

MARX  
ENGELS  
Gesamt-  
Ausgabe

# MARX/ENGELS GESAMTAUSGABE

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Exzerpte  
September 1853  
bis  
Januar 1855

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KARL MARX  
FRIEDRICH ENGELS  
GESAMTAUSGABE  
(MEGA)

VIERTE ABTEILUNG

EXZERPTE · NOTIZEN · MARGINALIEN

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KARL MARX  
FRIEDRICH ENGELS  
EXZERPTE  
UND NOTIZEN  
SEPTEMBER 1853 BIS  
JANUAR 1855

TEXT

Bearbeitet von  
Manfred Neuhaus und Claudia Reichel  
Unter Mitwirkung von Karl-Frieder Grube, Giesela Neuhaus,  
Klaus-Dieter Neumann, Hanno Strauß und Christine Weckwerth



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**KARL MARX  
FRIEDRICH ENGELS  
EXZERPTE UND NOTIZEN  
SEPTEMBER 1853  
BIS JANUAR 1855**

**ERSTER TEIL  
EXZERPTE UND NOTIZEN  
VON  
KARL MARX**

**Karl Marx**  
**Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Diplomatie**



(Heft 1)  
Exzerpte aus Werken von David Urquhart,  
Georg Friedrich von Martens, George Henry Francis  
und anderen Autoren sowie aus  
Hansard's parliamentary debates und  
Correspondence relative to the affairs of the Levant

|1| 1853. Sept.

The Russians in Moldavia and Wallachia.

(« *Si viene di bassa a gran fortuna  
più con la fraude che con la forza.* »  
*Machiavelli. Discorsi. Cap. XIII)*

5

2 ed. London. 1849.

Die wallachische Sprache a sort of Oriental Italian. (3) *Roumans* nennen sie sich selbst; Vlachs od. Wallachians die natives v. Moldauwallachei v. ihren Nachbarn genannt. (1. c.) a. 1393 the *Wallachians* concluded a  
10 treaty m. *Bajazet*, with which originates the claim of the Porte to the sovereignty of these provinces. Dieser Treaty, od. as it is generally termed, the Capitulation was as follows:

*Art. 1.* "We, *Bajazet*, in consequence of our extreme condescension towards Wallachia, which, together with its reigning Prince, has made  
15 submission to our invincible empire, resolve and decree, that this country shall continue to be governed by its own laws; and that the Prince of Wallachia shall have full liberty to declare war against his neighbours, and to make peace with them, when and how it shall appear best to him: and that he shall possess the right of life and death over his subjects."

20 *Art. 2.* All the Christians who, having formerly embraced the Mahomedan religion, would now leave the territory of our empire and return to the Christian form of worship, shall be respected, and not claimed by us.

*Art. 3.* "All the Wallachians who may come into the territory of our empire, on their own business, shall be exempt from all kinds of contribution, and nobody shall disturb them on account of their mode in dressing.

*Art. 4.* The Princes (always Christians) shall be chosen by the metropolitan and the boyards. 5

*Art. 5.* Fixes the amount of the tribute which is to be paid annually." (p. 5)

*Moldavia* did not yield to the Turkish Power until upwards of a century had elapsed from the signature of the Wallachian treaty; *a. 1513* it acknowledged the sovereignty of the Porte on terms not less favourable. These ancient treaties form the basis of the relations ... between the Principalities and the Porte ... confirmed by successive Sultans, acknowledged to be valid and subsisting, by the Russian Gov., the Porte, the inhabitants of the Principalities. 15

From *1710* dates the diplomatic connection between Russia and the Principalities; *Peter der Gr.* concluded a treaty with *Demetrius Cantemir*, Prince of *Moldavia*: *Art. 1.* *Moldavia* shall comprise all the territory situated between the Dniester and the Budjak. All the fortresses on the left bank of the Pruth shall belong, as of right, to *Moldavia*. *Art. 2* *Moldavia* shall not pay any tribute to Russia. *Art. 3* The Hospodar binds himself to maintain 10,000 soldiers, whose pay shall be provided by Russia. *Art. 4.* Russia shall never interfere in the affairs of the country; and no Russian shall be permitted to marry or purchase lands in *Moldavia*. [5, 6] 20

*Art. 5.* The title of the prince shall be Serene Highness, Prince and sole Ruler of *Moldavia*, the ally of Russia. 25

Shortly afterwards Peter succeeded in inducing the Prince of Wallachia to conclude a similar compact. Peter nichts desto weniger geklopft—fain to purchase a safe retreat into his own dominions by bribes administered to the Turkish generals. Nun das Turkish Gov., für a century, custom of selecting the rulers of *Moldavia* and Wallachia not from amongst the natives of those countries, but from the Greeks of the *Fanar*. These Greeks, members of a few favoured families, permitted to reside within the walls of Constantinople, in the quarter from whence they derive their appellation of *Fanariots*, were educated to the business of State. From their knowledge of Western languages and diplomatic usages, they were selected to fulfil the important duties of interpreters; and by their influence with the Divan which their talents commanded, the conduct of the foreign affairs of the Turkish Empire, became in a great measure committed to their charge, the tributary sceptre of *Moldavia* u. Wallachia was the highest object of their ambition, the title which they acquired by its possession was transmitted to their descendants, and it afforded if retained 30 35 40



for a few years, facilities for amassing a fortune sufficiently ample to |  
[2] support the dignity of a princely house, families of *Cantacuzene*,  
*Mavrocordato*, *Kalitmaki* u. others, are derived from this origin.—[7, 8]  
The administration der *Fanariots* always disastrous to the Principalities.  
5 the presents by which the Hospodar purchased his elevation must be re-  
paid by taxes extorted from his subjects: their sufferings were represented  
to the Divan, and the Divan had, during that season of corruption and  
decay, its own reasons for being ever disposed to grant them such relief  
as a change of rulers afforded. The rapid succession of princes augment-  
10 ed the evil, and it was principally under the *pretext of checking this abuse*,  
that *Russia* interfered at the close of the last, and the commencement of  
the present century, in the internal affairs of Moldavia and Wallachia  
and the Turkish Empire. [8] Die *first* stipulation respecting the Princi-  
palities is *art. 16* of the *Treaty of Kainardji (1774)*. By that article "the  
15 Porte consents that according to the circumstances of the 2 Principalities,  
the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia may speak in their favour;  
and promises to take into consideration such representations conform-  
ably to the amity and respect which it has for the Powers". Durch den  
*treaty of Bucharest (1812)* Russia obtained for herself the cession of  
20 nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Moldavia, the province of Bessarabia. Die *Convention of*  
*Ackermann* (in 1826) u. der *treaty of Adrianople* did not confer any right  
of sovereignty on Russia. *Art. 5* des *treaty of Adrianople*: "The Princi-  
palities of Moldavia and Wallachia having by a capitulation placed  
themselves under the suzerainté of the Sublime Porte, and *Russia having*  
25 *guaranteed their prosperity*, it is understood that they shall preserve all  
the privileges and immunities granted to them in virtue of their capitu-  
lation, whether by the treaties concluded between the 2 Imperial Courts,  
or by the Hatti Sheriffs issued at different times. In consequence they  
shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion, perfect security, a national  
30 and independent administration, *and the full liberty of trade*. "... the Rus-  
sian Generals, during the war, which terminated with the Treaty of Adria-  
nople, had busied themselves with preparing a *constitution* for each of the  
Principalities, under the name of an *organic statute*... [9,10] *52 Art. des*  
*Organic Statute f Wallachia*: "every act or decision of the General  
35 Assembly and the Prince, which shall be contrary to the privileges of the  
Principality, to the Treaties or Hattischeriffs, which have been made for  
the benefit of the Principality, *as also contrary to the rights of the Sover-*  
*eign and protecting Courts*, shall be held null and void." Russia thus  
succeeded in obtaining the acknowledgement, in a public document, of  
40 her assumed title of *Protectress of the Principalities*... Der treaty of

