fomenters and encouragers of these ancient heresies must be reckoned archbishop Claudius of Turin; for he was one who denied the reverence due to the holy cross, rejected the veneration and invocation of the saints, and was a principal destroyer of images.”†

Another eminent Spaniard, a contemporary of Claudius of Turin, was Prudentius, bishop of Troyes. Dupin describes him as a follower of Augustine; and Dr. M'Crie says, “The sentiments which Prudentius held on this subject (predestination) bear a striking resemblance to those which the church of Rome has since anathematized in the writings of Luther and Calvin.”‡

In the dark and dismal night of the ninth and tenth centuries scarcely a ray of light appears; in fact, the Spanish church, cooped up in the mountains, had little or no literature, and has left few traces of its existence.

* Faber's Vallenses, p. 315.

† Muston's Hist. Vaud. v. i. p. 166.

‡ M'Crie's Reform. in Spain, c. i.

But with the migration of the Albigeois, Vaudois, and Cathari, some glimmering of Christian truth reappears. The Inquisition, however, destroyed heretics and heretical writings with equal zeal. One eminent man, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was Arnaldo of Villanueva. He plainly taught that Christendom had, through the craft of the devil, been drawn aside from the truth, and retained nothing but the external forms of Christian worship, which were retained by the force of custom; that those who retired into cloisters threw themselves out of the ways of charity; and that the religious orders generally falsified the doctrine of Christ. "He maintained that it is no work of charity to endow chapels for the celebration of masses for the dead; that offices of mercy are more acceptable to God than 'the sacrifice of the altar;' and that God is not praised in the eucharist by the hands of the priest, but by the mouth of the communicant."* Holding such sentiments, we cannot wonder that Arnold was forced to fly from Spain, finding a refuge in the island of Sicily.

Not long after, we meet with Raymundo Lully of Majorca, a man of vast erudition, who is reported to have written 321 treatises on a great variety of subjects; but who was charged with heresy for maintaining that all saving truth is contained and clearly asserted in Holy Scripture. Raymundo seems to have abandoned the court of Don Jayme II. to become a missionary to the Moors. He suffered among them many hardships and tortures, and was at last stoned by the mob and left for dead. He was rescued by some Genoese, but died on board their vessel.

On the whole, then, however total and profound may

* M'Crie, ch. i.

have been the fall of Spain, in later times, into the deepest gloom of papal darkness, we cannot rank her state, in the mediæval period, below that of the other kingdoms of Christendom. She probably furnished her full share of those few witnesses for the truth, who "prophesied in sackcloth"* during the permitted duration of the Romish ascendancy.

* Rev. xi. 3.

CHAPTER VIII.

REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

A. D. 1479—1516.

FEW nations possess, in their past history, an epoch of so remarkable a character as that which is furnished by the joint reign of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, as sovereigns of Spain. It is signalized in the Spanish annals by four or five great characteristic features, any one of which would have sufficed to make it memorable through all succeeding ages. It gave to Spain, for the first time for nearly eight hundred years, a native Spanish government ruling over almost the whole land. It terminated the long-enduring struggle which during all these centuries had been going on, between the two races, the Moorish or Arab, and the Spanish or Gothic-Cantabrian. It ended the dominion of the Moslems in Spain, and commenced, in lieu thereof, a bitter persecution of the "Moriscoes," or descendants of the Moors. It inaugurated the Inquisition, and thus commenced a war of extermination with the Jews, and ultimately with the Protestants. It presented "Catholic Spain" with a new empire on the opposite side of the Atlantic, and thus appeared to promise a recompense for the loss of the industrious Moslem population. And, finally, amidst all these great and often splendid events, it did in truth open a period of fearful decline for Spain, which, in the course

of a century, reduced the population of that great peninsula to about one-third of the numbers which had dwelt and prospered in it in the days of the Moslem dominion. We repeat, therefore, that very few periods can be pointed out in the world's history of a more memorable kind, than was the reign of these two sovereigns over the now united and liberated realm of Spain.

The characters of these two remarkable persons exhibited great differences and disparities, having scarcely more than one point in common—the practical sagacity which each possessed in more than an ordinary degree. Isabella, by hereditary right queen of Castile, was one of the brightest examples of royal virtue, talent, and goodness that can be found in the world's history. Her husband, possessed like her of a royal crown, the rightful king of Aragon, was in almost every other respect her inferior. He was, indeed, one of the most eminent men of his time, for valour and prudence and a talent for government; but his selfishness, coldness of heart, and unscrupulosity as to the means he employed, unquestionably lowered him to the second rank among great kings.

These two highly-endowed persons, the heiress of Castile and the heir of Aragon, were thrown, in the providence of God, into such circumstances as made their union almost inevitable. The hour had nearly arrived when the Moslem dominion in Spain was to terminate, and to this end the union of the peninsula, under a leader or leaders of talent and energy, seemed almost an indispensable preparation. And just at this moment sinister and improper views were entertained by king Henry, Isabella's brother, which threatened her with a compulsory and most undesirable marriage.

Her only apparent way of escape was by an immediate union with her neighbour and equal, prince Ferdinand of Aragon. Acting with the advice of her best friends, and with all befitting deliberation, the heiress of Castile consented to this marriage, which was solemnized at Valladolid on the 19th of October, 1469. By her brother's death, in December 1474, she became queen of Castile; and Ferdinand, in like manner, succeeded to the crown of Aragon in January, 1479. And as Castile now included Asturias, Galicia, Leon, and Andalusia, while Aragon comprehended Catalonia and the eastern provinces of Spain, it followed that all Spain proper, excepting a small tract which belonged to Navarre, was at last practically united in one kingdom under these two sovereigns.

The most eminent modern historian of Spain well remarks of this period, that—

“If there be any being on earth that may be permitted to remind us of the Deity himself, it is the ruler of a mighty empire who employs the high powers intrusted to him exclusively for the benefit of his people; who, endowed with intellectual gifts corresponding with his station, in an age of comparative barbarism, endeavours to impart to his land the light of civilization which illumines his own bosom, and to create from the elements of discord the beautiful fabric of social order. Such was Isabella, and such the age in which she lived. And fortunate was it for Spain that her sceptre at this crisis was swayed by a sovereign possessed of sufficient wisdom to devise, and energy to execute, the most salutary schemes of reform, and thus to infuse a new principle of vitality into a government fast sinking into premature decrepitude.

“The whole plan of reform introduced into the

government by Ferdinand and Isabella, or more properly by the latter, to whom the internal administration of Castile was principally referred, was not fully unfolded until the completion of her reign. But the most important provisions were adopted previously to the war of Granada in 1482. These may be embraced under the following heads:—1. The efficient administration of justice. 2. The codification of the laws. 3. The depression of the nobles. 4. The vindication of the ecclesiastical rights of the crown from the usurpation of the papal see. 5. The regulation of trade. 6. The pre-eminence of the royal authority.”*

The reader will hardly wish that we should enter into the details of these vast reforms; it must suffice to say, that they abundantly show the practical sagacity, wise forethought, and beneficent intentions of both the queen and her consort. To Isabella, however, belongs the peculiar praise of that calm courage, presence of mind, and indomitable resolution, which are so rarely combined in the female character with those gentler qualities which naturally belong to it, and in which this admirable woman was equally pre-eminent. Mr. Prescott observes that—

“Isabella was so intent on the prosecution of her schemes of reform, that, even in the minuter details, she frequently superintended the execution of them herself. For this she was admirably fitted by her personal address and presence of mind in danger, and by the influence which a conviction of her integrity gave her over the minds of the people.” He then describes an insurrection at Segovia, directed against an unpopular alcaide, and proceeds:—

“The populace, meanwhile, assembling in great num

* Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, ch. vi.

bers, showed the most hostile disposition, calling out, 'Death to the alcaide!' 'Attack the castle!' The queen's attendants, terrified at the tumult, besought their mistress to cause the gates to be more strongly secured against the infuriated mob; but, instead of listening to their counsel, she bade them remain quietly in the apartment while she descended into the courtyard, where she ordered the gates to be thrown open for the admission of the people. She stationed herself at the further extremity of the area, and, as the populace poured in, calmly demanded the cause of the disturbance. 'Tell me,' she said, 'what are your grievances, and I will do all in my power to redress them; for I am sure that what is for your interest must also be for mine, and for that of the whole city.' The rioters, abashed by the cool and dignified demeanour of their sovereign, replied, that all they desired was the removal of Cabrera from the government of the city. 'He is deposed already,' answered the queen, 'and you have my authority to turn out such of his officers as are still in the castle.' The people, pacified by these assurances, shouted, 'Long live the queen!' and hastened to obey her mandates."*

But although the queen thus pacified the insurrection, she did not desert her servant. Cabrera, the alcaide, was put upon his trial under her own direction; was cleared of all charges; and was then by the queen restored to his office, none gainsaying this decision.

At Seville she held her court in the saloon of the royal castle, where she revived the ancient practice of the Castilian sovereigns, of presiding in person over the administration of justice. Every Friday she took her seat in her chair of state, on an elevated platform covered

* Prescott, ch. vi.

with cloth of gold, surrounded by her council and the functionaries of the courts of law. Here she received and heard such suits as were referred to her adjudication; the ordinary tribunals sitting on the other days of the week.

Both Ferdinand and Isabella made tours or visitations of the provinces of the kingdom, for the extirpation of predatory bands and robber-knights who infested the mountains. In Galicia alone, fifty castles were razed to the ground, and fifteen hundred robbers were forced to fly the realm. Our own Edward the First, at the opening of the fourteenth century, by his courts of Trailbaston, had applied a similarly strong remedy to the same class of evils. In Galicia, a Spanish writer tells us, "the wretched inhabitants of the mountains, who had long since despaired of justice, blessed God for their deliverance from a deplorable thralldom."

Of the war with Granada, and final overthrow of the Moslem power in Spain, we have already spoken. But we must not pass over without notice the queenly courage and high resolve of the Castilian queen, as exhibited in these great undertakings. When, at the commencement of that final war, the Moorish king sat down before Alhama, and the Spanish generals counselled the abandonment of the place, it was Isabella who reminded them that "glory was not to be won without danger. The present war," she observed, "was one of peculiar difficulties and perils, and these had been foreseen before it was entered upon. The strong and central position of Alhama made it of the last importance; since it might be regarded as the key of the enemy's country. This was the first blow struck during the war, and honour and policy alike forbade them to adopt a measure which could not fail to damp the

ardour of the nation." These words of firm resolve decided the wavering, and Alhama was successfully defended.

So, too, in the latest campaigns of that war, "it was the queen who fortified the timid councils of the leaders; it was she who procured the supplies, constructed the roads, took charge of the sick, and furnished, at no little personal sacrifice, the immense sums required for carrying on the war; and it was she who, when the hearts of the soldiers fainted under long-protracted sufferings, appeared among them, like some celestial visitant, to cheer their faltering spirits, and inspire them with her own energy. The chivalrous heart of the Spaniard did homage to her as to his tutelar saint; and she held a control over her people, such as no man could have acquired, and probably no woman in an age less romantic."*

It was to Isabella's courage and lofty spirit, also, that Spain owed her foremost place in the "discovery of a new world." Columbus, himself a Genoese, had long pondered the possibility, and even the hopefulness, of arriving at other lands by crossing the western ocean. In 1481 he had proposed this great enterprise to the king of Portugal, and, after three years of delay, he had received a final repulse. Genoa and Venice were then addressed, but in both quarters his proposals were declined. He next turned to Spain, and spent seven years in the wearisome attempt to gain a hearing in a court which was then wholly occupied with the Moorish wars. At last, disheartened, but not in despair, he had turned his back on the Spanish court, and was about to address the king of France, when a friend, Juan Perez, who was known to the queen, made a last appeal to her patriotic

* Prescott, chap. xiv.

and to her religious feelings, and with entire success. The hope of conveying the gospel to millions of the heathen decided Isabella to embrace the proposal. Rising above the timid and fearful suggestions of her husband and her councillors, she exclaimed: "I will adopt the enterprise for my own crown of Castile; and, if funds be wanting, I will pledge the jewels of the crown, if needful, to raise them."

The story of the discovery of America is a history, and a romance of real life, considered by itself. It extends over half a century, and its events are numerous and heart-stirring. Other leaders, captains, and navigators entered upon this field after Columbus had been removed from it; and each added something to Spain's transatlantic empire. Still the name of Columbus will never be forgotten, as the actual discoverer of a new world; nor will the queenly courage and noble enthusiasm of the Castilian queen be overlooked, without whose powerful aid in the hour of difficulty the great Genoese might have descended into his grave as a disappointed theorist and a romantic dreamer.

We have now spoken of the brighter features of Isabella's character; what remains to be said must detract somewhat from its splendour. She was earnestly religious; but the only religion within her reach was one corrupted by Romish superstition; and the Roman theologians had long inculcated as a first principle, the duty of suppressing heresy. Isabella resembled those "devout and honourable women" mentioned in Acts xiii. 50, who, under the influence of the priesthood of their day, "raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts." This spirit of persecution is frequently found in union with sincere but mistaken views of religion. Paul himself,

in his earlier days, had been among the "straitest sect of the Pharisees," and in that belief he thought that he "ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth:" which things he also did, shutting up many of the saints in prison; and when they were put to death, giving his voice against them. (Acts xxvi. 9, 10.)

In the same spirit did Isabella sincerely oppose whatever she deemed false in religion. Her personal humility and submission to the church was seen in an incident in her life as queen. When Fray Fernando de Talavera, who had been appointed her confessor, attended her for the first time in that capacity, he continued seated when she had knelt, which drew from the queen a remark; as in former cases both parties had knelt. "No," said the priest, "this is God's tribunal, and I act here as his minister: hence it is fitting that I should keep my seat, while your highness kneels before me." The queen, instead of being displeased, instantly complied, afterwards remarking, "This is the sort of confessor that I have wanted." And in the same humble and earnest spirit we find her on her deathbed, not listening to those who would rest her hopes on her good deeds, or on the masses which might be said for her soul; but speaking like any sincere and humble Christian of more enlightened days. "Seeing her friends bathed in tears around her bed, she calmly said to them, 'Do not weep for me, or waste your time in fruitless prayers for my recovery; pray rather for the salvation of my soul.'"

But this sincere and earnest mind had been under the influence of one of those hard and relentless bigots who afterwards gave such a terrible significance to the title of "a Spanish inquisitor." Torquemada, who

subsequently became the first grand inquisitor, had earnestly laboured, in Isabella's early days, to infuse into her mind the same spirit of religious intolerance which possessed his own. He strove to obtain from her, while yet a girl, a pledge that, "should she ever come to the throne, she would devote herself to the extirpation of heresy, for the glory of God, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith."

Isabella was now upon the throne of Castile, and the performance of this promise was sought from her. But "it was not until the queen had endured the repeated importunities of the clergy, particularly of those reverend persons in whom she most confided, seconded by the arguments of Ferdinand, that she consented to solicit from the pope a bull for the introduction of the 'holy office.' Sixtus the Fourth readily complied with this petition, and a bull, bearing date November 1, 1478, authorized the sovereigns to appoint two or three ecclesiastics inquisitors, for the detection and suppression of heresy throughout their dominions." *

Still, the queen delayed acting upon this authority for nearly two years longer. At last, on the 17th of September, 1480, two Dominican monks were appointed inquisitors; and edicts were issued, clothing them with vast powers, and requiring all persons to aid them in the suppression of heresy.

The Reformation had not yet commenced; and it was principally against the Jews that the inquisitors directed their earlier proceedings. On the 6th of January, 1481, six convicts suffered at the stake. In March, seventeen more were executed, and in the course of that year no fewer than 298 persons had suffered in the *autos-á-fé* of Seville. A similar perse-

* Prescott, ch. vii.

cution went on in other parts of Andalusia, so that within that first year the sufferers were computed at 2,000 persons *burned alive*, and 17,000 *reconciled*; by which latter phrase is generally meant the infliction of some terrible penalty of confiscation or imprisonment.

This tremendous engine of oppression now became, at its outset, a mean of tormenting and plundering the Jews. Its second great work, that of suppressing the Reformation in Spain, did not come into operation until nearly half a century afterwards. During Isabella's reign, the Inquisition was only another name for a persecution of the Jews; and it is in this light that we shall now consider it.

Adolfo de Castro's history is limited to this view. He regards the Inquisition simply as a device for the oppression of the children of Israel. It is pleasing, too, to remark, how carefully he discriminates between Isabella, the sincerely religious, the humble and sincere; and her husband, the cold-hearted, the calculating, and the avaricious. Of Isabella he says: "She was an illustrious matron, worthy to have lived in an age in which barbarous fanaticism did not influence the human race." He tells us, that "the prior of the order of Dominicans at Seville, observing the zeal of the queen for the public good, urgently entreated her, in forcible and eloquent language, to grant the friars of his order permission to inquire into the crime of heresy. His importunities were backed by those of many persons of great virtue and in exalted stations; and the queen was compelled to dictate a measure, not yet to be put in force, strong enough to weaken, if not to destroy, the obstacles caused by the Jews. But, for the present, they were only able to obtain from her a recommendation to the priests and friars to show themselves

energetic and faithful preachers." It was not until 1480, that "queen Isabella, whose compassionate and benevolent heart had prevented her from consenting to the erection of this barbarous tribunal, was overcome by the solicitations of her avaricious husband and the Dominicans," and signed the appointment of the first inquisitors.

De Castro then describes the first executions in Seville, and adds that, "at this period, in the cities of Andalusia, especially in Seville and Cordova, there were four thousand houses occupied by Jews, who quickly, with their wives and children, withdrew themselves from the land."

He then goes on to say, that "in 1483 Fray Tomas de Torquemada, a judge of the holy office, was elevated to the rank of inquisitor-general. And in order to increase the confiscations accruing to king Ferdinand, he caused a large number of the king's subjects to be burned. In order to persecute the Jews with greater severity, he created four tribunals; one at Seville, another at Cordova, a third at Jaen, and a fourth at Villa Real. As the number of the offenders was so considerable as to render it impossible to punish them all, the inquisitors determined, though with much reluctance, to reduce the punishments to pecuniary fines, instead of total confiscation. They thus drew large sums of money, which the king received with much pleasure and satisfaction."

The flight of the Jews from a country in which they were thus treated was a natural result of these proceedings. The operations of the Inquisition seem to have soon convinced them of the necessity of immediate emigration. De Castro tells us, that "three thousand persons quitted Spain, by Benavente, for Braganza in

Portugal; thirty thousand, by Zamora, for Miranda; thirty-five thousand, by Ciudad Rodrigo, for El Villar; fifteen thousand by Alcantara, for Marban; ten thousand by Badajos; so that from Castile alone ninety thousand Jews fled into Portugal. A similar flight took place in other directions. Bernaldez asserts the number who emigrated to have been 160,000. Zurita augments it to 400,000. Pedro de Abarca describes them as 160,000 families.

Llorente, who himself had been secretary to the Inquisition at Madrid, and who thus had access to the official records, computes that during the eighteen years of Torquemada's administration, there were no fewer than 10,220 burned; 6,860 condemned and burned in effigy, having fled or died in prison; and 97,321 reconciled by confiscations and imprisonment; making an average of 6,000 persons condemned in each year. The widows and orphans cannot be computed.

De Castro adds: "The Jews compared their expulsion from Spain to the calamities which their fathers endured when Zion was destroyed and her inhabitants dispersed in the days of Titus and Vespasian." But, throughout his work, he constantly attributes this cruel persecution mainly to Ferdinand's cupidity; and exonerates Isabella from any other guilt than that of being influenced by her husband, and by the priests to whom she too submissively listened.

The spirit of religious persecution, however, when once let loose, was not to be appeased by a single class of victims. Scarcely had the expulsion of the Jews been effected, before the king and queen, being at Granada, held some consultations with the archbishop of that see, on the best method of bringing over the Moors, who still remained in that province, to the

Christian faith. To this purpose they were vehemently urged by Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, one of those earnest and determined bigots who have at intervals appeared in the church of Rome, making Paul in his unconverted state the model of their zeal and devotion.

Talavera, the archbishop of Granada, was also a proselyter, but of a more gentle caste than Ximenes. He began by the most mild and conciliatory measures. He learned Arabic, in order to be able to preach to the Moors, and ordered his clergy to do the same. He printed a catechism and selections from the Gospels for their use, and strove to win them by addressing their reason and their understanding; in which course he had some success. But these plans were of too slow operation to satisfy the zeal of Ximenes, who soon set in motion more potent means of conversion.

He began by a conference, in which he enforced the strongest arguments he could adduce by liberal presents; and this course succeeded so far that some thousands of the Moors are said to have presented themselves for baptism. The archbishop was so much in earnest in his efforts, as to involve himself largely in debt by the enormous amount of his gifts to the new proselytes. But these proceedings naturally excited the disgust and animosity of the sincere Mohammedans; and the ill blood which soon arose showed itself at last in a Moorish insurrection. The outbreak was suppressed; but matters had now proceeded so far, that the alternative of *conversion* or *expulsion* was offered, under Ximenes' counsel, to the remaining Moors. The more sincere and more wealthy sold their property and removed to Barbary; the remainder submitted and received baptism. These compulsory conversions were reckoned by many thousands, and the new converts, no longer Moors,

began to be known by the name of *Moriscos*. Great exultation was exhibited by the victorious ecclesiastics, one of whom exclaimed, that "Ximenes had achieved greater triumphs than even the sovereigns themselves; for they had conquered only the *soil*, while he had gained the *souls*, of Granada."

But although the struggle was over in Granada itself, the Moorish villages of the mountains of Alpujarras were still unsubdued. Deeming that faith had not been kept with their co-religionists in the capital, the warlike mountaineers of this district broke out into open insurrection. One or two campaigns were fought, before they could be subdued; and in March, 1501, the Spanish forces suffered a severe defeat in the Sierra Vermeja. At last Ferdinand himself took the field, and the insurgents were intimidated and offered submission. He gave them the same option which had been offered to the Moors of Granada—immediate baptism, or departure for Africa. Those who could effect the latter emigrated; the remainder, consisting of many thousands, were forthwith baptized. Thus the *Moriscos* were augmented by tens of thousands; and these new converts naturally furnished a large supply of objects for the watchful officers of the Inquisition. Amidst all this, there can be no doubt that the articles of the capitulation of Granada were violated; for those articles had assured to the Moors "the free exercise of their religion," while they were now forcibly deprived of it. But the ecclesiastical advisers of Ferdinand urged that the Moors could have no ground of complaint, "seeing that they would be such great gainers in respect to their eternal salvation." And for so cherished an object the sovereigns were content to break their plighted faith, "doing evil that good might come."

Spain, then, was now thoroughly united—one in faith, in loyalty, and in homogeneity of population; for the Jews and the Moorish Arabs were either driven away or reduced to bondage, and from the pillars of Hercules to the Pyrenees all was “Catholic Spain.” Yet here, as in other passages in the history of the world, we find that the moment of complete success, and of highly desired and now accomplished unity, is also the commencement of a long period of the most disastrous decay and decline. Nor, when we look back upon the whole story, from a distance of three hundred years, do we find much difficulty in understanding the reasons of this unquestionable retrogression.

The active life of Spain, and those things which chiefly form its history, seem to have generally come *from without*. The native Spaniard, though he could defend his last retreat in the mountains of Asturias, was never able to keep any bold invader from possessing himself of the larger and wealthier portions of the peninsula. Hence, first the Phœnicians, then the Carthaginians, then the Romans, dwelt, and often reigned, in Spain; till the last-named people fled before the Goths, and these were expelled in their turn by the Moors. Each of these conquerors of Spain not only ruled over it—they all, with the single exception of the Goths, impressed their own characters upon it. At one time, whatever was done in Spain was done by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. Then it became a Roman province, and Rome lived and moved in Spain. Last of all, the Moorish Arabs gave it their high civilization, and rendered it, for three or four centuries, the foremost nation in Europe, for arts, for letters, and for science.

At last, all this foreign element was expelled, and

Spain was left to the Spaniards. The active energy and creative skill of vast bodies of Jews and Arabians were lost to the peninsula: especially the more wealthy, independent, and energetic of these populations fled the country; and those who remained were the poor and the less capable. Meanwhile, too, whether among the Spaniards, the Arabs or Moriscos, or the Jews, the terrible Inquisition rested on the country like an incubus, forbidding all free thought or discussion, and compressing everything into one uniform and unvarying mould and figure. We need scarcely wonder, then, if from this time forward—that is, from the complete triumph of the Inquisition under Philip II.—stagnation, apathy, and decline marked the whole course of the history of Spain. How could it be otherwise, when the experience of two thousand years had shown that the natives of Spain generally lacked energy of thought and enterprise, and needed rather to be stirred up by foreign influence and example, than rocked to sleep by an ecclesiastical injunction of obedience and uniformity?

CHAPTER IX.

PORTUGAL AND ITS MARITIME DISCOVERIES—COLUMBUS
AND THE NEW WORLD.

A. D. 1095—1508. 1492—1540.

It seems necessary to pause for a moment, at this stage of the narrative, in order to take a consecutive view of the great discoveries which distinguished this age of the world, and to remark the large share taken in these achievements by the inhabitants of the peninsula.

In this field, the earliest steps were taken by the small kingdom of Portugal, formerly a province of Spain, and situated on the western side of the peninsula. Indeed, apart from its maritime achievements, Portugal has not much to claim our attention. Up to the time of the great Almansor, this province was chiefly in the possession of the Moors; but when, after his death, the Mohammedan power in Spain rapidly declined, Alfonso VI. of Castile soon reduced the greater part of this territory, and conferred it, with the title of "Count of Portugal," on Henry of Besançon, who had married his daughter. With this count Henry begins the separate history of Portugal, about the year 1095.

His son, Alfonso I., continued the war with the Moors, defeated them in the great battle of Ourique, and, in 1147, carried Lisbon by storm. He was now styled "King of Portugal;" but the Mohammedan generals still held possession of one half the present kingdom; and the rest of Alfonso's long reign, which ended in

1185, was passed in continual warfare. In the days of his son Sancho, the Moors again prevailed, and at the close of the century, the towns of Silva, Almeida, Palmela, and Coimbra were again in their possession. And now, for nearly two centuries, this small state was harassed with continual wars—the Moors assailing it on one side, and the kings of Leon on the other; while family feuds continually disturbed the royal palaces, and made the private histories of the kings a series of immoral romances.

At length, at the close of the fourteenth century, we meet with an able king, Joam I., who married an English princess, Philippa, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, of the great house of Plantagenet. By this queen he had five sons, distinguished for martial ardour and for ability. They crossed the straits of Gibraltar, and stormed and took the Moorish fortress of Ceuta, in 1415. In 1419, Don Henry, a younger son of the king, who had made mathematics and the science of navigation his study, succeeded in despatching two vessels on a voyage of discovery, which proved unsuccessful. But, not disheartened, the prince fitted out a second and larger squadron in the following year; took possession of Madeira, and even reached Sierra Leone, on the western coast of Africa. Meanwhile, his brother Pedro occupied himself in a long journey overland to the east. He visited the Greek emperor in 1424, and proceeded onward to Palestine and to Babylon. He returned by way of Rome, where he was received with many honours by the pope, and finally reached his own country, after an absence of four years.

Don Henry devoted the greater part of his life, which ended in 1473, to the prosecution of these researches. In 1441, his commanders landed on the

gold coast, near Cape Blanco ; and in 1414, they revisited the African shores, calling also at Madeira and the Canary Islands. In 1449, king Alfonso granted to Don Henry, his uncle, a license to colonize the Azores, which soon, like the previous possessions, became a thriving settlement, and a school for seamen. After Don Henry's death, the zeal for maritime discovery seems to have been checked for a time ; but a merchant, named Fernando Gomez, had obtained a charter from the king, in 1469, to prosecute trade on the coast of Guinea ; binding himself at the same time to extend the survey of the coast five hundred miles further to the south. In this way Fernando Po, Prince's Isle, St. Thomas', and Annobon, became known ; and in the next ten or twelve years the whole coast of Guinea, with the bights of Benin and Biafra, were added to the existing geography.

On the accession of Joam or John II., the task of discovery was resumed with fresh zeal. He gave orders for the erection of a fortress and a church at the port of Mina, in Guinea. The king also added to his other titles that of "Lord of Guinea ;" obtained a fresh grant from the pope ; and began to warn other sovereigns, especially Edward IV. of England, not to interfere with his African possessions.

In 1484, Diego Cam, or Cano, reached the mouth of the river Zaire or Congo. He there found an African king, who, after some converse with the Portuguese, consented to visit Portugal, where he was baptized by the name of John Silva, the king and queen being his sponsors. Another African prince, the king of Benin, desired to have missionaries sent to him.

In 1486, the Portuguese monarch sent out Bartholomew Diaz to search for India. This mariner dis-

covered the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to Lisbon in December 1487, having surveyed more than three hundred leagues of the coast. That same year, the king had despatched two other persons, Covilhan and Payva, to proceed by way of Egypt in search of Prester John and of India. The latter of these two was killed, the first was detained a prisoner in Abyssinia.

But now a perseverance in these investigations and inquiries had begun to produce a conviction on the minds of the rulers of Portugal, that Africa could be passed by the open road of the ocean, and that India itself would be found lying beyond it. Manuel, therefore, who had succeeded John, selected Vasco de Gama, a man of prudence, courage, and skill in navigation, and, in 1497, sent him forth with five vessels, to sail, if it were possible, to the far-distant India. Vasco executed with faithfulness and ability the duty imposed upon him. Sailing on the 8th of July 1497, he first reached the Cape Verd Isles, and then proceeded to the bay of St. Helena, near the Cape of Good Hope. Hindered for a time by strong southeasterly winds, he did not arrive at Mozambique, on the east coast, until March 1498. He had to encounter Mohammedan hostility, and was glad to escape and to reach Mombaça and Melinda, further north. In this latter port he found ships from India, from whose seamen he gained much valuable information.

Reassured, and confident now of attaining the objects of his mission, Vasco left Melinda, and directed his course to the east, arriving in twenty-three days at the city of Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. Here he found a prince bearing the title of "Zamorin," by whom he was kindly received. But here, as in

Mozambique, the jealousy of the Mohammedan traders counteracted him ; and having reason to fear the most hostile attempts, he soon took his leave and sailed for Portugal, where he arrived in September 1499—a little more than two years after his departure. He was received with the greatest joy, rewarded with many honours, and was created “Admiral of the Indies.”

But the date at which we have arrived warns us that we ought now to turn to the other portions of the peninsula, and to notice the labours of Spain, or rather of Castile, in the same field.

Christopher Columbus was a native of Genoa, and was born about the year 1441. He was educated at Pavia, and soon evinced a taste for scientific inquiries. Embracing a secular occupation, he became the commander of a ship of war in the Neapolitan service about 1473 ; and two years later commanded a squadron in the service of his own country, Genoa. Soon after this, we find him prosecuting geographical inquiries, examining unknown coasts, and making charts for the use of navigators. The result of his investigations and of his reasonings was, a firm conviction that a mariner, sailing from Europe in a westerly direction, would assuredly discover some unknown land.

Having arrived at this conviction, he soon began to urge it upon various sovereigns and rulers. His own state of Genoa quickly rejected his proposals. The Portuguese government treated him deceitfully ; he therefore came to Spain, and for five years bore up against numberless discouragements and disappointments, until, in 1491-2, he had resolved to remove into France. But the courage and discernment of queen Isabella saved Spain from this disgrace and loss ; and on the 19th of April 1492, the articles were signed

which created Columbus, under the sovereigns of Aragon and Castile, admiral and viceroy of all the countries which he should discover.

Three vessels were soon placed at his command, manned by about ninety or a hundred men; and on the 3d of August 1492, Columbus quitted the port of Palos. But calms and contrary winds delayed his progress; and when thirty, forty, and even fifty days had elapsed, and nothing but the wide ocean appeared, the sailors, affrighted and despairing, insisted on returning. The utmost skill and prudence were required to pacify their discontent, and to induce them to keep the ships on their course. Several mutinies put the patience and courage of Columbus to the test; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he succeeded in obtaining peace and obedience. At last, after several days of anxious expectation, on the night of the 11th of October 1492, the land of the "New World" came unquestionably in sight. At sunrise of the next day Columbus landed on an island, to which he gave the name of San Salvador; one of the Bahamas; of which he took possession in the name of the king of Spain.

Sailing onwards, on the 27th of October the ships arrived at the great island of Cuba. There they remained some time, but in December removed to Hayti, since called St. Domingo. It was not until the 16th of January 1493, that their homeward voyage was commenced. Two great storms endangered the whole enterprise; but at last, on the 15th of March, the expedition re-entered the port of Palos, from which it had sailed just seven months and a half before.

The reception of the admiral was one long triumph. The magistrates of Palos came down to the shore to receive him on his landing: at Barcelona the whole

city came out to meet him. When he approached the royal court, the king and queen, seated on their thrones, rose up to receive him. They desired him to be seated in their presence; they confirmed anew all his privileges, even uniting with his own armorial bearings the arms of Castile and Leon, thus admitting him as a sort of brother to the throne.

Yet was most of this applause and professed homage insincere. Columbus was sent out a second time, but was soon forced to return to meet accusations. A third time, in 1498, he went out, but from this voyage he returned a prisoner and in chains. The king of Spain, Ferdinand, was a cold-hearted and selfish man; and he grudged Columbus his high offices and his great authority. Hence commissioners were sent out again and again to inquire into his conduct; and one of these, Don Francisco de Bobadilla, went so far as to arrest the admiral, and to send him home in irons. The king was obliged to disavow this indignity, and to dismiss Bobadilla; but he refused to replace Columbus in his viceroyalty.

Once more did the great navigator revisit the scene of his triumphs. But in this his fourth voyage a storm threw him on the coast of Jamaica, where he languished for a whole year before relief was sent. He returned to Spain in November 1504, infirm, worn out, and in poverty. His patroness the queen was dead, and Ferdinand, with his usual coldness, evaded compliance with his entreaties for justice. The discoverer of the New World died, in a great measure of grief and disappointment, in May 1506.

In his third voyage Columbus had entered the gulf of Paria, and had approached the mouth of the Orinoco. Two individuals, Alonzo de Hojeda, and Amerigo

Vespucci, caught at the idea thus afforded them of a new continent, and fitted out an expedition of four ships, with which they visited Venezuela, Essequibo, and the Orinoco. The second of these two, Vespucci, being an able writer and cosmographer, and having abettors in Florence, his own country, contrived as early as 1507 to have his own name, Amerigo, affixed to the great continent, America, which, not he, but Columbus had discovered.

Another follower in the great admiral's steps was Pinzon, who had accompanied Columbus in his first voyage. He, too, soon afterwards fitted out an expedition of his own, and discovered Brazil. In like manner, in 1500, Roderigo de Bastidas sailed from Cadiz with two small vessels, crossed the gulf of Venezuela, observed the mouth of the Magdalena, and sailed round the gulf of Uraba, proceeding as far as Puerto de Retrete. He reached Spain on his return in 1502, bringing with him gold and other valuables to an amount sufficient to excite the cupidity of others.

Various small expeditions naturally followed. Pinzon and Solis set sail, in June 1508, for Brazil, of which they took possession for the crown of Castile. In 1514, Solis was sent forth by the king, and explored Darien and La Plata. Darien itself was claimed for Castile by Balboa, in September 1513. In 1519, Magellan, a Portuguese who had entered the Spanish service, sailed from San Lucar, and passed, in October 1520, the strait which still bears his name. About the same time, Hernando Cortez was sent to Mexico, where with six hundred men he conquered that empire; sending home to Spain enormous quantities of gold, acquired by plunder and oppression. Ten years later, Pizarro, with a still smaller force, seized upon Peru, forcing the captive

Inca to offer for his ransom a sum equal at present value to more than three millions sterling. The prize-money allotted to each Spanish soldier would exceed in our money six thousand pounds.

Brazil, meanwhile, had been claimed by the Portuguese, as having been descried, several years before, by Cabral; and after much delay they settled a colony in that country in 1531. Four years later La Plata was occupied by Pedro de Mendoza, who had obtained a commission from the Spanish government.

We now return to the proceedings of the Portuguese, in continuation of the mission of Vasco de Gama. That commander having ascertained the position of India, and the way of reaching it, a second expedition of thirteen ships, carrying 1,200 soldiers and a number of Franciscan monks, was sent out in 1500, under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral. Being driven to the west, he landed in Brazil, and took possession of that country for the king of Portugal. Returning to his intended course, he arrived at last before Calicut; but here war and various troubles met him. He proceeded onwards, further south, to Cochin, and succeeded in forming a Portuguese settlement. He then took in a lading of the choicest products of India, and returned to Europe.

A year or two after this, the admiral of the Indies, Vasco de Gama, was induced to make a second voyage. His fleet consisted of ten ships, to which a squadron of five more was afterwards added. He visited the African coast, and re-established the Portuguese authority in several places. Arriving off the coast of Malabar, Vasco was reinforced, and had now a fleet of nineteen ships. He inflicted punishment on the Zamorin of Calicut, visited the Portuguese factory at Cochin, and

discovered a church of Nestorian Christians, 30,000 in number.

About 1505 or 1506 a third expedition was sent into the Indian seas. This armament succeeded in humbling both Calicut and Goa. It also took possession of the Maldivé isles, and established factories in Ceylon and in Sumatra. Madagascar was also discovered by this expedition. The isle of Ormuz was attacked, and consented to the erection of a Portuguese fort. Thus, from the straits of Gibraltar to Abyssinia, and from Ormuz to Siam, the flag of Portugal waved triumphant.

The further history of the proceedings of Portugal and Spain in these quarters would subside into a history of administration, and often of oppression and cruelty; and as such a narrative would be a prolonged and a tedious one, we shall here quit the subject. The two peninsular nations had, unquestionably, gained for themselves the honour of having discovered both an eastern and a western world; but in the stewardship of these great trusts they were lamentably unfaithful. Hence, after a while, these vineyards were taken from them, and given to other cultivators. But the new husbandmen, who are now in possession, ought to remember that they, in their turn, will have to "give an account of their stewardship;" and that, if the Lord of the vineyard shall find them unfaithful or negligent, they too, like their predecessors, may have to give place to others.

CHAPTER X.

CHARLES I. (OR V.)—PHILIP II.—RISE AND SUPPRESSION
OF PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN.

A. D. 1516—1598.

THE establishment of the modern kingdom of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella was followed by the speedy rise of this kingdom to the first place among the powers of Europe. Their grandson Charles (the First of Spain, the Fifth of Germany) soon became the greatest sovereign of his time. From his father, Philip of Austria, who had married Juana their second daughter, Charles inherited Flanders and Franche Comté. In 1519 he was raised to the imperial throne. In Italy he succeeded to the crown of Naples, and to it he added the duchy of Milan. In America his lieutenants subdued the empires of Mexico and Peru: and thus, in less than a quarter of a century, it became literally true of this new kingdom of Spain, that “upon its territory the sun never ceased to shine.”

Yet these splendid reigns of Charles and his son Philip furnished a remarkable instance of the well-known fact, that among men the moment of complete success is often the moment of commencing decline. Most rapid was the rise of Spain, from the weakness and disorganization of the days of Henry iv. (1454—1474) to the power and predominance of the emperor Charles (1516—1556), and equally rapid was its decay. During the former period the sovereign was an object of contempt, imbecile and disregarded, and the nation

over which he professed to bear sway was altogether destitute of influence in Europe. A period of brilliancy and of conquest then succeeds; but with Charles' son "ends the greatness of the kingdom, which from that period declined with fearful rapidity," exhibiting "little beyond the reign of worthless favourites, the profligacy of the court, and the deplorable weakness of the government."*

Nor will the problem of what caused this sudden decline present much difficulty to the thoughtful inquirer. We have already alluded to one important feature of the case—the natural reserve and tendency to inertness of the Spanish character; and when to this is added the expulsion of the most industrious of the inhabitants, and the entire suppression of freedom, both civil and religious, we shall be at no loss to understand how it came to pass that "tranquillity," the tranquillity of the grave, speedily took possession of the whole peninsula.

At the commencement of Charles' reign a struggle occurred which proved the crisis of Spanish liberty—a crisis which ended in its total subversion. Charles himself had been born and educated in Flanders; and when he took possession of his Spanish kingdom he brought with him into Spain a great retinue of Flemish favourites, who soon began to engross all the honours and lucrative appointments which the sovereign had it in his power to bestow. A deep disgust naturally seized upon the people of Castile and Aragon; and when the king, in 1520, quitted Spain, a confederation was formed of a number of the principal towns, such as Madrid, Toledo, Leon, Valladolid, Burgos, Segovia, Salamanca, and many others; not to throw off the royal authority,

* Dunham's Hist. Spain, vol. v. p. 87.

—for their first demand was, “that the king would be pleased to return to Spain, and reside there, as his predecessors had done”—but to claim certain liberties and rights, of which Dr. Robertson thus speaks: “The regulations which the Castilians attempted to establish on this occasion differ little from those which other nations have laboured to procure in their struggles with their monarchs for liberty.” But a confederacy of this kind always borders upon treason, and generally ends in an appeal to arms. Charles’ lieutenants in Spain treated this combination as a kind of rebellion, and, after some repulses they succeeded in suppressing it. In the words of the latest historian of Spain, “The war of the *Comunidades* was soon closed by the ruin of the patriots; and on the memorable field of Villalar the liberties of Spain received a blow” from which they have never recovered. “From that fatal hour an unbroken tranquillity reigned throughout the country—such a tranquillity as flows not from a free and well-conducted government, but from a despotic one.”*

The triumph of the royal forces in this contest naturally confirmed Charles in the inclination which he had previously shown, to treat Spain as a possession—a mere territory from which armies and revenues might be drawn. He himself was an Austro-Belgian. The people had audaciously demanded a resident monarch, and had been chastised for their presumption. The imperial crown had now been placed on Charles’ head; and towards Austria, and Flanders his birthplace, all his sympathies and attachments were drawn; while his love of power and of glory led him to Italy for conquest, to Africa for fame, and to Germany for the protection of “the faith.” Yet, after a life spent in eager and gene-

* Prescott’s Philip II. ch. I.

rally successful contention, he came back in his old age to Spain, for a quiet retirement and a grave.

It was at this point of the history of Spain that a very remarkable man arose in that country, whose chief deeds, however, were not wrought in Spain, and whose life has little connexion with Spanish history. Still, as a brief episode, it will be right to introduce a short notice of him in this place.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA was of a noble Spanish family, and was born in the castle of Loyola, in Guipuscoa, in the year 1491. He was brought up at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and in due time took upon him the profession of a soldier. He was wounded in the defence of Pampeluna in 1521, and was confined to his bed by his wound for several weeks. During this confinement he read unremittingly the legends of the saints, and, with the fervour of an ardent mind, formed the resolution to devote the remainder of his life to the service of the church and to the honour of the virgin Mary. This resolution he kept, when restored to health, with the most romantic fidelity. His asceticism and his labours were on a par with those of the saints and hermits of the fifth and sixth centuries. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, and to Jerusalem, and then returned to Spain to study and to live a life of mendicancy. His fanaticism at last brought him into suspicion and into difficulties, and, in 1528, he went to Paris, where he begged in the streets. At last he found a few companions, who, with him, vowed, in 1534, at the church of Montmartre, to consecrate their lives to the church. After preaching for a time in Spain, he and his companions took their journey to Rome, where they had an audience of the pope, and offered him their services as "the Society of Jesus." The papal sanction was at

length obtained, and two of their number, Rodriguez and Xavier, started for India as missionaries; while Loyola and some others took up their abode in Rome.

Ignatius lived in Rome sixteen years, and died in 1556. Before his death he had witnessed the spread of his order over almost all Europe, and had seen it possess and wield enormous power. In 1534 the Jesuits were but eighty in number; but in 1556 they had societies in twelve provinces of Europe, and a century after they owned 578 colleges, and numbered 17,655 members of the society. With Spain, however, they had no especial connexion; in fact, as champions of the papacy, they preferred to place themselves where able combatants were more needed.

We return to our narrative. The chief events of Charles' reign occurred in other parts of Europe, and have little relation to our present inquiry. After a triumphant career of almost forty years, he began to desire a season of tranquillity and of preparation for death. His resolution to gain such a season, even by stripping himself of his imperial wealth and power, distinguishes him from the great mass even of celebrated kings. He had ceded to his son, on his marriage with Mary of England, the sovereignty of Naples and Milan. In October, 1555, he resigned to him, in the royal palace of Brussels, the sovereignty of Flanders; and on the 16th of January, 1556, still at Brussels, he executed the deeds which transferred to Philip, Castile and Aragon, and all their possessions in the new world. The imperial crown he could not so transfer. It passed to his brother Ferdinand; but his son, now Philip II. of Spain, became his successor in the peninsula, in Flanders, in Italy, and in those vast territories beyond the ocean with

which the discoveries of Columbus had endowed the Spanish monarchy.

The period which remained to Charles upon earth was not long. He reached his chosen place of retirement in the autumn of 1556, and died there in the autumn of 1558. It was a beautifully situated monastery, at Yuste in Estremadura, "a delicious retreat, and one well suited, by its calm seclusion and the character of its scenery, to withdraw the mind from the turmoil of the world, and dispose it to serious meditation." But his constitution was in a shattered state, and his allotted span was nearly ended. After about two years of retirement, as we have already said, his life came to a close; and in this obscure retreat, with no other attendants than a few ecclesiastics, there died "the man who for nearly forty years had ruled over an empire more vast, with an authority more absolute, than any monarch since the days of Charlemagne."* The vehement bigotry which had distinguished him through life seemed to burn with even increasing vividness towards the close. In his conversations with the prior and monks of Yuste he lamented, as one of the chief errors of his life, that he had not put Luther to death when that reformer had placed himself within his power. "I spared him," he said, "on the ground of the safe conduct which I had sent him; but I confess that I did wrong in this, for I was not bound to keep my promise to that heretic, as he had offended a master greater than I, even God himself. Therefore, I ought to have forgotten my word, and to have avenged the injury which he had done to God." In the same spirit, when he heard that Protestantism had made its appearance in Spain, he wrote, May 3, 1558, to his daughter Juana,

* Prescott.

saying: "Tell the grand inquisitor, from me, to be at his post, and to lay the axe to the root of the evil, before it spreads further. I rely on your zeal for bringing the guilty to punishment, and for having them punished, without showing favour to any one, with all the severity which their crimes demand." Three weeks later he again writes: "If I had not entire confidence that you would do your duty, and arrest the evil at once by chastising the guilty in good earnest, I do not think I could help leaving the monastery and taking the matter into my own hands."

Charles' death took place on the 21st of September, 1558, and he was interred shortly after in the monastery of Yuste; from whence, after the lapse of a few years, his body was removed to the Escorial, where it still remains. That he was a "great" monarch, in the ordinary acceptation of the phrase, must be admitted by all. "He had marched against the Turks, and stayed the tide of Ottoman inroad. He had marched against the Protestant princes, and discomfited them in the heart of Germany. He had crossed the Mediterranean, and humbled the crescent at Algiers. Twice had he entered France as a foe, and had marched up to the gates of Paris." What a lesson, then, is it to the pride of human nature, to mark this "great man" in his retirement, and to find his last days distinguished chiefly by two degrading follies! His thoughts, in the final year of his life, seem to have been divided between the most absurd and cruel superstition and the lowest sensual enjoyment. To gain the favour of God he flagellated his naked body until the scourge was stained with his blood; and with the same view he urged his daughter and Philip his successor "to follow up and bring to justice every heretic in his dominions, and this without

favour and without mercy.”* Yet, while dying of gout, neither his physician nor his confessor could persuade or terrify him from the indulgence of his appetites, nor from the use of the richest and the most unwholesome food. “Before rising in the morning, potted capon was usually served to him, dressed with sugar, milk, and spices. At noon he dined on a variety of dishes; soon after vespers he took another meal; and later in the evening supped heartily on anchovies, or some other gross and savoury food.”† Thus, as is often the case in the Romish church, Charles could easily obtain indulgence from fasting, which fasting would have been salutary to both soul and body; but then he balanced the account by voluntary torments and punishments. The “lusts of the flesh” were indulged, not subdued; but God was to be propitiated by bloody scourgings and by a fiery zeal against “heretics.”

His successor had all, or more than all, his father’s bigotry, without his talent, or enterprise, or popular manners. Perhaps it would be more fair and just to describe him as cold-hearted than as naturally cruel; yet, whether from the one cause or the other, the cruelties perpetrated by him seem to have exceeded those of any other sovereign of modern times. “The reign of terror” established by Alva in the Netherlands holds its place by the side of a like “reign” in Paris under the demoniacs of the French Revolution. By these cruelties Philip lost Holland. By abetting Mary of England, his wife, in similar barbarities, he lost all hold on that important kingdom, and rendered an union with Elizabeth impossible. But his name is still more indissolubly connected with thoughts of cruelty, as the chief patron and promoter of the Inquisition in Spain.

* Prescott’s Philip II. chap. ix.

† Ibid.

The introduction of Scriptural truth into the peninsula had been more tardy in its progress, and far more scanty in its extent, than in most other European countries; but it was real, and at the opening of Philip's reign began to be of a formidable character. Some Spanish ecclesiastics, and other travellers, visiting Flanders, Germany, and Italy, some years before this, had taken the infection. Books, also, were carried from Flanders into Spain, which contained the doctrines of Luther; and, in 1521, we find Leo x. addressing briefs to the Spanish authorities, requiring them to use all diligence in preventing the introduction of Lutheran works into Spain. In that same year Cardinal Adrian, inquisitor-general, issued orders to seize and burn the books of Luther, wherever they could be found. These orders were repeated in 1523.

These facts afford remarkable proof of the wakefulness of the papal court, and of its agents in various countries; for we do not hear of the transmission of any Lutheran publications to Spain earlier than in 1519 or 1520. In those two years some Latin copies of a few of Luther's writings came into Spain from Basle; and towards the end of the latter year Luther's commentary on the Galatians was translated into Spanish. Subsequently there appeared, also, translations of the reformer's treatise on Christian liberty, and of his reply to Erasmus on free will.

It is to these works, together with a new-born desire among many religious inquirers to "search the Scriptures," that we must ascribe, under the operation of the Holy Spirit, the fructifying of the good seed in many hearts in Spain. The change, indeed, was not rapid or instantaneous. A few earnest men were "pricked in their hearts," and began to inquire, "What shall we

do?" And, for a full reply to this question, no better work than Luther's great commentary could have been provided. We shall presently see, in the cases of Valer, Egidius, Constantine, Enzinas, and others, that the disease and the remedy were precisely the same which had been known in the days of Paul, of Augustine, of Claudius of Turin, and of Huss, Jerome, and Wickliff. When it pleased the Lord to "open the heart" of any man, that man quickly saw himself to be a sinner. He then began to cry to God for mercy, and soon the answer, in some form or other, was sent to him—"Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world:" "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." And, finally, having found salvation for himself, he soon began to long to make it known to others. Thus, of Valer, we are told that "his chief desire was to impart to others those impressions of Divine truth which his own mind had received." He courted the society especially of the clergy, with whom he dealt in the language both of persuasion and reproof; and his constant appeal was to the Holy Scriptures as the sole standard of truth, and the alone visible source of Divine wisdom.

Still, as we have said, the progress of Divine truth was not rapid; and for several years it excited little attention.

A single individual, one Juan de Avila, was denounced to the Inquisition as early as the year 1525; but one of the inquisitors favoured and protected him. Five years later, Alonso de Valdes, secretary to the chancellor of Charles v., being at Augsburg, had several interviews with Melancthon; and on his return to Spain, he too was brought under the notice of the holy office.

A chaplain to the emperor, Alfonso de Virves, who had also had communications with the German reformers, was similarly dealt with on his return to Spain, being confined in the dungeons of the Inquisition for the space of four years; after which he was ordered to abjure the doctrines of Luther, to be imprisoned in a monastery, and to be prohibited from preaching. About this time, too, searches for prohibited books began to be made in all directions; but, "up to this period," says Dr. M'Crie, "we do not meet with a single Spaniard who avowed the reformed tenets, or who was convicted on good grounds of holding them."

As Charles' reign, however, passed on, and the establishment of the Reformation in Germany became a notorious fact, we begin to find a few men of note, even in Spain, who received grace to discern the real nature of the gospel, and whose names are not unworthy to be ranked with our own Latimers and Ridleys.

Rodrigo de Valer was a young gentleman of fashion, at Lebrija, near Seville. Suddenly he disappeared from those circles of which he had been the life and ornament. A vast change had passed over him. Arrested by the power of the Spirit of God, the thoughts of unseen and eternal things wholly possessed his mind. Procuring a copy of the Scriptures, he soon became so thoroughly versed in God's word, as to be able to repeat almost any passage in it from memory. When settled in a well-grounded faith, he returned to society a different man from what he had been once known. He had now an errand and a purpose. He cultivated the society and the friendship of the clergy, "reasoning with them out of the Scriptures." But such proceedings soon brought him under the notice of the Inquisition. He was summoned before the holy office; but,

on the first time of his appearance, some persons of influence interested themselves in his favour, and he was leniently dealt with. The inquisitors contented themselves with the confiscation of his property, and released his person, adding, however, a caution and an admonition. But "none of these things moved" Valer. He could exclaim, like Paul, "Woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel." He was therefore soon brought a second time before the tribunal. And now the influence of his powerful friends could only avail to save his life; the inquisitors condescending to assume that he was mad. It was about the year 1541 that the final sentence was passed upon him. He was entirely secluded from society in a monastery near the mouth of the Guadalquivir; and here, at about the age of fifty, he died. But Valer had not lived in vain. "He was the first," says De Castro, "who publicly preached the Protestant doctrine in the heart of our country."

One of the fruits of his labours was, the conversion of an eminent member of the clerical body, Juan Gil, commonly called Dr. Egidius—a professor of divinity in Sigüenza, and a preacher in the cathedral of Seville. Valer succeeded in drawing him from the study of Aquinas and Scotus, to the more profitable reading of the word of God; and thus he became a valued and useful preacher. He was joined by Dr. Vargas, and by Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, who had been his fellow-students; and who, like himself, had been awakened by the conversation and the arguments of Valer. These three distinguished men soon gathered a Christian church from among the people of Seville, and it was not long before the attention of the Inquisition was drawn to their proceedings. But Vargas died, and Constantine was called to Flanders. Egidius, therefore,

now left alone, was immured in the dungeons of the holy office, charged with heresy as to the doctrines of justification, human merit, purgatory, and the worship of images. He was brought to trial about the year 1550, and was finally sentenced, in 1551 or 1552, to read a public abjuration, to be imprisoned for one year, and to be prohibited from preaching or writing for ten years.

Poor Egidius, whose reputation had previously stood so high that it had been intended to raise him to the archbishopric of Tortosa, was now ordered to make a public abjuration in the cathedral of Seville. His imprisonment then commenced, and on its termination he was once more free. He then paid a visit to Valladolid, where he met a number of the converts to Scriptural truth, and found much refreshment of spirit. But travelling, after a confinement of several years, brought on a fever which quickly ended his days. This visitation of God probably spared him the greater suffering of a fiery death. A few years after, his bones were taken from their grave and burned by order of the Inquisition, who declared him to have died "in the Lutheran heresy."

Three brothers, of the name of Enzinas, of Burgos, were also prominent in the Protestant movement; and Juan, the eldest, being sent by his father on a visit to Rome, was seized by the officers of the Inquisition in that city, and publicly burned in the year 1546.

The death of Juan Diaz, a friend and convert of Juan Enzinas, deserves particular notice, from the light which it throws upon the animosity excited by a profession of Protestant truth in those days. Diaz was a native of Cuença, and had studied for several years at Paris. In order to be able to read the Scriptures in the original, he had learned Hebrew as well as Greek.

Being thus thoroughly in earnest, he was well prepared to receive the instructions of Enzinas, and soon became grounded in the truth. He made the acquaintance of Bucer, and now openly avowed the change which had taken place in his views. His brother Alfonso, who held high office in the Romish church, was filled with grief and anger at such a defection. He sought him out, and at length found him at Neuburg. For several days the brothers communed together, and Alfonso used every effort to shake the resolve of Juan. At last, no hope remaining of such a result, he took his leave, feigning to depart for Italy. But, returning to Neuburg at an early hour the next morning, he despatched a messenger with a letter to his brother, he himself accompanying the man and waiting at the gate while he went in. Juan rose from his bed, took the letter, and went to the window to read it. The assassin—for such was the pretended messenger—stepping softly behind him, struck him a deathblow with an axe which he had concealed beneath his cloak; and then instantly joining Alfonso at the gate, the two succeeded in making their escape. But they were pursued and apprehended, and would have been tried and executed had not the emperor Charles himself interposed. He claimed the hearing of the cause for his brother Ferdinand; and ultimately, through the imperial favour, both of the murderers were released. Alfonso repaired to Trent, where he was received with open arms by the holy fathers there assembled in council; and afterwards to Rome, where he was equally honoured and caressed. So precisely were the Saviour's words fulfilled, "The brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son." *

* Mark xiii. 12.

But the most remarkable man in the whole of this movement was Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, of whom we have already spoken. He was evidently one of those rare characters to whom the appellation "great" is by common consent applied. His learning was associated with a higher taste and discernment than was common in his day. To qualify himself for the study and interpretation of Scripture, he took care to acquire both the Hebrew and Greek languages. His own language he spoke and wrote with unusual purity and elegance. Such was the popular appreciation of his pulpit oratory, that when it was known that he was to preach in the cathedral, that spacious edifice was crowded with hearers three or four hours before the time for commencing the service. When Philip was sent by the emperor into Flanders, Charles took care to send Constantine in his suite, "to let the Flemings see that Spain was not without scholars and orators." And, in an account of this royal progress, printed at Madrid by authority, notice is taken of the prince's chaplain, Constantine, who is described as "the greatest philosopher, the profoundest divine, and the most eloquent preacher who has been known in Spain for many ages."

Various other friends of the Reformation in Spain were men of family, education, and high position in society. Francisco Zafra, a doctor of laws, was vicar of San Vincente. The Protestant church in Seville was regularly organized, and placed under the pastoral care of Christobal Losada, a doctor of medicine. He was assisted by a friar named Cassiodoro. Among its more distinguished members were Don Juan Ponce de Leon, and Domingo de Guzman, a son of the duke of Medina Sidonia. At Valladolid the Protestants had for their pastor Domingo de Rojas, a young man who was allied

to some of the noblest families in Spain. He was assisted by Dr. Agustin Cazalla. In several other towns men of eminence espoused their cause. Such was the position of affairs in 1556 and 1557. A Romish historian says, speaking of the persecution of 1558, "All the prisoners in the Inquisitions of Valladolid, Seville, and Toledo, were persons abundantly well qualified. I shall pass over their names in silence, that I may not stain the honour of their ancestors or the nobility of the illustrious families which were thus infected with this poison."* And another writer confesses, that "Had not the Inquisition taken care in time to put a stop to these preachers, the Protestant religion would have run through Spain like wild-fire."† A third uses this strong language: "There is not a city, and, if one may so speak, there is not a village, nor a hamlet, nor a noble house in Spain that has not had one or more illuminated with the light of the gospel."‡

We come then, next, to the striking fact, that more completely and effectually in Spain than in any other country did the Inquisition succeed in fully and finally suppressing Protestantism, and in utterly eradicating the Protestant faith. And we must next describe, as succinctly as we can, the manner in which this was effected.

The very names of "Spain" and the "Inquisition" are, in most men's minds, associated together; and the association is not groundless or irrational. For although this fearful engine of cruelty was first invented and set to work in the thirteenth century for the purpose of

* Illescas: Hist. Pontif. vol. ii. p. 451.

† Paramo. Hist. Inquisition.

‡ Valera: Preface to "La Biblia."

suppressing Scriptural truth in Languedoc, its founder, even then, as we have seen, was Dominic, a Spaniard ; and it was in Spain, finally, rather than in France, that it rested and took root as a national institution. Its second founders were Torquemada and Ximenes, and its chief object, on its establishment at Seville in 1480, was to detect false profession among those numerous Jews and Moriscos who had, since the decline of the Moorish power, been forced into a nominal conformity. The idea of a defection among those who had been born and bred in the Catholic church had not, at that time, been at all realized. But the exploits of the holy office among the suspected Jews and Moriscos, long before the Reformation had made its appearance, were by no means inconsiderable. Of these we have briefly spoken in a previous chapter.

Thus when, fifty years after the re-establishment of the holy office, a new peril appeared to threaten the Romish church, this powerful engine was already organized for its prompt suppression ; and never was its efficiency more fully proved. Grappling with Protestantism at the crisis when, to use the words of a Romish writer already cited, "it was on the point of overrunning Spain," the Inquisition effected its suppression in little more than ten years. For this end it was furnished with powers which have very seldom been placed in the hands of human beings. In the year now before us, pope Paul IV. issued a brief, with the concurrence of Philip II., in which he charges the inquisitor-general to prosecute the guilty, and to inflict on them condign punishment, "whether they be bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals or legates, barons, counts, marquises, dukes, princes, *kings or emperors.*" All things and all persons on earth, saving the pope himself, were

thus put under the feet of two or three ecclesiastics, who had been chiefly selected on the ground of their relentless and vehement zeal for the suppression of "heresy;" and this power was meant to be used without mercy. Another brief, dated Feb. 4, 1559, authorized the inquisitors to hand over to the civil power for execution "those who were convicted of holding Lutheran opinions, even *though they were willing to recant.*" And the officers and other persons who were thus clothed with arbitrary power, were themselves surrounded with the attributes of infallibility and inviolability to an absurd and preposterous degree: to withstand even the meanest of them was a perilous boldness. "A servant of the vice-inquisitor of Seville one day snatched a stick from the gardener's son, whose cries attracted his father to the spot. He wrested the stick from the aggressor, whose hand was slightly injured in the struggle. The very next day the gardener was thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition, on *alleged suspicion of heresy*; and it was nine months before he obtained his release."*

It was towards the close of 1557 that the watchful ecclesiastics who were attached to the court of Philip II., at Brussels, discovered, by means of the spies employed by them, that many Lutheran books had been sent into Spain, and that there was reason to believe that heretical opinions were gaining ground in that country. They quickly transmitted this intelligence to the Inquisition at Seville, and desired their prompt attention to the matter. We have already seen that the emperor Charles, in his retirement at Yuste, was also informed of the same facts; and that he wrote to the regent, Juana, pressing the matter upon her, and even speak-

* Montanus, p. 190—192.

ing of his own inclination to leave his retirement in order to superintend the needful inquiries.

Thus urged, and themselves not backward, the inquisitors at once put their extensive police in motion, and spent a considerable time in making secret search, in all quarters, for the chief movers of the dreaded conspiracy against the faith. A very active and energetic man in humble life, named Hernandez, who had been concerned in the importation of Spanish New Testaments, was soon apprehended, and was repeatedly put to the torture, in order to extort from him the names of the persons for whom, and with whom, he had been acting. For three years he was kept in prison, and tortured from time to time; but his resolution never gave way, and from him they could wring nothing. But in other quarters they were more successful. Two individuals in Seville, and one in Valladolid, supplied them with the information they desired; and when the necessary preparations had been completed, the swoop of the birds of prey took place, and a general seizure of suspected persons filled all the prisons. Two hundred were thus apprehended in Seville in one day; and, in consequence of information wrung from them by torture, the number was soon increased to eight hundred. At Valladolid eighty were seized, and in other towns proportionate numbers. The castles and prisons were found insufficient to contain the crowds who were accused or suspected of heresy. "The inquisitors were in the condition of a fisherman whose cast has been so successful, that the draught of fishes seems likely to be too heavy for his net." *

The officers of the Inquisition were now embarrassed with the vast amount of business which had been

* Prescott, b. ii. ch. 3.

brought into their hands. The holy office never moves rapidly; and having seized upon a great number of persons of the higher class, the inquisitors required time not only to examine the persons accused, but also to make sure of those confiscations from which they derived such large revenues. They wished, also, by grave and deliberate ceremonials, to strike awe and terror into the minds of the whole population, and to make "heresy" a thing abhorred and dreaded above all other things. It was not, therefore, until eighteen months had passed away that the holy office announced the conclusion of the trials of many of the accused, and issued its orders for a solemn *auto de fê*. This, the first of the public executions of the Protestants in Spain, took place at Valladolid, in May 1559; and it was witnessed by the regent, Doña Juana, and the young prince of the Asturias, Don Carlos, attended by all the principal grandees of the court. There suffered, on this occasion, Dr. Agustin Cazalla, preacher to the emperor, a man of great learning and eloquence; his brother Francisco; Doña Beatriz Cazalla; Alfonso Perez; Doña Catalina de Ortega, and nine others.

A second celebration of the same kind took place in the same city in the following October, at which Philip himself was present, accompanied by his sister Juana, his son Don Carlos, his nephew Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, several foreign ambassadors, and the principal grandees and higher ecclesiastics of the kingdom.

The *auto de fê*, or "act of faith," was the most imposing, as it was the most awful, of the solemnities authorized by the Roman Catholic church. It was usually celebrated on a Sunday, or on some great holiday of the church; and an indulgence for forty days

was granted by the pope to all who should be present at the spectacle.

“The scene for this second *auto de fę*, at Valladolid, was the great square in front of the church of St. Francis. At one end a platform was raised, covered with rich carpeting, on which were ranged the seats of the inquisitors, emblazoned with the arms of the holy office. Near to this was the royal gallery, and opposite to this gallery a large scaffold was erected, which was appropriated to the unhappy martyrs who were about to suffer.

“At six o'clock in the morning all the bells in the churches of the city began to toll, and a solemn procession began to move from the dismal fortress of the Inquisition. First came a body of troops, to secure a free passage for the procession. Then came the condemned, each attended by two familiars of the holy office; and those who were to suffer at the stake, by two friars in addition, who ceaselessly exhorted the heretic to abjure his errors. Those who were admitted to penitence wore a sable dress; while the unfortunate martyr was enveloped in a loose sack of yellow cloth—the *san benito*—with his head surmounted by a cap of pasteboard, of a conical form, which, as well as the cloak, was painted with figures of flames, and of devils fanning them. Next came the magistrates of the city, the judges of the courts, the ecclesiastical orders, and the nobles of the land on horseback. These were followed by the members of the dread tribunal, and the fiscal, bearing a standard of crimson damask, on which were displayed the arms of the Inquisition, and of its founders, Sixtus v. and Ferdinand the Catholic. Then came a numerous train of familiars, well mounted; among whom were many gentry, who were proud to act

as the body-guard of the holy office. The rear was brought up by an immense concourse of the people, who were estimated, on this particular occasion, to have amounted to 200,000.

“The inquisitors took their places, the condemned were conducted to the scaffold, and the royal gallery was occupied by the king, surrounded by the brilliant circle of which we have already spoken. A sermon ‘on the faith’ was preached by the bishop of Zamora; and when he had concluded, the grand inquisitor administered an oath to all present, to defend the Holy Inquisition, to maintain the purity of the faith, and to give information against any one who should depart from it. As Philip took the oath, he rose from his seat, and drew his sword from the scabbard, as if to announce himself the personal champion of the holy office.

“The secretary of the Inquisition then read aloud a schedule, containing the names of the prisoners, the crimes charged against them, and the punishments which had been decreed. Those who were admitted to penitence knelt down, abjured their errors, and received absolution. Some of these were condemned to imprisonment, some to lighter punishments; but all suffered the loss of their whole property—a point never lost sight of by the Holy Inquisition. Thus stripped of everything, and branded with perpetual infamy, these poor sufferers were said, in the silky language of the Inquisition, to have been ‘reconciled.’

“But when these subdued victims had been remanded to their prisons, all eyes were next turned to the remaining sufferers, who now stood, with cords round their necks, expecting their coming doom. Of these several were illustrious by birth, but still more by

talent and virtue. Their haggard looks, their emaciated forms, and often their distorted limbs, told the story of their past sufferings; many of them having been immured in the dungeons of the Inquisition for more than a year, during which time they had felt what the holy office could do in the infliction of bodily torture. The process against them was now read, and the grand inquisitor finally consigned them to the corredor of the city, beseeching him 'to treat them with all *kindness and mercy*'—the meaning of which was, that he was immediately to burn them alive at the stake."

In the present *auto de fé* the number of convicts amounted to thirty; of whom sixteen were "reconciled," and the remainder handed over to the secular authorities. Those who confessed their fault, and prayed for absolution, might even now obtain strangling before they were burned; but those who remained stedfast met the most cruel of deaths without any mitigation.

One of these was Don Carlos de Seso, a noble Florentine, who had stood high in the favour of Charles v. Marrying a Castilian lady of rank, he took up his abode in Valladolid, and while there resident he became a convert to Protestantism. During the fifteen months which he spent in the cells of the Inquisition, no sufferings shook De Seso's constancy. As he passed before the royal gallery, he said to Philip, whom he well knew, "Is it thus you allow your innocent subjects to be treated?" To which Philip replied, "If it were my own son I would fetch the wood to burn him, were he such a wretch as thou art."*

Another of the sufferers was Domingo de Rojas, son of the marquis de Poza. He was a Dominican monk.

* Cabrera. Filippé II. lib. v. c. 3.

On being degraded, and stripped, and clothed in the *san benito*, he endeavoured to address the spectators ; but Philip instantly ordered him to be gagged. The gag was a piece of cleft wood, which forcibly compressed the tongue, and caused great torment. There also died at this *auto*, Juan Sanchez, Pedro de Cazalla, five nuns, and three other persons.

The whole ceremony lasted from six in the morning until two in the afternoon ; the spectators manifesting no weariness nor impatience.

The *autos de fe* which were celebrated at Seville were still more memorable than those at Valladolid, if not for the rank of the spectators, at least for the number of the prisoners exhibited on the scaffold. The first of these was solemnized on the 24th of September, 1559, in the square of St. Francis. It was attended by four bishops, the members of the royal court of justice, the chapter of the cathedral, and a great assemblage of nobles and gentry. Twenty-one persons here suffered death, and eighty were condemned to lighter punishments. Among those who died was Don Juan Ponce de Leon, son of the count de Baylen, and a near relative of the duchess de Begar, who was herself present at the spectacle. Another sufferer was Don Juan Gonzalez, one of the most celebrated preachers in Andalusia. He had left his mother and his brethren behind him in prison, and was accompanied by two sisters, who, like himself, were doomed to the flames. Four monks of the convent of San Isidro also laid down their lives for the truth. So also did Fernando de San Juan, master of the college of doctrine, and Cristobal de Losado, pastor of the Protestant church in Seville. Four ladies of the highest families were also among the victims—Doña Isabel de Baena, Maria de Virves, Maria de Cornel,

and Maria de Bohorques. The last was a daughter of a grandee of the first class.

A second *auto de fé* at Seville took place in December, 1560 ; when fourteen persons suffered death, and thirty-four received inferior punishments. Julian Hernandez, one of the most earnest promoters of Protestantism, here died in the most fearless and triumphant manner ; and eight women, some of them distinguished by their rank and education, met the hour of trial without shrinking. One lady, Maria Gomez, suffered along with three daughters and a sister.

One lady of rank, Doña Juana de Bohorques, had previously escaped to her rest. She had been apprehended on suspicion of heresy, her sister Maria having been one of the sufferers in the *auto* of September 1559. Refusing to confess, this young lady was put into the rack, which was applied with such violence that the cords cut to the bones of her arms and legs ; and in the agony an internal blood-vessel burst, and she was carried back to her cell insensible, where she shortly afterwards expired. Even the fiends in human shape who had thus handled her were somewhat appalled at their own deed, the character of which could not be concealed. They tried to lessen the indignation of Doña Juana's friends by declaring her innocent (after they had murdered her), and so restoring her property to her friends. To what a degree of servile debasement must the haughty nobility of Spain have been reduced, to allow their wives and daughters to be thus dealt with by a junta of priests and friars !

Of two of the most eminent men in Spain who were dispatched without either the rack or the stake, we must speak with more particularity. The first of these was Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, of whom we have

already spoken. He was, beyond all doubt, the most distinguished scholar in Spain. When information was conveyed to Charles v. in his retirement at Yuste, that his favourite chaplain was thrown into prison, he exclaimed, "If Constantine be a heretic, he is a great one;" and when informed subsequently by one of the inquisitors that he had been found guilty, he replied with a sigh, "You cannot condemn a greater."

Constantine was kept in prison for nearly two years. Either respect for the emperor, whose favourite he had been, or a consciousness of his place in the public esteem, seems to have deterred the inquisitors from subjecting this eminent man to the torture. There was indeed little occasion for it. They had seized his writings, and had evidence enough of his heresy; and his own language was, "I am in your hands,—do with me as seemeth good to you."

The course which policy pointed out was an obvious one, and it was adopted. Constantine, soon after the emperor's death, "was thrust into a low, damp, and noisome vault, where he endured more than his brethren had done from the torture." Here putrid air and unwholesome diet soon brought on a dysentery, which quickly ended his days. The inquisitors had therefore only to present, at the *auto de fé* of December 1560, his effigy, as that of a deceased heretic. But even this, with the lively recollection of his preaching in the neighbouring cathedral, drew forth from the spectators an expression of feeling, which induced the inquisitors suddenly to withdraw it.

The second of the names to which we have alluded is that of a less decided character. Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda had taken part in the council of Trent, and had attended Philip II. to England, where

he had seen many of the martyrs of the Marian days. On his return to Spain he was advanced to the first dignity in the Spanish church—the archbishopric of Toledo. But the Inquisition had been instructed by the pope to spare neither archbishops, nor cardinals, nor kings, nor emperors. Before Carranza had been a year in his primacy, on the 22d of August, 1559, the officers of the Inquisition appeared at the doors of the archiepiscopal palace in Tordelaguna, dragged the prelate from his bed, hurried him into a coach, and carried him to the prison of the Inquisition at Valladolid.

He was kept, without any trial or sentence, for more than seven years. At the end of that time, the pope himself grew indignant at such treatment of the highest prelate in Spain, and removed the cause into his own court. Carranza was carried to Rome, and lodged in the castle of St. Angelo ; but he was still a prisoner.

Pope Pius v. was inclined to favour Carranza, but his successor, Gregory XIII., had a contrary bias. The delays interposed by the Spanish accusers protracted the cause for nine years longer ; until at last, in 1576, more than sixteen years after his first accusation and imprisonment, the pope pronounced sentence : finding Carranza “violently suspected of heresy ;” ordering him to abjure certain Lutheran propositions, and to be suspended from his archiepiscopal functions and confined in the Dominican convent of Orvieto for five years. Such was the close of a persecution of almost eighteen years. The tears streamed down the face of the unhappy prelate, and in sixteen days after receiving his sentence he departed this life.

Meanwhile, the work of persecution had suffered no delay in Spain, and long before the archbishop’s cause had been decided, the last embers of Protestantism had

been trampled out. After the four *autos de fé* of which we have spoken, a number of similar ceremonials took place in succeeding years, until the prisons of the Inquisition were relieved from their burdens. At Seville, in 1563, a celebration took place, in which six persons were committed to the flames, besides those criminals who were "reconciled." In Murcia, in 1560, an *auto* was solemnized, and in 1563 another. At Toledo, in 1560, the Inquisition prepared a grand *auto* for the entertainment of their young queen, Elizabeth of France,* Philip's third wife. On this occasion several Lutherans were committed to the flames, one of whom was a member of the retinue of the duke of Brunswick. Next year, at the same place, four priests were burned alive, and nineteen penitents were "reconciled." One of the latter was a page of the household, who escaped through the queen's intercession. In 1565 another *auto* is recorded, in which a number of Lutherans were condemned to the fire, and to minor punishments. In 1571 a like ceremony occurs, in which two persons were burned alive, and thirty-one condemned to other punishments.

Especially active, too, were the tribunals of Logrono, Saragossa, and Barcelona. In the numerous *autos* celebrated in these cities, most of those who suffered were Protestants, mingled with whom were a few relapsed Moriscos or Jews.

And thus, says Mr. Prescott, "the fires lighted for the Protestants continued to burn with fury in all parts of the country, until at length they slackened and died away, from mere want of fuel to feed them. The year 1570 may be regarded as the period of the last *auto de fé* in which the Lutherans played a conspicuous part.

* Called by the Spaniards, Isabella.

The subsequent celebrations were chiefly devoted to relapsed Jews and Moriscos ; and if a Protestant heretic sometimes appeared, it was ‘but as the gleaning of grapes after the vintage is done.’ ”

“Never was there a persecution which did its work more thoroughly.” A period of little more than ten years had sufficed to extirpate Protestantism from the land ; and “Spain might now boast that the stain of heresy no longer defiled her garment.”

We are accustomed to say, and to believe, that “the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church ;” but this is only true under certain circumstances. It is not easy to justify such an expression, when we refer to the extermination of the Albigenses, or of the Italian Protestants, or after the persecution of the Protestants of France, or of the Vaudois. If we draw a line on the map of Europe round the ten kingdoms which were formed out of the western empire,* we shall scarcely fail to remark, that *outside* that line the Reformation generally prevailed, while *within* that boundary it was invariably suppressed. In the thirteenth century, in Languedoc, and in the sixteenth, in Spain, Italy, France, Belgium, and southern Germany, persecution did its work effectually ; while in northern Germany, Holland, England, Sweden, etc., the faith of the Bible rose triumphantly from all the attempts made to crush it. And, whatever views of prophecy we may adopt, this remarkable fact in history is worthy of notice.

Meanwhile, however, Spain had been “cleansed from heresy.” Civil liberty had previously been suppressed at Villalar, and now religious liberty expired under the persevering efforts of the Inquisition. “The effect was

* Probably Naples, Sardinia, Roman States, Lombardy, Bavaria, Austria, Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal.

speedily visible in every department of science. In every walk were to be seen the symptoms of premature decrepitude."* It was soon to be asked of Spain, as it had been asked of the idolatrous Jews of old, "They have rejected the word of the Lord ; and what wisdom is in them ?"†

The reign of Philip II. was one of long duration, running nearly parallel with that of our own Elizabeth ; and it was marked by several events which deserve a separate notice. We have already shown that the first ten or twelve years of this reign witnessed the complete extermination of Protestantism in Spain. But these years witnessed also two other circumstances which call for a special mention. The first was, the elevation of Madrid, hitherto only an inconsiderable town, into the rank of the metropolis of Spain. Philip found it a city of 12,000 inhabitants ; but he left it one of 300,000. He decorated it with palaces, museums, bridges, aqueducts, and hospitals ; and, with the usual pride of Castilians, the inhabitants began to boast that "in all the world there is but one Madrid." Yet was this choice of Philip's wholly an error. It is true that Madrid is in the centre of Spain ; but this is its only recommendation. It has neither of the two grand requisites, air and water, which ought to govern the choice of the site of a great city. Spain has many noble rivers, and its ancient cities were all of them placed on the banks of these streams. But the Manzanares is nearly dry in summer ; and the wind which is most prevalent in Madrid is said, in a Spanish proverb, to be of that peculiar kind which, "while it will scarcely put out a candle, will extinguish the life of a man." A little experience of some of the

* Prescott.