Adrianople jedoch provides that the *Organic Statute* (then incomplete) should not in any way infringe on the rights of the Porte ... [11]

In 1837, on the publication of a new *edition of the Organic Statute*, Rußland verlangt die Einschreibung der Worte: "This however (nämlich that the Assembly might, with the consent of the Hospodar, make such 5 changes in that Statute as should become necessary) cannot take place without the consent of the Sovereign and protecting Court." (Sans le consentement de la Cour suzeraine et protectrice.) The proposal was met by a decided and indignant negative on the part of the Wallachian Assembly. Aber Russia inspired the Porte to issue a firman, requiring these 10 dangerous words to be inserted in the Organic Statute ... the firman controverts the fundamental right of the Wallachian people to regulate the internal affairs of their country at their own discretion; and its provisions never were accepted by the *Wallachian Assembly*. [12,13] ... In den palaces der Wallachian nobles or Boyards, the luxury of the East 15 unites with the refinement of the West. Yet the mass of the people is sunk in abject wretchedness ... Roads there are next to none. The beaten tracks over which, when hardened by summer, the Boyard, drawn by 6 or 8 horses, dashes rapidly enough, are impassable in winter... [14] Diese Provinces "have withered beneath the shadow of Russian protec- 20 tion." ... the ancient laws der Principalities in many respects most imperfect. A large proportion of the population remains in a state of absolute serfdom; the Boyard in suits with a foreigner is above the law; the tribunals are open to the charge of wholesale corruption ... an influential, though moderate party amongst the nobility, had long been desirous 25 to reform these evils. The predominant influence of Russia, on the other hand, has been actively at work to frustrate such designs. To be suspected of entertaining patriotic sentiments was equivalent to being excluded from public employment; subserviency to Russian interests was the sure title to promotion ... the Prince down to the meanest employé, knew that 30 he held his office at the pleasure of the Russian Consul... [15] Russia maintained an army of 30,000 men in Bessarabia ... Some Boyards, Frühling 1848, had presented a petition to the Prince of Moldavia demanding certain reforms; the Prince, acting under the influence of the Russian Consul, had not only refused their request, but had thrown them 35 into prison. The commotion produced by these events furnished the required pretext: *the Russian army crossed the frontier (25 June 1848)*, and approached Jassy... [16] The Representatives of Russia at the Western Courts asserted, that the General in command had acted on his .] own responsibility "that the Russian troops entered Moldavia without 40 a any orders from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, ihr Zweck the mainte- 1

nance or establishment of order, that *they would be withdrawn when the occasion had ceased*, that the entry was on the *authority of the Hospodar*, and there was no disposition for the acquisition of territory" ... (Erklärung v. Palmerston, on question put by Dudley Stuart, H. o. C, September 1 1848.)... [17] Reports frequently circulated of the approaching retirement of the Russian troops ... as the affairs of Western Europe became daily more complicated, the occupation of Moldavia by the Russians came to be regarded as *un fait accompli*.—In the meantime der *Hospodar of Wallachia*, less exposed to the influence u. more remote from the aid of  
10 Russia, had, on the 23 June 1848 granted to his subjects reforms of a more important nature than had been refused to the Moldavians, these reforms durchaus nicht infringe on the right of the Sultan as sovereign paramount of the Principalities, aber vernichtend f. Rußland "Organic Statute". Russian Ambassador at Constantinople schüchtert das turkish  
15 Ministry ein über die dangerous tendency der Wallachian reforms, u. in einem manifest an die Cabinets of Europe erklärt its intention to interfere, by force of arms, in the affairs of the Principality. *I August 1848* a large Russian force crossed the Pruth on its march to Bucharest. Turkish government sendet a Turkish force into Wallachia, placed under the com-  
20 mand of Suleyman Pacha... the inhabitants of Wallachia made keine demand of protection an Rußland, on the entrance of the Turkish army... [18,19] The Wallachians consented daß die Provisional Gov. should be replaced by a commission of 3 persons, nominated by the Pacha, to execute the duties of the princely office, vacant by the flight of  
25 the Hospodar Bibesco u. Deputation sent to Constantinople m. proposals for modifying the original demands der Wallachians, so as to meet the views of the turkish Gov. ... Rußland droht dem Divan, wenn nicht *mit, ohne Türkei* der neuen Ordnung der Dinge ein Ende zu machen. Divan applied to the ambassadors of England u. France for advice, empfohlen  
30 to adopt the line of policy enjoined by Russia. Suleyman Pacha accordingly recalled, Fuad Effendi appointed, the turkish army advanced upon Bucharest, and occupied that capital on *September 25*. [20] Fuad Effendi communicates firman to the leading Boyards annulling the Constitution of June 23. *Pretext*: its tendency towards Socialism (state of  
35 serfdom in der Constitution abgeschafft u. portion des land owned by the peasant ihm ceded als property, aber zugleich in diesem Art. XIII provided that the lord should be indemnified by the State, for the land given up and the loss of his peasants' labour.)... the measures of the Divan dictated by Russia—the Russian Commissary, ||4| General *Duhamel*,  
40 accompanied, and, in fact, commanded the Turkish army, and the Turkish firman was issued m. his concurrence. [21]... 10 days afterwards, the