† Jerem. viii. 9.

inconveniences of Madrid led one of Philip's successors to desire the removal of the court and government to Seville; but it was then too late. Such a difficult undertaking was wholly beyond the powers of so feeble a monarch as Charles III., and thus Madrid has remained, one evidence among many, of the errors of this unquestionably able king.

The next circumstance connected with Philip's reign was of a tragical kind. His son, Don Carlos, the prince of Asturias, and heir to the crown, was born in 1545, and during his youthful years he manifested many strange and erratic views and desires. These increased as he grew older. He is said to have been deeply disgusted with the *auto de fé* at which he was present, and to have given cause for serious doubts as to whether he was really "a good Catholic." He is charged with serious plans and intentions for seizing upon Flanders, which he regarded as peculiarly his own. He had avowed a purpose of visiting that country, and had declared his determination to put a stop to the persecutions which the duke of Alva was carrying on. This being the position of affairs in January, 1568, the king placed him under arrest; and in July he died. Very naturally, the circumstances and cause of his death have been made the topics of eager controversy; some believing it to have been caused by his own passionate and maniacal excesses; others, that it was planned and purposed by his father. To decide this question with certainty is scarcely possible, with the existing evidence. Philip was at all times cold-hearted; and if Carlos were really, as some think, tainted with "heresy," this would utterly alienate his father from him. In one of Philip's letters, written in 1568, he uses the following ominous language: "I have wished to make

a sacrifice to God of my own flesh and blood, and to prefer his service and the public good to all other considerations." The case, therefore, is a suspicious one. Still, in whatever light the fact is viewed, we must reckon the loss of his eldest son, the immediate heir to the crown, as nothing short of a dire calamity.

Another important event which occurred about this time, was a new revolt of the Moriscos. This was mainly caused by one of those arbitrary measures which Philip was always ready to adopt. Early in 1567 a decree was published, ordering the Moriscos to attend the Christian churches; to abandon the use of the Arabic language; to adopt the Spanish costume; and not to marry or remove from one place to another, without permission from the authorities. The marquis of Mondegar, captain-general of Granada, wholly disapproved of these new regulations; but his objections were disregarded. At last, the poor Moriscos seriously planned a resuscitation of their ancient kingdom of Granada. They broke out into open insurrection, and a mountain-warfare was kept up, with the greatest cruelty on both sides, for the greater part of two years. But, about 1570, the rebel king was slain in a scuffle with some of his confederates, and, very shortly after, the rebellion came to a close.

In 1580, Henrique, king of Portugal, died, and Philip advanced a plausible claim to that crown. His mother, Isabel, was the eldest daughter of Manuel, king of Portugal; and his first wife, Maria, was the eldest daughter of Joam III. This claim might indeed be barred by a law of Portugal, that princesses marrying a foreign prince should thereby forfeit their right of succession; but Philip had power, as well as some grounds of claim, on his side. His army, under the able guidance

of the duke of Alva, entered Portugal, and that kingdom became, for a while, a portion of the Spanish monarchy. For about sixty years the whole peninsula was once more united under the successive reigns of Philip II., Philip III., and Philip the IVth of Spain ; and it might, had the Spanish sovereigns possessed either energy or courage, have remained one kingdom to the present hour.

Another, and a more striking feature in Philip's reign, was his great plan for the conquest of England ; and its ignominious defeat.

England and Spain, united under Philip and Mary, had been dissevered at Mary's death ; and Elizabeth's reign, beginning with coldness and politic courtesy, had widened, as it proceeded, the distance between them ; until, after the lapse of a few years, the two realms were found in the most absolute opposition to each other. Philip's zeal for "the faith" had placed him at the head of the Romish powers of Europe, while Elizabeth had become the protectress of Protestantism wherever it was assailed. The king of Spain regarded it, says Hume, as "his highest glory, and the main object of his policy, to support orthodoxy and exterminate heresy ;" while the queen of England was universally regarded as "the chief bulwark of the Protestant cause." And hence as years passed on, and the opposite aims and objects of these two sovereigns developed themselves, Philip perpetually found English money, and influence, and troops, in the ranks of his enemies. England had opposed the annexation of Portugal ; England was constantly confederated with the Protestants of Holland ; and in 1586, Sir Francis Drake spread terror among the colonies of Spain in the new world. It was a very natural resolve, therefore, to be formed in the mind of the haughty sovereign of

Spain, Naples, Milan, and Flanders, that he would terminate at one blow this ceaseless warfare, by grappling with England on her own shores, and by thus humbling, and for ever crippling, the power of the principal maintainer of "heresy."

Procuring, therefore, a new bull from the pope, declaring the queen of England illegitimate, a heretic, and excommunicate, Philip began, without any attempt at concealment, the most gigantic preparations for the invasion of England. Every port in his vast dominions, from Palermo to Antwerp, was commanded to prepare its quota, both of ships and men. In 1587, Sir Francis Drake was despatched by Elizabeth with twenty-five ships to reconnoitre the ports of the peninsula, and he boldly entered the harbour of Cadiz and burned all the shipping which he found there. He next took the castle of Cape St. Vincent, insulted Lisbon, and captured a rich galleon on her way home with treasure. These injuries, while they aroused the Spanish pride, retarded considerably the Spanish preparations; and it was not until May in the next year, 1588, that "the Invincible Armada," as it was boastfully called, could be got ready for sea.

In that month it sailed from the Tagus, whither had been collected all the navy of Andalusia, eastern Spain, Naples, and Portugal. One hundred and thirty vessels, many of which were the largest that had ever ploughed the deep, carried 20,000 soldiers of tried valour and experience, 8,000 mariners, and 2,600 pieces of artillery. This, the Spanish portion of the armament, was to meet, off the coast of Flanders, a second fleet and army, adding 34,000 men to the land forces of the expedition; and so raising the invading army to more than 50,000 of the best troops in Europe.

The land and sea forces of England were scarcely equal to such an emergency. The whole royal navy, at that time, consisted of only thirty-four ships; and in the merchant-service there were only four vessels exceeding 400 tons in burden. Nor was there any standing army, in those days, fit to cope with an invading force of more than 50,000 men. But England rose as one man. Elizabeth and her chief nobles did their utmost to rouse and to bring into practical operation the patriotism of the country. All the seaports were busy in the equipment of fresh ships; while the lords and principal gentry raised militia in every county, and prepared a warm reception for the expected invaders.

But the hand of God appeared almost as visibly as in the deliverance of Israel at the Red Sea. The great armada never made even an attempt to effect a landing. It laboured up the channel, desiring to effect a junction with the force from Flanders before it ventured to approach the Thames. Meanwhile, the song of the Israelites might have been repeated: "Thou didst blow with thy wind; the sea scattered them; they sank as lead in the mighty waters." Even at the commencement, in the sunny days of June, a terrible storm fell upon the armada near Cape Finisterre, which so damaged many of the ships as to render it necessary to run into Corunna for repairs. Again sallying forth, the Spanish armament soon entered the channel, and came into collision with the English fleet. This, by the voluntary efforts of the seaports, had now been augmented to almost one hundred and fifty vessels of all sizes. But these were unequal to a direct combat with the large and powerful fleet of Spain; and hence the English commanders kept up a running fight, avoiding a general action; but losing no opportunity of

cutting off stragglers. Fireships, also, were repeatedly employed against the Spaniards with terrible effect; and thus the Spanish admiral found his force growing daily smaller, while the audacity of the English seamen seemed continually to increase. Before he had passed through the channel, he had lost two of his finest ships, and many of the smaller ones. When he arrived off Calais, eight fireships, prepared in the cinque-ports, threw his whole fleet into confusion. A desultory action followed, in which ten more of his ships were taken or destroyed, with scarcely any loss on the part of the English. The duke of Parma, who lay at Dunkirk with 34,000 men, was alarmed at this state of things, and refused to embark his army in the face of such a fleet as the English had now collected. The duke of Medina, who commanded the Spanish portion of the force, naturally shrank from entering the Thames with only 20,000 men; seeing that if the English fleet followed him, he might have no way of retreat in case of failure. But the wind opposed his return by way of the channel; he determined, therefore, to sail past the mouth of the Thames, and to proceed northward, hoping to leave the British fleet behind him. He trusted in this way to keep the open sea, and to sail round Scotland, so returning home. But his dangers and perplexities were not yet over. The British fleet hung upon his rear, cutting off every straggler. When he reached the Orkneys, a great storm threw many of his best ships upon the rocks; and when off Ireland, a second gale drove ashore several others, so that, finally, "not one-half of the whole armada ever returned to Spain, to fill their native land with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of the ocean which surrounds them."

So failed and came to nought this memorable attempt to subdue England, and so to crush the chief earthly support of the Reformation. It is, unquestionably, one of the most signal of all the remarkable deliverances granted to this nation by the Divine mercy. England was saved, and Elizabeth went down to her grave in peace. But a spirit of national enmity on both sides had now been roused ; and several smaller expeditions, for coast-warfare, were fitted out in the course of the next two or three years, both by England and by Spain. No result of any importance was achieved by them. A smaller armada, intended to assist and promote insurrection in Ireland, met with a like calamity with that which befel the expedition of 1588. A great tempest fell upon it ; forty ships were lost, and the rest were disabled, and obliged to make the best of their way home. This second calamity deterred Philip from any further attempt upon England, or upon his constant antagonist, the dauntless queen.

Philip II. died in September, 1598, in the palace of the Escorial, which was founded by him, and which is one of the noblest mementos of his reign. He was a prince of more than ordinary talent, of great energy, and, in religious matters, sincerely and conscientiously intolerant and cruel. Constitutionally, he was cold-hearted, haughty, and austere. One historian says, that "by many of his subjects he was respected ; by many, feared ; by some, hated ; but by none beloved."*

* It is always hazardous, and generally wrong, to attempt to interpret the Divine purposes, so as to decide that certain calamities were sent upon this or that individual as a punishment for this or that sin. But while this should ever be borne in mind, we are not therefore to close our eyes to historic facts, or to conceal them from our readers. We therefore state, in the simplest form, that while Philip II. was one of the greatest persecutors of the truth that the world ever saw, he was also a remarkable sufferer both in his family and in his own person. The butcheries of his agent Alva, in Flanders, all of which cruelties were approved by him, were only paralleled

With his reign ends the greatness of the Spanish monarchy, which, since his death, has never known a single ruler of any distinguished talent. The Jews had been expelled or converted; the Moors had shared the same fate; the Protestants had been burned or otherwise exterminated; Spain was wholly "Catholic," and the Inquisition reigned supreme: "none moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped."* It was as if the terrible word had gone forth from the counsels of the Most High: "Ephraim is joined to idols; *let him alone.*"† The very next chapter will force us to exclaim, with our Lord's disciples, "How soon is the fig-tree withered away!"‡

by the horrors of the French Revolution. And the extermination of the Protestants in Spain, by the Inquisition, could hardly have been improved in cruelty had Satan himself been the chief inquisitor. Still, it is not our part to decide dogmatically, that Philip's calamities were the temporal punishments for these sins. His first-born son, the heir to the greatest monarchy in Europe, died a miserable death: whether caused by insanity, or by a suicidal resolve, or by his father's order, we know not. Of Philip's own end the historian thus speaks:—"For more than two years this prince had been extremely afflicted with the gout, to which had lately been added a hectic fever and the dropsy. On his arrival at the Escorial, the gout returned with double violence, both in his feet and hands; and soon afterwards several imposthumes gathered in his knees and breast, which occasioned the most excruciating pain. Another and more intolerable distress succeeded. The matter formed in his sores was of the most purulent nature, and swarms of lice were engendered in it, from which no care or pains could deliver him: and in this dreadful condition he lay for more than fifty days."—(*Watson's Philip II.*, vol. iii. p. 333.)

* Isa. x. 14.

† Hosea iv. 17

‡ Matt. xxi. 20.

CHAPTER XL

SPAIN IN ITS DECLINE—THE REMAINING KINGS OF
THE AUSTRIAN LINE.

A. D. 1598—1700.

THE present chapter, though a brief one, will comprehend an entire century. Philip III. ascended the throne in 1598, Philip IV. in 1621, and Carlos II., becoming king in 1665, died in 1700; and with the last-named sovereign ended the Austrian line. But mere decay is an uneventful thing; and the historians of Spain find it easy to narrate every important circumstance of these three reigns, in a much smaller space than was required to describe one such reign as that of Philip II. The Spanish nation, under the weight of superstition and absurd intolerance, now silently but unceasingly declined and withered away. When Philip II., in 1588, planned the conquest of England, Spain was among the foremost of the kingdoms of Europe, and thought the invasion of these isles no very appalling task. But when Philip's great grandson, Charles II., a century after, departed this life, Spain itself, left like a ship stranded on the beach, became a mere object of contention to the surrounding spectators.

Nor was it at all difficult to perceive in what manner, or under the influence of what causes, the realm thus withered and shrivelled away. The natural character of the people was cold, reserved, and tending to inert-

ness.* Most of the great deeds which had been wrought in the name of Spain, in past ages, had been conceived or accomplished by foreigners. In ancient days, the enterprise of the Phœnicians, or the energy of the Romans, had given to Spain a life which was not her own. Since then the Moslems and the Jews had made the kingdom the abode of commerce and of art. Columbus, a Genoese, had presented to Spain an empire beyond the ocean; and Charles, an Austro-Belgian, had introduced her into the arena of European politics. But Charles and his son had passed away; and the Moors or the Jews had been massacred or expelled. Unity in religious profession, and a compelled uniformity in habits and manners, had now been thoroughly established; and the Spanish people, freed from foreign aid and foreign interference, passed quietly into a state of slumber. Trade, manufactures, and commerce declined, till they had nearly ceased to exist; and the population, once so large, now rapidly disappeared and melted away.

Something, too, of this tendency to slumber must be attributed to the personal character and habits of the successors of Charles I. and Philip II. They inherited nothing of the talents of those two great kings; but they found no difficulty in copying their vices. Through the whole line, from Ferdinand "the Catholic" (1479) down to Charles II. (1700), every king was eminently "*religious*;" but not one of the number was *moral*. Ferdinand, though united to one of the first of women and of wives, left four illegitimate children by four different women. Charles I. (or V.) while he convulsed

* Dr. Arnold, in his *History of Rome*, observes, that "the grave dress, the temperance and sobriety, the unyielding spirit, the extreme indolence, the perseverance in guerilla warfare, and the remarkable absence of the highest military qualities, ascribed by the Greek and Roman writers to the ancient Iberians, are all more or less characteristic of the Spaniard of modern times." Vol. iii. p. 396.

Europe in his zeal for religion, indulged in the same way, and left two illegitimate children. Of Philip II., who married successively four wives, the prince of Orange, in his published "Vindication," says, "He had two sons by Isabella Osorio : he also lived in habitual adultery with another woman, the lady Euphrasia." All these offences against the public morals, the spiritual advisers of these kings seem to have readily overlooked and pardoned ; seeing that the sovereigns who indulged in them were at all times forward in suppressing heresy, and in casting heretics into the dungeon or into the flames.

In all this, it was easy for the successors of Charles and Philip to follow them, without possessing a tithe of their energy, or talent, or lofty ambition. In fact, as every observer of human nature will have remarked, an immersion in sensual pleasures tends to quench all high aspirations, even of a worldly kind. Hence we read in the present case, without any surprise, that "The greatness of Spain having ended with Philip II., from this time it declined with fearful rapidity. For a long period there is little to be recorded beyond the reign of worthless favourites, the profligacy of courts, and the feeble efforts of a government struck with mortal paralysis." *

The unfrequent and generally calamitous events of these three reigns may be described in a very few pages.

Philip III. (1598—1621), on his accession to the throne, left the business of government wholly to the duke of Lerma, who, in his turn, devolved it on Rodrigo Calderon, one of his pages. "So that he was not troubled with business, but allowed his criminal indulgences and

* Encyclo. Brit. vol. xx. p. 503.

his diversions, Philip cared not who was minister." The only two events of this reign which deserve a separate notice were both of a calamitous character.

The first of these was, the complete and final expulsion of the Moriscos, that large residue of the Moors which, clinging to a country in which their forefathers had lived for many generations, had preferred a nominal submission to Christianity, to exile and confiscation. These people constituted the bulk of the population of Granada; but it is not to be doubted that their forced conformity to the Christian profession was insincere, and that they were in heart still Mohammedans. The Inquisition carried on a continual war with these poor people, and frequent quarrels and disturbances took place. At last, the mere senseless bigotry of the king decided their fate. Philip, on the question being brought before him, declared that "he would rather be without subjects than reign over infidels." The foolish saying was applauded by the courtiers; and orders were at once issued to the captains-general of provinces to provide shipping, and to force the Moriscos to embark for Africa. Those of Valencia, 150,000 in number, were the first expelled, and they were followed soon after by their brethren of the other provinces. In many instances the poor exiles resisted, and great violence was used in compelling their departure. Many cruelties were also committed by those appointed to carry the king's orders into effect. But in the end, no fewer than 600,000 human beings were violently uprooted from the soil on which their families had dwelt for centuries, and, after going through the horrors of a prison-ship, were cast upon the sands of Africa, to perish among strangers.

This frightful act of inhumanity was a great calamity

to the nation which perpetrated it. "The loss to agriculture and commerce occasioned by the expulsion of the Moriscos was enormous. They were by far the most ingenious and industrious portion of the community."* "Their expulsion," says Malte-Brun, "was an act of which the consequences were fatal to the arts, the agriculture, and the commerce of Spain. A Spanish writer, describing Granada about the beginning of the sixteenth century, says: 'A short time after its conquest by king Ferdinand, this rich province contained seventy fortified towns, and the city of Granada itself was peopled by 200,000 inhabitants. The produce of the mines in the same part of the peninsula was enormous compared with what it is now.'"†

The second event alluded to was of a similar, that is, of a disastrous kind. In the year 1609 the independence of the United Provinces was acknowledged by treaty; and thus the cruelties of Alva were found to have borne their appropriate fruit. As in the case of the Moriscos, the people thus lost to Spain were an industrious and thriving people; and the separation, in both cases, helped to leave Spain a torpid, inert mass. She still, indeed, seemed at times to put forth some show of naval or military strength; but all was unreal. The ambitious enterprises of Charles and of Philip II. had produced a degree of national exhaustion; and the governments of their successors had neither the desire nor the power to revive or reorganize the public establishments.

But while the reign of Philip III. was altogether disastrous to the nation, it was appropriately termed "the golden age for churchmen." Weakness and vice often constitute a soil in which priestly domination

* Encyclo. Brit. vol. xx. p. 503.

† Cited in Malte Brun, viii. p. 26.

grows and thrives. The king and his favourites agreed in devoting their lives to pleasure, and in attempting to bribe Heaven to overlook their crimes by large donations to those who professed themselves empowered to open and shut purgatory at pleasure. "Though religious foundations were already too numerous, great additions were made to them; and in those which already existed new altars or chancels were erected. Thus the duke of Lerma founded seven monasteries and two collegiate churches: thus also the diocese of Calahorra numbered 18,000 chaplains, and Seville, 14,000. The cathedral of Seville alone had 100, when half-a-dozen would have sufficed." *

Meanwhile, as the non-productive classes grew in numbers and in wealth, the productive classes diminished and withered away. The small remainder of that commerce which had formerly been carried on by the Moriscos, the Jews, the Flemings, and the Hollanders, was now almost wholly left in the hands of strangers. The Moriscos and Jews had been driven away; the Flemings had been alienated; the Hollanders were now altogether inimical to Spain. Hence, the revenues of the crown had fallen to about 14,000,000 of ducats per annum, although in the previous reign they had been of twice that amount: so rapid was the decline which had now fairly set in.

Philip iv. (1621-1665) followed closely in the steps of his predecessor. Like him, he left the government wholly in the hands of a favourite, the conde de Olivarez; while the society of actresses and courtesans constituted the sovereign's chief delight. His reign, all writers agree, "next to that of Roderic the Goth, was the most disastrous in the annals of Spain." By op-

* Dunham's Hist. Spain, vol. v. p. 274.

pression, the people of Catalonia were driven to revolt. By mismanagement in the cabinet, Spain lost Roussillon, Conflans, and Jamaica. Above all, by utter weakness and folly, she lost Portugal. This little kingdom, which had now formed part of Spain for the last sixty years, was allowed to revolt and to assert its independence; and the crown of Spain did nothing effectual to reassert its claim, and to regain the province it had lost. Meanwhile, by absurd and mischievous endeavours to retrieve the ruined finances, "the trade of Toledo was ruined, with the decay of one-third of its population; while that of Segovia, Burgos, and La Mancha was reduced to one-tenth of its former amount. Medina del Campo, which could formerly boast of five thousand families, was now reduced to five hundred, sunk in poverty. In the archbishopric of Granada, four hundred towns, villages, and hamlets were reduced to two hundred and sixty; and the bishopric of Avila lost sixty-five baptismal fonts. In Seville, formerly the most opulent and flourishing city of Spain, the number of rich manufacturers is said to have decreased to one-twentieth, and the population to less than one-half." *

But, as is often the case, the clergy and the religious orders increased in an inverse ratio to the decline of population and wealth. Prudent men naturally regarded the church as the only avenue to ease and competency, and a respectable position in society. But this augmentation of the non-productive classes naturally threw an increasing burden on those who remained behind. In 1626, the cortes of Madrid remonstrated in strong terms against the increasing numbers of the ecclesiastics, and the rapid augmentation of their territorial possessions. In 1636, the king, in return for a

* Dunham, vol. v. p. 276.

grant, promised that no more religious foundations should be erected during the six following years ; but the promise was soon forgotten.

During the whole of this long reign, Spain lay open to insult and aggression from every quarter. England took from her Jamaica and Dunkirk, ravaged the country round Cadiz, and assisted the revolted Portuguese. Holland pillaged her American colonies, and France deprived her of a considerable territory ; while Naples was for some time under the rule of an insurgent chief, a fisherman, named Massaniello. The action of the heart, or central government, was so weak and uncertain, as to lead to inevitable disorders in the extremities.

Charles II., who nominally reigned from 1665 to the close of the century, saw the state and fortunes of Spain reduced to the lowest ebb. "Had one more such reign followed, the bonds of society must have been dissolved," and barbarism must have reigned in the peninsula. Charles was a child when the crown devolved upon him ; and during a long minority, the nation was distracted by the rivalry and intrigues of the queen-mother, and of Don Juan, one of the illegitimate children of the late king.

"From the accession of the third Philip, the decline of Spain had been visible to every observer ; it was now amazingly rapid. Her destinies were not confided to men of even ordinary abilities, but to mere courtiers, who interfered in matters which they were not capable of comprehending. Arbitrary alterations in the value of money ; ruinous regulations for commerce ; measures crude and incongruous, speedily brought the nation to the brink of insolvency. To these internal distresses were added, extraordinary inflictions of Providence—

hurricanes, inundations, conflagrations, which were frequent about this time. In one of these visitations, Seville was nearly ruined ; in others, the shipping was destroyed in the ports, the corn spoiled in the fields ; whole streets were on fire—the loss of life was severe.” Meanwhile, the notorious weakness of Spain encouraged the cupidity of neighbouring sovereigns ; and Louis XIV. showed a natural willingness to augment his dominions by diminishing those of Charles. In 1691, Urgel was taken by the duke de Noailles ; and Barcelona and Alicant were severely bombarded. Two years after, Palamos and Rosas capitulated : the next year, the Spaniards suffered a defeat in the field ; the victors took Gerona : Hostalric and other places surrendered, and Barcelona itself was threatened. A short suspension of arms followed, and then the capital of Catalonia fell into the hands of Vendome. Spain trembled to her very extremities ; when, suddenly, Louis became merciful, and at the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, restored all his conquests. He had just begun to entertain the project, which was afterwards successfully carried out, of seating one of his own family on the throne of Spain, so soon as Charles’s death should leave that throne vacant ; and he did not think it wise to offend the pride of Spain too deeply, or to render his name and race hateful in the eyes of the people of the peninsula.

But this reign, the last of the Austrian dynasty, had reduced Spain to the condition of a wreck. “The walls of all the fortresses,” says the marquis de San Felipe, “were crumbling into ruins ; even the breaches made in those of Barcelona during the Catalan rebellion continued open : at Rosas and at Cadiz there were no garrisons, nor any guns mounted.” In the ports of

Biscay and Galicia, the very art of constructing vessels had fallen into oblivion; the arsenals and magazines were empty; the fleet consisted of six rotten frigates in the harbour of Carthagen. The army was in scarcely a better condition: not more than 20,000 men could be mustered, and of these not one-half were fit for service. The public revenues at the close of this reign probably reached about 400,000*l.* sterling. More than five hundred years before, under the Moors, who only ruled over a part of Spain, the revenues of one of their caliphs had amounted to 6,000,000*l.* per annum. Such was the condition to which the Austrian princes had reduced this once mighty monarchy. And, "to crown all, the last of these sovereigns thought himself bewitched, and submitted to the exorcisms of his confessor with as much gravity as he would have bared his arm to a surgeon." *

The chief and unanswerable proof, however, of the remarkable decline of Spain is found, as we have before remarked, in the unquestionable reduction of her population. The peninsula, larger than France, and far more productive, is evidently capable of supporting in comfort a population of thirty or forty millions. France itself, for half a century past, has had such a population. There are Roman accounts which speak of Spain in the Augustan age, as having forty millions; but these may be supposed to be no more than rough estimates. Under the Moors, all the southern provinces were filled with people; and "we find in the old historians, that in 1380 the population was estimated as follows: 11,000,000 in the states of Castile; 7,700,000 in those of Aragon; and 3,000,000 in the kingdom of Granada: total, 21,700,000." † In

* Dunham, vol. v. p. 278.

† Encyclo. Metrop. vol. xi. p. 754.

these large numbers, ascribed to Castile and Aragon, are included, it should be remembered, the populous provinces of Andalusia, Valencia, etc., then recently taken from the Moors, with their thickly peopled cities of Toledo, Cordova, Seville, Valencia, etc. And this is only one of many accounts which lead us to believe that in prosperous times, as under the Cæsars and under the Moorish kings, Spain usually had a population exceeding twenty millions.

But of more recent times the returns on record (wholly Spanish) are as follows :

In 1618 according to Cavallos	9,000,000
„ according to Ustariz	7,500,000
1700 at the death of Charles II.	8,000,000
1723 from official returns	7,625,000*

There is scarcely room for much doubt in this case. The authorities are all Spanish ; and it seems most improbable that they would all have agreed to lower the rank and estimation of their country, by greatly underrating her numbers and her power. It seems, therefore, to be placed beyond any reasonable doubt that the zealous “ Catholics ” who ruled Spain between 1479 and 1700 had contrived, by persecutions and by expulsions, and by similar means, to reduce the population of the kingdom from something more than *twenty* millions to something less than *ten* ; or, in short, to not one half of its former amount. The fact is surely a striking and important one, and quite conclusive as to the condition of the country in the latter and most

* Encyclo. Metrop. vol. xi. It is a remarkable proof of the prodigious increase of the ecclesiastical orders in Spain, under the Austrian kings, that while in 1723 an official return made the population amount to 7,625,000, in 1726 another return, *in which the privileged classes were not included*, made the population only 5,423,000. The inference seems to be, that at this period two millions of persons, non-productive in their habits and employment, were subsisting on the labour of the other five millions.

calamitous period. At the end of the sixteenth century, Spain was one of the mightiest realms in Europe. At the end of the seventeenth, she lay a nearly lifeless corpse, at the mercy of every hostile power.

The death of Charles II., without issue, took place on the 1st of November, 1700, and with him ended the Austrian dynasty. A conflict as to the succession very naturally arose; but, after a brief struggle, the throne remained with Philip, a grandson of Louis XIV. of France, who founded the present line of Bourbon sovereigns. Under the descendants of Philip II. Spain had fallen into a state of the lowest degradation and helplessness. Under the descendants of Louis she gradually recovered from her extreme decline, and took her place as one, although a lightly regarded member, of the great family of European kingdoms.

CHAPTER XII.

SPAIN UNDER THE KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.

A. D. 1700—1788.

FOR nearly two centuries, under Charles I., Philip II. III. IV., and Charles II., Spain had derived her kings from the house of Austria: she was now to have recourse to France and the Bourbon family for a new line of sovereigns; and the change was an exceedingly beneficial one. The princes of the Austrian dynasty had been among the most bigoted of persecutors; and they had, for the last century at least, been so sunk in indolence and sensual enjoyments, as to be regardless of their duties as rulers of a great nation. The new line of kings proved blameless in both these particulars. The Bourbon sovereigns were not bigoted, nor personally unrelenting. In their private lives they were free from blame; and in the discharge of their public functions they showed themselves both conscientious and possessed of respectable talents and acquirements.

The last Austrian king, Charles II., the great-grandson of Philip II., died in 1700, without issue. The persons who could plead some right of succession were three:—1. The dauphin of France, whose mother was the eldest sister of the deceased king, and who was, therefore, the nephew of the last possessor of the crown; 2. The emperor Leopold, whose mother was the daughter of Philip III., and who, therefore, was a cousin to the late king; and 3. The electoral prince

of Bavaria, whose mother was the younger sister of Charles, and whose claim was consequently the weakest of the three. This Bavarian prince was never put forward with any earnestness as a candidate; but between the rival claimants of the French and Austrian lines a severe and protracted struggle arose.

As the absolute union of Spain with either France or Austria would have been opposed by the other powers of Europe, it became obviously necessary that each of these two claimants, France and Austria, should put forward some member of their family who might assume the crown of Spain without uniting it with that of either France or Germany. Hence the dauphin transferred his rights to his second son, Philip, who was not likely to ascend the throne of France; while the emperor yielded up his own rights and those of his elder son, and proposed his younger son, the archduke Charles. Thus Philip of France and Charles of Austria became the competitors for the crown of Spain. William III. of England, fearing chiefly the power of Louis XIV., gave his influence to the Austrian prince, and aided him in the most effectual manner by sending an English army into Spain. William's successor, Anne, continued the same policy, and after several years of indecisive warfare, Lord Peterborough, in 1705, reduced Barcelona, and, in 1706, the French prince found it necessary to abandon Madrid. But this momentary success did not decide the contest. Philip of France showed both talent and strength of character, and in the duke of Berwick he had a general of great ability. He regained Madrid, but in 1710 was again obliged to relinquish it. Charles, however, found that the people in general preferred his rival, and that he could hold no portion of Spain by any other tenure

than that of military occupation. The war, therefore, languished ; and, in 1713, a general pacification was agreed upon. Philip was acknowledged as king of Spain and the Indies ; but Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands were to be ceded to the emperor. Thus, the French dynasty was established on the throne of Spain, but the Spanish crown lost one-half of its European possessions. Charles I. (or V.) and Philip II. had left Spain the head of a whole group of kingdoms, embracing Portugal, Naples, Sicily, and the Netherlands, as well as the ancient Iberia. All these were now severed from her, and Spain alone, with her transatlantic colonies, received a king of the house of Bourbon.

We have said that the change of dynasty was largely beneficial to the nation. The new king differed in many important respects from the three unworthy sovereigns who had preceded him. He was a prince of sound judgment and good intentions, and he found a minister of consummate ability. The abbate Alberoni, an ecclesiastic of Parma, favoured by Philip's second wife, who was a niece of the duke of Parma, soon became the director of the councils of Spain ; and under his guidance the nation quickly rose to importance in the affairs of Europe. The queen desired an Italian crown for one of her sons, and the plans of Alberoni, framed with this view, disturbed the quiet dominion of Austria in that part of Europe. In 1718, Europe beheld with astonishment a Spanish fleet of twenty-three sail, convoying an armada carrying 30,000 men, steering for Italy, to effect a new conquest of Sicily. But an English fleet under admiral Byng effected the dispersal of this armament. In revenge for this disappointment, Alberoni, who was now cardinal,

grandee of Spain, and archbishop of Seville, resolved to favour the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne of England. A great fleet was equipped, with this view, in the port of Cadiz; but the fate of the "Invincible Armada" awaited it. Violent storms dispersed the fleet, the few troops that effected a landing on the coast of Scotland were forced to surrender, and the English navy in retaliation ravaged the coasts of Galicia. But the activity and the ambitious schemes of the cardinal had now created an alarm throughout Europe. France, strange to say, joined with England, Holland, and Austria, to check the advances of a Bourbon king of Spain; and in the end Philip was compelled to sacrifice his minister, in order to retain his crown. Spain consented to join "the quadruple alliance" which had been formed against her, and Alberoni, "the greatest minister that Spain had possessed since the days of Ximenes," was banished. All the crimes laid to his charge may have been true; his ambition is as apparent as his vast ability; but the real offence which led to his fall was, that, for the first time for more than a century, he had made Spain to be feared in Europe.

Philip now directed the councils of his kingdom, aided, however, by his energetic and ambitious consort, Isabel Farnese, of Parma. In 1724, he for a moment, under religious or melancholy feelings, transferred the crown of Spain to his son Louis, proposing to retire to the splendid palace of San Ildefonso, which he had himself founded, and there, in imitation of Charles v., to close his ears to the noise of human conflict. But Louis died shortly after of an attack of smallpox, and queen Isabella soon prevailed on Philip to resume the crown. Her views with reference to Italy were perpetually involving Spain in warfare, but in the end she

obtained a measure of success. Don Carlos, her son, succeeded in subduing Naples and Sicily, and in 1735 the emperor acknowledged him as king of the Two Sicilies. After much further conflict, in 1748, Don Philip, the queen's second son, received, at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. But before this treaty had been concluded, an attack of apoplexy carried the king of Spain to his grave. He left behind him a better name than any king of Spain had merited for many generations. His private life was unblamable; his public career was guided by a real desire to promote the welfare of the nation over which he had been placed. Under his rule Spain enjoyed more prosperity than it had known since the days of Philip II. By reducing the interest on the public debt; by revoking the profuse grants made by some of the preceding kings; by abolishing useless offices; and by new encouragements given to trade and commerce, the financial position of the government was vastly improved. The armies and fleets of Spain, which had almost disappeared in the days of his immediate predecessor, were now seen and feared in various parts of the globe. But the arts of peace were not disregarded by Philip. He founded, not only the splendid palace of San Ildefonso, but the Royal Library of Madrid, the Royal Spanish Academy, the Academy of History, and the Academy of San Fernando for the encouragement of the fine arts. And, although more sincerely religious than the monarchs who had founded and fostered the Inquisition, Philip was no servile slave of the holy see. On one occasion he ordered the papal nuncio to quit the kingdom. On another, when the inquisitor-general had censured some proceedings of the procurator-royal as "heretical," the king deprived him, the

inquisitor, of his post, and ordered the holy office to revoke the censure. He also considerably reduced the "right of sanctuary," and made criminals amenable to the laws whether found in a church or elsewhere. On a review of his whole reign, we see Spain, which before his accession had been laid in the very dust, now suddenly lifted to her feet, and made to take her place once more among the leading powers of Europe.

Ferdinand VI. was the second son of Philip's first wife, Maria Louisa of Savoy. The eldest son, Louis, for a few months king, had, as we have seen, died long before his father of the smallpox. Ferdinand resembled Philip in many respects. Like him, he was a faithful husband, and so devotedly attached to his queen, that on her death he began to droop, and quickly followed her to the grave. He came to the throne in his thirty-fourth year, and reigned only thirteen years. His reign was chiefly remarkable for its pacific policy, and for the encouragement given to agriculture, commerce, and the fine arts. A commission was appointed to inquire into these matters, and from its reports we gather many curious facts. Thus, it is stated in the reports of that commission, that the land in secular hands was 61,196,166 measures, and in the hands of the church, 12,209,053: that the house-rental owned by lay-proprietors was 252,086,009 reals; that owned by clerical persons, including tithes, etc., 164,154,498 reals. The vast ascendancy acquired by the church in Spain is vividly exhibited in these facts.

Ferdinand, however, effected in his short reign an important change in the matter of church patronage. He wrung from the pope, or purchased at the price of 1,200,000 crowns, the freedom of Spain from Italian patronage. The chair of St. Peter had been accustomed

to nominate to all benefices which fell vacant during eight months out of every twelve. A new concordat abolished this practice, and left the holy see only the patronage of fifty-two benefices. Such a concession was well worth even the large money-payment by which it was purchased.

On Ferdinand's death, leaving no issue, his half-brother, Charles, the son of Philip's second wife, was obliged to give up the kingdom of Naples, and to accept that of Spain. The treaty of Vienna had provided that Naples and Spain should not be again united under one sovereign. Charles III. commenced his reign in 1759, and continued to rule over Spain until 1788, dying just before the outbreak of the French revolution. At the commencement of his reign his sympathies were with France, and he joined the "family compact," which was mainly a confederacy against England. But, towards the end of his life, Charles began to perceive whither France was tending. He saw the increasing prevalence of infidel and anarchical ideas in that kingdom, and on one occasion exclaimed, that "every established government ought to try to raise a wall of brass against the introduction of the principles which were now spreading themselves through France."

But, for the first twenty years of his reign, Spain was associated with France, and was thus led into frequent hostilities with England. At the outset of his reign, indeed, the joint efforts of France and Spain met with disappointment, and the peace of Paris, 1763, was concluded on terms sufficiently humiliating to Spain. But the troubles which broke out in the American colonies of England soon presented an opportunity of which France and Spain were not slow to avail themselves. Their eagerness to humble England, how-

ever, led them to overlook considerations which should have inculcated abstinence from such a strife. France, therefore, sent her soldiers to learn revolutionary lessons in America, which they were not slow to put in practice on their return home. And Spain, with extensive colonial possessions of her own, took part in encouraging the colonies of England to throw off the authority of the mother-country ; and so established a precedent which South America, in her own convenient season, found it easy to follow. For the present, however, the object of the confederates was gained. England was both weakened and humbled ; she lost the most valuable portions of her North American possessions ; and, to obtain peace, had also to resign Minorca, Tobago, and Goree, and to consent to various other stipulations which, in more prosperous days, she had refused to entertain.

On the whole, however, Spain was now in some measure regaining her place among the nations of Europe. The ministers of Charles III. were men of ability, and the king himself exhibited both energy and discretion. In one remarkable instance, indeed, both of these qualities were exhibited. In 1766, a riot, almost amounting to insurrection, took place at Madrid, directed chiefly against an obnoxious minister. The king believed that he traced this movement to the intrigues of the Jesuits ; and he at once expelled the whole fraternity from his kingdom. France had a similar complaint to urge ; and the two courts jointly applied to the pope, requesting the suppression of that restless and intriguing community. After some delay, Clement XIV. yielded to their demands, and, in 1773, from the "infallible" chair of St. Peter there issued the bull, which totally and peremptorily dissolved the order.

Don Carlos died in 1788, in a good old age. He was a prince of considerable talents, of good intentions, and of blameless morals. His concurrence in the "family compact" was the chief error of his life; leading, as it did, to a participation in the aid given by France to the revolted colonies of England. His home government was in most respects praiseworthy. The naval and military establishments were kept in a state of efficiency; the police was well regulated; ecclesiastical immunities were brought within narrow limits; the Inquisition was nearly silenced. Improvements in trade, commerce, and manufactures helped to augment the revenue; and important legal reforms gave increased security and comfort to the people. During this single reign the revenues of the Indies had increased from 5,000,000 to above 12,000,000 crowns; the trade between Spain and her colonies had been tripled; while the navy had been augmented from eighteen ships of the line to seventy-four, and from fifteen smaller vessels to nearly two hundred.

Spain had now passed nearly ninety years under three sovereigns of good intentions, fair abilities, and exemplary morals. And it can be no matter of surprise, when her vast natural advantages and endowments are taken into the account, to find that in these ninety years her growth had been considerable. The corrupting and withering influences which prevailed in the preceding period, from 1598 to 1700, had been greatly moderated; and the life which still existed in the nation began to exhibit itself in action. The population, as we have shown, was, under the last three kings of the Austrian line, greatly diminished, and still diminishing. It now began again to advance. At the death of Charles II. in 1700, it had been estimated to

be 8,000,000. In 1769 it had advanced to 9,301,728, and in 1788 to 10,409,879. This rate of progress was not rapid; but it should be remembered that during the whole of the preceding century the numbers of the people had been constantly diminishing, and that the present advance exhibited the first steps of an upward course.

Taking a general view, the eighteenth century had been a period of revival for Spain. At its commencement, the nation seemed so sunk in decay as to be nearly past hope; and the work of restoration was of necessity slow. Nor were Philip v., Ferdinand vi. and Charles III., in any sense of the word, great men. But they were truly worthy of the respect and affection of their subjects. They all sought, sincerely and earnestly, the good of Spain. The ministers selected by them were generally able and honest statesmen. Great efforts were made, especially by the pacific and amiable Ferdinand, to improve the national character, to stimulate the industry of the people, and to further in every possible way their material prosperity. It has been justly said, that had it seemed good to the Divine Providence to spare his life, he would have earned a reputation more glorious than that of the most renowned of conquerors, as the father and restorer of a grateful country. His admirable economy and his princely generosity went hand in hand. On one occasion, when a great dearth afflicted the people of Andalusia, the king sent the corregidor of Madrid, as his special commissioner, to inquire into the state of the distressed population; and gave him, to distribute among the sufferers, no less a sum than one hundred thousand pounds. Yet, notwithstanding this and many other royal benefactions bestowed on public institutions, and devoted to the

development of new sources of industry, Ferdinand left at his death, in the royal coffers, the large amount of three millions sterling.

We have already observed, that under these three kings, Philip v., Ferdinand vi. and Charles iii., the Inquisition was checked and brought into narrower limits. Protestantism, indeed, had been wholly subdued in the days of Philip ii. "The year 1570 may be fixed," says Dr. M'Crie, "as the period of the suppression of the reformed religion in Spain." Of fifty-seven persons whose sentences were read at an *auto* held at Cuença in 1654, one only was charged with Lutheranism. In 1680, at a great *auto de fê* at Madrid, among a hundred and eighteen victims we meet with only one Protestant. In the eighteenth century, among eighteen hundred victims not one was charged with Lutheranism. The tribunal found occupation chiefly in detecting Jews and Moriscos, who, pretending to be Christians, were secretly misbelievers. But even this kind of employment gradually failed them; and the growing "liberality," or indifference, of the last century, probably infected even the holy tribunal itself. Under Philip v. about 3,000 persons suffered some kind of punishment; under Ferdinand there were but ten capital, and 170 minor sentences; and in the whole reign of Charles iii. the actual sufferers on the scaffold were only four, and the minor sentences were passed upon fifty. Thus even the Inquisition itself, unrelenting as it is generally esteemed, appeared to be mitigated and softened by the benigner influences of these three reigns.

CHAPTER XIII.

SPAIN IN THE DAYS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
AND NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

A. D. 1788—1808.

WE have endeavoured to describe, in the last two chapters, the rapid decay of Spain under the later kings of the Austrian dynasty, and its revival under the fostering care of the first three sovereigns of the Bourbon line. We are now to observe the nation under new and very different circumstances. The fourth of the Bourbon kings, without being vicious, was wholly incompetent to the discharge of his onerous duties; and it fell to his lot, most unhappily, to be called upon to conduct the nation through a crisis of unusual difficulty. In this task he utterly failed, and his failure plunged Spain, during nearly seven long years, into circumstances of the greatest suffering and calamity.

Charles III., whose death in 1788 we have already recorded, had ruled Spain well; and it has been justly said of him, that "his talents were respectable, his disposition benevolent, his morals irreproachable, and he possessed a manly firmness of temper which was seldom elated by success or depressed by misfortune." His chief foible was, an inordinate attachment to the sports of the field. Not long before his death, he boasted to a foreign ambassador that he had killed with his own hand 539 wolves, and 5,323 foxes, adding with a smile, "You see that my diversions are not wholly useless to my country." An English traveller,

Mr. Swinburne, who knew him at this period, says : "His dress seldom varies from a large hat, grey Segovia frock, buff waistcoat, small dagger, black breeches, and worsted stockings. His pockets are always stuffed with knives, gloves, and shooting-tackle. With all his peculiarities, however, he is greatly beloved by his people, and is universally spoken of as 'the good old king.'"

But, as the Philips who followed Philip II. inherited his vices without inheriting his talents, so did Charles IV., in 1788, copy Charles III. in his love of the chase, without any attempt to imitate him in the more valuable points of his character. This most feeble and incompetent sovereign, called to the throne at the opening of a period of unparalleled difficulty and danger, seemed, from the very first, to abandon the reins of government to a worthless favourite. When dining with Bonaparte, in 1808, at Bayonne, Charles IV. thus described, as a thing of the past, the general tenor of his life : "Every day, winter or summer, I went to the chase till noon. I then took refreshment, and at once returned to the chase till the evening. Manuel used to come and tell me how things were going on ; and he was always near me, ready to begin the same sort of life next day ; unless, indeed, some important ceremony or saint's festival interfered with it." Such was the daily occupation of a sovereign who appeared to reign over a great European kingdom — a kingdom, too, having larger foreign possessions than, at that time, were owned by any other nation.

This "Manuel" of whom the king spoke, as his most trusted counsellor, was the evil genius of Spain during all this reign. Manuel Godoy had been a private in the royal guard, and in the course of his duty happened to attract the roving eye of the queen. By her favour

he rose with great rapidity to the highest honours in the state; becoming a grandee of the first class, duke of Alcuia, "Grand Admiral of Spain," and the owner of a princely estate. As for Charles, it affords a striking proof of his want of manly feeling, that the favourite contrived to make himself equally acceptable to both the king and the queen. All Spain regarded this sudden aggrandizement of a soldier taken from the ranks as an evident token of the king's dishonour, and of the queen's criminality; but "her weak and good-natured husband seemed neither to feel nor to see her disgraceful conduct."

The sovereign, then, being entirely absorbed in his favourite amusements, and the conduct of affairs being left to the discretion of a favourite, Spain was naturally quite unprepared for the tremendous crisis which was coming upon Europe. Charles and his profligate consort, and the favourite Godoy, seemed to have no other desire than to be left to enjoy themselves in their accustomed ways, when, suddenly, the French Revolution broke out. Charles had only sat upon the throne of Spain about five or six years, when he was startled by the intelligence that his cousin the king of France had been put to death by his rebellious subjects. Such an occurrence as this, happening in the adjoining country, was enough to awaken even a Charles IV. Very naturally we soon hear of the march of the Spanish army, and of its entrance into France.

At the outset, the forces of Spain gained many advantages. France was not well defended on the Pyrenean frontier, and Roussillon was occupied without much difficulty by the Spanish commanders. But, after one or two campaigns, the French army was strengthened, more competent generals were appointed, and the forces

of the republic drove back the Spanish invaders, and pursued them over the Pyrenees. General Moncey occupied the Basque provinces, and even threatened Castile. The incapable rulers of Spain were now paralyzed with terror. The king and queen even turned their thoughts to an abandonment of their kingdom, and a flight to their transatlantic possessions. But those who were at the head of affairs in France had much upon their hands, and wished not for a prolonged warfare in Spain. To Godoy's great relief, peace was offered; and at Basle, in 1795, a treaty was signed, by which amity between France and Spain was re-established. The French armies were withdrawn from the peninsula; Spain purchasing their withdrawal by the cession of her portion of the noble island of St. Domingo. So delighted were the king and queen at the relief thus obtained, that no honour was thought sufficient to reward Godoy for his share in the pacification. He received the singular title of "Prince of Peace," with the style of "Highness"; while a body-guard, resembling that of the king, was assigned to him.

Napoleon Bonaparte had now gained the ascendancy in the councils of France; and in the following year the treaty of Basle was merged in a more specific and emphatic treaty of alliance, by which France and Spain engaged to support and assist each other; and which gave to the French ruler that which he greatly desired—the command of the Spanish navy.

This sudden friendship between a prince of the house of Bourbon and a child of the Revolution, was both discreditable to Charles IV., and fraught with real danger. It at once placed Spain in a position of hostility towards England, and a very short time produced an actual collision. Early in the year 1797, Sir John

Jervis, while cruising off Cape St. Vincent with only fifteen men-of-war, fell in with a combined French and Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line. He immediately brought it to action, captured four of the largest Spanish men-of-war, and compelled the rest of the fleet to take refuge in Cadiz.

The peace of Amiens terminated this state of things, but only for a time. When the war between France and England was renewed, Spain was for a short period left in a state of professed neutrality. But French influence still predominated in her councils; and the English government had reason to believe that four Spanish frigates, laden with treasure, were bound for a French port. The frigates were captured, and Spain thenceforward threw herself into the hands of the ruler of France.

Bonaparte's favourite object, at that moment, was to gain the ascendancy in the channel, and thus to be able to land in England a large French army. In aid of this object, Spain could give him the assistance of a noble fleet. A junction was effected, in 1805, of the naval forces of Spain with the naval forces of France; and thus a fleet of nearly forty ships was assembled. Nelson sought this armament for several months in the West Indies, and on the coasts of France and Spain; but it was not until October, 1805, that he met with it. Off Cape Trafalgar, he discovered, drawn up in order of battle, a magnificent fleet of thirty-three sail of the line and seven frigates. Of the former, fifteen were Spanish; and in the far-famed fight of Trafalgar, eleven of these fifteen, with eight of the French, fell into the hands of the victor. Four only of the Spanish portion of this great fleet escaped into a Spanish harbour; and since that memorable day, Spain can hardly be said to have possessed a navy.

But disasters at sea, although they might frustrate Bonaparte's plans for the invasion of England, could not check his advance towards universal empire on the continent. At Austerlitz, the power of Austria had been broken; and at Jena, Prussia had been humbled to the dust. The conqueror now began to turn his eyes southward, and to lay his plans for the subjugation of the peninsula. He had discovered that Charles, and even the profligate Godoy, had grown weary of the thralldom in which they were held, and had been induced, by his recent seizure of the kingdom of Naples, to open a correspondence with the court of Russia on the subject of a new league against France. Perceiving, therefore, the insecurity of his position, and the hollowness of the existing alliance, he began to prepare for the dethronement of the peninsular sovereigns, and the gradual union of Spain with France.

Frankness and truth, however, were seldom found in any of Bonaparte's proceedings. Keeping up a profession of friendship, he proposed to the king of Spain a partition of Portugal; and, with this view, obtained his concurrence in the march of French troops through Spain. He also asked and obtained the assistance of a Spanish army in the north of Germany; and thus, just when the hour of extremest peril was at hand, the best of her defenders were adroitly carried to a distance.

The French army, marching through Spain, invaded Portugal; and on its approach to Lisbon, the royal family of Portugal embarked for the Brazils. The capital was occupied by General Junot, and a proclamation was issued by the autocrat of France, announcing that "the house of Braganza had ceased to reign."

But this, to the peninsula, was only "the beginning of troubles." Dissensions, probably excited by French

agents, broke out at Madrid. Ferdinand, the prince of Asturias, was not friendly to Godoy, and a charge was brought against him of conspiring to dethrone the king his father. He was arrested on a charge of high treason. A month afterwards he was released and pardoned. Taking occasion from these troubles and alarms, Bonaparte now sent into Spain, professedly for the protection of his friend and ally, successive bodies of French troops to the number of 60,000 men; and the fortresses of Pampeluna, Barcelona, and Figueras were taken possession of by them. At last, feeling quite incompetent to deal with such circumstances, the king took the sudden resolution to abdicate the throne, and in March, 1808, the prince of Asturias was proclaimed as king Ferdinand the VIIIth.

Bonaparte had not yet broken with either Charles or his son. He had now in Portugal and Spain a force of more than 100,000 men; and the only semblance of an army that Spain herself possessed was in northern Germany, distant from the peninsula more than a thousand miles. All that remained to do was, to decoy both Charles and Ferdinand out of Spain, and then to seize their persons and take possession of their kingdom.

This last feat was performed by the aid of abundance of falsehood and hypocrisy on the part of Bonaparte, and of blindness amounting to fatuity on the part of the Spanish princes. The French emperor came to Bayonne, and instructed his ambassadors to express to Ferdinand, and to Charles his father, his desire to have an interview with them on the subject of the recent troubles and present state of Spain. These agents of Bonaparte were instructed to assure Ferdinand that the emperor, on seeing him, would immediately acknowledge him as king of Spain.

Thus urged, both the old king, his wife, Godoy, and Ferdinand the VIIIth, repaired to Bonaparte at Bayonne. When there, they were separately dealt with. First, there was little difficulty in obtaining from Charles a repetition of his renunciation of the crown. Large promises were made to him, to the queen, and to Godoy, which promises were never fulfilled. When Ferdinand arrived, he was dealt with in a harsher way. Disturbances had taken place in Madrid, and the French troops had been insulted. Great anger was pretended by Bonaparte; threats of bringing Ferdinand to some kind of trial were used, and at last he was plainly told that his only choice was "between abdication and death." All this took place in a French town—the Spanish princes being altogether in Bonaparte's power. At last an act of abdication was wrung from Ferdinand, and from his brothers; and then, the throne appearing vacant, Bonaparte, who had no more right to appoint a king of Spain than he had to appoint an emperor of Austria, at once named and proclaimed his own brother Joseph "king of Spain and the Indies." The acts of abdication, and the proclamation of the intrusive king, were at once sent into Spain; and a body of servile Spaniards, chosen for the purpose, was summoned to Bayonne to give an appearance of popular consent to the nomination.

The old king and his queen were now carried to Compiègne, and subsequently to Marseilles; and Ferdinand was sent to Valency, where he remained a prisoner for nearly six years. On the 20th of July, 1808, the new king, Joseph, made his solemn entry into Madrid, amidst the frowns and silence of the inhabitants. Every military post of any importance was quickly garrisoned by the troops of France; and the

whole peninsula, left without a native prince or leader of any kind, its army employed in northern Germany, and its statesmen, such as they were, either corrupted or imprisoned, found itself prostrate beneath the iron heel of the great conqueror of the age. Such was the subjugation of Spain in the spring and summer of the year 1808. Its deliverance, which was the work of years, will form the subject of another chapter.

The whole of these transactions tend to cover with disgrace every one of the persons concerned in them. Nothing could exceed the blindness, the weakness, or the utter incapacity, exhibited by the Spanish princes. They seemed like so many silly birds in the hands of the fowler. And as to Bonaparte's share in the business, it was nothing else than an exhibition of falsehood, hypocrisy, chicanery, and fraud, upon the largest scale. He himself, in the retirement of St. Helena, confessed this, and even partial historians describe this affair as one of the chief scandals of his life. His own language, many years afterwards, was this: "*It was that unhappy war in Spain that ruined me.* The results have irrevocably proved that I was in the wrong. There were serious faults, too, in the execution." "That unfortunate war proved a real wound—the first cause of the misfortunes of France. If I could have foreseen that that affair would have caused me so much vexation and chagrin, I would never have engaged in it."* And Thiers, the French historian, in describing the transactions of Bayonne, says: "He was drawn on, from chicanery to perfidy; and came at last to affix to his name a blot, which has for ever tarnished his glory."†

* Las Casas, vol. iv. p. 204, 205.

† Thiers, vol. viii. p. 658.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DELIVERANCE OF SPAIN.

A. D. 1808—1814.

THE attempt made by Bonaparte on the independence of Spain was, indeed, "more than a crime—it was a blunder." This was an expression of one of his ministers used on another occasion ; and it indicates a feeling that the *latter* was the more serious evil of the two ; that a crime which was *not* a blunder—a crime which succeeded in effecting its object, might, under some circumstances, be tolerated, or perhaps even defended.

But the effort which he had now commenced, to bring the peninsula under his own authority, was indeed a terrible mistake, founded on a most disastrous miscalculation. It opened for France, to use his own expression, "a real wound," a wound which never healed ; and it ended in placing, after a five years' struggle, a British army on the soil of France ; to be the witnesses of Bonaparte's own abdication, and of the utter fall of the vast edifice which he had upreared.

The fact seems to be, that his successive triumphs over Austria, Prussia, and Russia had created or fostered in him that "pride which goeth before destruction," that "haughty spirit" which generally precedes a fall. He had begun to give his generals lofty titles and principalities, carved out of his conquests in all parts of Europe ; and he seemed to be ready to adopt the language of the Assyrian conquerors of old, "Are not my princes altogether kings ?—Shall I not, as I have done

unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols?—I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures: and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth; and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped.” But the Lord had said of old, and he renewed the same resolve now: “When I have performed my whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks.”*

Spain, though sadly fallen from her former lofty position in Europe, was still a nation which prided itself on many martial achievements; and which could not in this unceremonious way be trampled down and taken possession of by a French or rather a Corsican adventurer of military genius. The spirit of the people, though often slow to rise, was, when once excited, determined, fierce, and unbending. So soon as the nefarious transactions of Bayonne began to be generally understood, every Spaniard who had not been previously corrupted by the agents of France, began to feel himself wronged, insulted, and betrayed. Indignation and fury spread through the whole population, and their animosity quickly showed itself in furious attacks on the French troops, wherever assailable. The whole struggle, however, between the Spanish nation and their oppressors lasted very nearly six years, and it will be essential to a clear understanding of its character that we should describe with accuracy the proceedings of each successive year.

It was in 1808, then, that the struggle began. Bonaparte had formed a deliberate purpose to set aside the reigning family of Spain, as well as that of Portugal,

* Isaiah x. 8-14.

to take possession of the whole peninsula, and to place his brother Joseph on the throne, either as the founder of a new dynasty, or probably as his own deputy, until his whole plan for a Fifth Universal Monarchy should be matured. The Spaniards, so soon as they understood this purpose, were equally resolved not to accept this new French or rather Corsican ruler; and on this question issue was joined.

The first exhibition of repugnance on the part of the Spaniards took place before the shameful transactions of Bayonne had been completed. On the 2d of May, 1808, the French officers in Madrid prepared to send to Bayonne the last remaining members of the Spanish royal family—the younger brothers of Ferdinand. A rumour soon got abroad that the princes were being taken away by force and as prisoners. The people rushed to the spot and attacked the French soldiery. In the combat which ensued, about two hundred of the French, and more than a thousand of the Spaniards, were killed or wounded before order could be restored. This combat was made, at Bayonne, a ground of charge against Ferdinand, and gave an opportunity for Bonaparte to threaten the Spanish prince with a trial by martial law, and thus to intimidate him into a cession of his kingdom. But when the news of these transactions came to be circulated through Spain, they not unnaturally produced feelings of the most lively indignation. At Madrid, indeed, and at Bayonne, there were to be found some Spaniards, needy and profligate members of the aristocracy, who gladly sold themselves for appointments in the court of king Joseph. But, with these exceptions, the whole Spanish nation was moved, as one man, against the attempt to transfer their crown to a foreigner and a stranger. Every city which

was not in the possession of the French troops, rose at once in insurrection. Juntas of government in the name of Ferdinand VII. were speedily formed at Seville, at Cadiz, at Valencia, at Carthagena, and at Oviedo. War with France, and the expulsion of the French, were the uppermost thoughts in every one's mind. The governor of Cadiz was even killed by the mob because he hesitated to attack the French fleet then lying in the harbour. The second in command was made governor, the batteries were opened upon the French ships, and the whole fleet was compelled to surrender to the forces of Spain.

The never-conquered Asturias was among the first of the revolted provinces, and as early as the 24th of May a junta was formed at Oviedo, and a deputation sent to England to ask for arms, ammunition, and money. The junta of the neighbouring province of Galicia put Corunna in a state of defence, and summoned the Spanish troops in Portugal to join them without delay. This force, 10,000 strong, instantly marched into Galicia, and secured that province for the national cause. Catalonia quickly gathered 30,000 men under the banners of Ferdinand VII., while Aragon proclaimed the Spanish king at Saragossa.

Madrid, however, and the road to it, were still in the possession of the French, and in July the intrusive king proceeded by way of Burgos and Vittoria, and reached the capital on the 20th of that month. On his entrance, gloom, despair, and suppressed rage sat on every countenance; but a portentous silence was the only expression of their feelings which, in the presence of a powerful French garrison, the inhabitants of the Spanish metropolis could venture to give.

England had now received with the utmost joy the

news of this outbreak of national resistance to her great enemy, and had responded to the call of Spain for aid with lavish generosity. In the last half of this year, the supplies poured into Corunna, Cadiz, Malaga, Valencia, and Santander, amounted to 200,000 muskets, 61,300 sabres, 79,000 pikes, 15,000 barrels of gunpowder, 31,000 cannon-balls, and 136 pieces of artillery, besides cartridges and musket-balls by millions.

The French, and their great leader, were neither taken by surprise nor in the least alarmed. Doubtless the emperor had grievously miscalculated the amount of national feeling which he would have to overcome. But the disparity between the military power of France and that of Spain was enormous ; and England's generals for many years past had shown no aptitude for successful military operations. Hence the suppression of the Spanish insurrection never seemed to Bonaparte or his advisers any more than a question of time. They speedily increased the French force in the peninsula, and made arrangements, without delay, for subduing the revolted provinces and cities.

England, however, had not confined her aid to mere supplies of arms and ammunition. Very speedily an expedition, consisting of about 10,000 men, was despatched from Cork, to be reinforced by 4,000 more from the Mediterranean, and placed under the orders of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was empowered to land at any point of the peninsula that should seem convenient, and should offer sufficient prospects of usefulness. Sir Arthur accordingly visited Corunna, and had an interview with the junta there. These Spaniards expressed themselves quite willing and prepared to carry on the war without the aid of English troops, provided their friends would help them with money and arms. This

too-confident reliance on their own martial prowess led to repeated defeats of the Spanish armies, until, after two or three years' experience of continued disasters, they became reconciled at last to English interference.

On finding his aid declined by the Spaniards, Sir Arthur Wellesley next directed his course to the Tagus; and at last landed his troops in Mondego Bay, between Oporto and Lisbon. The French commander, general Junot, still held the capital of Portugal, though threatened and imperilled by the open hostility of the whole Portuguese nation. To rid the country of his presence would therefore be an important service. After a preliminary engagement at Roliça on the 17th of August, Sir Arthur fought his first peninsular battle at Vimiera on the 21st, when the French were broken, and driven off the field. Two days afterwards Junot sent a flag of truce, offering to evacuate the kingdom. Sir Hugh Dalrymple, a senior officer, had now succeeded Sir A. Wellesley in the command, and from him the French general easily gained permission to retire. The French army was embarked, and conveyed to France, and Sir Arthur Wellesley returned home.

Meanwhile the French had suffered two severe checks in Spain—checks, however, which probably wrought more evil than good to the Spanish cause, by increasing the vain confidence of those who were entrusted with the conduct of the war. Saragossa, the capital of Aragon, was approached by a French army early in June. It was not a regularly fortified town, and was neither victualled nor supplied for a siege. But the excited spirit of the people would not hear of a surrender. The place was defended house by house; ecclesiastics, and even women, becoming soldiers in its defence. After a murderous struggle of more than two

months, the assailants withdrew on the 14th of August, having lost a large part of their force, and finding the contest apparently interminable.

A still more important success was gained in Andalusia. General Dupont, at the head of a French army of nearly 30,000 men, entered this province, to put down the insurrection. He sacked and plundered Cordova; but the vast amount of the property carried off encumbered his movements. Meanwhile the Andalusian insurgents gathered around him on every side. Beginning to be alarmed, he commenced a retreat towards La Mancha. But the Spaniards under generals Castanos and Reding now amounted to 60,000 men. Knowing the country far better than he could do, they beset him on every side; and after two or three unsuccessful attempts to break through the circle, the French general lost heart, and proposed a capitulation. His offer was accepted, and, to the wonder of all Europe, a French army still numbering 21,000 men laid down its arms, by the convention of Baylen, to a mixed multitude of Spanish insurgents. This surprising instance of pusillanimity so affected the French emperor, when the news of it reached him, as actually, for a time, to deprive him of speech, through the violence of his agitation.

King Joseph now fled from Madrid, and in August, general Castanos, the victor of Baylen, entered the capital in triumph. The independence of Spain seemed to be secured; but, in truth, the success of the patriot arms at Baylen may be considered to have rather retarded than advanced it. The glorious defence of Saragossa, and the surrender of Dupont's army, tended to confirm the Spanish juntas in their vain confidence; while it obliged Bonaparte to redouble his efforts for

the conquest of the peninsula. The French emperor saw his reputation for invincibility endangered in the sight of all Europe, and with his usual talent and determination he took measures which quickly laid almost all Spain at his feet. In the month of October he set in motion, through the north of Spain, armies amounting to more than 300,000 men, and, in an address to the legislative body at Paris, he said, "In a few days I shall set out to place myself at the head of my army—to crown at Madrid the king of Spain, and to plant my eagles on the towers of Lisbon."

The Spaniards had now a central junta at Madrid; and imagined themselves able to contend with the man who had vanquished in succession all the great powers of central and northern Europe. Yet their armies in the field never reached 100,000 men; and of these the greater part were new levies. The English forces at Lisbon had been raised to nearly 30,000 men, and placed under the command of Sir John Moore; but both the Spanish and the Portuguese authorities behaved to their allies as if their presence and their assistance had been wholly superfluous.

The issue of such a contest could not be for a moment doubtful. The greatest commander that France had ever known, at the head of a powerful army, soon brought matters to a decision. At the end of October the Spanish forces received a check at Logrono, and were ignominiously defeated at Durango. On the 10th of November the Spanish centre was broken at Burgos, and on the 13th the left wing was utterly routed at Reynoso. But the battle of Tudela, on the 23d, was decisive, and at once laid open to the French the road to Madrid. On the 3d of December Bonaparte approached the capital, and on the 4th it capitulated.

On the 7th the French emperor issued from its palaces a proclamation, in which he said, "As for the English armies, I will chase them from the peninsula."

This vain-glorious confidence appeared, indeed, to rest on something like a solid foundation. The muster-roll of the French armies in Spain, on the 10th of October, showed an aggregate force of 330,000 men, of whom, after allowing for garrisons, etc., at least 160,000 could be brought to bear on any given point. And now that the Spanish armies had been broken up and dispersed, there could be little difficulty in dealing with Sir John Moore and his little army of less than 30,000 men.

Sir John, in November, desiring to give the Spaniards all the aid in his power, began his march towards Madrid; trusting that, at least, this movement would operate as a diversion, and would draw off a French force of some amount from the meditated attack on the capital. But, on the 14th of December, he was apprised of the fall of that city, and the approach of a large French army. He, therefore, began a leisurely retreat towards Corunna, followed by Bonaparte with 70,000 of the best troops of France, and 100 pieces of cannon. The British army reached Corunna on the 11th of January, 1809, and was safely embarked, with its artillery, on the 17th. The French made an attack on the 16th, in which they were repulsed, but in which the English commander was mortally wounded. Bonaparte himself had previously left Spain. He had been informed, on the first day of the new year, of rapid preparations making by Austria for war, and had hastened back to Paris to meet this new danger. Thus ended the first year of the war of Spanish independence.

The year 1809 opened with the gloomiest prospects

for Spain. Her armies had been scattered, and almost totally disorganized. A native government scarcely existed even in name. The forces of England, her firmest ally, had been compelled to quit Spain; and a French army, still numbering between 200,000 and 300,000 men, occupied the capital and most of the great fortresses of the kingdom. Doubtless the struggle would soon have terminated in the complete subjugation of the peninsula, had not the French emperor, in the wise dispensations of Divine Providence, been compelled to turn his attention, and the main part of his strength, in a totally different direction, by a contest with Austria, which lasted through the principal part of the year 1809.

This relief enabled both Spain and Portugal once more to draw breath; and neither of these countries showed the least disposition to succumb to the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed. The central junta of Spain was now established at Seville; whence it issued a spirited proclamation, recommending the adoption everywhere of the guerilla system of warfare, and pledging the country never to make peace so long as a single French soldier remained on Spanish soil. Portugal showed an equally determined spirit; and on the 22d of April, 1809, there landed for the second time at Lisbon that great commander, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was destined in the four following years to meet and to conquer in succession every one of Bonaparte's most experienced captains, and finally, at Waterloo, to overthrow their great leader himself.

Meanwhile, however, the French generals were not idle, though their master had left them for the Austrian war. They naturally aimed at the capital-cities of the

provinces. Saragossa had to undergo a second siege, more terrible than the first. A French army of 43,000 men was sent to take possession of this capital of Aragon; but for two whole months did the inhabitants, aided by the militia of the province, defend their city. When, at last, it yielded to the fearful pressure of pestilence and famine, the besiegers, on entering its streets, found 16,000 sick persons filling every habitable abode. More than 50,000 human beings had perished during these two months; and the besiegers themselves had suffered the loss of 3,000 men killed, and 12,000 wounded.

In Catalonia, the advance of the French troops was met with equal determination. They inflicted several defeats on the Spaniards; but the siege of Gerona occupied them nearly seven months. This fortress only capitulated in December of this year (1809), after 9,000 men had perished within the walls, and 15,000 in the camp of the besiegers.

In Estremadura and Castile the Spanish forces suffered several overthrows. From Galicia, Soult had entered Portugal, and taken Oporto by storm. This occurred shortly before the landing of Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose appearance soon changed the aspect of affairs. Before he had been a single week in Portugal, he had commenced a plan of operations which quickly forced Soult to decamp from Oporto, and to retreat into Galicia. This retrograde movement, however, was terribly calamitous to the French; for the hatred of the Portuguese peasantry followed their every step. "The peasants, in their fury," says the historian of the war, "tortured and mutilated the sick and straggling soldiers who fell into their hands; the troops, in revenge, shot the peasants; and the line of retreat could be

traced from afar by the smoke of the burning houses." In this retreat, the French commander lost fully one-fourth of his army.

Having thus cleared Portugal of the French, Sir Arthur moved from Lisbon, and approached the Spanish frontier. He was promised the co-operation of a Spanish army, under general Cuesta; but he soon found the worthlessness of such promises, and the immense difficulty of procuring, in Spain, either supplies or means of transport. King Joseph, meanwhile, alarmed at the approach of the English general, had called around him the *élite* of the French army—a force of more than 56,000 men, under marshal Victor. Sir Arthur's first great battle in Spain was fought with this army, on the 28th of July, 1809, at Talavera. The English troops engaged were not quite 21,000. Cuesta's force was nominally more than 30,000; but it was of little service in the action, the brunt of which fell wholly on the English. The French retreated, after a loss of nearly 9,000 men, leaving 17 guns in the hands of the victors. The English loss exceeded 6,000; but the moral effect of this victory was prodigious. It proved that the English could meet and defeat the best troops of France, even when out-numbered in the proportion of two to one. Soon, however, the utter inefficiency of the Spanish commissariat became more and more evident; and hence, left destitute of all supplies, and finding that the northern French army, under Ney and Soult, was coming to Victor's aid, the English general (now "Viscount Wellington of Talavera") retired in the autumn into Portugal. The Spaniards shortly after, in their senseless self-sufficiency, met the French on the 12th of November at Ocana, with an army of 50,000 men, and received such a defeat, that, ten days

after the battle, not a thousand men remained together.

The Spaniards were not so much to blame for their repeated defeats in the open field, as for the stolid pride and arrogance which led to those defeats. "I lament," writes lord Wellington, in one of his despatches, "that a cause which promised so well a few weeks ago, should have been so completely lost by the ignorance, presumption, and mismanagement of those to whose discretion it was entrusted. If they had but preserved their two armies, or even one of them, the cause was safe. The French could have sent no reinforcements which could have been of any use; time would have been gained; and all the chances were in our favour. But no: nothing will answer but to fight great battles in plains, in which the defeat of the Spanish armies is certain. They will not credit the accounts I have repeatedly given them of the superior numbers of the French: they will seek them out; and they invariably find them superior in numbers to themselves. I wonder whether the Spanish officers ever read the history of the American war; or of their own war in the Dutch provinces; or of their own war in Portugal."

But lord Wellington tried his utmost to make the Spaniards understand their own position and their duties. In December he repaired to Seville, and had an interview with the central junta, both to reason with them on the absurd manner in which they were conducting the war, and also on the highly blamable way in which they had left him destitute of supplies. He then removed his army into winter quarters in Portugal, and began the famous lines of Torres Vedras, which, the very next year, gave security to Lisbon, and

ultimately saved Portugal and the whole peninsula. And so ended the year 1809, the second year of this great war, which was to prove, in the issue, as Bonaparte afterwards confessed, his "ruin."

The year 1810 opened with a fresh resolve on the part of the French emperor, that he would bring this "unhappy war" to a conclusion. He purposed, in December, 1809, to conduct one final campaign himself, and told his legislative body in his usual boastful strain, "When I shall show myself beyond the Pyrenees, the Leopard, in terror, will plunge into the ocean to avoid shame, defeat, and death." But his approaching marriage with Maria Louisa of Austria occupied his attention; and he therefore contented himself with giving orders for large reinforcements to the French armies in Spain, and issuing instructions to his generals to occupy forthwith both Andalusia and Portugal. His orders were immediately obeyed; a large portion of the forces recently released from the Austrian war were transferred to the south; and early in the year 1810, the aggregate of the French armies in Spain was raised to 366 000 men—a force which certainly seemed sufficient to overwhelm the small remaining force of Spain, and to drive into their ships the auxiliary army of 30,000 British soldiers.

No delay took place in executing the emperor's instructions. In January, 1810, the French forces broke through the passes of the Sierra Morena, and entered Andalusia. Cordova, Granada, and Seville were quickly occupied, and only a rapid march of the duke d'Albuquerque, with a few thousand troops, saved Cadiz. Meanwhile, in the north, Suchet seized upon Lerida, Hostalrich, and Mequinenza. The western provinces, and Portugal, were assigned to Massena, who

commanded a noble army of 86,000 veteran soldiers. But before entering Portugal, the French commander thought it his duty to clear his rear ; and he therefore laid siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, which occupied him till the 10th of July. He then invested Almeida, and gained possession of it on the 27th of August. But it was not until the 15th of September that the French general resumed his march, intending next to possess himself of Coimbra. Before he reached this place, lord Wellington gave him a repulse at the Sierra de Busaco ; in which the French army was beaten back with a loss of more than 4,000 men, while the loss of the English and Portuguese did not exceed 1,300.

The French generals, finding their road stopped, were deliberating on the expediency of a retreat, when a traitor pointed out to them another road by which Coimbra might be reached. Breaking up, therefore, from before Busaco, the French began to thread the defile of the Caramula, and so gained the object they had in view. Meanwhile the English army had taken care of the inhabitants of Coimbra, and the French entered a deserted town. After three days, Massena left Coimbra for Lisbon, and soon came in sight of the hills above that city. It was now distant only twenty-four miles ; and his fine army, still more than 70,000 strong, would soon be able, he doubted not, to realize his master's boast, and to "drive the English Leopard into the sea."

But, suddenly, the advance of the French is arrested. A barrier crosses their way, of which Massena had never heard, and which now greatly perplexed him. This barrier had been silently upreared during the past winter and spring, under lord Wellington's directions. It is called "the lines of Torres Vedras."

Lisbon is approached by a peninsula of several miles in width, washed on one side by the Atlantic, and on the other by the Tagus. As both the river and the coast were in the possession of the English navy, lord Wellington had observed, that if this peninsula could be properly defended, the city itself could not be even assailed. Hence, by the labour of many consecutive months, he had raised across this peninsula a triple line of redoubts, of immense strength, and mounting 600 guns. These lines, so armed, and manned by 50,000 troops, English and Portuguese, might withstand the assault of a mighty army. Consequently, behind them the English forces, and the soldiers and militia of the Portuguese government, could remain in safety and comfort during the rainy season and the winter; while Massena's army, exposed to the weather, and nearly destitute of provisions, were perishing in the exhausted country beyond.

Thus checked in mid career, the French marshal chafed and fumed in front of these impregnable lines; afraid to attack, but unwilling to retire. For three days he did nothing but stare at them in utter amazement, and examine them most anxiously through a telescope. A nearer approach satisfied him that they were stern realities; his troops were roughly handled, and one of his generals killed. Altogether perplexed, Massena sent off general Foy to Paris, to report to the emperor this unexpected hindrance, and to ask for fresh instructions. But this was a difficulty which even that mighty master of the art of war could not solve. The choice left to the French was an exceedingly simple one. To storm these lines was to be destroyed by cannon-shot; to remain in front of them was to be destroyed by famine and pestilence. After a

hesitation, therefore, of three or four weeks, during which time several thousands of his troops had perished, Massena broke up his camp on the 14th of November, and retired to a strong position at Santarem, nearer to the Spanish frontier, and where supplies could more easily be obtained. Here he remained until the approach of spring. And so concluded the year 1810; the third year of this protracted struggle.

The following year, 1811, might have been the last of the Spanish war, had the French emperor been less intoxicated with success, less uplifted with pride. The heathens of old used to say, that "those whom the gods meant to destroy they generally first deprived of reason;" and assuredly there is scarcely a stronger instance of that sort of infatuation which gave rise to this saying, than in the conduct of Bonaparte in engaging in another great war in the north of Europe, without first deciding and terminating the contest in Spain. As matters stood, his generals were able to overrun the whole peninsula, with the two exceptions of Cadiz and Lisbon. And had he himself conveyed into Spain, in 1811, only one-fourth of the army which, in 1812, he carried into Russia, he might have overwhelmed the central junta in Andalusia; and if he could not break through the lines of Torres Vedras, he might have masked them with an army of 100,000 men, and have taken measures for keeping up an effective blockade.