# Γ

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Russian army invaded the principality, u. on the 10th of October, it was notified to Fuad Effendi by General Duhamel, that he occupied the province militarily in the name of the Emperor his master. ... All authority, civil, military, legal, illegal usurped or exercised by the Russian soldiery. A Wallachian officer, a subject of the Porte, was arrested, in the very 5 house of Omer Pacha, the Turkish Commander-in-chief. A british subject arrested u. carried off to a distant prison. Alle Revolutionäre, Russenfeinde arrested u. still detained in prison ... they seized also the revenues der Principality, revised the commercial tariff, and forbad the export of Wallachian produce ... Die Principalities obliged to support, at their own 10 cost, the immense military force, with which, in spite of all their energetic protests, Russia insists on overrunning the country [22,23]... 50,000 Russians. *Contributions in money* at first levied for their support blieben generally in the pockets der officers by whom they were received. Die common soldiers unterdes were compelled to live by pillage. The 15 miserable inhabitants of many villages sought refuge amidst the snows of the Carpathians from this double extortion. When it became evident, that the Imperial army was in danger of starvation, the Emperor generously permitted the so-called Wallachian Government to open a credit at St. Petersburg, that they might be enabled to provide for the expenses of 20 the Russian troops; and the Principalities are now rapidly incurring a large national debt to his Imperial Majesty ... Nun pretext, that she holds these countries as a pledge for her own pecuniary indemnity. (6-25) "until Russia has locked the door of her house", so nannte Alexander den Besitz v. Constantinople. (29) the value of cotton twist is about 2 χ the 25 value of the raw material which has been worked up in making it, the average value of the plain and printed calicoes, of which our exports consist, is about 5 x greater than that of the raw material. (35) turkish tariff for all manufactured goods v. 3 zu 5 % on the actual value. ([35,] 36) 30

# I

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## Rußland's Politik u. Heer in den letzten Jahren.

Berlin. 1852.

Zar ein numen sacrum, das heilige Rußland, der rechtgläubige Ruus ...  
5 (3) Napoleon nannte den mob v. *Paris* „le plus séditieux et rebelle“, den  
v. *Wien* „le plus bête“ den Berlins „le plus infâme et lâche“. (21) Aufruf  
an s. Russen, v. Nicholas, (28. März), wo er sagt, daß in *Frankreich*  
entstanden Aufruhr u. Gesetzlosigkeit sich über Deutschland gestürzt  
etc. etc, die Frechheit kenne keine Grenzen mehr „u. richte nun in ihrem  
10 Wahnsinn schon die Augen auf das ihm v. Gott anvertraute Rußland“.  
„Mit uns ist Gott! Das merket Euch, ihr Heiden u. unterwerft Euch, denn  
mit uns ist Gott.“ (24) 6 Juli 1848 Erklärung des Czars, er werde in seiner  
uneigennützigem u. wohlwollenden Gesinnung gegen die deutsche Con-  
federation verharren, solange sie die Nebenstaaten unangetastet lassen.  
15 (26)

Die Entwicklung *der russischen Militaermacht* hat mit der des rus-  
sischen Reichs gleichen Schritt gehalten. (33) Zur Zeit, als Rußland die  
Macht der Türken brach, Polen zertrümmerte u. seinen politischen Ein-  
fluß auf Europa entschieden geltend machte, die russischen Armeen nicht  
20 sehr zahlreich. 18,000 Mann zersprengten 100,000 Mann am Kahul; die  
Tage v. Oczakow, Ismael Bender, am Largapp sahen kaum 40,000 Mann  
beisammen u. alle Erfolge gegen Polen durch verhältnismäßig kleine  
Heere erkämpft. *Mickiewicz* versichert, daß das russische Nationalgefühl  
aus dieser Zeit stammt. (l. c.) |

25 [5] Nach der „*Deutschen Wehrzeitung*“, (N. 242. 1850) Stärke der rus-  
sischen Armee: 17 Corps, in 74 Divisionen, 241<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Brigaden, 322 Regimen-  
tern, 889 Bataillonen, 325<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Batterien, 1469<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Escadronen, 4900 Comp-  
agnien nebst 50<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Parks. (34) Bataillone der Russen zählen je 1004 Mann.  
(42) Die active Armee, die zunächst ins Feld zu rücken bestimmt, 6 Corps,  
30 jedes 50 Bataillone, 32 Escadrone u. 160 Geschütze, daher ziemlich genau  
= 50,000 Combattants. (46) 2 ihrer Corps im Königreich *Polen*, 2 in den



Gouvernem. *Mohilew, Wilna, Wolhynien* u. Podolien, ein 5' in der ehemaligen. Ukraine u. Bessarabien, ein 6\* in den Gouvernem. Moskau, Tula, Smolensk u. Orel. - 3 Reserve-Cavallerie-Corps, im südlichen Rußland vertheilt. (I.e.) Die 8 Infanteriecorps u. 4 Reserve-Kavallerie-Corps, auf 400,000 Mann u. 1200 Kanonen anzuschlagen, dazu 50-60,000 Kosaken. 5

Dieß  $\frac{1}{3}$  der russischen Macht, der am besten auf einen Krieg m. dem Westen abgerichtete Theil der Armee. (48) „enough to be killed, enough to be taken, and enough to run away“. (54) Rußland zählt auf 95,710 • Meilen seiner europ. Besitzungen nur 62,000,000 Seelen; unter seinen 51 Gouvernements aber 29, die im Durchschnitt 1500-2000 Seelen per 10 • Meile u. diese bilden den Kern des russischen Reichs. Nämlich:

*Poltawa* ... 1989 Mann pro • Meile, *Tambow* ... 1456, *Woronesch* ... 1371, *Kiew*... 1757, *Orel*.. 1750, *Moskau*... 2323, *Wladimir*... 1446, *Tula* ... 2211, *Nisch. Nowgorod* ... 1343, *Smolensk* ... 1148, *Jaroslaw* ... 1557, *Kaluga* ... 1755 u. das Königreich *Polen* 2122 Mann auf die nMeile. (59) 15  
*Astrachan* freilich ... 99 Einwohner auf nMeile, *Olonetz* ... 95 u. *Archangel*... 21 ... Rußlands städtische Bevölkerung nur 5,328,400 Einwohner. Im Lande der *Don'schen Kosaken* nur 1 Stadt auf 1943 • Meilen, in *Orenburg* ebenso auf 398 etc. Aber in *Orenburg* dagegen auf 1000 Seelen 853 Pferde etc (59). 20

Neuere Schriftsteller über Rußland. *Arsenieff, Tengoborski, Koeppen, Herrmann, Haxthausen, Beer, Müller, Erman, Piaton Storch* etc.