But the oppressor of Europe had now reached the climax of his power, and his head was fairly turned by the elevation which he had attained. Deeming these two insignificant spots in the peninsula scarcely worth his personal attention, he contented himself with issuing orders to his marshals, and allowed his time and thoughts to be given to many other subjects. "It was

in the spring of 1811," says Mr. Gleig, "that the fortunes of Napoleon and of his French empire may be said to have reached their culminating point. He then gave the law to the whole of Europe, with the two exceptions of England and Russia." He had gained for his consort a daughter of the house of Austria; he had given his son the lofty title of "king of Rome;" and he had annexed to France, Holland, the Hanse towns, Switzerland, Sardinia, Hanover, and lastly, even Oldenburg itself, carrying the frontier of France up to the Elbe, and menacing the northern powers. His mind seemed to have reached the same perilous kind of elevation which was experienced by Nebuchadnezzar, when, pacing round his palace, he exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" The voice from heaven was not, in our time, audible, which replied, "The kingdom is departed from thee; and they shall drive thee from men;" but the sentence was passed, and execution quickly began. And the first step in his downfall was, the loss of a sound judgment.

Looking back upon the events of that period, after a lapse of half-a-century, there is nothing more striking or more indisputable than the utter want of common sense which was betrayed by the French emperor, in beginning a second great war before he had terminated the first. The year 1811 was, in a measure, at his command. He was at perfect liberty, if he chose, to order another 100,000 men into Spain, and by that weight to bear down all opposition. Instead of which he remained quietly at Paris, celebrating the birth of his son, conducting an angry correspondence with the czar of Russia, and planning fresh enlargements of his already unwieldy empire.

Spain itself was not excluded from these projects. At one moment he seriously contemplated the annexation to France of all the provinces north of the Ebro. These projects, and the arrogant conduct of the French marshals, seriously annoyed king Joseph, who complained, in January, 1811, to his brother, "that the French marshals intercepted his revenue, disregarded his orders, insulted his government, and oppressed and ruined the country." At last, in May of that same year, finding no attention paid to his complaints, he quitted Madrid, and repaired to Paris, with the fixed purpose of resigning his useless and powerless sceptre. But the French emperor had too many important affairs upon his hands, at that moment, to be willing to undertake just then the business of "annexing Spain;" and he succeeded in pacifying Joseph's anger, and in inducing him to return to his post at Madrid. The character of Bonaparte, his mental ascendancy, and his carelessness of the feelings of others, was strikingly shown in his transactions with his own family. Lucien, the most capable of all his brothers, fled from France to get beyond his power. Louis, being placed by him upon the throne of Holland, found his position there so intolerable, that he resolutely refused to remain in it; and now Joseph, the weakest of the three, took the same resolution, but was forced by the dominant will of Napoleon to relinquish his purpose.

Among the mistakes of the French ruler at this particular crisis may be reckoned a notion taken up by him, that it was expedient to allow the English to busy themselves with the affairs of Portugal, and so to be withdrawn from any active interference with his plans in the north of Europe. He therefore thought it not desirable to try to expel lord Wellington and his army

from Portugal; but instructed his generals to suppress the insurrection in all the provinces of Spain. They followed his injunctions, and soon reported to him the submission of Aragon, Catalonia, and Andalusia, and the probability of the speedy fall of Cadiz. But lord Wellington now began to give serious annoyance to the French commanders. Having proved the efficiency of the defences of Torres Vedras, the English general felt the comfort of having a safe position into which to retreat; and this year, 1811, saw him once more in Spain, inflicting heavy blows upon the French. The two great fortresses of Spain, on the side of Portugal, were Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo. To reduce these two strongholds, now possessed by the French, was a principal object with the English commander.

Massena had remained at Santarem all the winter of 1810; but the country around him had now been utterly stripped and ruined, and he knew the uselessness of again approaching the lines of Torres Vedras. On the 5th of March, 1811, therefore, he began his retreat towards Spain, burning and destroying everything as he quitted the country. He was closely followed by the English army, and suffered several minor defeats at Pombal, Redinha, Casal Nova, and Sabugal. In this last affair the French lost 1,500, the English not more than 200. Finally, on the 5th of April, the French commander passed the frontier, and re-entered Spain; having lost, by various skirmishes, and by long privation and sickness, fully 40,000 men in his inroad into Portugal. So ended the last invasion, by the French, of a territory which, after this withdrawal, they left unmolested.

Almeida was now invested by the English army. Anxious to prevent its fall, Massena returned from

Salamanca, where he had strengthened and reorganized his army. He had now 40,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry; lord Wellington, only 32,000 and 1,200. Yet the English general accepted battle at Fuentes d'Onor, and sent Massena back with a loss of 5,000 men. Almeida now surrendered, and Badajos was invested. Soult hastened from Andalusia to its relief: and this brought on another battle, at Albuera. In this desperate engagement the chief part of marshal Beresford's force consisted chiefly of Spanish and Portuguese, only 7,000 British infantry being present. The loss of the allied army was 7,000; that of the French more than 8,000. But Soult immediately retreated, and Badajos was again invested. The British army, however, was lamentably deficient in siege-artillery, and the place was too strong to be carried by storm. On the 10th of June, finding that two French armies were marching to its relief, lord Wellington raised the siege, and took up a position on the frontier of Portugal. The remainder of the dry season was occupied in watching the marching and counter-marching of Soult and Marmont; who, while they did not wish to fight another battle, were anxious not to lose either of the two great fortresses. In the autumn and winter lord Wellington made silent preparations for an assault of Ciudad Rodrigo; while the French, believing that he had no heavy artillery, and could do nothing against so strong a place, retired to their winter cantonments and slept in peace.

The year 1811 had made it increasingly evident that on lord Wellington and the British army must rest the work of the expulsion of the French from Spain. The Spanish armies never took the field but to be beaten, or to run away. The central junta itself had now

fallen into great contempt; yet it would be a mistake to imagine that the spirit of Spain was broken, or that submission to the usurper was counselled or desired by any one. War in Spain has always been marked by this singular peculiarity, that when the success of an invader seems most complete, it is just then that his troubles begin; for then he is made to feel the harassing and wasting effects of guerilla warfare. Rocca, a French officer, who personally served in Spain, thus describes what he and his comrades had to encounter:—

“The districts of Spain which were occupied by the French were soon overrun by bands of partisans and guerillas, composed of disbanded soldiers and the peasants of the plains and mountains. Clergymen, students, and simple shepherds became active and enterprising chiefs. Thus it might be said of the Spaniards, that if at first they seemed an easy prey, to subdue them thoroughly was found an almost impossible task.

“Our victorious troops, dispersed from Irun to Cadiz to retain their conquests, were in a state of incessant blockade; and were, in fact, only masters of the ground on which they stood. The soldiers left to overawe the country, on the military roads, were continually attacked. They were obliged, for their safety, to construct small citadels, to obtain peace in the night, or protection when menaced with attack. The sentinels dared not pass the bounds of the inclosures, for fear of assassination. No provisions or ammunition could reach them but under the escort of strong military detachments, which were always harassed, and often slain. The daily losses sustained by the French, in some parts of Spain, in procuring supplies and in keeping up their

communications, were not less than they would have suffered from an enemy able to oppose them in the field. The peasants employed the greatest energy, and the most profound cunning, to gratify their passionate resentment, by the destruction of the intruders. Like vultures pursuing their prey, they hovered around the French columns, to sacrifice such of the soldiers as fell behind on the march from fatigue or from wounds. Sometimes they would affect friendship, and strive to intoxicate the soldiers, in order to be able, in the night, to destroy them. Thus, at last, terror became the only means by which the French army could retain possession of the country. Pillage had become necessary for the support of the troops. Meanwhile, the atrocities consequent on the hostility of the people spread a moral contagion through the soldiery, and sapped the very foundations of military discipline."

In a word, the bitter animosity which had grown up between the Spaniards and their oppressors had turned the French army into a vast horde of demons, who slew, destroyed, and tormented the poor people, whenever they fell into their hands.

But this state of horror and of wretchedness was not much longer to endure, for with the opening of 1812 there dawned the day of deliverance for Spain. We have already mentioned that the English general, whose mind never slumbered, had been actively engaged, during the autumn and winter of 1811, in accumulating materials for offensive warfare; and, at the very beginning of the new year, "lord Wellington leaped with both feet on Ciudad Rodrigo."

The Agueda, which divides Spain from Portugal, was bridged over on the 1st of January; and by the 8th, the British army had crossed, and begun the siege. By

the 19th, two breaches had been effected, and on that evening the fortress was stormed and carried. The wresting this important place, by main force, from the hands of the French, was an event which was felt throughout Spain. It was followed by one still greater; for, on the 6th of April, after a struggle almost without a parallel, Badajos itself, garrisoned by 5,000 French veterans, was captured in the same manner; and the fall of these two mighty fortresses, "like the wrenching out of two huge corner-stones, shook the whole fabric of French power in Spain." Yet it was at this very moment, when his whole work was crumbling and falling to pieces in the peninsula, that Bonaparte, with a wonderful infatuation, set out upon an insane crusade to invade and conquer Russia.

In the full knowledge of this strange folly, lord Wellington, although still greatly outnumbered by the French armies in Spain, felt sufficient confidence to move forward. No important reinforcements were likely to reach the French commanders; but Marmont was still able to lead an army of 42,000 veterans against the forces under lord Wellington, which, of English, Portuguese, and Spanish, reached an aggregate of 46,398. The English general had seldom met the French with such an equality of strength. On the 22d of July, the collision took place, and the French were utterly defeated in the battle of Salamanca, with a loss of 12,435 men; while the loss of the allied army was only 5,224.

On the 12th of August, 1812, the British general, now earl of Wellington, entered Madrid, from which king Joseph had just taken flight; and where the people, "with tears and every sign of deep emotion, crowded round his horse, hung by his stirrups, touched

nis clothes, and, throwing themselves on their knees, blessed him aloud. The women, not content with garlands and flowers in endless profusion, took off their costly shawls and scarves, and spread them beneath his horse's feet."

The power of France in the peninsula was now broken; but one more campaign was needed to drive the last of their armies over the Pyrenees. In the spring, the Spanish government had declared Wellington "duke of Ciudad Rodrigo," and the Portuguese had named him "marquis of Torres Vedras." But, in September, the cortes of Spain made the last and greatest concession to common sense, by declaring him "commander-in-chief of all the Spanish armies."

Soult now felt it necessary to abandon Andalusia, and to unite his forces with the northern army. The French generals thus drew together a force of above 80,000 men; while Wellington, weakened by his engagements and marches, and by an ineffectual siege of Burgos, could not oppose to them more than half that number. But Soult, warned by Marmont's failure at Salamanca, feared to bring on a battle; and both armies, in November, went into winter quarters. The whole year, lord Wellington remarked, "had been productive of more important results than any campaign in which a British army had been engaged for the last century. Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and Salamanca had been taken by siege. Nearly 20,000 Frenchmen had been sent prisoners to England; and, in the fortresses and in other ways, nearly 3,000 pieces of cannon had been captured. The siege of Cadiz had been raised by the French, and all the country south of the Tagus was now free."

And now opened the eventful and decisive year,

1813, which was destined to rid the soil of Spain of those intrusive armies which had so long ravaged her plains and impoverished her cities. Wellington had under his command, as chief of the Spanish and Portuguese, as well as of the English armies, a force amounting, upon paper, to nearly 200,000 men. But of these the really available force, fit for action in the field, was the Anglo-Portuguese army of 70,000 men. He knew, however, that the French generals, who had suffered great losses in the course of 1812, could not have received any important reinforcements, since Bonaparte had carried the flower of the French army to perish in the snows of Russia. When, therefore, in the month of May, 1813, Wellington once more put his forces in motion for a march through Spain, he waved his hand as he crossed the Agueda, and cried out, "Farewell to Portugal!" He stepped upon the soil of Spain on the 22d of May, and in ten weeks from that day he was driving the last French soldier through the passes of the Pyrenees.

This, the final Spanish campaign, was marked by the same consummate talent which had saved Portugal by the lines of Torres Vedras, and struck a mortal blow at French usurpation in the battle of Salamanca. The French generals, and king Joseph, who now felt his throne tottering under him, knew that the assault was coming, but could not divine where the first blow would fall. Their strength was still too great to allow them to entertain the thought of abandoning Spain without a struggle. They drew together, therefore, about 70,000 men behind the Douro, expecting the English to advance by one of the two great roads of Salamanca or Talavera.

Wellington, however, disconcerted all their plans, by

adopting a line of march which had never occurred to them. He sent off general Graham, with 40,000 men, to cross the Douro at Lamego, and to march through Tras os Montes, to the Esla river in Leon; thus turning the right of the French position, and threatening their communications with France. In this way the first line of defence taken up by the French generals was rendered useless; and they fell back upon the Ebro. But again they found themselves out-flanked; and, in much confusion and fear, they took up, at last, a very unsafe position in front of Vittoria. The English general had forced them backward over three-fourths of Spain, without a battle, just as a skilful equestrian backs a refractory horse over whose mouth he has gained command. For four whole weeks did the English army march, crossing Spain from the Portuguese frontier till within a short distance of France, before the French commanders could find a position in which it was possible to fight. At Vittoria, however, they must needs make a stand, for the army was so encumbered with baggage, that to retreat in the face of the English commander would have been ruin. Yet to fight a battle was nothing less. Driven from position to position, their rout became total, and the retreat a disorderly flight. One of their own generals confesses, that "they lost all their equipages, all their guns, all their treasure, all their stores, all their papers: even the generals and the officers escaped with merely the clothes on their backs, and often barefooted." King Joseph's carriage, his plate, his jewels, his pictures, all were captured. "The soldiers of the British army," said Wellington, "got among them about a million sterling in money, with the exception of about 100,000 dollars which were saved for the military

chest." Marshal Jourdan's baton of a marshal of France was found among the plunder, and sent to the prince regent of England, who remitted to lord Wellington, in return, that of an English field-marshal.

The fugitives of the French army now fled for the Pyrenees. Soult, who was with Bonaparte at Dresden, was suddenly sent off to Spain, to retrieve, if possible, the French position. He arrived on the frontier on the 12th of July, and on the 25th made a fresh attack on the allied forces. "The battles of the Pyrenees" lasted nearly a week; but about the 2d of August the main army of the French finally evacuated Spain.

Such was the result of that wonderful infatuation to which Bonaparte, in the counsels of Divine Providence, was given up; and which led him to neglect his difficult and perilous Spanish enterprise all through 1810 and 1811, when it was in his power, humanly speaking, to have brought it to a desired conclusion. This infatuation not only lost him Spain, it lost him the empire of Europe also. Wellington's victories not merely gave freedom to the peninsula; they overthrew Bonaparte both in Russia and in Germany. The way in which the spectre of ravaged Spain rose in his path at more than one crisis of his fate, is a wonderful proof of the wisdom and watchfulness of the Divine government. In 1812, bent on the humiliation of Russia, he dealt her a tremendous blow at Borodino. But just when the Russian emperor might have been expected to succumb, there came upon the wind the sound of "Salamanca"—the news of Joseph's flight from Madrid; and the northern potentate nerved himself afresh to the conflict. Still more marked was the event of the next year. The forces of Russia and Prussia had been worsted both at Lutzen and at Bautzen. An armistice

had been agreed upon, avowedly to give time for negotiation. Austria was still undecided ; and all seemed to portend that a new peace would be patched up, and that Bonaparte would still be left the most powerful sovereign in Europe. Just then was heard in Dresden, and in the camp of the allies, that Vittoria had seen the decisive rout of the French, and that Wellington stood on the Pyrenees, ready to descend into the plains of France. This news sealed the fate of the French ruler. Russia and Prussia regretted that they had ever thought of negotiation ; Austria quickly united her forces with theirs ; and at Leipsic Bonaparte suffered his last defeat in Germany, and fled into France to prepare for his final conflict and his doom. Thus his greatest crime proved also one great instrument of his fall ; and it was seen how wonderfully Divine Providence, after having endowed a chosen instrument of vengeance with consummate talent and enormous power, could neutralize both, and bring on his deserved fall, by simply abandoning him to the infatuation of pride and the intoxication of self-confidence.

The brief campaign of 1814 was not a Spanish war, and we are not called upon to describe it. The battle of Toulouse, the last engagement of the war, took place on the 10th of April, and immediately after, the news of the abdication of the French emperor reached the camp ; and peace soon followed. The whole struggle, brought on by Bonaparte's covetous desire to add the peninsula to his vast dominions, lasted from June, 1808, until April, 1814, or about five years and three-quarters.

And in that period what crimes had been committed ! what wrongs endured ! what torrents of blood had been shed ! Ten great battles had the English fought,

in several of which the losses, including those on both sides, had reached 12,000 or 15,000 men. Several assaults on fortresses had taken place, in one of which the English lost 5,000. As for the Spaniards, they had been beaten in more than twenty battles; in one of which an army of 50,000 men was utterly ruined. In sieges, the losses of both French and Spanish were enormous. The two sieges of Saragossa caused the loss of 60,000 or 80,000 lives; that of Gerona sacrificed more than 20,000. Sickesses in the armies, owing to want or exposure, swept off myriads. Massena, in his invasion of Portugal in 1810, lost 40,000 men from these causes; and in the next year the British, encamped behind the Agueda, had 20,000 in hospital. But besides all these wholesale ways of destruction, there was going on, daily and hourly, in all parts of Spain, that ceaseless, endless guerilla warfare, which slew more than many battles. The animosity was deadly on both sides. The villagers killed all the French who came within reach of their rifles, and the French retaliated. An English soldier, describing Massena's retreat from Portugal in 1811, says: "In one small village I counted seventeen dead bodies, of men, women, and children; and most of the houses were burned to the ground." Capt. Moyle Sherer, who himself served in the peninsula, describes one of these guerillas with whom he came in contact. The poor man told him: "Señor, I have no home, no relations, nothing save my country and my sword. My father was led out and shot in the market-place of my native village; our cottage was burned; my mother died of grief; and my wife, after being brutally ill treated by the French soldiers, escaped to me, and died in my arms. I serve under no particualar chief: I am

too miserable, too revengeful to submit to discipline and military rule. I go on any enterprise I hear of; I follow the boldest leader, but I have sworn never to dress a vine or plough a field until the last Frenchman has been driven out of Spain." * Amidst such scenes as these, and while thousands burned with the same fierce passions, it is without any surprise that we read the testimony of Rocca, a French officer, who says: "The daily losses sustained by the French from this harassing guerilla warfare were not less than if they had been constantly engaged with an enemy in the field."

Embracing, then, all these horrors—including in our view battles, sieges, pestilence, and guerilla warfare—spread over a period of nearly six years, it is evident that we take a low and inadequate estimate of the loss of human life in this protracted war, when we reckon it at half a million.† *Five hundred thousand lives, and more* than five hundred thousand, were unquestionably sacrificed, merely because one daring and unscrupulous conqueror had been seized with an ambitious desire to possess a kingdom to which he had not the slightest claim. To gratify this cupidity, this lust of dominion and of power, were hundreds of thousands of the soldiers of France marched into Spain, from whence not one-fifth of them ever returned. These, regarded as enemies by the Spanish people, were assailed as such, and thus a bitter and bloody strife began. For five long years was the fierce struggle carried on, blood flowing daily, rapine and conflagration never ceasing; till in the end the cause of justice and of right pre-

* Recollections of the Peninsula, p. 248.

† Of the French armies in Spain, we hear, at several periods, that they had been brought up to a strength of 300,000 or 330,000. And yet, though constantly reinforced, it is doubtful if so many as 100,000 ever returned.

vailed; and the invaders were driven back, after causing the deaths of more than half a million of human beings. Such is ambition, of the coarsest, rudest kind. Yet, so fond are men of the glare and brilliancy of military talent, that when all this selfish and reckless cruelty is united with the power of wielding large armies and gaining great victories, they too generally extenuate, or even admire these crimes, and place the name of the criminal among those of the noblest and loftiest of mankind.

CHAPTER XV.

SPAIN AS RESTORED, AND AS NOW EXISTING.

A. D. 1814—1860.

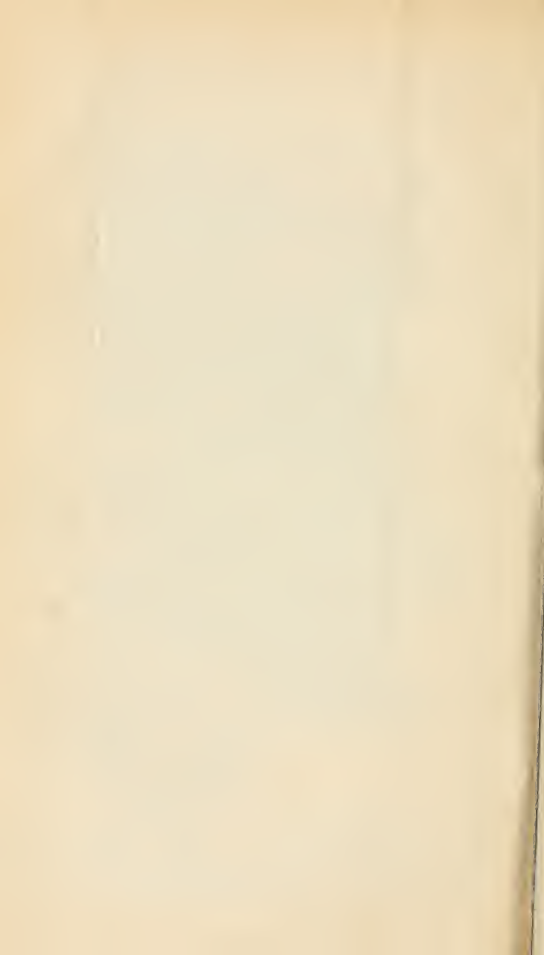
ENGLAND, as a principal agent in the hands of Divine Providence, had now accomplished the deliverance of Spain. The forces of the French emperor had been expelled; the legitimate king of Spain soon returned to his capital; and nothing remained but to reorganize a native government, and to strive, by good legislation, renewed industry, and an able and impartial administration of the laws, to efface the traces of the recent calamities. Happy would it have been for Spain, if the rulers and the people of the land, abating somewhat of their stateliness and their dignified inactivity, could have seriously weighed the causes of England's power, and of their own weakness; and could have assimilated, in some degree, their own institutions to those of the land which had, in the last two centuries, so manifestly outstripped them in the race.

But it was acutely said of the Bourbons of the nineteenth century, that, on their restoration, "they soon showed that they had learned nothing, and had forgotten nothing." England, too, in affording aid to Spain, had given that aid unconditionally. She did not attempt to conceal the fact, that her warfare with Bonaparte was dictated by a policy of self-preservation. She saw in the French emperor a conqueror who evidently aimed at universal dominion, and who manifested his desire to invade and humble England, in order to remove one main obstacle from his path. She, therefore, very



Longitude East from Greenwich

1789



naturally, lent the most liberal and earnest aid to all those European states which, at various periods, withstood his will ; in order thereby to find occupation for his armies on the continent, and so to postpone, at least for a time, his purposed attempt on the independence of England. With this obvious and avowed policy, England did not claim the full measure of Spain's obligation ; admitting that she had been fighting, at one and the same time, the battle of Spain and of Portugal, and also her own. Such having been the relative position of the three allied powers during the whole of this long contest, England did not utter any loud complaints, when, on the termination of the war, the two peninsular kingdoms saw their deliverers depart, almost unthanked for services the greatest that ever one state had rendered to another. Spain and Portugal, therefore, were now left to themselves, free from the slightest pressure on the part of England. If, during the forty-six years which have since elapsed, they have not been so well governed as might have been hoped, no blame attaches to their ally ; for her advice has generally been disregarded, and she claimed no right to offer anything further.

The history of Spain during the two centuries and a half which have passed since the death of Philip II., presents a singular series of changes. Three periods, each distinctly marked, have succeeded each other, and each period has had its three sovereigns. These may be described as, First, three unworthy kings ; Secondly, three respectable ones ; and, Thirdly, the ascendancy of three queens evil repute.

The three princes of the Austrian line, who succeeded Philip II. and ruled from 1621 to 1700, were as weak and worthless sovereigns as ever ruled over a great kingdom.

They were, each and all, entirely sunk in sensual enjoyments, leaving the affairs of the realm wholly in the hands of men who could stoop to pander to their vices. And when the last of the three died childless, "it was time," says one historian, "to change the dynasty: another such reign, and society must have been dissolved."

Then followed three kings of the Bourbon line, who presented a singular contrast. They were not only greatly superior to their predecessors, but they were far superior to most of the kings of France, the stock from which they themselves had been derived. Philip v., Ferdinand vi., and Charles iii., who reigned from 1700 till 1788, were men of blameless morals, presenting in married life the purest examples to their people; and they were also earnestly desirous of the good of the realm over which they ruled, labouring assiduously for the improvement of the country, effecting many important reforms, and bringing about "a rapid course of national prosperity."

Lastly, from 1788 to the present time, history presents to us three rulers merely bearing the name of king; while all actual power was left in the hands of the queens, who were, successively, under the influence of favourites.

But we must now commence a rapid review of the period, of nearly half a century, which has elapsed since the expulsion of the French and the restoration of the Spanish monarchy.

When the army of the duke of Wellington had descended from the Pyrenees and encamped on the soil of France, while the forces of Russia and Germany appeared on the Rhine, Bonaparte made a virtue of necessity, and restored liberty to Ferdinand vii., who arrived on the Spanish frontiers on the 20th of March,

1814, and entered the kingdom now once more his own on the 24th, and took up his abode for the present at Valencia.

Two years before this, in the cortes held at Cadiz, a new constitution had been framed, to which the regents, cardinal Bourbon and two others, had given their adhesion. It was also understood that Ferdinand himself, before he had re-entered Spain, had promised his assent to this charter, and that Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and the other allies of Spain, had signified their approval of it. But immediately the king had set foot in his kingdom, he was surrounded by the grandees, and by the chief ecclesiastics; and their voice was loud and earnest against any constitution, any charter. Their retainers surrounded Ferdinand, whenever he appeared in public, with cries of "Long live the absolute king. No cortes. No constitution." The king was not slow in yielding to these evil advisers. A decree, dated Valencia, May 4, 1814, dissolved the cortes, declared the constitution null and void, and established an absolute monarchy. Soon after, the Inquisition was formally re-established, and the Jesuits were recalled; one or two insurrections of the partisans of the constitution were suppressed, and the reign of despotism and intolerance seemed permanently re-established.

This doleful condition of affairs lasted rather more than five years. Early in 1820, a new insurrection, planned chiefly among the higher officers of the army, broke out. Generals Riego and Mina proclaimed once more the constitution of 1812; Saragossa, Pampeluna, Valencia, Granada, and several other cities, followed the example, and declared their adhesion; and even at Madrid so much excitement prevailed, that Ferdinand,

to quiet the people, appeared at a window of the palace with the constitution in his hand, to which he signified his adhesion. This was in March, 1820; and in fulfilment of this pledge, a meeting of the cortes was summoned, at which, on the 9th of July, the king publicly declared his acceptance of the constitution. The liberal party had now the ascendancy, and violence, tumult, and disorder prevailed, to the terror of the absolutist party; just as, in the previous five years, exile or imprisonment had been the lot of the constitutionals. This state of things lasted about three years, and it was then terminated by a new French interposition. In 1823, Louis XVIII. of France, affecting to regard his cousin Ferdinand as one deprived of free agency, and as in duress, sent an army of 100,000 men into Spain, under the command of the duke d'Angoulême, who entered Madrid on the 24th of May. The king retired with the cortes to Cadiz, whither the French army followed him. On the 4th October the duke marched into the city, and Ferdinand removed to the French head-quarters. He thence issued a proclamation, declaring all the acts of the cortes null and void, and re-establishing the absolute form of government. General Riego and a few other adherents to the constitution were put to death in Madrid; and the French army, having thus restored the king to the possession of unlimited power, gradually returned home.

In 1829, Ferdinand, having been twice married, but being still childless, took a third wife, Christina, a Neapolitan princess; and in 1833 he died, leaving two daughters (the present queen of Spain, and her sister), and entrusting to his consort the regency during the minority of the eldest, whom he declared his successor.

As the Salic law, which excludes females from the succession, had long prevailed in Spain, a party was immediately formed in support of Don Carlos, the late king's brother. The partisans of the constitution, having no hope from Don Carlos, who was wholly in the hands of the priests, generally took part with the queen regent; and a kind of civil war broke out between the Carlists on the one side, and the Cristinos on the other. As the regent needed the aid of the constitutionalists to preserve her daughter's crown, she appeared, for a time, to favour them. In 1836, a new decree appeared, again establishing the constitution of 1812. In 1837, that constitution was revised and amended by the cortes, and the regent again solemnly pledged her adherence to it.

But she never sincerely espoused the constitutional cause; and a political struggle went on during several years between her and Espartero, the leader of the constitutionalists. In 1840, queen Christina was forced to resign her regency; and Espartero was declared by the cortes regent in her room. In 1843, another change took place. Espartero was compelled to leave Spain, and the cortes declared the young queen, Isabella, of age to assume her royal functions.

Three years after this, in 1846, a French intrigue was successful; and, under queen Christina's auspices, a double marriage was celebrated; the young queen being united to her cousin, the son of Don Francisco, one of the brothers of Ferdinand VII.; and, on the same day, her sister being wedded to the duke de Montpensier, a younger son of the French king. Louis Philippe thus obtained a reversion, at least, of the crown of Spain (should the queen die without children) for one of his own descendants.

The union of the queen with one of her cousins was intended to pacify and silence the Carlist faction; and it had, in some measure, that effect. Absolutist principles, and the influence of the priesthood, began to prevail, and the constitutionalists became discontented with the state of affairs. In 1854, a fresh outbreak took place at Madrid, a "national junta" was established, Espartero was recalled, and the queen-mother was banished from Spain. But this revival proved, like former movements of the same kind, only ephemeral; and in two years its influence ended. In July, 1856, court intrigues succeeded in forcing Espartero to retire; and his place was filled by O'Donnell, who, in his turn, was displaced by general Narvaez. The cortes was dissolved, martial law was proclaimed, and the national guard of Spain was definitively suppressed. Since then, one or two other changes have occurred; but the influence of the priesthood, and of the partisans of absolutism, seems now conclusively re-established. A war, lasting a few months, with the Moors, on their own territory, has in some measure augmented O'Donnell's power, and the government seems, for the present, wholly in his hands. The court, and the queen herself most prominently, appear devoted to the Romish priesthood, and Spain may be deemed to be foremost among all the continental nations in the support of the so-called "holy see."

In treating, however, of the state and progress of Spain since the expulsion of the French armies in 1813-14, we must take some notice of the great change which has taken place in the colonial dependencies of the peninsula. At the close of the last century, as for three centuries preceding, Spain and Portugal stood at the head of all the nations of Europe,

in respect to the extent and value of their foreign possessions. Even as recently as in 1809, the exports of Spain to her South American colonies reached the enormous annual amount of 15,200,000*l.*, and the imports from those colonies into Spain were 17,150,000*l.** The greatness of this trade may be measured by a comparison. Seven years later, and after the re-establishment of a general peace, England did not export, to all her colonies, in Asia, Africa, and America, of her own produce and manufactures, to a larger amount than 10,439,281*l.*†

Spain and Portugal, at that time, owned the entire continent of South America, with the trivial exception of a small portion of its northern coast, which had been colonized by the English, the French, and the Dutch. Spain possessed also Mexico, Yucatan, California, and Central America, besides Cuba, Porto Rico, and a large portion of St. Domingo, called Hispaniola. A list of the chief of her colonial possessions at that time (with their present populations) will show how wealthy the peninsula then was in foreign territories:—

Mexico (present population)	7,200,000
Yucatan	680,948
Central America	2,019,000
New Granada	2,363,000
Venezuela.	1,356,000
Ecuador	665,000
Peru	2,400,000
Chili (and Bolivia)	3,089,120
La Plata	874,000
Paraguay and Urruguay	600,000
Florida	87,400
California	507,067
Cuba and Porto Rico	1,516,125
Trinidad	68,405
Hispaniola (the whole island)	563,000

* Humboldt, *Essai. Polit.* iv. 153, 154.

† Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, p. 359.

Of all these noble colonies, only Cuba and Porto Rico, with a few insignificant islands in other parts of the world (the Canary isles, the Philippines, the Ladrones, etc.), now remain in the possession of Spain. Hispaniola, as we have said in a former chapter, was ceded to the French in 1795; and Florida, in 1820, was sold to the United States. But Mexico, Chili, Peru, Venezuela, and in fact all the South American colonies of Spain, revolted from her, and asserted their independence, between the years 1819 and 1825.

The great kingdom, or, as it is now styled, "the empire of Brazil," with its 7,600,000 of inhabitants, had been a possession of Portugal for centuries; but in 1822 it resolved to be independent; accepted a Portuguese prince as emperor; and so terminated its connexion with the European kingdom. And thus the peninsula, so long the head of a multitude of kingdoms in various parts of the world, stands, at last, stripped of nearly all, and left to its own natural resources, which are great, and to the spirit and energy of its inhabitants, which are but small.

CHAPTER XVI.

DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH OF THE PENINSULA.

WE have now passed in review the state of the Iberian Peninsula in ancient, mediæval, and modern times. We have given some of those details of its condition and its history which have been left on record by the geographers and historians of Greek and Roman times. Its Gothic and Moorish days have been described by both monkish and Arabian writers; and its modern state and history, under its adopted sovereigns of Austrian and French descent, have been abundantly delineated by various cotemporary historians. It only remains that we should endeavour to give, in the remaining chapters, some general outline of the present state of Spain, its cities, its people, and its prospects, both civil and religious.

Probably the best method of affording such a general review of the subject will be by placing ourselves and the reader in the position of a traveller, who, having become acquainted with the past history of Spain, desires now, by a rapid tour, to learn something of the main features of the country, and of the character and condition of its inhabitants. Let us suppose such an one, after traversing the chief provinces of France, to resolve on crossing the Pyrenees, and inspecting, for himself, the various realms and ancient kingdoms which now form the two states called Spain and Portugal.

Entering the country, then, from the north, the traveller sees the peninsula stretched out before him, in shape and form resembling, as they said of old, an ox-hide ; with its chief city, Madrid, and the royal province, Castile in the centre, Lisbon and Portugal on the right or western side, Valencia and Catalonia on the left or eastern side, and Andalusia and Granada in the south. The peninsula touches France by a portion only of its northern boundary—on the edges of Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia. The traveller, entering by St. Jean Pied-de-port and Roncesvalles, resolves to traverse the western side first ; then to visit the south, and to return through Castile into Valencia and the eastern provinces.

The first portions of Spain which thus come under his view are, Navarre, Biscay, and the unconquered Asturias.

NAVARRÉ is the province on which he first sets foot. It was for about seven centuries part of a small independent kingdom, and fell, in 1512, into the ambitious grasp of "Ferdinand the Catholic." Its scenery is Alpine and picturesque ; and the game on the mountains and the fish in the rivers are abundant. Its mountain-summits are exceeded in altitude by many others in Spain ; but the Altobiscar rises to a height of 5,380 feet, and the Adi, to 5,218. The Navarrese are temperate, brave, enduring, and make excellent guerillas. Their frontier position offers a great temptation to illicit trade, and smuggling is the bane of Navarre. The whole population of the province, in 1857, was 297,422. The chief city of Navarre is Pampeluna, with a population of 15,000. It has an ancient cathedral, and a strong citadel, in defending which, in 1521, Ignatius Loyola received a wound ; during the confinement consequent upon which he conceived the design and outline of the Jesuit fraternity.

Adjoining Navarre is BISCAY, or the Basque provinces—the *Cantabria* of the ancients. These northern coasts of Spain enjoy a temperate climate, and produce neither wine nor oil. The people are hardy, patient, enduring mountaineers, and, like the Navarrese, make bad soldiers, but excellent guerillas. The mountain sides are covered with oak and chestnut-trees, and the valleys are chiefly devoted to pasture. The Basques have a language of their own, which they believe to have been spoken by Adam in Paradise. It is exceedingly difficult, and offers few inducements to the learner, since it has no literature. Vittoria is the chief town in Biscay; it has a population of 10,000; and will long be famed for the crowning victory of Wellington in Spain. The battle of Vittoria, fought on the 21st of June, 1813, put an end to the dominion of the French in the peninsula, and sent the intrusive king flying over the Pyrenees. The Basque provinces contained, in 1857, a population of 413,470.

ASTURIAS, or “the Asturias,” has been called “the Wales of the peninsula,” from its having been, repeatedly, the mountain refuge of the ancient people of Spain. Its climate is cold in winter and temperate in summer; and some of its mountains rise to an elevation of more than 10,000 feet. The country is well wooded, and full of streams abounding with fish. The people have a considerable resemblance to the Swiss. The population of the province, in 1857, was 738,970. Oviedo is its chief town, having about 9,000 inhabitants. Its cathedral, built in 1388, stands on the site of an ancient one founded in 802, in the days of Alfonso II., the great grandson of Pelayo. This city is one of the oldest of the Gothic strongholds, and pretends to the possession of some wonderful relics. Among these are reckoned

an ivory crucifix, carved by Nicodemus; a sandal of St. Peter; the *santo sudario*, or shroud of our Saviour; and the portable altar used by the apostles. More within the limits of credibility are some Gothic relics, particularly the ancient oaken cross of Pelayo, said to have been carried before him at his victory at Cangas, A.D. 718. This part of Spain is rich in Gothic relics or recollections; and at every corner the traveller is reminded of Roderic or Pelayo, of Favila or Fruella.

From the Asturias we pass into GALICIA, which occupies the north-west corner of the peninsula. This province, formerly an independent sovereignty, is more extensive and populous than either of the three through which we have passed; having a coast-line of more than 240 miles, and a population of 1,776,879. It has a temperate climate, is full of timber, and rich in cattle and swine. Its hills are the resort of boars and wolves, and its numerous streams abound in salmon. The people in one respect resemble our own Irish: they furnish the peninsula with swarms of active labourers for every department of industry. Corunna, its chief port, boasts a great antiquity. Founded by the Phœnicians, it was captured by the Romans about 61 B.C. To Englishmen it will always possess a peculiar interest, as the scene of the last hours of the gallant Moore. But Santiago, or St. Iago de Compostella, in the eyes of a Spaniard, claims a degree of honour and veneration which belongs to scarcely any other spot on the habitable globe. Here, he is assured, the apostle James, the son of Zebedee, preached the gospel shortly after our Lord's ascension. Legends of the most astonishing absurdity are universally believed; as to the miraculous conveyance of the apostle's body, shortly after his martyrdom (Acts xii. 2), into Spain, and its conveyance, for no conceivable reason,

into this remote corner of the peninsula. Yet it is admitted that its existence was unknown or forgotten for nearly 800 years ; until, about 828 or 829, its presence was revealed by miraculous lights hovering over a spot, where, on digging, the body was found—still a body, after a lapse of eight hundred years. The first cathedral rose over this supposed tomb in 874 ; and, since then, pilgrimage to the tomb of so great an apostle has naturally become fashionable throughout Spain, and, at some periods, throughout Christendom also.