Jedes Regiment schon im Frieden seine Reserve- u. sein Depot-Bataillon. Beide stark genug, um den stärksten Verlust, den ein Regiment in 1-2 Feldzügen erleiden kann, zu ersetzen; der Nachschub f. Kavallerie u. 25 Artillerie ist diesem analog organisirt. (61) Rußland in dem Reichthum seiner Pferde Mittel, den Transport v. Truppen zu erleichtern, wie kein andres Land. (61)

Von Herbst bis Ende Februar 1828-9 kamen bei der russischen Armee v. 150,000 Mann: 210,108 Erkrankungen vor. Im November starben 30 27,3% in den Regimentslazarethen, 45,6% in stehenden Hospitälern, Summe 72,9%. Im J. 1831 lag  $\frac{1}{3}$  der Armee in *Polen* im Lazareth. Nach officiellen Berichten im J. 1849 bei der 191,587 Mann starken russischen Armee in *Ungarn* nur 8735 Kranke, (4,5% der Heerstärke), v. diesen starben 3209, (36,7% derselben od. 1,6% der gesamten Heeresstärke). 35 (65) Gewöhnlich nimmt man an, daß die mittlere Zahl der Kranken in einem Heer 5,26% u. daß v. diesen 1,39 od. 1,08 sterben. (66) Oesterreich hat 3  $\chi$  die Russen zu seiner Rettung nach *Deutschland* gerufen, 1735 (zur Aufrechterhaltung der pragmatischen Sanktion), 1756 (um *Preußen* zu vernichten) u. 1849 (um Oesterreich zu retten.) (77) 40

## The Greek and Eastern Churches; their History, Faith, and Worship.

London 1853.

Die dominion der Greek church extends over more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the pro-  
5 fessedly Christian world. Her rites are followed from the icegirt mon-  
astery of Solovetsky on the White Sea, along the shores of the Adriatic  
Gulf, to the conical-roofed churches of Abyssinia—from the mines of  
Siberia to the desert of Sinai—amidst the snows of Kamtschatka and in  
the torrid clime of Southern India. (7) |

10 [6] *Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople* (324 under  
Constantin, the bishops of Constantinople, who had formerly been sub-  
ject to the higher dignity of *Heraclea*, independent and ultimately a  
superior influence) Dort die 5 Patriarchs ... Questions of precedence were  
hotly contended; *Alexandria* had to resign her claim to the primacy of the  
15 East; and Constantinople, the youngest of the patriarchates, ranked  
second only to Rome. (a. 381) elevated to equality with *Rome* (a. 451, at  
the council of Chalcedon)... [10,11] for a century and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , the limits of  
their (Rome u. Constantinople patriarchat's) separate jurisdictions formed  
ed a constant ground of altercation ... not unfrequently a temporary  
20 suspension of communion between the 2 churches, as during the *Arian*  
controversy. At one time ... intercommunion interrupted for 68 years  
merely on the ground of having differed about a disputed succession to  
the patriarchate of Antioch ... after the council held at Chalcedon,  
a. 451, the *Monophysite* party severed from the eastern communion, and  
25 formed into a sect. Emperor *Zeno* published a. 482 the famous edict  
called the *Henoticon*, or Deed of Union, gives a decided testimony  
against the errors of Nestorius u. Eutyches, but yet forbore to recognise  
the acts of Chalcedon as valid. Pope *Felix II* excommunicated *Acacius*,  
the *Constantinopolitan* patriarch. The 3 other patriarchs siding with the  
30 latter, the Oriental and Occidental churches remained in open hostility

(35 Jahre), until at length the former conceded the point, and gave in her formal adhesion to the canons of Chalcedon ... In the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries... [12, 13] question of *image-worship* raised by Leo the Isaurian and the Iconoclasts ... the council of Constantinople, a. 754, condemnatory of images, subsequently regarded among the Greeks as a 5 7<sup>th</sup> general Council, its authority always denied by the Latins: Latins lay great stress on the opposite decisions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Nicene council, convened by the empress Irene, a. 787, which the Eastern church in their turn refuse to account *oecumenical*... question of the *procession of the Holy Spirit* (in the council of *Toledo* a. 400 od. nach anderen 589), the Spanish io church had inserted in the creed of Constantinople the words "filioque". [14] Die formula had previously stood: "The Holy Ghost which proceedeth from the Father." Die alteration afterwards introduced into the churches of France and Germany, a. 767, the Greeks accused their opponents of heresy on this point... Pope *Leo III* (a. 809) expressed his 15 approbation of the tenet... the insertion finally adopted by Pope *Nicholas I*; and it has remained to this day an impassable barrier between the oriental and the papal communions ... a. 858 der emperor *Michael III* deposes Ignatius from the patriarchal throne, elevated in his place *Photius*, one well skilled in theological lore but a layman and a minister of 20 state. [15] a. 861, a large synod declared this elevation legal ... Pope Nicholas a. 862 at Rome passed a violent sentence of excommunication on Photius and his adherents, a sentence which Photius speedily retorted on his adversary, charging him with various errors of doctrine and of practice. Kaiser *Basilius* reinstated Ignatius. Communion between the 25 churches was restored; and on the patriarch's death, the recall of Photius was suffered for a while to pass unnoticed. A dispute arising as to whether the Bulgarians should belong to the jurisdiction of Rome or of Constantinople, and the emperor determinately opposing their transference to the Romish see, the Pope renewed the sentence of excommunication 30 against Photius and all the bishops and priests who had received consecration at his hands ... a. 7053 *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of Constantinople, revived all the accusations of false doctrine and erroneous custom against Rome, mit fresh grounds of complaint, z. B. (still constituting a marked difference between the Eastern and Western rituals) 35 that in the celebration of the Eucharist the Romanists made use of unleavened bread. He at once suppressed all the Greek monasteries which used the Latin language and followed the Latin ritual. Indignant ||7| remonstrance v. Seiten des Pope, verstärkt durch excommunication. Der emperor bat Leo IX 3 Legaten nach Constantinople zu schicken, aber die 40 negotiations unsuccessful. Neither the patriarch nor the legates would

yield a jota; and the latter at length placed on the great altar of St. Sophia the written Deed of Anathema, cutting off Michael and all his adherents from fellowship with Rome. This act virtually excommunicated the whole Eastern Church, the separation proved a lasting one. Während der folgenden 800 J. frequent but fruitless attempts to bring about a re-union, the most noted der projects debated in the councils of Lyons u. Florence. Kaiser *Michael Palaeologus* sucht f. reconciliation als Schutz f. sein Reich. Die representatives beider Partheien meet at *Lyons*, a 1274, and a show of harmony was restored. Dieß nur attained by the deposition of the *patriarch Joseph*, who proved refractory u. durch die elevation in his stead of the more subservient *John Bekkus*. Eigentlich nur ein Kompakt zwischen dem Pope u. dem greek Emperor. ... No sooner had *Andronicus* ascended the imperial throne than he summarily repealed this union, compelled Bekkus to abdicate, and restored the aged Joseph. ... 15 150 J. später *John Palaeologus* (imperator) who, dismayed at the imminent danger of his empire, hoped that, by a re-alliance with the Latins, he should be defended against the inroads of the Turks. He hastened in person to Italy with the then patriarch Joseph and many of his clergy. A council, under *Eugenius IV* (Pope) opened at *Ferrara* u. removed 20 to *Florence* in 1439. By various artifices, the Greeks induced to accede to the terms laid down by the papal party, whereby they were required to acknowledge the twofold procession of the Spirit, the existence of purgatory, the supremacy of the Pope, and the lawfulness of using unleavened bread. Mark of Ephesus alone stood proof against entreaties, bribes 25 u. menaces ... the main body der Greek church indignant at those concessions... die sie gemacht had no sooner left Florence than, accusing the Latins of having won them by deceit, dread etc, returned with increased pertinacy to their own faith. ... The virtual annexation of *Lithuania to Poland* in 1386 had already introduced into the latter a considerable 30 leaven of Popish influence ... Jesuit college at Wilna. Renewed efforts to bring the Polish Greeks under the sway of Rome. [16-19] Synod of Brest-Litofsky, where, in the year 1596, under the auspices of *Sigismund III* u. headed by their hierarch, the metropolitan of Kieff, great numbers of those who had adhered to the Greek faith in *Galicja, Hungary, Poland*, and *Little or Red Russia*, acquiesced in all the terms proposed by the council of Florence, save that which referred to the "Filioque". The only stipulation they made was, that in their worship they might retain the Slavonic language, u. observe the ceremonies of the Slavonic ritual. This party received the name of *Uniates*, or *United* 40 *Greeks*; and about  $\frac{y}{2}$  millions are still to be found in the Austrian dominions. It is but a few years since the *Uniates* of Little Russia, to the

number of 2 millions, were received back into the Muscovite branch of the Eastern Church, on their solemn disavowal of the pope's supremacy ... [20, 21] the last official communication between the Eastern u. Western churches, soon after the accession of *Pio IX*, who, in January, 1848, forwarded a letter to the Christians of the East, exhorting them to 5 return to the unity of the church etc ... die greek Patriarchs replied in the form of "An Encyclic Epistle of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to the faithful everywhere", wherein they urged their reasons for protesting against the western doctrine of the double procession, and the western innovations respecting baptism, holy orders, and the communion 10 of the laity in one kind only. Das Document dated "May, 1848, Indiction 6", signed by *Anthimus* of Constantinople, *Hierotheus* of Alexandria, *Methodius* of Antioch, *Cyrill* of Jerusalem, and several of their respective ecclesiastics. (11-23) |

|8| Progress and Present state 15  
of the Greek Church.

Während des *T* Jh. die *Persian army* under *Chosroes* committed grievous depredations in several of the patriarchates; inroads of the *Saracens*, who made themselves masters of *Antioch* (634), *Jerusalem* (637) and finally of *Alexandria* (640). *Turks* succeeded in maintaining their hold of Syria, 20 Egypt, and Palestine. In 1453 Constantinople falls into the hands of the Turks. Von nun an die eastern church nur noch in a state of vassalage ... [25,26] the *Russian branch* ... is comprising  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the "orthodox" east... Photius u. after him Ignatius, sent teachers to Kieff and the new religion spread rapidly ... [30, 31] Olga getauft vom Patriarch zu Constantinopel, 25 u. *Constantin Porphyrogenitus* (emperor) stood sponsor for her at the font.—Ihr grandson, *Vladimir the Great* decided to embrace the Eastern form of Christianity. Having attacked and taken possession of *Kherson*, he wrote to the Greek Emperors, *Basil* and *Constantine*, demanding their sister Anna in marriage, and intimating that this alone would save their 30 capital from an assault. Erhielt sie natürlich, and stipulated only that Vladimir should immediately profess Christianity. As soon as the princess arrived at Kherson, the Russian monarch was baptised by the name of Basil. He restored the conquered city to the Greeks, taking a few priests as his only captives, as well as some church *vessels* and relics for his only 35 trophies... Returning to Kiew, he had his 12 sons baptised, and issued an edict for the universal overthrow of idolatry in his dominions ... richtete schools ein u. many mothers wept bitterly over the children sent

thither "imagining the use of letters to be a species of incantation, connected with the deadly art of necromancy" ... [32-34] f. 6 Jhh. the Russian Church governed by metropolitans dependent on the church of Constantinople; some of them Greeks sent direct from the patriarch, others  
5 Russians elevated to office by a synod of their own bishops, but who afterwards received the patriarchal sanction. They resided at Kieff till 1240, when the destruction of that city by the Mongols caused the removal of their see to Vladimir, whence it was transferred in 1320 to Moscow. (hießen noch "Metropolitan of Kieff" till the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century,  
10 when the restored city of Kieff, having a metropolitan of its own, subject to Lithuania, the Russian dignitary received the designation, Metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia). *Isidore*, who became metropolitan in 1434, present at the council of Florence, gave in his adhesion, mußte aber nachher nach Rom fliehen etc. In 1467 Pope *Paul II* hoped to gain  
15 ground in Russia by bringing about the marriage of *John Vasilovich ... Sophia*, the heiress of the Greek Emperors (in consequence of which alliance, the arms of the Greek emperors, consisting of a 2-headed eagle, were assumed as the insignia of the Russian czar), trained in the doctrines of the Florentine council. Aber in Russia sie wieder orthodox ... [35]  
20 After the seizure of Constantinople by the Turks, the Russian bishops instituted their own metropolitans until the time of czar *Theodore*, who, being at enmity ... sultan ... formed the idea of establishing a patriarchal throne in Russia. *Joachim*, patriarch of Antioch, being on a visit to the czar's dominions, *Dionysius*, the metropolitan of Moscow, refused to  
25 yield precedence to him. In June, 1588, *Jeremiah II* (of Constantinople) having been deprived of his office by Amurath and having sought a temporary asylum in Russia, the czar eagerly urged his request, which, either through policy, or through constraint, was at once granted. *Job*, who had succeeded to the metropolitan dignity, was consecrated with  
30 great pomp as an independent patriarch ... the institution of this office met with the approval of the other patriarchs, who rejoiced that their number was thus again raised to 5 by their adoption of Russia in the vacant place of Rome ... (the original idea of Constantine Great in establishing the patriarchates was the division of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction  
35 into 4 only, as corresponding m. dem appointment of the 4 praetorian prefects in the civil government. Aber *Juvenal*, bishop of Jerusalem, assumed the title, and at his urgent entreaty was confirmed by the emperor Theodosius as the 5<sup>th</sup> patriarch, which dignity was ratified at the council of Chalcedon.)—Die Patriarchs wollten daß der Russian rank als der  
40 5<sup>th</sup> u. last. Czar insisted daß Moscow precedence of Jerusalem u. Antioch, yielding only to Constantinople as the "oecumenical patriarch", and to