From Galicia the transition will be easy to Lusitania, the modern PORTUGAL. This, though in past ages often united with and forming an integral part of Spain, yet has more frequently been, and is now, a separate and independent sovereignty. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries it was a dependency of Galicia. About the time of the great Almansor, most of the country was in the possession of the Moorish sovereigns of Spain. But Alfonso VI. of Castile, in 1093, reduced Santarem, Lisbon, and Cintra, and gave them to his son-in-law, Henry of Besançon, with the title of count of Portugal. Henry's son, Alfonso I. of Portugal, after a great victory over the Moors at Ourique, in 1137, was saluted and proclaimed king. The crown remained in his family until 1580, when, on the death of another Henry, Philip II. of Spain claimed the succession, seized on Lisbon, and made Portugal once more a Spanish province. It so remained until 1640, when Joam IV. of the house of Braganza, raised the standard of Portugal once more, and the government of Spain was in hands too weak to wrest it from his grasp. Since then, Portugal has never lost its independence.

It is naturally a rich and beautiful country, but it is spoiled by the ignorance and indolence of the people.

The products of the soil are various and abundant, and the population in 1854 was 3,817,251. Yet McCulloch estimates the annual exports and imports at no more than 2,000,000*l.* sterling, and of these exports the chief portion consists of wine, fruits, and sheep's wool. The scenery is, in many parts, exquisitely beautiful. One of our poets has said :—

“It is a goodly sight to see
What Heaven hath done for this delicious land ;
What fruits of fragrance blush on every tree ;
What goodly prospects o'er the hills expand.”

But another reminds us, that

“God made the country, but man made the town.”

When we enter the habitations of man, in Portugal, we are sure to find something to repel. “All classes seem to despise cleanliness ; and the Portuguese towns, generally, are entitled to the distinction of being about the filthiest in Europe. The morals of both sexes are lax in the extreme ; and on the whole, the Portuguese rank about as low in the social scale as any people in Christendom.”*

The Spaniards, in their Castilian pride, have a proverb, that “God made the Castilian, and then the Portuguese to wait on him.” Another proverb says, “Strip a Spaniard of all his virtues, and you make a good Portuguese of him.” The great duke, however, after several years' labour, made such soldiers of the Portuguese as he was not afraid to oppose to the best troops of France. His own despatches give the explanation :—“Discipline, and a system of good order, which can only be founded on regular pay, food, good care, and clothing ;—and hence the Portuguese are now the fighting-cocks of the army.”†

* McCulloch, vol. ii p. 543.

† Despatches of Wellington, July 25, 1813.

Portugal has little to show except fine natural scenery. Lisbon is "a large ruinous city," with a population of about 250,000 ; but Cintra, about fifteen miles from it, is "a mingled scene of fairy beauty, savage grandeur, domes, turrets, enormous trees, flowers, and waterfalls, such as is met with nowhere else beneath the sun." The other cities are Oporto, Evora, and Coimbra.

The colonies of Portugal, formerly so important and so valuable, are now few and insignificant. The beautiful island of Madeira has been impoverished by the vine-disease ; Brazil is now severed from Portugal ; there remain the Azores, Cape Verd, and Guinea islands, Mozambique in Africa, and Goa and Macao in Asia.

From Portugal our traveller will proceed through Leon and Estremadura, into the fertile and beautiful provinces of the south.

LEON, for nearly five hundred years a kingdom, has now only 1,293,427 inhabitants. It is a rugged portion of Spain, chiefly agricultural, and possessing a peasantry of primitive simplicity. Its most famous places are Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca. The first, a really strong fortress, is one of the keys of Spain on the western side. Its siege had occupied two French marshals, Ney and Massena, for several weeks, while only held by a Spanish garrison. They had greatly strengthened its defences, and had given it a strong garrison of French veterans, under an able and gallant commander. Lord Wellington appeared before it on Jan. 8, 1812, and carried it by storm on the 19th. Marmont, writing to the French emperor on its loss, said, "There is something so *incomprehensible* in all this, that until I know more, I refrain from any remarks." The Spanish government, equally astonished, created the English

general a duke, and gave him his title from "Ciudad Rodrigo."

At Salamanca, Marmont met Wellington himself, when the English general, to use a French officer's expression, "beat 40,000 Frenchmen in forty minutes," taking two eagles, eleven cannon, and 7,000 prisoners. Mr. Ford says : * "The houses of the humble Leonese are always open to an Englishman. They remember Salamanca, and him whom they call *El gran lor*—the great lord—the Cid of England." Col. Napier, writing of this day, and of its victor, says : "I saw him late on the evening of that great day ; he was alone ; the flush of victory was on his brow, and his eyes were eager and watchful ; but his voice was calm, and even gentle. More than the rival of Marlborough—for he had defeated greater generals than Marlborough ever encountered—he seemed, with prescient pride, only to accept this victory as an earnest of greater glory."

Salamanca has long been famous for its university, founded in 1239, and which, in the fourteenth century, boasted its 16,000 or 17,000 students. In the sixteenth, under the cold shade of Philip and the Inquisition, these had diminished to 7,000 ; but so deplorably did the French invasion hasten this decline, that in October 1846, on opening the autumnal term, only 30 doctors and 400 students appeared.

ESTREMADURA was so called, as the *Extrema Ora*—the last and furthest conquest made by Alonzo IX. in 1228. It is now chiefly devoted to sheep-feeding ; the population of a large province being only 707,115. "The cities are few and dull ; the roads are made by sheep, not men ; the inns are mere stables for beasts ;

* Handbook of Spain, p. 506.

the very existence of the province seems to be forgotten by the government at Madrid." *

Badajos, a dull town of 11,000 inhabitants, is its most famous city. In 1811 a treacherous Spanish commandant sold the possession of it to the French. Wellington spoke of its disgraceful surrender, with 7,155 Spaniards in the garrison, as "the most fatal event of the war." It cost the sacrifice of nearly 5,000 British soldiers to re-take it. The trenches were opened on the 16th of March, 1812, and it was stormed and captured on the 6th of April. "No age," says colonel Napier, "ever sent forth braver troops than those who stormed and carried Badajos."

Merida, in this province, is the *Emerita Augusta* of the Romans: here, "at every step we tread on some vestige of the past." In the same vicinity, also, are Talavera, Albuera, and Almaraz; all now famous as the scenes of British victories. Here, too, is Yuste, the scene of the last days and hours of Spain's greatest sovereign—Charles I. (or V.)

We now enter the famous and fertile ANDALUSIA—the *Tarshish* of Isaiah and of Jonah; the *Batica* of the Romans; the *Four Kingdoms* of the Moors. Here, including Granada, we find a population of 2,937,183, with the ancient and important cities of Cadiz, Seville, Cordova, Jaen, Granada, and Almeria. Of these we have already spoken in preceding chapters, and shall therefore say little in this place. Cadiz, which even at the beginning of the present century had 100,000 inhabitants, has now little more than 50,000. It is the Bristol of Spain; a city of great antiquity, and of ancient trade. Near it is Cape *Trafalgar*, an ever-memorable name; and a little further on, Tarifa, the

* Handbook of Spain, p. 462.

ancient *Tartessus*. Returning, and sailing up the Guadalquivir, we pass by Xeres, famous for its wine (sherry), of which from 30,000 to 35,000 butts are annually produced ; and we soon arrive at Seville. This is still a city of 112,000 inhabitants, enclosed in the old Moorish walls of nearly five miles in circuit, having sixty-six towers, and fifteen gates. It is an archbishop's see, and had formerly within its walls 140 wealthy convents and churches. It remained for nearly five hundred years under Moslem dominion ; and the traces of the Moors are still unobliterated. The gorgeous and massive remains of their architecture furnish endless subjects for study to artists and antiquarians. Two centuries ago, it is said to have had 16,000 silk looms, giving employment to 130,000 people. At present it has about 2,500 looms. Around its walls, olive-farms abound. The oil of Bætica was celebrated more than two thousand years ago ; and as recently as in 1849 the export of olive-oil from Spain was 1,487,401 arrobas.*

From Seville we ascend to Cordova, the *Corduba* of Carthaginian times. We have already stated that in the palmy days of the Moorish sovereigns this city numbered nearly a million of inhabitants : it is now "a dirty and decaying town," with about 55,000 people. Cordova has never recovered the pillage inflicted on it by Dupont in 1808. Its rich churches and convents were all stripped of their valuables, and the invaders carried off more than ten millions of reals. The French general, for his own share, obtained £25,000.

GRANADA, once a Moorish kingdom with 3,000,000 of inhabitants, at a time when all England and Wales contained less than four-fifths of that number, is now a province with only 1,200,000 people. The city, which

* A measure equal to nearly three gallons and a third.

formerly had 200,000 or 300,000 inhabitants, now contains about 60,000. The Alhambra and other wonderful remains of Moorish grandeur attract the attention of all travellers; while to the present inhabitants they seem to possess no interest. Above the city rises the Sierra Nevada, one mountain in which, Mulhacen, rises to the height of 11,271 feet. Jaen, another ancient city, formerly the capital of a Moorish kingdom, is now a poor, dull town, with about 17,000 people. Of this most beautiful portion of Spain, Mr. Ford says: "The land, once a paradise, seems cursed by man's ravage and neglect. Justly did the ancients place their Elysian fields midst these golden orange-groves. But the traveller now rides through lands once cultivated, but now returned to waste, and over districts once teeming with life, but now depopulated."*

The character of these southern Spaniards, without actually resembling that of the French, approaches it more nearly than does that of any of the districts which lie nearer to France. The Andalusian is gay, lively, fond of the dance and the public game or show. "The people," says Mr. Blanco White, "are hospitable and cheerful. The women, without being at all beautiful, are really fascinating. The evening parties, at Seville or Cadiz, are lively and agreeable; no stiffness of etiquette prevails."

We must not quit the Andalusian territory without a brief allusion to a famous spot which is part of the *soil*, and yet not part of the *kingdom*, of Spain. It will be understood that we speak of Gibraltar. This wonderful fortress takes its name from the first Moorish conqueror of Spain—Tarik: its name among the Moslems being *Gebal Tarik*, the hill of Tarik; so

* Handbook of Spain, p. 129.

called in memory of the valiant lieutenant of Musa, who landed here on the 30th of April, 711. The Moors held it for nearly six hundred years. It was then taken from them by Guzman el Bueno, but recaptured in 1333. Finally, it became Spanish territory in 1462, and remained a part of the kingdom of Spain until 1704, when it was surprised and taken by Sir George Rooke. When England was involved in a contest with her North American colonies, France and Spain, then allied, thought the opportunity a favourable one for an effort to recover this stronghold out of the hands of the English. They began a siege which lasted four years. The fortress was but poorly manned and ill-provided; but it resisted, under general Eliot, the utmost efforts of the allied armaments. Since then the possession of this great fortress has been conceded to England without further question; and it remains with her as "a post of power, a post of superiority, of connexion, and of commerce—one which makes her invaluable to her friends, and dreadful to her enemies." The importance of Gibraltar to the freedom of the Mediterranean increases with the increasing value of India and the east. Its fortifications have been still further strengthened, even as recently as in 1840, and it is now one of the strongest places existing in the world.

Merely glancing at MURCIA, one of the smallest provinces of Spain, with 582,087 people, and which is described by Mr. Ford as "thinly-peopled and very dry," we come to the royal city and province of Madrid and CASTILE.

This central and governing province constitutes a large portion of the central plateau of Spain, of which realm it is truly "the heart and citadel." In former days, and still in some measure, it was regarded as two,

—the Old and the New Castile. This table-land of Spain is raised to an average height of 2,000 feet above the sea; and it was peopled, in ancient times, by the *Celtiberi*. The name of Castilla is found as far back as 801, when the Moors began to know it as “the land of Castles.” Placed, as a fair and noble prize, between the stubborn Asturians in the north, and the fierce and warlike Moslems in the south, Castile remained, for two or three centuries, the battle-field of the Christians and the Moors. Under a warlike Asturian prince, like Alfonso III., the Moslems would be driven behind the Guadiana, and one half of the peninsula would be under Christian rule. Under a great Arabian captain, such as Almansor, the Asturians would be chased back to their hills, and Spain would seem once more almost wholly Moorish. But about 1026, the power of the crescent seemed to depart, and Castile became an established kingdom of Spain.

This important district of the peninsula is rich in antiquities and national recollections, but its plains are dreary table-lands, “treeless, songless, joyless.” The Castilians have no fondness for trees, unless they bear fruit; and the farmers dislike them, as harbouring birds which eat up the corn. The air is singularly dry and clear, and drought is the chief evil in the natural world which is known in Castile. “In summer the dust irritates the eye, already sickened by the nakedness of the land; and the silence of man and nature chills the heart.”* Still, these dusty plains produce some of the finest wheat in the world; and good red wine is made in some parts of the royal province.

The Castilians, slow, proud, and indolent, are still “the virility, vitality and heart of the nation.” “All

* Handbook of Spain, p. 653.

the power of Europe," said lord Peterborough, more than a century ago, "would not be sufficient to subdue the Castiles if the people were against it." The ancient characteristics of a true Castilian were said to be, "*gravedad, lealtad, y amor de Dios*,—that is, gravity, loyalty, and the love of God. The genuine old Castilian is true to his king, to his faith, and to himself,—his religion, however, tending to bigotry, and his loyalty to blind submission. He hates foreign interference, clings to the old ways, thinks Spain the first kingdom in the world, Castile the first province of Spain, and himself (when it is possible so to think) the first man in Castile.

Madrid, the capital of Castile and of Spain, was elevated to this distinction by Philip II. in 1560. But the Official Guide-book of 1845 informs us that that year (1845) was the 2595th from the foundation of Rome, and the 4011th from the foundation of Madrid. The city is built in the form of a square, about two leagues in circuit, walled round, and entered by fifteen gates. Its population, in 1857, was 281,170. Its selection by Philip for the capital was a grand mistake. The next century one of his successors saw the error, and wished to remedy it; but a great city, once built, could not be transplanted. Had Philip, who possessed Portugal, fixed the capital at Lisbon, the two kingdoms of the peninsula would never have been again disunited; and the metropolis would have been placed on a noble river, looking to the sea. The present capital is disagreeable and unhealthy, having, according to a Spanish proverb, "*tres meses de invierno y nueve del infierno*." During the south-eastern wind of summer the heat and glare are African, the temperature often rising to 95° or 100° in the shade. The average of deaths in Madrid

is 1 in 28, while in London it is 1 in 42. The morals of the people are not much better than the climate; and about one-fifth of all the children that are born are exposed in the Foundling Hospital.

Having risen from insignificance only in modern times, Madrid has no cathedral, nor any antiquities. The modern city was built at a period when churches were less valued than monasteries. It has been calculated that, during the 17th and 18th centuries, the various sums spent in Spain on the erection and decoration of convents would amount in all to *sixty-eight millions sterling*.

The pride of Spanish officials is most offensively seen at Madrid. The deference often paid to a weak and decrepid government, out of pity and forbearance, is assumed by them to be the awe inspired by its majesty and power. The great duke, while he was saving their country from invaders, with whom they themselves had vainly striven to cope, "was not treated as a friend, or even as a gentleman," but was "utterly without influence in their councils;" for "they had," he wrote, "a thorough contempt for their foreign allies." *

At a distance of less than twenty miles from Madrid stands the great palace of the Escorial, built by Philip II. who lived in this vast convent fourteen years, and died there in 1598, having often boasted that from the foot of a mountain he governed the world, old and new, with two inches of paper. This vast edifice measures about 744 feet from north to south, and 580 from east to west. It has 63 fountains, 12 cloisters, 80 staircases, 16 courtyards, and 3,000 feet of painted fresco. In the chapel of this palace, Philip, who was altogether under the dominion of superstition, accumulated more than

* Wellington Despatches, Aug. 31, 1809; July 2, 1812; Aug. 25, 1813.

7,400 relics. One writer enumerates 11 whole bodies, 300 heads, 600 odd legs and arms, 1,400 bits, teeth, toes, etc. Philip deposited these precious things in 515 silver shrines; but when the French, in 1808, rifled the Escorial, they took the silver shrines, and left the relics scattered about the floor. When the bones were afterwards gathered up, many of the labels had been lost or scattered about; so that much doubt has ever since existed as to which leg belonged to James, and which to Thomas. But probably the intrinsic value and efficacy, whatever it may be, of these precious things is not much lessened by this obscurity.

A little further on lies Segovia, a very ancient city. The Spaniards say that Tubal peopled Spain, and Hercules built Segovia. Its population, once 30,000, has now dwindled to about 9,000.

To the south of Madrid lies Toledo, "the crown of Spain, the light of the world," to use the language of the country. Its see is the primacy of Spain, and it was formerly, if it is not still, the richest ecclesiastical preferment in the world, excepting, of course, the papacy itself. The city stands about 2,400 feet above the sea. It formerly possessed, besides its noble cathedral, 20 parish churches, 9 musarabic ones (for reclaimed Moors), 9 chapels, 3 colleges, 14 convents, 23 nunneries, and 10 hospitals; but its 200,000 inhabitants have now dwindled to 13,000.

Burgos, in Old Castile, lies far to the north of Madrid. This, too, is an archbishopric; and its cathedral, built by an Englishman in 1221, is one of the finest in Spain. The city traces its foundation back to 884, being then the stronghold of one of the counts of Castile. Its population, once 50,000, has dwindled to 12,000; and it presents a remarkable instance of the change which

is now going on in Spain. Its churches and convents are, in many cases, in ruins, or are converted to secular uses. *San Ildefonso* is an artillery dépôt; *San Agustin* is an inn; *San Juan Bautista* is a prison; and the *Puerta de San Juan*, and the monastery *Frex del Val*, have been sold to a contractor for the price of the materials.

Of the two Castiles, Old and New, the population in 1846, excluding Leon, was 2,443,429.

Leaving the royal province, we pass next into another ancient kingdom, ARAGON, which, for nearly 500 years, waged a perpetual war with the Moslem powers, before it finally merged, on the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, in the great Spanish kingdom. Some of the finest portions of the Pyrenean chain are found in Aragon; mountains of an altitude of 9,000 feet, whose rugged and picturesque beauties remain yet unexplored. Of the people, the distinguishing characteristic is obstinacy or endurance. They have a Spartan simplicity, and are fine, vigorous, active men, warlike, courageous, and enduring. "They hate the Castilians, and abhor the French." Rugged and tenacious, Mr. Ford says of them, "It is a disagreeable province, inhabited by a disagreeable people."* The population of the province in 1857 was 880,643.

Its capital is Saragossa, celebrated, in modern times, for the display of Aragonese obstinacy and endurance in its two famous sieges. It was the Celtiberian *Salduba*, and the Roman *Cæsaria Augusta*. It was prompt in embracing Christianity, and within its walls, in 348, Aulus Prudentius, the first Christian poet, was born. The city fell into the hands of the Moors on their first conquest of Spain; but after Almansor's death, it was

* Handbook of Spain, p. 905.

taken by *Alonso el Batallador* in 1118, after a siege of five years, during which most of the inhabitants had perished of hunger. The modern sieges, of 1808-9, of which we have spoken in a former chapter, again exhibited the peculiar tenacity of the people of this province. These two contests cost the lives of 60,000 men ; a sacrifice which had none but a moral result—the affording to Europe a striking proof of the nation's repugnance to the rule of the French ; for no importance attached, in a strategic point of view, to the possession of this place. The fate of Spain was decided in another part of the peninsula.

Saragossa is now a dull, gloomy, ancient town, with a population of 65,000. It has a noble cathedral, and it has also a great church, *el Pilar*, where stands the pillar on which an image of the virgin Mary “was placed by angels, or descended from heaven.” No point in Greek or Roman idolatry is left unimitated by the Romish church ; and as Ephesus had an image of the chaste Diana, “which fell down from Jupiter,”* so must Saragossa have its heavenly image of the virgin also. The worship of Mary is especially and supremely the religion of Saragossa.

We must now reach the eastern coast of Spain, entering, first, the important province of CATALONIA. It contains about 12,180 square miles, with a population of 1,652,291. Its seaboard extends over nearly 150 miles. The Catalonians are the best tradesmen, inn-keepers, and carriers of the whole peninsula. They resemble neither the Frenchman, nor the Castilian, nor the Andalusian. Their roughness and activity soon make the traveller aware that he is no longer in high-bred, indolent Castile. This province is a main inlet

* Acts xix. 35.

for contraband goods, and smuggling is almost universal. The people are strong, active, patient, and enduring. They are also more given to freedom of thought and action in political matters than other Spaniards; and any republican feeling existing in Spain must be sought for in Catalonia. The soil is good, and both wine and silk are produced in considerable quantities. Cork is also a special product of Catalonia, and is largely exported.

Tortosa is a town of vast antiquity, long held by the Moors. It has a cathedral, which stands on the site of a mosque, built by Abderahman in 914. Its population is about 20,000. Tarragona, first Phœnician, then Roman, was long the Moorish capital of the province. Its present population is 12,000.

Barcelona, the present capital of the province, is a finer city than Madrid. It is also a great seat of manufactures and of trade; in fact, it is the Manchester of Spain. Its inhabitants believe it to have been founded by Hercules, 400 years before Rome. Captured and rebuilt by Hamilcar, B.C. 235, it became the Carthage of the northern coast. The Goths and Alans seized upon it in 409; in the eighth century it fell under the power of the Moors; and after a little more than a century of Moorish rule, we hear, in 878, of Spanish "Counts of Barcelona." It has a fine cathedral, and is the residence of the captain-general of Catalonia. Its population is above 180,000.

Manresa is a town chiefly occupied with the weaving of cloth, which employs a population of 13,000. Gerona, the population of which is only 8,000, is famous for the siege of 1809, which lasted seven months, and in which the French lost more than 15,000 men.

The last province at which we shall take a glance is the celebrated and splendid VALENCIA. Though not very extensive, it yields, for fertility and beauty, to none in Spain. It extends over 14,560 square miles, with a population of 1,246,485. It produces wine, oil, barilla, hemp, flax, and a variety of fruits. Silk also is in abundance. The climate is delightful, the soil exceedingly fertile. The people are handsome, courteous, and exceedingly superstitious; but they are cunning, perfidious, and vindictive. Nowhere in Spain is assassination so common.

The city of Valencia is beautiful as well as venerable. It has a population of 106,435, and is abundantly supplied from the fruitful territory which surrounds it. The vicinity abounds in fine scenery. The people showed their peculiar characteristic in 1808, when, in the insurrection against the French, 363 peaceable French residents were massacred in a single day. The French general, Suchet, when he got possession of the city, took ample vengeance. Multitudes of the inhabitants were put to death, and his levies on the province amounted, in three years, to more than *thirty millions* of reals. Not very far from Valencia stands Murviedro, placed very nearly on the site of the ancient Saguntum. A little further south, but in the province of Murcia, is Carthagená, formerly *New Carthage*. From this port, or from Valencia or Barcelona, the traveller may pass, without difficulty or delay, to either France, or Italy, or the Mediterranean coasts.

Such, then, is modern Spain. Compared with the neighbouring country, France, it exhibits a strange and lamentable deficiency in all the main features of European life and civilization. France contains only 204,355 square miles, while the peninsula contains 231,042.

Yet France, according to a recent census, has 33,333,019 inhabitants ; while Spain and Portugal, taken together, had but 15,575,500 in 1846, and in 1857 only about 18,000,000. On each square mile, therefore, France has twice as many inhabitants as Spain ; while in England and Wales, on an equal space of ground, there are *four* inhabitants for each one in Spain.

In cultivation the peninsula is equally backward. Of all the land in France, about 48 acres in every hundred are under tillage ; nearly 12 are pasture-lands, and nearly 6 are vineyards and gardens. About 13 acres only in every hundred are left uncultivated. But in Spain the uncultivated lands are 45 acres in each hundred ; while only 26 are given to tillage, 14 to pasture, and about 3 to vineyards and olive-gardens.

Its commerce lags behind, in a similar or even greater degree. The exports of France, in 1853, amounted to 74,640,000*l.* The exports of Spain, in 1850, were only 4,887,000*l.* Since then, the failure of the vines in southern France has created a French demand for the cheaper Spanish wines ; and in 1857 the exports rose to 11,686,000*l.* The trade of Portugal, as we have already stated, is estimated by Mr. McCulloch to amount to about 2,000,000*l.* of exports, and the same value of imports, in each year. We must not, however, forget to notice here, as we have elsewhere, that within the last ten or fifteen years the new life and vigour exhibited by Spain has been nearly unparalleled in the history of nations.

We cannot conclude this rapid outline without alluding to the foreign possessions of Spain. These were once justly termed a "New World." They have now shrunk into the compass of a few islands. Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, in the Mediterranean, are not in-

significant ; they contain a population of 429,147 souls. But Cuba and Porto Rico, in the West Indies, are justly deemed the most valuable possessions of the crown of Spain, and these are the only portions of "the New World" which preserve their loyalty. The population of Cuba in 1857 amounted to 1,024,004 ; of which number 371,929 were slaves. The population of Porto Rico was 492,121.* These islands are computed to yield to Spain an annual revenue of one million sterling. But they are not only stained with the ordinary guilt of slavery, they have the additional burden of being the chief creators and maintainers of the present African slave-trade. In spite of a professed determination on the part of the Spanish government to put down this trade, it is certain that the planters of Cuba are its chief promoters, and that their illegal participation in it is tolerated by the government. A sincere determination, on the part of the statesmen at Madrid, to suppress this system of crime, would quickly bring the trade to an end ; and as no such resolve is formed or acted upon, we must lay the guilt of all the rapine, violence, and murder, committed by the men-stealers of Western Africa, at the door of the ministers of the Spanish crown.

One other foreign possession of the Spanish crown demands a brief notice. The Philippine islands are almost an empire in extent, and yet they are of little intrinsic value to Spain. They are situated in the Eastern Archipelago, and consist of ten large islands, and many smaller ones. They are fertile, and largely peopled, having a population in 1857 of 4,319,269, a greater number than is contained in all Scotland. Yet while the single island of Cuba remitted to Spain, in 1857,

* Statistical Journal, 1860.

products of the value of 1,571,400*l.*, the imports from the Philippine islands in the same year were only of the value of 225,900*l.* The great distance of these islands from Spain seems to lead to forgetfulness and neglect. A large proportion of the inhabitants are still in heathenism, and civilization has made but little progress among their various tribes.

CHAPTER XVII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF SPAIN—SUPERSTITION—
NATIONAL PRIDE—THE BULL-FIGHTS.

A JUST appreciation of the manners and customs of any people is not to be obtained in a hasty visit; scarcely, indeed, in even a prolonged stay. But we possess the advantage, in the case of the Spanish peninsula, of having the lively sketches of three or four exceedingly intelligent English travellers, and of one native Spaniard, all whose works, with the exception of the earliest in date, have been given to the public within the last thirty or forty years. From these different and trustworthy sources we shall be able to draw various details, exhibiting, in union, a lively picture of human life and society in Spain.

The earliest of these writers belongs to the last century; and we are induced to avail ourselves of his pages for two reasons, namely, the high character which his work has always borne, and the fact that it exhibits Spain in the position which it occupied before the breaking out of the French Revolution.

Mr. Townsend's work has been spoken of by all subsequent writers as an able and trustworthy production;* and we shall at once give a few of the details

* Travels in Spain, in 1786—1787, by the Rev. Jos. Townsend, Rector of Pewsey, Wilts.

which we meet with in it. He entered Spain, as did Mr. Inglis in 1830, from the north, travelling through France, and crossing the Pyrenees into Catalonia. He was much struck with the cheapness of the country. He could hire a carriage, mule, and guide, for 5s. a day. His dinner was charged 15*d.*, with wine *ad libitum*. His supper and bed cost 20*d.*; and chocolate in the morning was charged 2*d.*

He was at Barcelona on Good Friday. A funeral procession of the Saviour was followed by 100,000 people; and Easter-day was ushered in by the firing of cannon, the beating of drums, ringing of bells, flying of colours, and an universal shouting.

He attended a penitential service, some time after, at the convent of St. Philip Neri. The first part of the *Miserere* having been sung, the lights were extinguished, the doors shut, and the congregation stripped off their upper garments, and bared their backs. The *Miserere* proceeded in plaintive tones, and the discipline began. Soon they raised their voices, and the scourging became more vehement. They proceeded, quickening the time and the strokes, and singing louder and harsher, till all distinction of sound was lost, and the whole ended in one deep groan. Mr. Townsend says, "My blood ran cold, and one of the company burst into tears."

He saw one house of correction of a peculiar kind. It was a reformatory for degraded women and female thieves; but it had a compartment for the reception of wives who failed in their duty to their husbands, and either neglected or disgraced their families. Both classes were obliged to labour daily till sunset. There were then 113 prisoners, among whom were some women of good position. One, a lady of fashion, a widow, was accused of drunkenness, and imprisoned

on the application of her own brother. Intoxication must have been easy to any one; for brandy was then selling at Barcelona at from 10*d.* to 16*d.* per gallon.

Mr. Townsend began now to wish to remove to Madrid. He found that by waiting a few days he might form one of a party of four, who would engage a coach for the journey. In this way he reached the capital in fourteen days, at a cost of 36*l.* for the four persons, including the coach, seven mules, and two drivers. He remarked, both on this journey and during his subsequent travels, that he never saw a single country residence like those which everywhere abound in England. On inquiry, he found that the highest of the nobility always lived at court, and that the inferior nobles took up their residence in the great cities; there being no security, in the country parts, from the oppression of the *grandees* and their agents.

Mr. Townsend saw some of the greatest of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, before the reductions which arose out of the European revolutions had taken place. Thus he describes Toledo, whose archbishop had then an income of nine millions of reals per annum, or rather more than 90,000*l.* The cathedral had 40 canons, 50 prebendaries, and 50 chaplains, and the whole body of its ecclesiastics numbered 600. But he adds: "This famous city, once the seat of empire, where the arts and sciences, trade and manufactures, formerly flourished, is now sunk in ruin and decay; and it is kept in existence only by the church. Its population of 200,000 has dwindled down to 25,000. The people are fled, the monks remain. There are 26 parish churches, 38 convents, 17 hospitals, 4 colleges, 12 chapels, and 19 hermitages." The same desolation, he adds, had befallen the whole province. Its 551 towns and villages

had dwindled to 349, and many of these had not one-fourth of their former population.

At Salamanca, famous for its university, he found a similar declension. It was said to have once had 16,000 students; but in 1785 the number entered were only 1,909 [since that time a further great reduction has taken place, as we noticed in the preceding chapter]. But the convents had increased. In 1480 there were only six for men, and three for women; but in 1785 there were thirty-nine, and 1,519 persons were under vows. And though the houses in Salamanca were only 3,000, the clergy were 580.

At Seville, Mr. Townsend found in the cathedral 82 altars, at which there were daily said about 500 masses. The archbishop's revenue was 33,000*l.* a year. There were 40 canons, 20 prebendaries, 21 minor-canons, and in all 235 persons attached to the cathedral.

At Granada, he found the archbishop's income to be 25,000*l.* a year, but describes his charity as being profuse, in which he was imitated by 40 convents, at each of which bread and broth were distributed daily to all applicants.

We now unite Mr. Townsend's testimony with that of Mr. Blanco White, himself a Spanish priest, who published an interesting volume in 1822.*

Mr. Townsend had been struck at Aranjuez, one fine afternoon, to see in the public walk, thronged with ladies, "every one, on the tinkling of a little bell, fall, in one moment, on their knees. On asking a lady what was the matter, she replied, that 'his majesty was passing,' and pointed to the host, which two priests were carrying to some sick person."

Mr. Blanco White explains this more at length:

* Letters from Spain, by Don Leucado Doblado.

telling us, that “the rule is expressed in a proverbial saying—*Al Rey, en viendolo ; á Dios, en oyendolo ;* which means, that homage is due to the king when you see him, but to God when you hear him ; that is, hear the bell, which always accompanies the host. God and the king are so coupled in this country, that the same title is applied to both. Hence when a priest, attended by a clerk, has visited a dying person, and has gone through a form of prayer which lasts about twenty minutes, a wafer is taken out of a little gold casket, and put into the patient’s mouth. After a pause, the clerk comes forth with a glass of water, and asks the sick person, *Ha pasado su Majestad ?* ‘Is his Majesty gone down ?’”

Mr. White proceeds : “You are not free from being disturbed by the holy bell in the most retired part of your house. In the midst of a gay, noisy party, the words ‘*Su Majestad*’ will bring every one upon his knees till the tinkling dies away. Are you at dinner ? you must leave the table. In bed ? you must at least sit up. Even in the theatre, the sound of the bell, passing by, is heard, and ‘*Dios ! Dios !*’ resounds through the house. Every one, actors and all, are in a moment on their knees, till the sound of the bell ceases.”

Mr. Townsend remarks, that “When you are properly introduced to a Spanish family, you are told at parting, ‘Now, sir, you are master of this house.’” He adds : “The extent of the grant must be judged of by your own sagacity ; but, taken at its full meaning, the grant means dinner, supper, refresco ; all or any of them, whenever it may suit you to call.”

Mr. Blanco White, however, who, as a native Spaniard, must be better acquainted with the manners of the people than a mere visitor, explains, that the high-flown

language of a Castilian must not be accepted in its literal meaning. He says : " An English nobleman, dissatisfied with the inn at which he was staying at Barcelona, was desirous of procuring a country house in the neighbourhood. At this moment, a rich merchant, to whom he had a letter of introduction, called to pay his respects, and in the usual strain of high-flown compliment assured him that both his town house and his villa were entirely at his command. The English lady was delighted with this, and very soon the merchant received a civil note, accepting the loan of the country house. Quite astonished and perplexed at being taken at his word, he sent an awkward excuse, and never showed his face again."

Invitations to dine, indeed, "are extremely rare;" and immense formality accompanies them. Mr. Blanco White instructs us, that "the first invitation 'to eat soup' should always be answered with 'a thousand thanks,' by which a Spaniard always declines what no one wishes him to accept. If the offer should be repeated, you may begin to suspect that your friend is in earnest, and answer him with the usual phrase, *No se meta usted en eso*, 'do not engage in such a thing.' But at this stage of the business it is probable that a *third* application will be made, and that must be immediately accepted."

Mr. Inglis, who visited Spain in 1830,* agrees with Mr. Blanco White, that "there is no probability of receiving an invitation to dinner." He adds, that "the worst room in every Spanish house is the dining-room or rather the eating-room, with no matting, and the commonest furniture, and the table rarely large enough for more than six people." He explains, that the Spaniards

* Spain in 1830. By H. D. Inglis, Esq.

are an abstemious people, and reserve their expenditure for external show. "There are many in Madrid, even in the upper ranks, who are contented with the *puchero* (stewed meat with cabbage or peas), and who will even send daily to the cook's shop for a *puchero*, and to the wine-shop for a jug of wine for their daily dinner. Still, the Spaniard contrasts his hospitality with the English, saying, 'You invite a foreigner to your house, and there the civility ends; he must wait for another invitation before he comes again;—while here, once received, he needs no further invitation.' This is true," says Mr. Inglis; "and yet a stranger might live for years in a Spanish city, and be on terms of intimacy with wealthy Spaniards, and yet never break bread in a Spanish house."

Mr. Blanco White further tells us, that "on some extraordinary occasions, birthdays or marriages, a Spaniard will make what is called a *convite*, or feast. But the height of luxury, on these occasions, is a dinner sent in from the coffee-house. The Spanish houses, even of the better sort, are so ill provided with every thing required at table, that wine, plates, glasses, knives and forks are all brought from the tavern together. The noise and confusion of these feasts are inconceivable."

After the ordinary everyday dinner, the custom of the *siesta* is universal. This nap concluded, the members of the family prepare for the public walk, on the *prado*, if at Madrid; but in every town of any size there is always a public walk or parade. "After the *prado*," says Mr. Inglis, "comes the *tertulia*, which may be said to be the only form of Spanish society." It is merely a meeting in the principal reception room of each house, where every friend, without invitation, is welcome.

The visitors come and go without constraint, and are offered no refreshment. "The master of the house is rarely present; he is usually at some other tertulia."

But while thus frugal at home, the Spaniard, remarks Mr. Inglis, is lavish abroad. "Whenever a stranger goes in company with a Spaniard to a coffee-house, a theatre, or a shop, the Spaniard always insists on paying, and any remonstrance offends him. In fact, love of display is the weak point in the Castilian character. A Spaniard will dine without a table-cloth, to save money to frequent the opera, or to eat ice at the café. A Spanish officer," continues Mr. Inglis, "invited us to accompany him and his wife to the Prado. A handsome carriage, with two livery servants, drove up to the door for us; yet these were all hired for the occasion, though the officer was married and had a family, and had nothing but his pay of 140*l.* a year." "The widow of a judge, with her four daughters, appeared every Sunday on the Prado, with new satin shoes and white gloves, though her pension was but 80*l.* a year. And it is not unusual to meet a maid-servant with a comb, fan, and mantilla, whose united expense would amount to four or five pounds."

The comb-shops astonished Mr. Inglis by their number, but he soon discovered that the *mantilla*, a scarf thrown over the head and shoulders, and a very high comb, constitute the chief features of a Spanish woman's dress. A fashionable comb is not less than a foot long, and eight or nine inches broad; and from nine to fifteen dollars (or 2*l.* to 3*l.*) is the usual price; and about every tenth shop is a comb-shop. Connected with this is the universal practice, to a stranger very disagreeable, of publicly combing and dressing the hair on the door-step, or on stools. If two women be seated

at two fruit-stalls, one is generally engaged in combing and assorting and examining the hair of the other.

This love of external display, and cheapness of food may partly account for the apparent absence of rags and wretchedness. "Hundreds," says Mr. Inglis, "who dress like courtiers, will dine on bread and a bunch of grapes, and go from the Prado to hide themselves in a garret. Females have been pointed out to me, who were starving on pensions of 25*l.*, and whose mantilla, comb, and fan, could not have cost less than 10*l.*"

With such a love of show, and with the Romish system of indulgences and priestly absolution, it is inevitable that the state of morals should be low. So Mr. Townsend found it seventy years ago; and he often notices "the unusual depravity of morals." Mr. Inglis, writing forty years later, says: "In the upper and middle classes of society in Madrid, morals are at the lowest ebb. The immorality of the priesthood is notorious through Spain; indeed, they take little pains to conceal it."

Very naturally, in such a state of things, religion, or what passes by that name, suffers, and even superstition gives way to infidelity. One of the first questions Mr. Inglis was asked, before he had been three days in Spain, was at a little town or village called Durango, where the landlord inquired, "How many priests there might be in England, in a place like Durango?" and when told, "Perhaps one or two," he exclaimed, "We have more than forty!" "At Madrid," he adds, "ridicule and dislike of all kinds of religion form a very common seasoning to conversation. I have never heard one individual above the rank of a small tradesman speak of religion with respect."

Mr. Blanco White had told us, several years before,

of "Spanish ecclesiastics who were deeply versed in the philosophical school of France, and who possessed all the antichristian works which teemed from the French press." * He depicts also, with terrible vividness, his own struggles with infidelity—struggles arising from the monstrous fictions which he was required to credit, and from the profligate lives of the priesthood in general. On this latter point he says: "I have known the best among them; I have heard their confessions; I have heard the confessions of young persons of both sexes, who fell under the influence of their suggestions and example; and I declare that nothing can be more dangerous to youthful virtue than their company." † And, very naturally, the result is often positive infidelity. After narrating his own mental struggles, Mr. White adds: "I do attest, from the most certain knowledge, that the history of my own mind is, with little variation, that of a great portion of the Spanish clergy." ‡

Two Oxford clergymen, the Rev. James and the Rev. Frederick Meyrick, visited Spain in 1849 and 1850, having strong predilections in favour of the Romish system. Their evidence, therefore, is not that of men prejudiced against the Spanish church and its clergy. We extract from their published letters a few passages illustrative of the state of religion in Spain.