Alexandria as the "oecumenical judge", (letzter Titel first given to Theophilus, or Philotheus, patriarch of Alexandria a. 1015, unter Emperor Basil II.)... [36, 37] Die Muscovite patriarchs were only 10 in number, of whom the most famous were *Philaret* u. *Nikon*. Der former [was] father to the then reigning Emperor *Michael*, founder of the present Romanoff 5  
dynasty... *Nikon* ascended the patriarchal throne in 1653... [38] Bis zur Zeit des Patriarchen *Adrian* das patriarchal office m. great reverence v. den czars behandelt and it had even been customary for them on Palmsunday to lead by the bridle an ass on which the patriarch rode through the streets of Moscow, in commemoration of the Saviour's entry 10  
to Jerusalem. On *Adrian*'s death, 1700, the Russian bishops were assembled for the purpose of electing a successor, stop put to their proceedings by the unexpected entrance of *Peter* the Great, who addressed them in the concise but authoritative sentence "I am your patriarch!" and forthwith he appointed *Stephen Yavoursky* guardian of the patriarchate, 15  
as a kind of pro tempore vice regent... [40] instituted a synod for jurisdiction in spiritual affairs ... the czar submitted his project (of synod) to the approbation of the Eastern patriarchs, erhielt sie v. Jeremiah v. Constantinopel (23 September 1723) "*Holy Legislative Synod*" ... ursprünglich 12 members, resident in Moscow - später, Mitgliederzahl wechselnd 20  
nach Willen des Czar, nach Petersburg verlegt... *Andrer Zweig der orientalischen Kirche*: die inhabitants der Asiatic Province called *Iberia*, or *Georgia* christianisirt im 4'Jhh. (durch *Nunia*) their vicinity to the *Armenians* led these to join the latter in separation from the Greeks ... 50 J. später they made known to the patriarch of Antioch their return to 25  
the orthodox faith. Yielded später homage to the Constantinopolitan patriarch only by the payment of a tribute, having for 1500 J. patriarchs of their own, who governed their church without the slightest interference from any superior authority ... formal reunion with the Oriental church in 1801, when the Russian dominion was fully established in their terri- 30  
tory. Their ecclesiastical affairs are now administered by the archbishop of Tiflis, under the sanction of the Petersburg synod ... Under the sway of the same Russian conclave is also the *Monténégrine* church ... at present tolerated in their rejection of images, crucifixes u. pictures. Ihre aversion to the Pope extreme ... [41-44] In *Greece* after having been wrested 35  
from Turkey, auch a "*Holy Governing Synod*", the due organisation of which effected at Nauplia in August, 1833. It consists of 1 president, 1 royal commissioner, and a few supernumeraries. It has supreme power in matters ecclesiastical, the king retaining only the right of sanctioning and investing the bishops whom it elects ... *Servia* is autocephalus, its 40  
metropolitan at Belgrade having the authority, though no longer the title

#### Aus The Greek and Eastern Churches

of a patriarch... the present jurisdiction of Constantinople extends merely over the Greeks in Galicia, Slavonia, Turkey, Anatolia, and the Ionian Isles. He possesses a considerable income, but the other patriarchs are mostly dependent on him for support. The "*Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria*" lives in ||10| *Cairo*, but has there only 2 churches left. In *Antioch*, the few who adhere to the "orthodox" Eastern faith, meet only in a private dwelling, or in the recesses of a mountain grotto, while their patriarch resides at *Damascus*. The patriarch of *Jerusalem*, as has been the custom since early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, is for the most part resident at Constantinople ... this Jerusalem patriarch retains the right of nominating his successor; or, if he dies without having so done, the "*brethren of the Holy Sepulchre*", a 150 in number, proceed to choose some one in his stead. Nach *Neale*, exclusive of the Uniates u. der *heretical sects*, der state der *Eastern Church: In Russia...* 50,000,000. In *Turkey* ... 12,000,000. In the kingdom of *Greece with Montenegro* ... 800,000. In the *Austrian dominions* 2,800,000. In the patriarchate of *Alexandria* ... 5,000; In the patriarchate of *Antioch*, including the autocephalous metropolitanate of *Cyprus* ... 150,000; in dem patriarchate of *Jerusalem* ... 15,000. Zus.: 65,770,000. (25^47)

#### 20 Tenets of the Greek Church.

The *Eastern Church* disowns the pope's supremacy, but she does not disbelieve the church's infallibility. [48] She advocates the use of Scripture, but she lays as firm a hold on the validity of tradition. She disavows works of supererogation, and disclaims the doctrine of indulgences; but she abounds in works of self-righteousness, enjoins confession, confers absolution, requires penances, and encourages monkery, her liturgies attest that she practically believes in transubstantiation. Opposite to the idea of purgatory, she does not hesitate to offer her prayers for the repose of the departed. Condemns image-worship, but allows the adoration of pictures, offers her prayers to the Virgin u. the saints, takes delight in relics, believes in miracles, u. attaches an untold efficacy to the act of signing m. dem cross ... the *liturgies* der *Eastern Church* and its various sects are *computed to number 67*. the sources from which they are derived are 3  $\chi$ : that of *Jerusalem*, ascribed to *James*; that of *Alexandria*, attributed to *Mark*; u. die of *Edessa*, said to owe its origin to *Thaddaeus*. the latter is used only among the *Nestorians*. that of *James* is read only in some churches, on the day of his festival. The standard rituals are those modifications of *St. James'* which are followed at *Constantinople*; name-



ly, that of St. Chrysostom, which is in ordinary use, and that of St. Basil, which is substituted for it on certain appointed days ... [49] On "Orthodoxy Sunday", the first Sabbath in Lent, a 3 fold "anathema" pronounced against each of the 60 errors which they deem to exist, or to have existed, in other churches. In the Russian church this service is somewhat 5 curtailed ... [50] decisive voice of the *Eastern Church* in the declaration at the council of Bethlehem (1672): "All Scripture is not to be read by the untrained." [52]—In the various retreats of *Mount Athos* alone, there are no less than 40,000 monks and hermits. *Celibacy* is not binding on the Greek priests, who are divided into 2 classes, the "black" or "monastic" 10 u. die "white" or "secular" clergy. The hierarchy are chosen from among the former class ... An old manuscript preserved among the *Nestorians*: "I swear, that were it possible for the *devil* to attain the *priesthood*, and with his hand to break the oblation, and communicate thereof to me, I would receive it from him, and hold it as though it had been broken by 15 Simon Peter." ... [57,58] in 1672, the council of Bethlehem expressed conviction, (17<sup>th</sup> article) "that in the celebration of this mystery (des Abendmahls) our Lord Jesus Christ is present, not in a figurative or imaginary manner, nor etc etc ... [60] but *verily* and *indeed*; so that after the consecration of the bread, the || 111 bread is *changed, transubstantiated, 20 transmuted, transformed* into the very true body and blood of our Lord which was born in Bethlehem ... and that the wine is *converted and transubstantiated* into the very true blood of the Lord etc" ... [61] difference between the Eastern and the Western Churches as to the precise time when the averred change takes place, the Romanists attributing it to the 25 consecrating words: "this is my body, take, eat" etc u. die Orientals assigning it to their subsequent invocation of the Holy Spirit, and "the blessing of the gifts" ... [63] (48-67) The common people taught to address the Virgin as "the *only* comfort of the human race", they learn to regard her as such, while the Saviour and his finished work are depreciated in their 30 esteem ... compromise between popular clamour and theological convictions. It was decreed that *images* should be strictly prohibited, while rough paintings were allowed—the rougher, the more orthodox. It is said that one of the greatest compliments paid to Titian was the complaint of a Greek priest, that this artist's figures stood out so fearfully from the can- 35 vass that it would be as innocent to kneel before a statue as before one of his paintings, (the taunt of the Mohammedan, and the vigorous efforts of the Iconoclasts, contributed to the temporary abjuration of all likenesses of saints in the churches of the East; but it is easy to imagine how much those who had been long accustomed to offer their devotions before a 40 visible object, must have felt at a loss when all such objects were removed

from their gaze.) ... [68, 69] Reisende über russische Bauern: "*Whose likeness is that?*" the old woman replied, crossing herself as she spoke, *It is our only Lord God St. Nicholas.*" ... [71] the Greeks reject *in toto* the doctrine of *predestination* ... [73] One marked characteristic of the devotions in the  
5 Eastern service-books is the amplitude of their adoration ... [77] Massive ornaments of gold and silver, splendid robes of velvet and satin, adorned with jewellery and embroidered work; richly dight altar-cloths, and fragrantly fuming incense, are as much the pride of the Oriental as of the Occidental church ... [79] The interior of Greek churches is most generally  
10 cruciform; and the exterior surmounted by at least a simple dome, and often 5 ... In consequence of the prohibition of bells by the mandate of the Turks, the usual call to worship, both among the "orthodox" and among the heretics of the East, is effected by striking on a board with a hammer. ... *great bell of Moscow*, indisputably the *largest bell in the world*  
15 (Turks imagine, that the sound drives away good spirits), the whole weight amounting to 443,772 pounds. ... Preaching is but little resorted to, save during Lent. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century it was positively forbidden in Russia ... Enorme Länge der Liturgie. Masse repetitions ζ. B. the words, "Kyrie Eleison" "Lord have mercy" are repeated after some prayers 12, or even  
20 40 or 50 times ... the rubric varies so greatly for every day in the year (*die prayers, die Zuhörer unprovided m. books*) as well as every service of the day, that it not only fills 20 folio volumes, but requires an additional tome, entitled "The Regulation" to serve as a guide for the right use of all the others. ... In Turkey preaching confined to the higher ecclesiastics;...  
25 among the Copts the patriarch alone preaches, but once a year.... The dialect in the Constantinopolitan office-books differs from the classic Greek only in the addition of theological terms ... Throughout the Czars' dominions, Divine service is performed in the Slavonic, understood by comparatively few among the people ... third ecclesiastical language the  
30 *Georgian*, but here again the civil differs widely from the sacred dialect, each having its distinct alphabet... The psalms and hymns are sung by the choir; instruments of all kinds are excluded ... [82-84] 226 set days of abstinence in the year, including the Wednesday and Friday in each week, which are regular fast-days. The Greeks regard Saturday like a second  
35 Sabbath, accounting it a feast-day instead of a fast... [99] estimation of relics ... What Jerusalem was to the Israelites, Kieff is to the Russians ... [105,106] theatrical character which marks nearly all services of the Greeks.I

. [12] *Worthies of the Greek Church:*

*Irenaeus, Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origenes, Dyonisius the Great* (an Alexandrian patriarch), *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. (In den ersten 3 Jhh.) Im 4 Jhh. Eusebius Pamphilius, Peter the martyr, Didymus the Blind, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Ephraim Syrus. *Basilus* (born 320 at Caesarea). *Chrysostomus* (geb. 347) [113-117], *John of Alexandria*, the Almoner. (| 620), *John Damascenus* (8<sup>th</sup> century) *Cyrillus* u. *Methodius*. (9<sup>th</sup> Jhh.) a modified form of the Cyrillic alphabet being still employed in the Russian service-books... the Jacobite maphrian *Gregory Abulpharagius* od. Bar-Hebräus. (born at Malatia in 10 Armenia, 1226.) *Gennadius*, patriarch of Constantinople published a. 1453 a confession of the Greek faith ... [127-134] *Platon's* "Summary of Christian Divinity" ...

## Heretics and Sectaries of the Greek Church.

... Influence of the Alexandrian school of philosophy upon the early 15 theology of the Orientals ... [137] *Nestorius* tried u. condemned zu Ephesus, a. 431 ... [140] Im 5, 6, 7 Jhh. *Nestorianism* spread through Persia, Chaldea u. Syria, penetrating even to India, Tartary u. China. At the present time, its stronghold is in the mountainous districts of Persia ... [141] "*Chaldaeans*" nun die v. den Nestorians genannt die have embraced 20 the Roman faith, for the most part, found in the neighbourhood of the Tigris... Das Nestorian Patriarchate hereditary from uncle to nephew or, where there is no nephew, to a younger brother. ... number of the Nestorians stated in 1841 to be 140,000 ... [144] *Monophysites*. Unter dieser general designation comprehended the 4 main branches of schismatics 25 ; from the Oriental Church: *Syrian Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, Armenians* ... Die Jacobites nennen die "orthodox Greeks" *Melchites or king-followers* ... *Syrian Jacobites* (about 150,000) governed by a Patriarch (so called of Antioch, but resident at a convent near *Merdin*); der seit 878 has always assumed the name of *Ignatius*. Their second dignitary, the primate 30 of Tagrit, resides near Mosul, and is termed a "*maphrian*" (*fruitbearer*) ... some *Romanist Jacobites* in Syria, m. a patriarch of their own at Aleppo ... (In 1847 the bishop of Merdin had gone over to the church of Rome)... Die *Egyptian Jacobites* or Copts about 200,000, haben Anti- ,1 *patriarch of Alexandria* (nennt sich so, but like the Greek patriarch of 35 1