"In Malaga there were eleven convents of monks and friars, and nine of nuns. The government has utterly abolished the former, turning the monks peniless into the world. The nuns it allows to remain,

* Doblado's Letters, p. 133.

† Evidence against Catholicism: By the Rev. Jos. Blanco White, p. 134.

‡ Ibid. p. 8.

promising them 9*d.* a day for each, but never paying it regularly. There are a great many priests about the streets; they are mostly very poor, and the people pay them no respect. . . . On Good Friday I was at the cathedral, and the behaviour of the people was so intolerable, that I can hardly express the relief it was to find myself in our own quiet little English congregation. The Roman services are very beautiful, but the people pay not the smallest attention to them. . . . All the ladies talked and played with their fans through the whole service.

“The old religious houses are turned into barracks, and no one cares for it. The friars had lost all respect; nay, had done the greatest injury to religion. A Spanish gentleman said to me: ‘They made vows of chastity, and they were not chaste; vows of poverty, and they were avaricious; vows of humility, and they were proud.’ Even now the character and tone of the great body of the priests is far from standing high.”*

After describing the Good Friday services, Mr. Meyrick observes: “I am heartily tired of it, and am persuaded that the mass of the people do not understand the services to which they go: it is mere spectacle; and great as these things are in theory, in practice they fail utterly. The whole system is show and outside, and decay within. The young wholly neglect the confessional, which is the life of the Roman Catholic religion.”

With the religious state of Seville, Mr. Meyrick was better satisfied; but even when writing from that city, he says: “In Spain there are but two alternatives, Mariolatry or Infidelity. . . . On Palm Sunday, the

* Meyrick's Church in Spain, p. 38.

service was beautiful in itself, but utterly without reverence, the people crowding and pushing to get the best places . . . through the most solemn parts the people talked continually. . . . Good Friday presented the most festival appearance of all. There were processions all the day long. One procession bearing the images of our Lord falling under the cross, and our Lady of Hope, fell in with another bearing those of the Penitent Thief, and of our Lady of Montserrat ; and they fought for the precedence. The former gained it ; but the fight occasioned a panic in the great square, where it was said there were 20,000 persons."

The result of this visit to Spain is frankly stated by Mr. Meyrick in the preface to his volume :—

"It cleared off the mist which imagination often throws over the distance, and revealed the truth, that abroad as well as at home, in foreign systems as well as in our own, there are great scandals and great evils ; often the very same as those under which we suffer, often far greater both in kind and degree."

And in his last chapter he gives a letter from a Spanish priest, whose eyes had been opened to the falsehoods of the system in which he had been living, and who cried to him for help. This Spanish ecclesiastic thus writes :—

"As you well know, the true and genuine gospel of Christ cannot be preached in Spain ; but only the gospel of the pope, which is a very different thing. Our very bishops have nothing in common with the apostles ; they do not preach the word ; they do not instruct the people. They are the Pharisees who sit in Moses' seat, and hold up to the people traditions, errors, and superstitions." *

* Meyrick's Church in Spain, p. 367.

Such are some of the best sketches of the actual state of Spain which modern travellers have given.

We have reserved for the close of these sketches an account of the peculiar national sport of Spain—the bull-fight. It is the one great enthralling passion of the Spaniard, taking the place which was occupied in ancient days by the shows of gladiators and wild beasts at Rome. The descriptions given both by Mr. Blanco White and Mr. Inglis are extremely vivid; but we select the latter, as being the more recent of the two.

“The bull-fight is the national game of Spain, and the love of the Spaniards for this spectacle is almost beyond belief. Monday, in Madrid, is always, during the season of the bull-fights, a kind of holiday; everybody looks forward to the enjoyments of the afternoon, and all the conversation is about *los toros*. Frequency of repetition makes no difference to the true amateur of the bull-fight; he is never weary of it; at all times he finds leisure and money to dedicate to his favourite pastime. The spectacle is generally announced, in the name of his majesty, to begin at four o’clock; and before three, all the avenues leading to the gate of Alcalá are in commotion; the Calle de Alcalá, in particular, throughout its whole immense extent, is filled with a dense crowd, of all ranks and conditions, pouring towards the gate: a considerable number of carriages are also seen—even the royal carriages, but these arrive later; and there are also many hack cabriolets, their usual burden being a peasant and two girls dressed in their holiday clothes; for there is no way of showing gallantry so much approved among the lower orders as treating to a bull-fight.

“I had been able to secure a place in one of the best boxes, through the kindness of one of my friends; and,

some little time before the fight began, I was comfortably seated in the front row, with quite enough to occupy my attention until the commencement. The spectacle was most imposing. The whole amphitheatre, said to contain 17,000 persons, was filled in every part, from the ground to the ceiling. The arena is about 230 feet in diameter; this is surrounded by a strong wooden fence, about six feet in height; the upper half retiring about a foot, so as to leave, in the middle of the fence, a stepping-place, by the help of which the men may be able, in times of danger, to throw themselves out of the arena. There is then an open space, about nine feet wide, and then another and stronger fence, from which the seats for spectators begin, rising one above another to the outer wall; above these are the boxes. The best places in the boxes cost about 4s.; the best places in the amphitheatre, about 2s. 6d.; the cheapest place is rather less than 1s. In the centre of the west side is the king's box, and near it the private boxes of the *grandees*. In these boxes I saw as many women as men; and in the amphitheatre, also, the female spectators were sufficiently numerous.

“The people now began to show impatience, and shouts of ‘*El toro!*’ were heard in a hundred quarters; and soon a flourish of drums and trumpets announced that the spectacle was about to commence. This created a total silence; even the motion of the fans was for a moment suspended. Then, first entered the chief magistrate of the city, on horseback, preceded by two *alguacils*, or constables, and followed by a troop of cavalry, who immediately cleared the arena of every one who had no business there; next, an official entered on foot, who read an ordonnance of the king, commanding the fight, and requiring order to be kept. These pre-

liminaries having been gone through, the magistrates and cavalry retired, leaving the arena to the two *picadores*, who entered at the same moment. These are mounted on horseback, each holding a long lance or pike; and they are the first antagonists the bull has to encounter. They stationed themselves on different sides of the arena, about twenty yards from the door at which the bull enters; and at a new flourish of trumpets, the gate flew open, and the bull rushed into the arena: this produced a deafening shout, and then total silence. The bulls differ widely in courage and character: some are rash—others cool and intrepid; some wary and cautious—some cowardly. Some, immediately on perceiving the horse and his rider, rush upon them; others run bellowing round the arena: some make towards one or other of the *chulos*, or foot-combatants, who, when the bull appears, leap into the arena, with coloured cloaks upon their arms: some stop, after having advanced a little way into the arena, look on every side, and seem uncertain what to do. The blood of the bull is generally the first that is spilled: he almost invariably makes the first attack, advancing at a quick trot upon the picador, who generally receives him upon his pike, wounding him somewhere about the shoulder. Sometimes the bull, feeling himself wounded, retires to meditate a different plan of attack; but a good bull is not turned back by a wound: he presses on his enemy, even if, in doing so, the lance be buried deeper in the flesh. Attached to the mane of the bull is a crimson ribbon, which it is the great object of the picador to seize, that he may present to his mistress this important trophy of his prowess. I have frequently seen this ribbon torn off at the moment when the bull closed with the picador.

“The first bull that entered the arena was a bad bull; he was deficient both in courage and in cunning. The second, a fierce bull of Navarre, paused for a moment on entering the arena, and then instantly rushed upon the nearest picador, who wounded him in the neck; but the bull, disregarding this, thrust his head under the horse’s belly, and threw both him and his rider upon the ground. The horse ran a little way, but, being encumbered with trappings, he fell; and the bull, disregarding for a moment the fallen picador, pursued the horse, and pushing at him, broke the girths, and disengaged the animal, which, finding itself at liberty, galloped round the arena—a dreadful spectacle, covered with gore, and its entrails trailing upon the ground. The bull now engaged the chulos. These young men show great dexterity and courage in the running fight in which they engage the bull; flapping their cloaks in his face, running zigzag when pursued, and throwing down the garments to arrest his progress while they leap over the fence—an example sometimes followed by the bull. But the Navarre bull seemed to consider this as child’s play; and, leaving the chulos, he made furiously at the other picador, evading the lance, and burying his horns in the horse’s breast. The horse and his rider disengaged themselves, and galloped away; but soon the horse dropped down, his wound being mortal. The bull, now victorious over both enemies, stood in the centre of the arena, ready to engage another; but the spectators now expressed their desire for a change of scene by a loud clapping of hands, and, in obedience to their wish, the *bandilleros* entered. Their business is to throw darts into the neck of the bull; and to do this, they are obliged to approach with great caution, and to be ready for a precipitate retreat;

for sometimes the bull, irritated by the dart, disregards the cloak which the bandillero throws down, and closely pursues his assailant. I saw one bandillero so closely pursued, that he saved himself only by leaping over the bull's neck.

“ When the people are tired of this scene, and wish to have a fresh bull, they signify their impatience in the usual way; and the signal is then given for the *matador*, whose duty it is to kill the bull. He enters in full court dress, carrying a scarlet cloak over his arm, and a sword in his hand. The former he presents to the bull; and when the animal rushes forward, he steps aside, and plunges his sword in its neck. This is the usual course; but the service is a dangerous one, and the executioner is himself sometimes killed. Sometimes it is impossible for the matador to engage upon equal terms a wary bull who is not much exhausted. This was the case with the sixth bull, an Andalusian bull, which was both wary and powerful. Several times the matador attempted him without success; he was constantly on the watch, disregarding the cloak, and turning quick round on the matador, who was often in imminent danger. At last the people grew tired of the lengthened contest, and called for the *semi-luna*, an instrument with which a person skulks behind, and cuts the hamstrings of the animal. But this the bull avoided a long time, always turning quickly round; and even when the cruel operation had been performed, he was still a dangerous antagonist, fighting even on his knees, and still pursuing the matador. But as soon as a bull falls, he is struck with a small stiletto, which pierces the cerebellum; and three mules, richly caparisoned, gallop in; the dead animal is attached to them by a hook, and they gallop

out, drawing the bull behind them. All this is the work of a moment: the door closes, a new flourish of trumpets is heard, and another bull rushes upon the arena.

“The intense interest felt by the spectators is visible throughout, and is often loudly expressed. An astounding shout always accompanies a critical moment: whether it be the bull or the man that is in danger, their joy is excessive; but their greatest sympathy is given to the bull. If the picador receives the bull gallantly, and forces him to retreat; or if the matador courageously faces and wounds the bull, they applaud these acts of valour and science: but if the bull overthrow the horse and his rider, or if the matador miss his aim, and the bull seems ready to gore him, their delight seems to know no bounds. But how barbarous is the whole exhibition! Could an English audience witness the scenes that are repeated every week in Madrid, a cry of horror would follow the spectacle of a horse, gored and bleeding, and treading, as he gallops, on his own entrails; nor would the appearance of the poor bull be borne—panting, covered with wounds and blood, lacerated with darts, and yet brave and resolute to the end.

“The spectacle continued two hours and a half; and during that time there were seven bulls killed, and six horses. When the last bull was dispatched, the people rushed into the arena, and the carcass was dragged out amidst deafening shouts.

“The expenses of the bull-fights are very great, but the receipts far exceed them, and leave a sum amounting to about 3,000*l.* a year of profit. The king occasionally goes [this was written during the life of Ferdinand VII.], Don Carlos rarely, but Don Francisco and

his wife are generally to be seen there, and the private boxes of the nobility were as well filled as any other part of the house. There were forty-five private carriages in waiting."

Mr. Inglis adds: "A few weeks after, I was present at another bull-fight. All the bulls were indifferent, excepting one; he proved himself a perfect master of the science. He rushed first at one picador and then at the other, and overthrew both the horses and their riders, killing both horses, and wounding one of the picadores. Two fresh picadores were now brought forward, and these he served in the same way; but one of the horses and his rider were raised into the air, and the horse fell so as to crush the rider, who was thus killed upon the spot. The bull was now master of the arena; he had cleared it of men, three horses lay dead, and he stood in the midst, lashing his tail, and looking out for another enemy. I watched the conduct of the people. When the unfortunate picador was killed, in place of exclamations of horror, or of pity, the universal cry was, '*Qué es bravo ese toro!*' 'What a noble bull!' And I did not see a single female avert her head, or show the slightest symptom of feeling.

"These scenes are improperly called bull-fights, since the bull never has a chance of escape. If the picador is killed, the matador is sent for; and if he cannot succeed, the poor bull is hamstrung. The affair can have but one termination; it is a slaughter of bulls, but with danger to the men, and certain death to many of the horses."

We may cordially agree with Mr. Inglis in his condemnation of the cruelty and brutality of these exhibitions, and in his remarks on their tendency to habituate the people to scenes of barbarity and blood; but we

must beware that in exclaiming against the mote in our brother's eye, we do not forget the beam that is in our own. It is true that our own horse-races, resembling as they do the Spanish bull-fights in most of their external circumstances, are free from the charge of cruelty which attaches to the games of the peninsula: but even so recently as the opening of the present century "the bull-bait" was a common diversion in many of our English market-towns—a diversion less costly and less splendid than the bull-fights of Spain, but not intrinsically more innocent. And even in the present day, is not coursing still a popular amusement amongst us?—an amusement in which English ladies of rank and refinement are led to witness with enjoyment the agonies and death of a poor defenceless hare, shrieking like a child when seized by the greyhounds. We may read with wonder and disgust of the cruel exhibitions delighted in at Seville and Madrid; but the practical use to be made of such appalling scenes should be, to set us to search out, and to amend, anything of a kindred character which may still be left uneradicated even amidst the greater light of Christian and Protestant England.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RETROSPECT—RECENT CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS—
PROSPECTS OF SPAIN—CONCLUSION.

IN casting a rapid glance over the whole peninsula of Spain, we once more remark, as a striking feature, the existence of several distinct and widely different families or nations in this one country, and, for the most part, under one crown. The same sort of union is elsewhere discernible, as in England, Wales, Scotland, etc.; but it is nowhere so remarkable as in Spain. Such unions with distinctions in character have existed in all ages; and we trace them even in holy writ, where we find (Gen. xlix.) Jacob prophetically describing the tribes of Israel; one, the ruling power, the Castile of Canaan (ver. 8, 9); another, as patient and sagacious (ver. 14, 15); another, as fruitful and populous (ver. 22, 25); and a fourth, as warlike and sanguinary (ver. 27); and their subsequent history exhibiting all these distinctions. Still, we do not often find, dwelling in harmony under one sovereign, six or seven nations or peoples so unlike as those of the peninsula.

The northern coast of Spain seems to reproduce, under other names, the Irish, the Welsh, and the Scotch of our own united kingdom. The Gallegos, or natives of Galicia, are too numerous for their province, and they swarm over all Spain, the porters, labourers,

and hardworking undertakers of all kinds of toil. The Asturians, giving, like Wales, their title of "prince of Asturias" to the heir-apparent, are descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Spain; while the Catalonians, energetic, full of enterprise, fond of commerce and of liberty, resemble the northern inhabitants of Britain. But Spain has more important and more strongly marked divisions than these. What can be more unlike than the lively Andalusian and the slow, haughty, and indolent Castilian? * or what more opposed than the frank and rugged Asturian or Biscayan, to the courteous but vindictive and perfidious Spaniard of Valencia? In fact, we see in Spain some seven or eight distinct races of men, resembling each other as little as the Englishman resembles the Tartar or the Malay; yet all dwelling in the same land, and, with the exception of Portugal and Biscay, all speaking nearly the same language, and owing allegiance to the same crown.

A more important and a more practical question, however, next presents itself. We have spoken of the former wealth and power of Spain; of its remarkable decline, and long-continued weakness and poverty; and of its gradual, and, until recently, slow revival; and we seem bound to meet the inquiry, To what causes must that decay be attributed? In the days of our own Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, Spain, under Charles I. (or V.) and Philip II., stood at the head of the powers of Europe, and deemed even the conquest of England no rash or impossible task. Yet the lapse of a single century had reduced this great kingdom to such a state of weakness and decrepitude, that, to

* The lively and sparkling semi-Moro Andalusian is the antithesis of the grave and decorous old Gotho-Castilian.—*Ford's Handbook*.

adopt one historian's words, "another such reign as that of Charles II. would have dissolved the bonds of society." And at the end of the seventeenth century, the small and insignificant provinces of the Netherlands, which had but recently escaped from under the Spanish yoke, exercised more influence over the politics of Europe than did the once mighty Spain herself. Whence arose this prodigious and rapid decline; how was it arrested; and what are the causes which have, in our own day, given to Spain almost a new life? These are questions to which we cannot avoid attempting to give some reply.

Yet they cannot be disposed of in any very succinct or summary manner. The causes which are often assigned are not, indeed, either unreal or unimportant; but they do not, as they are commonly stated, sufficiently account for the more perplexing facts of the case. For instance, the indolence and luxury which were encouraged by the sudden importations of the precious metals, are often referred to as sufficiently accounting for Spain's decay. But, in our own day, we have seen the larger discoveries of gold in California and Australia operate to quicken industry and enterprise, and largely to augment commerce and population. At other times, the dominance of the Romish church, and its intolerant cruelties, are referred to as crushing out of Spain all real life and energy. But in the neighbouring states of France and Belgium, we witness very similar exhibitions of persecuting intolerance; and yet we see France powerful, and Belgium energetic and prosperous. These methods of explaining the decline of Spain, therefore, though to a certain extent substantially true, are not, in general, stated in a satisfactory or convincing manner. Let us

endeavour, by taking a larger view of the facts of the case, to show how a variety of causes worked together to produce the same lamentable result, in such sort as fully to account for this surprising decline of a great and powerful nation.

1. First, then, let us remark, as an important feature in the case, that, on the subjection of the various provinces of Spain to Isabella and Ferdinand, the spirit and temper of grave and haughty Castile became predominant in the Spanish councils; and that, by the suppression of the revolt of Segovia in 1521, the little political freedom which some provinces had enjoyed was brought to an end, and absolute monarchy became the rule and political system of all Spain.

Absolutism, however, cannot maintain itself for any long period in any country, except it finds support in the natural disposition of the people. And the Spanish mind, for a thousand years, has shown a decided tendency both to absolutism and to superstition. Loyalty, in Spain, is exaggerated into a servile adoration; and religion is perverted into an abject superstition.* Thus Philip II., "who never had a friend, who was a harsh master, a brutal parent, a bloody and remorseless ruler," was regarded by his subjects with "not merely love, or reverence, but absolute worship."† And he, on his part, "allowed none, even of the most powerful nobles, to address him except on their knees." Lord Clarendon remarked, in his day, that "submissive reverence to their kings formed a vital part of a Spaniard's religion." And the same feeling has endured even to our own time. Ferdinand VII., on his return to Spain in 1814,

* The best meaning of this word which is given by our great lexicographer is, "False religion; a reverence of beings not properly objects of reverence."

† Contarini, cited by Ranke, p. 33.

was surrounded by crowds exclaiming, "Long live the absolute king! Down with the constitution!"

Still, there was a power above the throne; and that power was, the priesthood. Even so far back as A. D. 633, and again in 688, we find it stated by Fleury, that at a council the king actually prostrated himself before the bishops. And the greatest of their modern kings, Charles I. and Philip II., not only avowed themselves the devoted servants of the papacy, but adopted it as a principle, that "it was better not to reign at all, than to reign over heretics." And hence,

2. Next, as civil liberty had been abolished, it was the resolve of these two able and powerful sovereigns, that every vestige of religious freedom should perish also. In the Low Countries, Charles is said by Grotius to have put to death one hundred thousand persons for their religious opinions. Other writers reduce the number to fifty thousand. His son, Philip, continued the same system, and in a single year eight thousand persons suffered. During his whole reign, the aggregate must have been enormous. In Holland, even these violent measures failed; but in Spain, seconded by the superstitious spirit of the people, the persecution was entirely successful. By the fires of the Inquisition, in less than twenty years, a dull, uninquiring uniformity of religious profession was thoroughly established throughout Spain. And thus Castilian pride, dignity, and indolence were combined with absolute authority vested in the crown in temporal matters, and with the despotism of the papacy and of the Inquisition in all matters connected with religion.

3. The third step was one of the most fatal kind. The active energy of Spain, so far as any existed, was found among two races of men, both very numerous,

wealthy, and skilful, who had long directed all the industry of the country. The Moors, in the ninth and tenth centuries, and again in the thirteenth, had placed Spain in the front rank among the nations of Europe, for its wealth, its population, and its achievements in commerce, in agriculture, in literature, and the fine arts. The Jews, the bankers and merchants of Europe, had flocked into Spain, to take their part in its prosperity, its trade, and its general opulence. These two important sections of the population of Spain were reckoned by millions; and they were, beyond doubt, the most valuable classes among the inhabitants of the peninsula. Yet, with blind and senseless bigotry, it became the settled policy of the Castilian kings, from Ferdinand the Catholic down to Philip III., to persecute, harass, slay, and banish these people, until, in the reign of the last-named monarch, the whole work had been completed, and the last Moorish family had been driven out of Spain. In all, during the various persecutions which took place about this period, it may be safely estimated that the Spanish sovereigns destroyed, or banished from their shores, between two and three millions of the most industrious and most valuable of their subjects. Had the greatest enemy of Spain been allowed to dictate her policy, he could scarcely have suggested any step more fatal to the general welfare than these cruel and senseless persecutions.

From all the southern provinces of Spain, large bodies of industrious agriculturists and expert artificers were suddenly withdrawn. The best systems of husbandry then known were practised by the Moriscoes, who tilled and irrigated with indefatigable labour. The cultivation of rice, sugar, and cotton, and the manufac-

ture of silk and paper, were almost confined to them. By their expulsion, all this was destroyed at a blow; and most of it was destroyed for ever. Arts and manufactures either degenerated or were entirely lost, and great regions of the country were left uncultivated. Whole districts were suddenly deserted, and down to the present day have never been re-peopled.

4. Side by side with these transactions, however, there occurred a different series of events, which, while they seemed to present a very different aspect, tended, in fact, to the same unhappy result. Wealth may be a good or evil, as it may be lawfully or unlawfully acquired, and wisely or unwisely used. Multitudes, in our own day, have acquired riches by hard labour, by digging for them into the bowels of the earth. But the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, sent into America, not miners, but soldiers, such as Cortes and Pizarro, who slew and conquered the natives, and gained great wealth by oppression and rapine. These acquisitions often injured both the agents and their principals in Spain. Gold and silver, gotten by violence and wrong, began to pour into Spain; and it is quite certain that as these treasures came into the country, its internal industry and prosperity fled out of it; until, after a century of a continual influx of the precious metals, Spain was much poorer, and far more wretched, than before these acquisitions began.

5. Nor must we quite forget, that this period of Spain's greatest decline was marked, in the Spanish annals, by the reigns of three of the most incapable monarchs that ever sat upon a throne. The reigns of Philip III. Philip IV. and Charles II. occupied just one hundred and two years; and the historians of Spain appear to be at a loss for words in which to express

their horror and contempt for these monarchs. "Profligate imbecility," "flagitious corruption," "abandoned profligacy," and "disastrous helplessness," are the mildest terms applied to the rulers of Spain during this long period of more than a hundred years. We may imagine what would have been the state of England, if three reigns like that of John, or of Charles II., had followed each other, without relief or intermission, during one hundred years. We cannot doubt that this long period of misrule, of evil example, and of "wickedness in high places," must have greatly tended to the impoverishment and decay of Spain.

So rapid was the fall of Spain, that in only three reigns after the death of Philip II. the most powerful monarchy in the world was depressed to the lowest point of debasement; insulted with impunity by foreign nations; stripped of her fairest possessions, and reduced, more than once, to actual bankruptcy. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the population of Madrid was estimated to be 400,000; at the beginning of the eighteenth, it was less than 200,000. Seville had possessed in the sixteenth century upwards of 16,000 looms, which gave employment to 130,000 people. By the reign of Philip V. these 16,000 looms had dwindled to less than 300; and in a report made to Philip IV. in 1662, it is stated that the city contained only one-fourth of its former number of inhabitants, and that its vineyards and olive-gardens were almost wholly neglected. Toledo, in the sixteenth century, had more than fifty woollen-manufacturers; in 1665, it had only thirteen, the rest having removed to Tunis. In like manner, the manufacture of silk, for which Toledo had been famous, was entirely lost, and nearly 40,000 people were deprived of this means of support.

The manufacture of gloves, which had existed in every city in Spain, had, in 1655, entirely disappeared. In the once flourishing province of Castile, everything was going to ruin. The deserted streets and empty houses of Burgos forced a co-temporary (Campomanes) to exclaim, that "Burgos existed but in name." In villages near Madrid the people were nearly starving; and in 1664, the president of Castile, accompanied by an escort and the public executioner, made a circuit to compel the farmers to supply the markets of Madrid. The tax-gatherers, finding a scarcity of money, seized goods and furniture: then the people fled; the fields were left uncultivated, whole villages were deserted, and in many of the towns two-thirds of the houses remained untenanted. Such are the statements of Alvarez Osorio, in his *Discursos*, published in 1687, and since twice reprinted at Madrid.

6. Still, however, the mischievous operation of various regulations of the Romish church must not be overlooked in this inquiry. Especially we may particularize,—

(a). The suppression of all free inquiry, and the forcing into exile, by fear of death, all who could not implicitly submit to the dicta of the Council of Trent.

(b). The absurd multiplication of holidays, or days of religious observance, during which work was prohibited. Mr. Townsend states that when he was in Spain, in 1787, these saints' days amounted to *ninety-three* in each year, not including Sundays, and irrespective of bull-fights. Thus, practically, out of the three hundred and thirteen working-days, the peasantry were either commanded or tempted to leave their labour during nearly one hundred. What a prodigious deduction was thus made from the aggregate of the national industry!

(c). But, probably, the most harmful of all the church's interferences was that which was continually augmenting the non-productive classes, by the increase of the conventual system. This was most perceptible at the period of Spain's greatest decline. On the departure of the great kings, Charles I. and Philip II., the crown fell into incompetent hands; and the government became profligate and corrupt. The priesthood instantly seized its opportunity. Lerma, the unprincipled minister of Philip III., entered into an alliance with the prelates, and in all respects aided their purposes. The convents and churches multiplied with such alarming speed, and their wealth became so prodigious, that even the cortes, humbled as they were, ventured on a public remonstrance. They represented that "never a day passed in which laymen were not deprived of their property to enrich ecclesiastics;" and they prayed that some means might be found to check this constant aggression. They declared that there were then in Spain upwards of nine thousand monasteries, besides nunneries. Davila adds, that in 1623 the two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans alone amounted to 32,000. Mr. Townsend visited Spain in 1786, when the three reigns of Philip V. Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. had done much to reduce this evil; but he found, even then, the number of convents to be 8,932; the number of monks and nuns residing in them to be 94,000; but the whole number of persons under vows of celibacy to be more than 200,000. Now, remembering that these vows were usually taken in youth, and consigned all those who took them to a state of life-long celibacy, we cannot fail to perceive that the power of the whole population to keep up its numbers must have been in this way immensely diminished.

7. Another rule, or custom, not connected with the church or with religion, but which also tended to weaken the state, was that working of Castilian pride which placed all of "noble," or rather of "gentle" descent, among the "nobility," and forbade them to engage in any useful or productive calling. Even in the last census of 1857, we find the class of "nobles" reported to amount to 722,794, all of whom must be numbered with the unproductive classes—another immense injury to the real interests of the commonwealth.

Surely, then, when we take a combined view of these several injurious measures and regulations, namely,—

① The placing the government of Spain chiefly in the hands of the slow, and dignified, and proud Castilians ;

The expulsion of millions of the most active, energetic, and useful of the inhabitants of the land—the Moors and the Jews ;

The suppression of that degree of civil liberty which had existed for ages previous, by the establishment of absolute government ; and of religious freedom, by the operation of the Inquisition ;

The great reduction of the days of labour, by the establishment of numerous saints' days ;

② The withdrawal of a large portion of the youth of Spain from active life, by the enormous increase of the conventual system ; *Lacks population*

③ And the abstinence of another numerous class from productive industry, on the ground of "noble birth"—

We can be at no loss to account for the rapid and signal decline of a country so ill governed ; or to understand how a land should lack population, when it patronises and encourages celibacy ; or how its wealth and industry should diminish, when it sedulously re-

④ *population*
 ⑤ *20,000,000 of people*
 ⑥ *of the*

duces both the days of labour and also the number of those to whom that labour is permitted. We consider that the united operation of all these mischievous regulations must be quite sufficient to account for the rapid decay of Spain in the seventeenth century, and for its slow recovery during the eighteenth, and in the present age.

Superstition naturally dreads the growth of light and knowledge, and encourages indolence. Hence arose the declaration of one of Spain's most deplorable rulers, that "He did not want learned men, but good subjects." The result, however, was most striking. The time came when nothing could be done in Spain without the help of foreigners. The war of the succession, in 1701-1711, saw the Spanish forces on each side, commanded by French, or German, or English generals, the duke of Berwick, marshal Tessé, the duke of Vendome, lord Peterborough, the prince of Darmstadt, lord Galway, the duke of Schomberg. At the same crisis, too, M. Orry was sent from Paris, to rescue the Spanish finances from total disorder. He was followed, a few years after, by Alberoni, an Italian, and Ripperda, a Dutchman, who was succeeded by Königseg, a German.

In every department of science the same rule obtained. Philip v. retained an Irish physician, rather than trust himself to the ignorance of the Spanish practitioners of medicine. Campomanes tells us, that even as late as the year 1776 there was not a man in Spain who knew how to compound the commonest drugs. Ensenada complained that there were no good maps of Spain, nor any person who knew how to construct them. At last, when the Bourbon kings strove to revive learning, they had to send to foreign lands for professors, such

as Cervi, Virgili, and Bowles, to begin the ordinary work of the schools.

In the public departments the same system prevailed. In 1752 the government, wishing to resuscitate the navy, sent to England for shipwrights; the artillery was placed under Maritz, a Frenchman; the arsenals, under Gazola, an Italian; the naval academy, under colonel Godin, a Frenchman; the infantry, under O'Reilly, an Irishman. Even diplomacy was placed in the hands of foreigners; and an Italian became the Spanish ambassador in London, an Irishman at Stockholm, another Irishman at Vienna, and a second Italian at Paris. To such a signal and remarkable degree had superstition, fostering ignorance, produced the natural result of incompetence among the natives of Spain.

But it is time that we advert to the wonderful fact which comes the last in this strange history. Spain has experienced a revival within the last ten or twelve years, and that revival appears to be still advancing. It differs, also, in a singular manner, from the last great improvement in the state of Spain; for *that* originated with the government, while the present upward movement cannot be traced to any such origin.

The three Bourbon kings who reigned from 1700 to 1788 worked wonders in Spain. They raised it from a condition of absolute ruin to one of real prosperity. A modern writer has well said: "It may be doubted if such vast and uninterrupted progress has ever been seen in any country either before or since. For three generations there was no pause on the part of the government; not one reaction, or sign of halting. Improvement upon improvement, and reform upon reform, followed each other in quick succession."

Nothing of this kind can be said of the present

government of Spain. The recent and surprising advance which the nation appears to have made, is known to the people of other countries chiefly by its published statistics; and these are generally received with hesitation, and give cause for that hesitation by their obvious imperfections. Still, however, the evidence already furnished is so far sufficient, that we can no longer venture to express a doubt that a real advance has taken place, and is still apparent, in wealth, in population, and in active industry.

The nature, and character, and causes of this revival must remain for some time longer a matter of doubt and of speculation. The information furnished is still too recent, and too narrow in its extent, to afford sufficient data for a complete theory of cause and effect. We must be content with stating a few facts, and leaving our readers to draw their own conclusions.

We have already indicated the enormous increase of the conventual system in Spain as one of the most prominent causes of her decline. That system, however, has been latterly assailed in many parts of Europe, and in none more successfully than in Spain. The French revolution, and the wars which followed it, and the political conflicts which have since taken place, have gradually undermined the conventual system. We just now observed, that when Mr. Townsend was in Spain in 1786, he found the convents to be 8,932, and the persons under vows of celibacy to be about 200,000; but the ravages of the French, between 1808 and 1813, unquestionably destroyed great numbers of the smaller convents. Then came the reign of the constitution and the cortes, which was equally unfavourable to the system; but there still remained, in 1834, as many as 3,027 conventual establishments. In 1836, under a

constitutional government, a decree was promulgated for the suppression of the whole of these; the government taking the property, and giving pensions for life to the existing monks and nuns; and so extensively has this decree been carried into effect, that in the course of twenty years, up to 1856, no less a sum than 19,706,000*l.* has been realized by the government from the sale of these lands. The subsequent revival of the papal influence at court has tended to check this "secularization of church property;" but already an immense reduction in the numbers of the ecclesiastical bodies is evident. In 1768, the regular and secular clergy were stated to be 209,988; and in 1787 they were 181,295. Even so recently as in 1847, an orator spoke in the cortes of the church reforms as affecting 260,000 persons. But in the census of 1857 the clerical orders stand as follows:—

Cathedral and Collegiate Clergy.	2,661
Parochial Clergy	34,298
Regular, but uncloistered	6,702

We shall not attempt to decide, upon data so slender, what influence this reduction of the monastic orders may have had on the national welfare; but certain it is, that the statistics of 1858 have presented some facts which have astonished most readers. Those statistics, indeed, must always be received with a degree of reserve. The census of 1850, for instance, is now admitted to have been largely imperfect and erroneous—indeed, this appears on the face of it; for the last six statements of the population of Spain have presented the following totals:—

In 1787	10,268,000
1797	10,541,000
1833	12,287,000
1846	12,163,000
1850	10,942,000
1857	15,441,000

It is probable that in the statement of 1850, the Balearic isles, or some other territory has been omitted, while in 1857 the return is complete. But, even supposing that 2,000,000 be added to the (alleged) population of 1850, the great advance made in 1857 will still present a remarkable rate of increase.

But there are other symptoms of life and growth upon which no doubt can exist. Thus the progress of the commerce of Spain is thus exhibited :—

1850		1857	
Exports . .	£4,887,000	Exports . .	£11,686,000
Imports . .	£6,720,000	Imports . .	£15,554,000

The revenues of Spain, also, have augmented in a still more surprising degree. In 1827 the receipts of the royal treasury amounted to 4,300,000*l.* ; but in 1859 they had risen to a total of 17,947,000*l.*

In these latter statements it is obvious that no considerable error can have been made, and, unquestionably, the quadrupling of the public revenues in thirty years, and a more than doubling of the exports and imports in seven years, are facts of no ordinary importance, and leave no room to doubt the existence of some powerful principle of growth and progress.

There seem, then, to be some elements of life and prosperity at work in Spain, respecting the character of which we are but inadequately informed. All that we know is, that the country has long enjoyed both internal and external peace ; and that, at various times since the expulsion of the French in 1813, it has had some transitory gleams of freedom and self-government. In some of these seasons of progress, it was led to take that important step—the suppression of the conventual establishments. Two great advantages would naturally flow from this measure—the ceasing of that

constant drain upon its productive population which had for centuries been weakening the nation, and the throwing of immense tracts of land into the hands of lay, instead of clerical, proprietors. To doubt, therefore, the beneficial operation of this great social change, would be in a high degree irrational.

But, besides this important improvement in the national institutions, there have been commercial changes in the course of the last twenty years, which must have tended to benefit Spain. Among the chief products of that fertile land are, excellent wheat, numerous cattle, and wine of the most generous kind. Now, about fourteen years ago, England opened her ports for the free importation of corn, and also of cattle; and of both Spain has sent her large supplies. Still more recently, the prevalence of an obscure disease among the vines of southern France has compelled the wine-growers of Roussillon and Languedoc to become buyers of the wines of Spain. Hence the importation of the produce of the Aragonese and Catalonian vineyards into southern France has augmented within the last seven years to an enormous extent. These circumstances have been of no trifling or unimportant description; they have given an impetus to Spanish industry and trade of a kind scarcely paralleled in the annals of commerce.

There is, then, now in progress in Spain, a change—an improvement of a very remarkable character. But, while we notice this fact, and give it due weight in our present inquiry, we must not forget to remark that merely material prosperity is transitory, and furnishes but narrow ground for sincere congratulation. The prophet Isaiah, when he had noticed the wealth of his own nation, saying, “Their land also is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their

land is also full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots," adds, "their land also is *full of idols*:" "therefore forgive them not." * In like manner does Ezekiel apostrophize the prince of Tyrus, saying, "By thy great wisdom and by thy traffic hast thou increased thy riches; and thy heart is lifted up because of thy riches: Therefore thus saith the Lord God; I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations: and they shall defile thy brightness, they shall bring thee down to the pit." †

There is only one solid foundation for either national or individual prosperity, and that is "the fear of God." "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil, that is understanding." ‡ When, therefore, we call to mind that of all the nations of Christendom Spain is probably the most destitute of real, living Christianity, we cannot look with any hope upon her progress, until we discern some ray of light from above breaking through the darkness with which for centuries she has surrounded herself. Mr. Inglis, in describing his residence in Spain, said of the capital: "In the upper and middle classes of society in Madrid, morals are at the lowest ebb. Want of education among the women, and the absence of moral and religious principle among the men, are the fruitful sources of this universal demoralization." § And of the great commercial emporium he said: "Morals in Cadiz are, if possible, even lower than in the other cities; female virtue is a thing almost unknown, and scarcely appreciated." || And a native Spaniard, writing in 1850, thus describes the religious, or rather the irreligious state of Spain: "Our nobility and gentry are so igno-

* Isa. ii. 7-9.

† Ezek. xxviii. 5-7.

‡ Job xxviii. 28.

§ Inglis, vol. i. p. 150.

|| Ibid. vol. ii. p. 126.

rant and dissipated that they show a remarkable indifference to religion and religious matters. Intoxicated with pleasure and dissipation, they are reluctant to devote any of their leisure to the reading of instructive books. Their favourite reading, when they do read at all, is that of novels of the most immoral kind. They hear mass, occasionally confess, and all of them encourage priestcraft. They take care not to omit the absolution of the priest when on their death-bed, dying like good Catholics. As to the middle classes, many of them are free-thinkers or atheists; but many are sincerely attached to the Romish religion. As to the lower orders, very few of them can read.”*

In this state of things, hope can only arise for Spain in one of these two ways:—either the Holy Spirit of God may awaken and inspire some Wickliffe or Luther, in Spain itself, to uplift the standard of the cross among the people; or else, as in Burmah or New Zealand, the light of the gospel may come from without; the feet of those “who bear glad tidings” being directed to that unhappy land, and their efforts being blessed by Him who alone “giveth the increase.” Now, of the first of these two ways of deliverance—by the appearance of some great Reformer—no word has yet been heard; and as “the Spirit bloweth where it listeth,” nothing but prayer is in our power in this direction. But, in the way of aggressive, or missionary efforts, there is no hindrance but the active jealousy of the Romish priesthood, invoking and obtaining the aid of the government. This, however, in ordinary periods is sufficient to render all missionary efforts perilous, if not impossible. The chief hope of the real friends of Spain must be directed to those political changes and convul-

* *Evang. Christendom*, 1850. p. 111.

sions which have been frequent in Spain of late years, and which often, for a short period, throw open the door, and permit the entrance of Bibles and missionaries into the peninsula.

One of these opportunities took place in 1837, when the constitution was anew promulgated by queen Christina, and when a ministry and a cortes not very favourable to priestly domination conducted the affairs of Spain. It was in that year that the important bill passed, which "suppressed all convents, monasteries, and other religious houses, for both sexes, within the peninsula and the adjacent islands." In that same year, too, a second bill was passed, which however did not receive the royal assent, for a sweeping "church reform." The primate of Spain, who, in Mr. Townsend's time, enjoyed an income of 90,000*l.* per annum, was to be reduced to 1,500*l.*; the other metropolitans were to have had 1,200*l.* per annum, and the ordinary bishops 800*l.* But a dissolution of the cortes averted this second blow.

The court, however, so soon as the Carlists were crushed, soon showed its leanings towards the church party, and in 1843 a system of government was commenced which was mainly counselled by Rome. Eleven years passed away before a new movement in favour of constitutional government took place. Meanwhile, all that remained for the Christians of other countries to do was, to pray for Spain, and to assist, whenever practicable, in circulating in that country Bibles or religious tracts in the Spanish language. Gibraltar, as a secure abode, was made a centre of operations by a few English Christians, and attempts were made to find an opening for the gospel in the neighbouring city of Cadiz.

A school had been established in that city, in 1837, by a methodist missionary. It was soon assailed by the priests, who succeeded in inducing the governor of Cadiz to enforce a law, which prohibited all foreigners, especially if non-Romanists, from teaching in the schools of Spain.

Application was then made to the British ambassador at Madrid, the present earl of Clarendon, and he succeeded in obtaining a royal decree, permitting any person of good character, without reference to his country or religion, to teach in a school. The mission at Cadiz was re-organized; and the *Gaditanos* brought their children freely to the English missionary's school. A room for preaching was opened in the mission-house, and it quickly became so crowded as to compel its enlargement.

But soon the tendency of the court to cultivate the good-will of the Romish priesthood became apparent, and a ministry was formed which desired to gain the support of the church party. It was then quickly notified to the British minister that "it was her majesty's pleasure that the preacher of heresy should leave Spain immediately, on pain, if he remained, of being proceeded against as a state criminal." The missionary, however, refused to leave without a written order, and, accordingly, he received the following notice:

"Don Francisco Javier Cavestany, Secretary of the Government of this Province:

"I certify, that in the office under my charge there lies an information, laid in consequence of Mr. James Lyon having been surprised by the municipal authority of this city in the act of going to preach the maxims of the methodist sect, in a meeting of persons assembled

for that purpose. And it being proved in the same document that the said individual has broken the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the existence of every chair in which doctrines are taught contrary to the Catholic dogmas, his excellency, the civil governor, has seen it right to order that the said foreigner should be expelled from this province, as has been commanded by her majesty. And that this may be known by those whom it may concern, I issue the present at the instance of the person interested, and by virtue of an order of his excellency in Cadiz, this 6th of April, 1840.

“JAVIER CAVESTANY.”

Still, at Gibraltar the mission continued its operations, until the removal of the missionary in 1842. About this period a converted Spanish priest presented himself, Don Juan Calderon, who visited Madrid in 1842, and remained there until 1844, when he was compelled to remove into France. In 1849, this individual commenced the publication in London of a new periodical, entitled *Catholicismo Neto*, or “Pure Catholicism,” which was intended to be circulated, as far as possible, in Spain. It was continued through several numbers, and was warmly received whenever any copies could be introduced into the peninsula.

In 1847 there was a momentary gleam of hope in Spain itself, so far as hope could arise from merely political movements. A change of ministry seemed likely to lead to some new reforms. A proposal was actually made, in the cortes, to grapple with the whole church question. The speech of Don Garcia Blanco, which is recorded, shows us something of the extent of that ecclesiastical system which still domineered over Spain. He said:—

“Gentlemen,—The reformation of the clergy is one of the greatest works on which the cortes can be engaged. It is one of those grand reforms which the nation expects from us. The object is, to fix in a definite manner the condition of *two hundred and sixty thousand persons*, and to arrange concerning a revenue of *sixteen hundred millions of reals* (equal to 16,000,000*l*), that is, twice as much as the whole revenue of the nation; for the whole expenses of the public administration of the country are defrayed by a revenue of six or seven hundred millions of reals; while on the ecclesiastical establishments there is expended an annual sum of sixteen hundred millions, or thereabouts. From this statement the cortes will perceive the importance of the subject.”

This statement is a very extraordinary one; but when we remember that it was made in the metropolis of Spain itself, and in her parliament, by a public man, whose assertions, if incorrect, were open to immediate denial and refutation, we must suppose that his main averments were substantially well-founded. And when we thus learn the enormous stake which the clergy of Spain have at issue, we cannot wonder either at their ceaseless activity in intrigue, or at the enormous power which they have often exhibited, in making and unmaking the successive Spanish administrations of late years.

In 1854, however, a new revolution did actually break out at Madrid, and after a struggle, which was carried on from January to July, the queen was obliged at last to throw herself into the hands of Espartero, and a *progresista* ministry was once more formed. Queen Christina left Spain, and lively hopes began to be entertained that a constitutional government would

at last be permanently established. But the necessary foundation of public virtue was wanting. The new ministry lasted only about two years; and in 1856 the church party once more regained the ascendancy of which for a time they had been deprived.

Still, the brief opportunity had not been lost. The year 1855 was an important one for the cause of truth in Spain. A new journal, *El Alba*, was commenced, and was largely circulated in the peninsula. Bibles, also, and religious tracts were introduced in considerable numbers, and the field appeared ripe for the harvest; when a new blight quickly passed over it. The alarm of the priesthood was plainly confessed in their periodical, *La Cruz*, which was published at Seville, and which thus spoke of the perils of the times:—

“Awake, Spaniards! new and terrible dangers threaten the Catholicism of Spaniards. The Protestant propaganda, which lately inaugurated its first attempt on our unhappy country, and which has distributed, with impudence and impunity, Bibles, books of devotion, catechisms, and other works worthy of its corruption, considers that it is authorized to carry on its heretical mission: . . . to turn us from loyal subjects into traitors; from Christians into heretics; from sons of God into sons of the devil; from Catholics into infidels; and from Spaniards into barbarians: such is the mission of the propaganda.”

Nor was there any doubt as to the reality of the cause for their alarm. If Spain were once to be really open to the teaching of the truths of Holy Scripture, there seems little reason to doubt that a mighty change would take place. In that year, 1855-6, “a gentleman having taken a few Bibles and tracts with him into Spain, found that he could have disposed of a ship-load, so eager were the people to receive them. In another

city, a party of Spaniards were found meeting every sabbath for the reading of God's word, and prayer. Several persons of distinction, and some priests, attended these meetings."* Another gentleman wrote: "The work among Spaniards is now only beginning. We had last evening twenty-one at the service. They appeared to devour every word. Afterwards they got tracts and Testaments at their own special request, and paid for ten of the Testaments. They almost cried with delight, and asked if there would be a service next Friday evening. So great was their earnestness, that two friends present remarked that they had never seen anything like it."

A committee, organized for the purpose, reported a sale, in the course of one year, of 7,976 New Testaments or other bound portions of the Scriptures, and of 63,669 tracts.†

But the Romish church has now regained its ascendancy. The year 1859 was a year of active persecution. The colporteurs sent out from Gibraltar were tracked, and seized, and imprisoned. A single tract-distributor was sent to prison for six months; and a Spanish prison is no very pleasant abode.

In the month of May, a British subject, Martin Escalante, a member of the Wesleyan congregation at Gibraltar, proceeded to attend some fairs in Spain for the purpose of selling Bibles. He was apprehended, his Bibles were taken from him, and he was thrown into a damp, cold dungeon, where he suffered much from fever. He was then removed to Cadiz, where he was confined in prison for some months, "surrounded with sin and sorrow; mingled with 140 men of the worst character; hearing nothing but obscenity and

* *Evang. Christendom*, 1856, p. 204.

† *Ibid.* 1858, p. 275.

blasphemy; while lice and all kinds of filth met his eyes on every side." His release, at the urgent demand of the British government, has since been obtained; but we have not heard that any recompense has been made to him for all his sufferings.

The years 1860 and 1861 produced events which are greatly calculated to raise the best hopes and anticipations for Spain. A work is evidently going on, which bears marks of a Divine origin and character, and the principle remains unalterably true, "If this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it."* Testimony comes to us from various quarters of new confessors of the faith appearing in various places, and exhibiting a likeness to Christ and his apostles in patient endurance, heavenly-mindedness, and a firm and yet calm continuance in the faith, even under severe suffering. Coupled with this fact, too, there is a continued and increasing disgust at, and disbelief in, the pretensions of the Romish clergy among the general population; paving the way for a rapid advance of the truth whenever it shall please God to give power and a free course, and to "send forth labourers into his vineyard."

Towards the close of the year 1860, two earnest adherents of scriptural truth, Matamoros and Alhama, were thrown into prison, and remained long in confinement, on no other charge than that of holding and teaching doctrines at variance with "the Catholic faith." English Christians were not unmindful of these sufferers. Meetings were held in London, and applications addressed to the British government, praying its interposition with that of Spain in behalf of the prisoners. But there is no doubt that "suppression of

* Acts v. 38, 39.

heresy" is, and has always been, a fundamental law of the Spanish monarchy ; and a foreign power cannot, with any hope, address a government so proud as that of Spain, when no new principle has been asserted, and no new practice introduced.

Our hope must therefore rest upon the indications which are visible, that "the work is of God," and "cannot be overthrown." Thus Matamoros wrote, from his prison at Barcelona, on the 27th of November, 1860 :—

"Our imprisonment was needful, and has done much service to our holy work. All Spain knows that we suffer for Christ's sake ; and so all may see, evidently, how far removed is the practice of the Roman church from the precepts of God's holy word. But whatever she may attempt against us now is already too late. The word of God is in the hands of thousands of Spaniards, and the study of it has raised up hundreds of decided Christians, willing and rejoicing to spread the good news, and despising the gainsaying and the persecution of men—ready to take up the cross and follow Christ. So, though tyranny does not falter, neither shall our holy work. But tyranny is the work of man, therefore it must cease. Our work is of God, and therefore ultimately it shall gloriously triumph.

"For myself, I am perfectly tranquil. Every fresh suffering that my poor weak body endures, every fresh delay which is interposed between me and the day of my release, is a fresh motive to increase my joy and confirm my faith. I glory in tribulations. My imprisonment is a trial to the body, but not to the soul. The slayers of the body are weak and miserable enemies to the soul of a Christian. It can even rejoice in its sufferings for Christ's sake.

“ I have confessed before the Tribunals. I do not, and shall never, repent of this. As I have done at Barcelona, I propose doing at Granada. I will confess Christ before the weak as before the strong ; before my brethren as before my murderers. I shall suffer—and what then? Did not Christ suffer for us miserable sinners? Did he not lay down his life for our sins? Did he not redeem us by his death? What are my little trials to be compared to the blessing that his words and his example are to me? Oh, nothing, less than nothing. I knew well, when I undertook my evangelical labours, that I was in the midst of wolves. I knew the thorns and thistles that would be under my feet, but I never forgot the words of the Saviour, ‘ He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.’ ”

A letter from a German Christian residing in Spain gives the following particulars : it bears date at the close of 1860 :—

“ In Malaga and Seville, no one has been arrested hitherto ; it seems as if the government, though holding in its hands the plumb-lines of the Protestant movement, were afraid openly to admit how widely and how deeply Protestant ideas have taken root in Spain. In Granada the authorities have betrayed the same apprehension. In the first moments, about eighteen persons were arrested, who, with one exception, were either entirely discharged, or placed, with a caution, under the surveillance of the police. The only prisoner in Granada is Alhama, a hat-maker, an honourable and respectable man, who is acquitted of all political agitation. He is a thoroughly pious and upright confessor of the gospel, who has been for some years presiding over the Protestant Society in Granada. Even before now he has

had much to suffer for his evangelical tenets. In his house there was found, among other names, that of Matamoros; and this unfortunate circumstance led to his apprehension, and to the discovery of the names and addresses of nearly all the Spanish Protestants.

“I hear from a friend who visited Matamoros and Alhama this year, in August, that the Spirit of the Lord has revealed himself wonderfully to both of them; and that in knowledge, piety, and constant and lively faith, they are not behind the most advanced of Christians. They both keep aloof from politics; they suffer for the sake of the gospel of the Lord, and the Spanish government has picked out these two spiritual leaders of Protestantism as its victims, in order to annihilate the Protestantism of Spain with them.

“The alarm which these revelations and the imprisonment of the two brethren has excited in all the Spanish Protestant Associations is indescribable. Six persons have already fled to Gibraltar, in order to escape captivity. Their families are left in great distress and fear, and are every moment expecting that the disappointed priests, by whom the persecution has been instituted, will turn against them.”

Meanwhile, as we have just observed, it is mainly from the Romish priesthood, acting upon some persons in authority, that the persecution springs. The bulk of the people of Spain have little fondness for Romanism left. Thus, the Rev. A. C. Dallas, himself well acquainted with Spain, writes:—

“I was in the south of Spain in 1857, and having lived long in Spain in my earlier years, and speaking the language, I had a facility in discovering the feelings of the people. I took pains to do this, and I never

got any Spaniard into quiet and private conversation without finding that there was more or less of a desire for the power of expressing religious opinions freely. . . . I believe that a vast multitude are deeply dissatisfied with the present state of things in respect to religion—that many have embraced the truth of scriptural doctrines in their hearts who dare not avow it, and that very many more are in a state which may be called ‘ripe for the reception of the principles of religious liberty.’ ”

And the Rev. Dr. Rule, an equally competent witness, says :—

“I have known Spain, either by residence in the country or communication with it, ever since the death of Ferdinand VII. in 1833. The overwhelming reaction of public feeling which then took place resulted in the suppression of monasticism, the confiscation of the church property, the final abolition of the Inquisition (now attempted to be imitated by the ‘Tribunal of the Faith’), and even in the suspension of ordination to the priesthood during seven years ; thus proving to the world that the Spanish people are not reconciled to priestly tyranny. It is my conviction, from all I have ever heard, up to the present time, that the intelligent Spaniards all over that country regard the priests with enmity, as the main support of government in every measure of repression ; and I cannot but fear that they will be the object of vengeance whenever another revolution shall take place.”

Such, then, is the present condition of Spain ; a condition of rapid and positive improvement in physical and external things, and of hope as to her highest and best interests. There seems little reason to doubt that a Divine work is going on ; and if so, we may

safely calculate upon the highest and best results. The period in which we are living is not like that in which Loyola and the Jesuits succeeded in turning back the tide of truth. The Romish apostasy is now everywhere losing ground. Within a comparatively short space of time, Italy has been freed from the power of Rome, and thrown open to the preachers of the truth. Austria, also, begins to profess and to practise toleration, and Spain is nearly the last spot upon earth where, at this moment, to "preach doctrines opposed to the Catholic faith" is deemed a crime to be punished by the judge. Such a state of things cannot last.

The chains may again fall from her hands, as they have fallen in former days. A single political movement, like those which have occurred twice or thrice within our own memories, may again overthrow the influence of the priesthood, and re-open the whole peninsula to the preaching of the gospel.

For such a providential movement we may hope, as well as pray. The events of the last twenty years have abundantly confirmed the words of Scripture, that "with God all things are possible." Casting our eyes backward over the history of the last twenty years, what wonderful vicissitudes meet our view! Where, in the year 1840, was there a country more rigidly closed against the gospel than the territory of the Sardinian king? Where was there a land at each entrance into which such difficulties were presented to bar the way of even a single Bible? Yet how have all things been altered in this gateway of Italy; not by war or revolution, but by the gracious and all-wise operations of Him who holdeth the hearts of all men at his command! And how does even the vaunted eternity and

invulnerability of old Rome tremble, as "the shadows of coming events" make the hearts of the priesthood to quake within them!

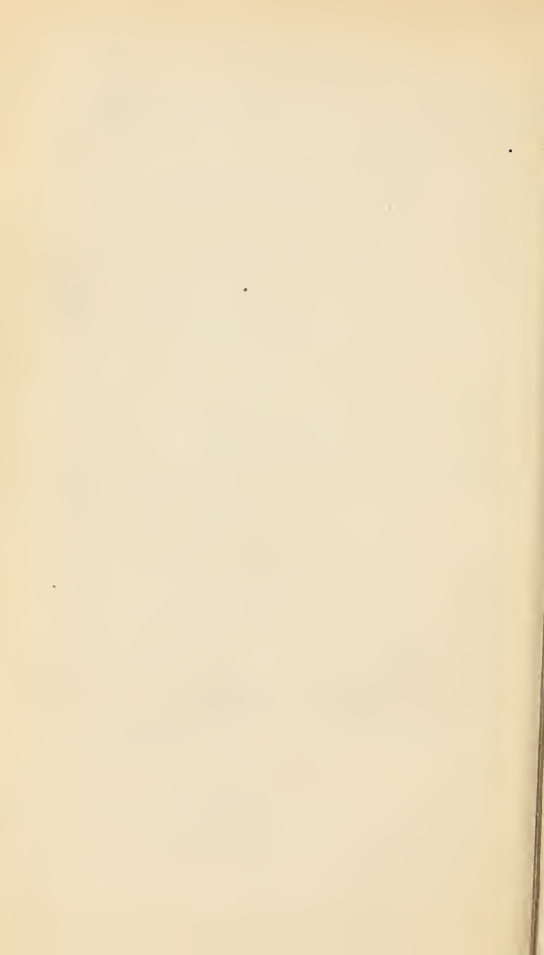
Spain is now the last remaining of all the fortresses of the old Roman dominion. Her people, like the noble country which they inhabit, have many excellent qualities. "The best observers pronounce them to be highminded, generous, truthful, warm and zealous friends, affectionate in all the relations of life." They are, moreover, singularly temperate and frugal. That which destroys them is "lack of knowledge." A late traveller exclaimed, "This is the most wonderful country under the sun, for here intellect wields no power."* Ignorance and superstition hold undisturbed sway. The truth is still resolutely excluded. The sovereign, with the usual propensity of those whose lives render the priestly dogmas of confession and absolution peculiarly acceptable, has recently shown herself especially zealous for "the faith." But, amid all the shaking of the nations, and the rapid crumbling of the feet of the great image,† who can doubt that here too will the blows of the "stone cut out without hands" be felt; and that, though late, still at last shall Spain herself be added to the dominions of HIM, "whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."‡ Surely each reader will fervently exclaim, "The Lord hasten it in his time!"§

* Inglis's Spain, vol. i. p. 101.

† Dan. vii. 27.

† Dan. ii. 34, 35.

§ Isaiah lx. 22.



APPENDIX.

A.

CHRONOLOGY OF SPAIN.

I.—PRIOR TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

ABOUT

A. M.

B. C.

1750. 2250. Tarshish: a name given to southern Spain in the earliest times: See Psa. lxxii. 10; Jonah i. 3; Isaiah lx. 9; lxvi. 19. The modern Tarifa was formerly Tartessus. The name of Tarshish first appears as that of a grandson of Japheth. Gen. x. 4.
2400. 1600. The Phœnicians in Spain.
" in Gades (Cadiz).
" in Malaca (Malaga).
" in Corduba (Cordova).
3100. 900. The Rhodians: found Rhodia (Rosas) in Catalonia.
The Phocians in Catalonia and Valencia.
3520. 480. The Carthaginians in Gades.
3765. 235. They overrun Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia, and Catalonia.
They found Carthage, or New Carthage.
- B. C.
- 227—222. The Romans interpose. Fall of Saguntum.
213. Asdrubal defeated by the Romans.
- 209—206. Scipio Africanus in Spain. The Carthaginians finally expelled.
- 205—146. Spain a Roman province. Viriatus carries on a long war with them. Is assassinated.
- 139—134. Resistance and fall of Numantia.
- 132— 19. Long wars of the Asturians and Cantabrians with the Romans.
Augustus at last gains their submission.

II.—UNDER THE ROMANS.

A. D.

- 14— 97. Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva.
 97—117. Trajan, a Spaniard, emperor.
 117—138. Adrian, a Spaniard, emperor.
 138—161. Antoninus Pius, emperor.
 161—180. Marcus Aurelius, a Spaniard, emperor.
 251. Christian martyrs in Saragossa.
 260. An irruption of the Franks and Suevi.
 305. A Council at Eliberis, near Corduba.
 325. Council of Nice: Hosius, bishop of Corduba, president.
 384. Priscillian and his adherents condemned.

III.—UNDER THE GOTHS.

402. The Suevi and the Vandals ravage Spain.
 411. The Goths, under Ataulphus.
 415. " Sigeric.
 415. " Wallia.
 418. The Goths overcome the Vandals and Suevi.
 420. " under Theodored.
 427. " expel the Vandals.
 438. Richilan, King of Spain.
 451. Thorismund.
 452. Theodoric I.
 466. Euric,—reigns over Spain and Southern France.
 483. Alaric. A. D.
 506. Gensaleic. 621. Swintila.
 511. Theodoric II. 631. Sisenand.
 522. Amalaric,—reigns at Seville. 636. Chintila.
 531. Theudis. 640. Tulga.
 548. Theudisel. 642. Chindaswind.
 549. Agilan. 649. Receswind.
 554. Athanagild. 672. Wamba.
 567. Liuva. 680. Ervigius.
 570. Leovigild. 687. Egica.
 587. Recared I. 701. Witiza.
 601. Liuva. 709. Roderic.
 603. Witeric. 711. Landing of the Moors:
 610. Gundemar. Battle of Xeres de la
 612. Sisebert. Frontera: Fall of the
 621. Recared II. Gothic Monarchy.

A. D.	Musa arrives in Spain.	
712.	The peninsula entirely subdued.	
713—14.		
	MOSLEM SPAIN.	
713—14.	Tarik and Musa, viceroys of the caliph.	
716.	Alhaur ben Abderahman.	
721.	Alsama ben Melic.	
	Abderahman ben Abdalla.	
723.	Ambisa ben J'ohim.	
733.	Defeat of the Moslem army at Tours.	
733—755.	Several viceroys. Dissensions among the Moslem rulers.	
755—787.	Abderahman, of the house of Oneyah, first Moslem king, and ruler over all Spain.	
787—796.	Hixen, the Just and Good.	
796—821.	Alhakem.	
821—852.	Abderahman II.	
852—886.	Mohammed I.	
886—888.	Almondhir.	
888—912.	Abdalla.	
912—961.	Abderahman III. } Most splendid period of the Moslem dominion.	
961—976.	Alhakem II. }	
976—1012.	Hixen II. }	
	Almansor, vizier or generalissimo of Alhakem, lays waste Galicia and Asturias. Great battle of Calat Onosor. A. D. 1002. Defeat of the Moslems. Death of Almansor.	

ASTURIAS.

	Theodimir in Murcia.	
	Pelayo in Asturias — defeats the Moslems at Auseva.	
	Murcia conquered by the Moslems.	
	Favla, son of Pelayo, in Asturias.	
	Alfonso I.	
	Fruela tributary.	
	Aurelio.	
	Alfonso II. independent.	
	Ramiso I.	
	Ordono I.	
	Alfonso III.	
	Garcia.	
	Ordono II.	
	Fruella II.	
	Alfonso IV.	
	Ramiso II.	
	Ordono III.	
	Sancho I.	
	Ramiro III.	
	Bermudo II.	
	Alfonso V.	

Close of the period of Mohammedan supremacy.

1012—1094.	Dissension among the Moslems.	1037.	Fernando I. king of Castile.	Ramiro I. Aragon.
	The Spaniards in Andalusia and Valencia.		Sancho II. Castile.	Sancho I.
1085.	Alfonso I. takes Toledo.	1065.	Alfonso VI. Leon.	Pedro I.
1086.	Battle of Zalaca.	1157.	Fernando II. Leon.	Alfonso I.
1094—1144.	The Almoravides.		Sancho III. Castile.	Ramiro II.
1147—1225.	The Almohades.	1188.	Alfonso IX. Leon.	Alfonso II.
1212.	Murcia invaded by Fernando.	1217.	Fernando III. Castile.	Pedro II.
	Valencia taken by Jayme I.			Jayme I.
	Badajoz taken by Alfonso.			

All Spain Christian, except Granada.

A. D.	MOSLEM KINGDOM OF GRANADA.	CHRISTIAN SPAIN.	PORTUGAL.
1238.	Mohammed I. founder of the kingdom —the Alhambra.	<i>Leon and Castile.</i>	1248. Alfonso III.
1273.	Mohammed II.	<i>Aragon.</i>	1274. Dionis.
1302.	Mohammed III. (Fresh dissensions.)	1276. Pedro III.	
1309.	Nassir.	1285. Alfonso III.	
1313.	Ismail.	1291. Jayme II.	
1325.	Mohammed IV.		
1333.	Yussef.	1327. Alfonso IV.	1325. Alfonso IV.
1354.	Mohammed V.	1336. Pedro IV.	1357. Pedro I.
1359.	Ismail II.		1367. Fernando I.
1360.	Abu Saref.	1387. Juan I.	1383. Joam I.
1391.	Yussef II.		
1396.	Mohammed VI.	1395. Martin.	
1408.	Yussef III.	1412. Fernando I.	
1423.	Muley Mohammed VII.	1416. Alfonso V.	
1445.	Mohammed IX.		1433. Duardo.
1454.	Mohammed X.	1458. Juan II.	1438. Alfonso V.
1463.	Muley Ali Abul Hassan.	1479. Fernando II.	1481. Joam II.
1483.	Abu Abdalla.		

A. D. 1492. Fall of Granada. Castile and Aragon united.

PORTUGAL

SPAIN.

- A. D.
1469. ISABEL of Castile marries FERDINAND of Aragon.
1479. Death of Juan II. of Aragon ; by Ferdinand's succession, Castile and Aragon are united.
1492. Fall of the Moslem kingdom of Granada.
Persecution of the Jews.
Establishment of the Inquisition.
Persecution of the Mohammedans.
1492. Discovery of America.
1504. Death of Isabel ; her daughter JUANA succeeds : Ferdinand regent.
1506. Death of Philip, husband of Juana.
1516. Death of Ferdinand.
CHARLES I. (Fifth of Germany).
Insurrection of Santiago.
1521. Re-establishment of the royal authority, with absolute power.
1527. Insurrection of the Moriscos suppressed.
1556. Charles resigns the crown.
PHILIP II.
Persecution of the Protestants.
Frequent Autos de fé.
Revolt of the Moriscos.
Horrible death of Philip.
1598. PHILIP III., king of Spain and Portugal.
Expulsion of the Moriscos.
1609. PHILIP IV., king of Spain and Portugal.
1640. Revolt and independence of Portugal.
1665. Death of Philip.
1495. Manuel
1521. Joam III.
1557. Sebastian.
1578. Henrique.
1580. Annexed to Spain.
1640. Insurrection : independence.
1640. Joam IV.

- A. D.
1665. CHARLES II.
His death: War of the Succession.
1700. PHILIP V. acknowledged by the peace of Utrecht.
1746. Death of Phillip.
1746. Fernando VI.—Dies 1759.
1759. CHARLES III.—Dies 1788.
1788. CHARLES IV.
Charles abdicates in favour of his son, Ferdinand.
Napoleon forces Ferdinand to resign the throne.
War in Spain, until after several campaigns Wellington finally expels the French.
1814. FERDINAND VII. enters Madrid May 14, suppresses the Cortes, and re-establishes the Inquisition.
1820. A rising in Spain. Ferdinand convokes the Cortes, and swears to the constitution.
- South America gains its independence.
1823. French army in Spain. Overthrow of the constitution.
1833. Ferdinand dies: queen Christina regent.
1843. Isabella II. declared queen.
1656. Alfonso VI.
1683. Pedro II.
1707. Joam V.
1750. José.
1777. Maria.
1800. Joam VI. (Regent).
1807. The French occupy Portugal.
1809. Wellington expels them.
1814. Joam or John VI. emperor of Brazil and king of Portugal.
1826. Death of Joam VI.; Pedro, his son, becomes emperor of Brazil, and his daughter, Maria, queen of Portugal.

B.

THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN.

LLORENTE, who himself had been Secretary to the Inquisition in Spain, and who, in that capacity, had enjoyed access to its records, gives, in his History, a statement of the number of the victims whose punishments are therein registered. The details are too large to be inserted here, but the general results are as follows :—

Number of persons condemned, and who perished in the flames	31,912
Burnt in effigy, having died in prison, or escaped . . .	17,659
Sentenced to the galleys, or to imprisonment. . . .	291,450
	<u>341,021</u>

C.

THE SPANISH UNIVERSITIES.

THE last Census published by the Spanish Government contains some details of so remarkable, and apparently incredible a character, that, had they not been given to the public on the highest authority, we should have hesitated to yield credence to them. These statements are simple and brief; and we shall be able, in a few lines, to place the substance of them before our readers.

There are, it appears, from these official returns, ten Universities in Spain which give instruction in law; seven which teach medicine; four, pharmacy; six, theology; ten, science; and ten, philosophy and literature. The first three of these courses of study evidently lead to immediate employment and maintenance in the current affairs of mankind. The other three have not the same money-value; yet we were hardly prepared for the enormous discrepancy which appears to exist between the attention given to the first three of these branches of study, and the strange neglect into which the others appear to have fallen. The return of students, in 1858, as given in the official Census, is as follows:—

	Professors.	Students.
Law (10 Univ.)	80	3,742
Medicine (7 Univ.)	73	1,155
Pharmacy (4 Univ.)	11	563
Theology (6 Univ.)	14	326
Philosophy and Literature (10 Univ.)	51	191
Science (10 Univ.)	46	127

So that, out of a nation of fifteen millions of people, the whole number of students in science, philosophy, and polite literature, attending ten Universities, amounted to *three hundred and eighteen!** The fact seems so to border on the incredible, that, as we have just said, we should scarcely have dared to state it on any lower authority than that of the Spanish Government itself.

* And this number, doubtless, far exceeds the actual number of individual students; since many would belong to both classes.

INDEX.

- Abderahman I. 49, 50, 73 ; II. 51 ; III. 52, 74.
 Absolutism, 273.
 Africa, Western, discovered, 108.
 Alberoni, cardinal, 168.
 Albigenses, 82.
 Alfonso I. of Portugal, 106.
 Alfonso the Catholic, 49.
 — III. 51.
 Alhakein I. 51 ; II. 52, 74.
 Alhama, fall of, 65.
 Alhambra, palace of, 63.
 Almansor, 53, 54.
 Almohades, 56, 57.
 Almoravides, 56.
 Amerigo Vespucci, 112.
 Andalusia, 4, 16, 39, 56, 235.
 Antiquity of Spain, 9.
 Aragon, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 91, 243.
 Armada, the Invincible, 149, 150, 151.
 Arnaldo of Villcnuueva, 87.
 Asturias, 47, 48, 229, 271.
 Augustus, his works in Spain, 16.
 Autos de fé, 98, 135, 139, 143.
 Badajos, 58, 209, 235.
 Barcelona, 245.
 — counts of, 51.
 Baylen, convention of, 192.
 Bœtica, 16, 17, 19.
 Brazil, 114, 226.
 Bull-fights, 262—269.
 Burgos, 210, 242.
 Busaco, battle of, 200.
 Cabral, navigator, 114.
 Cadiz, or Gades, its antiquity, 9, 10.
 Cæpio, 14.
 Calat Onosor, battle of, 54.
 Carlos, don, son of Philip II. 146.
 Carranza, archbishop, 142.
 Carthæna, or New Carthage, 17.
 Carthaginians in Spain, 11.
 Castile, rise of, 49, 52, 57, 62, 64, 91, 238.
 Castro, Adolfo de, cited, 99, 100.
 Catalonia, 51, 244.
 Cattle and corn of Spain, 6.
 Celtiberians, 10, 17.
 Celts, 9, 20.
 Charles I. of Spain, v. of Germany, 116, 120, 121.
 — II. his disastrous reign, 161, 162.
 — III. 172, 174, 177.
 — IV. 178, 184.
 Christina, queen, 222, 223, 292.
 Chronology of Spain, Appendix A.
 Ciudad Rodrigo, 200, 208.
 Claudius of Turin, 85.
 Colonies of Spain, 225, 226.
 Columbus, 95, 110, 111.
 Commerce and cultivation of Spain, 247.
 Comunidades, war of the, 118.
 Cordova, or Corduba, 10, 59, 77.
 Cortez, in Mexico, 113.
 Corunna, battle of, 194.
 Councils of Eliberis—CæsarAugusta, Toledo, 26, 27, 28, 80, 81.
 Cuba, 248.
 Diaz, navigator, 108.
 Diodorus, cited, 14.
 Dominic, founder of the Inquisition, 84.
 Eleanor of Castile, 62.
 Escorial, the, 241.
 Estremadura, 234.
 Ferdinand of Aragon, 64, 89, 90.
 — VI. 171.
 — VII. 183, 184, 220, 273.
 Ford's Handbook, cited, 71.
 Fuentes de Honor, battle of, 266.
 Gades, *see* Cadiz.
 Galicia, 4, 38, 53, 55, 230, 270.
 Gama, Vasco de, 109.
 Godoy, Manuel, 178, 180.
 Gothic Liturgy, 81.
 Gothic power in Spain, 39, 42.
 Goths, Vandals, and Suevi, in Spain 37.
 Granada, 59, 60, 61, 66, 78, 236.
 Guadalquivir, 17.
 Guerilla warfare, 207.
 Guinea, discovered, 108.
 Hallam cited, 71.
 Hamilcar, 12.
 Hannibal, 12.
 Henry, don, of Portugal, 107.
 Holidays, observance of, 278.
 Hosius of Corduba, 27, 29.
 Ignorance and incompetence prevalent, 281.
 Ildefonso, St. palace of, 169.
 Inglis's Travels, 255—257, 262—269.
 Inquisition, the, Appendix B, 82, 83, 98, 132.
 Insurrection of 1808, 189.
 Introduction of the Roman Mass, 81.
 Irving, Washington, cited, 68.
 Isabella of Castile, 64, 89, 90, 94, 95.
 Jaen, 59.
 James, brother of John, 21.
 Jews, expulsion of, 100, 101, 275.
 Joam I. of Portugal, 107.
 Joseph, the intrusive king, 184, 188, 204.
 Kings of Spain, Asturian, 48.
 — Austrian line, 154—165.
 — Bourbon line, 166—176.

- Kings of Spain, Castilian, 51—96.
 ————— Charles I. : Philip II.
 116—153.
 ————— Gothic, 39, 40.
 ————— Moorish, 49—60.
 Leon and Castile, 57, 49, 62, 233.
 Lerma, duke of, 279.
 Lisbon, 197.
 Literature in Moorish Spain, 74, 75.
 Loyola, Ignatius, 119.
 Lucullus, 13.
 Lusitania, 16, 17, 19.
 Madagascar, 115.
 Madrid, 145, 209, 221, 240.
 Magellan's straits, 113.
 Malaga, or Malaca, 10, 259.
 Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella,
 91.
 McCulloch, referred to, 70.
 Merida, 18.
 Mexico, 113.
 Meyrick's visit to Spain, 259, 261.
 Mines of Spain, 6, 15.
 Mohammed Ben Alhamar, of
 Granada, 62.
 Mohammedan power in Spain, 43.
 Monasteries, increase of, 159, 279, 283.
 Moore, Sir John, 194.
 Moors, or Moriscos, persecution of,
 102, 103, 147, 157, 275.
 Morals, low state of, 287.
 Mountains of Spain, 3.
 Murcia, 45, 51, 238.
 Musa, emir in Africa, 44, 45.
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 180, 181, 183,
 185, 193, 199, 202, 213.
 Navarre, 60, 62, 228.
 Nigidius, 13.
 Nobles, great number of, 280.
 Numantia, 14.
 Omejade sovereigns of Spain, 49, 54.
 Ourique, battle of, 106.
 Paul, St. probably in Spain, 24.
 Pelayo, king in Asturias, 47, 48.
 Persecution of heretics, 28, 82, 83,
 126, 131, 176, 274, 290, 295.
 Philip II. 123, 152.
 ————— III. and IV. 154, 159.
 ————— V. 168—170.
 Philippine islands, 248.
 Phœnicians in Spain, 10.
 Pizarro in Peru, 114.
 Population of Spain at various dates,
 72, 163, 164, 174, 247, 277.
 Portugal, 60, 62, 106, 147, 231.
 Priscillian, 27, 28.
 Prosperity of Spain of late years, 285.
 Prudentius of Troyes, 86.
 Raymundo Lully, 87.
 Reformers in Spain, Juan de Avila,
 Valdes, Virves, 125, 126, 130 ;
 Valer, Egidius, Vargas, Enzinas,
 Diaz, Constantine, Hernandez,
 Cazalla, 135, 141 ;
 Reformers, recently, 293—297.
 Revenues of the Moorish kings, 73.
 Rhodians in Spain, 10.
 Rivers of Spain, 3.
 Roderic, king, 40, 44.
 Roman power in Spain, 12, 13, 18.
 Rosas, or Rhodia, 10.
 Saguntum, siege of, 12.
 Salamanca, battle of, 209, 234.
 Saragossa, 18, 191, 196, 243.
 Scipio Emilianus, 14.
 Seville, or Hispalis, 18, 59, 78, 93,
 260.
 Sismondi, cited, 68.
 Spain ; its natural endowments, 1,
 2, 4—6, 7.
 ————— antiquity, 9.
 ————— mountains, 3.
 ————— regions or divisions, 4.
 ————— rivers, 3.
 Spain ; under Charles I. and Philip
 II. 116—153.
 ————— Ferdinand and Isa-
 bella, 89—105.
 ————— the Austrian line, 154,
 165.
 ————— the Bourbon kings,
 166, 176.
 ————— the Goths, 36—42.
 ————— the Moors, 43—66
 ————— the Romans, 14—19.
 Strabo cited, 16.
 Succession, war of the, 166—168.
 Superstition, 260, 273.
 Talavera, archbishop, 102.
 ————— battle of, 197.
 Tarik, victor at Xeres, 44, 45.
 Tarragona, or Tarracoña, 17, 19.
 Tarshish, or Tartessus, in Spain, 9.
 Theodomir of Murcia, 46.
 Theological writers, 29, 30.
 Toledo, 28, 45, 50, 52, 55, 242.
 Tolosa, battle of, 58.
 Torquemada, inquisitor, 97, 100.
 Torres Vedras, lines of, 200, 201.
 Townsend's Travels, 250—253.
 Trafalgar, battle of, 181.
 Valencia, 246.
 Valentia, 58, 59.
 Vigilantius, 31—35.
 Villalar, battle of, 118.
 Viriatus, 13.
 Vitellius, 13.
 Vittoria, battle of, 212.
 Universities of Spain, Appendix C.
 Wellington, duke of, 190, 191, 195,
 211.
 White Blanco : letters from Spain,
 253, 259.
 Wines of Spain, 6.
 Xeres, 44, 236.
 ————— battle of, 40.
 Ximenes, cardinal, 102.

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