that city, resides at Cairo), their sect in Egypt a decided predominance. Some few Moslem observances are adopted by them. ... [146-148] The *Nubian Jacobites*, without a single exception, lapsed into Mohammedanism in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. ... Papal Copts very few ... *Abyssinians* haben  
5 no patriarchate of their own, but under the jurisdiction of the Jacobite patriarch in Cairo, their *abuna* of *Axum* (their only bishop) is always a foreigner—(about a million der Abyssinian Christians); in the ordinance of the *eucharist*, they observe a marked respect of persons, giving *larger portions of the breadlo* individuals of higher rank ... [149-151] *church of*  
10 *Armenia* remained in the communion m. der Greek Church till after the decrees of Chalcedon; dann aus Abneigung gegen die Nestorians, adopted *Eutychnianism*, (monophytism) (temporary reconciliation unter Photius m. der Greek Church). [154] Between the Jacobites u. Armenians there was, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, a passing show of union, founded on their  
15 common abhorrence of the Melchite doctrine. Später trennten sich wieder, the Armenians being followers of Eutyches rather than of Baradaeus, and, consequently, believing the Divinity u. Humanity of the incarnate One to have been joined in one *single*, not in one *compound* nature. 3 patriarchates among the Armenians, der höchste *Catholicos* (or  
20 patriarch) of Etchmiadzin (subject to Russia since 1828), who has under his jurisdiction the whole of Turcomania, or Armenia Major. The next in rank der *catholicos of Sis* (in Cilicia) who has a limited province in Syria, u. den south of Anatolia. Der 3<sup>r</sup> *Catholicos*, that of *Aghtamar* (an island in ||12a| Lake Van), holds his sway over Koordistan. There are some  
25 minor patriarchs 1 at Constantinople, who presides over Turkish Armenia, 1 at Jerusalem, for the Armenians of Palestine u. 1 zu Kamenietz, for those in Russia and Poland. Through the changing fortunes of war, and through the claims of mercantile interests, the Armenians have been scattered throughout many lands, (nearly 4 millions.) their traders among the  
30 wealthiest and the most liberal in the commercial world. Literature has also been promoted among them ... wherever Armenian churches are opened, schools are established, and scientific pursuits encouraged. ... [155,156] *Papal Armenian Church*. In the Turkish Empire, there are 45,000 *Armenian Uniates*, besides others in Italy, Hungary, and Rus-  
35 sia. ... *Monothelites* (condemned at the council a. 680 at Constantinople); but their views are said to have been adopted and long held by the followers of *Marc*, a monk of Mount Lebanon. The Maronites belong now to the communion of Rome. ... In the 7<sup>th</sup> century the *Paulicians*, arose in the countries adjacent to Armenia. [157] reject baptism and the  
40 Lord's supper, they adopted likewise an allegorizing system of Bible interpretation; denied Papal supremacy, priestly domination, traditional

rule, mortuary prayers, creature-invocation, and the adoration alike of relics, images, pictures, crucifixes, and crosses. Im ^Jhh. gezwungen flüchten. Einige nach Bulgarien. Später rest of them forced to emigrate, draw away from the Romish church the *Cathari* of Italy, u. die *Albigenses* of France. In Bohemia, too, they paved the way for the Reformation. 5  
Von den Paulicians also originated the Greek sect, in *Bosnia* in 1197, who under the name of *Bogomili* have continued... [158,159] In *Russia* 20 various sects. (Raskolniks, or schismatics,) amounting in all to about 5 millions. Chief cause of dissension was the correction of the service-books in Nikon's time, many having adhered to the ancient ceremonies, 10 and calling themselves *Starovertsi*, or believers of the old faith. They possess between 20 u. 30 monasteries,... the eucharist they never celebrate; and baptism is administered only at the approach of death ... *The Duchobortsi* ("wrestlers with the spirit") exist in der Ukraine u. the country of the Don-cossacks from a very remote period; seit middle des 15 18<sup>th</sup> century brought prominently into notice. Their views a singular compound of Gnosticism, Rationalism, Quakerism, and Brethrenism ... reject every external rite, ceremony u. observance ... [161] The *Malakani*, andre russische Sekte, located principally in the Crimea, though found scattered, more or less throughout the whole of Russia, nennen sich 20 selbst "Spiritual Christians". (66-164)

Rev. J. M. Neale.  
Introduction to the history  
of the Holy Eastern Church. Appendix.  
London 1851.

*Synopsis of the Eastern Church in 1850.*

	I.) Patriarchate of Constantinople	Metrop.	Abps.	Bps.	Total
5	A.) <i>Turkish Empire Proper</i>	83	2	31	116
	B.) <i>Out of the Turk. Emp. Prop.</i>				
	a) <i>Ionian Islands.</i>	3	2	2	7
10	<i>Wallachia</i>	1	-	3	4
	<i>Moldavia</i>	1	-	2	3
	j 131 <i>Servia.</i>	1	-	3	4
	<i>Venice.</i>	1			1
	II.) <i>Patriarchate of Alexandria.</i>	4			4
15	III.) <i>Patriarchate of Antioch</i>	16			16
	IV.) <i>Patriarchate of Jerusalem</i>	6	1	6	13
	V.) <i>Patriarchate of all the Russias</i>				
	A. <i>Russia.</i>	4	24	32	60
20	B.) <i>Georgia.</i>	1	1	3	5
	VI.) <i>Cyprus.</i>		1	3	4
	VII.) <i>Austria.</i>	1		10	11
	VIII.) <i>Mount Sinai.</i>		1		1
	IX.) <i>Montenegro</i>	1			1
	X.) <i>Greece.</i>			36	36
25	Total	123	32	131	286
	The 4 Patriarchats			4	
				Summa 290. [5]	

Count Valerian Krasinski:  
Lectures on the Religious History  
of the Slavonic Nations.

London 1849.

Dasselbe 2<sup>e</sup> Edition (u. diese wird citirt) unter dem Titel: 5  
*Sketch of the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations. Edinburgh.*  
1851.

In 1551 a general synod held at Moscow enacted a code of ecclesiastical laws called *Stoglav*, i.e. the 100 Chapters. (269) In 1764, the *Empress Catherine* confiscated all the estates of the Church; which contained about 900,00 male serfs, and assigned pensions to bishops, convents etc. *Peter der Gr.* hatte schon declared that the convents should not acquire any landed property, either by gifts or purchase, and subjected the estates of the church to the general taxation. (269)... the clergy forms a separate caste in Russia; and it is a very rare occurrence that a person belonging to another class does enter the church, the sons of the clergy must follow the vocations of their fathers ... to the *monastic orders* are reserved all higher grades of the hierarchy in the Greek Church ... In 1839 several bishops of the United Greek Church of Poland were induced by the Russ. gov. to declare a wish to separate from Rome, and to demand a union with the Russ. Established Church. This declaration was followed by an ukase, ordering all the united churches to imitate the example of their bishops. The most stringent measures were adopted to effect a wholesale conversion; and a great number of clergymen ... punished by transportation to Siberia, imprisonment etc ... [270] *Raskolniks* (schismatics)... (contin. p. 17) |

Ii4| Die Staatskirche Rußlands im Jahre 1839.  
Nach den neuesten Synodalberichten,  
dargestellt von einem Priester  
aus der Congregation des Oratoriums.

5 Schaffhausen. 1844.

Sektenwesen.

Neuer Aufschwung der „Irrlehre“ seit Anfang des 16. Jhh. Einfluß darauf: *die Einführung der Leibeigenschaft u. die Verbeßrung der Kirchenbücher.* (228) Rasche Ausbreitung v. Sekten in Rußland. In der Wahl einer  
10 Sekte genießt der Leibeigene Art v. *Freiheit*, entschädigt ihn f. den Verlust der bürgerlichen. Der leibeigene Russe tiefen Haß gegen die Landeskirche, deren *grosser Missionär* die Knute. (231) Unterwirft er sich ihr, so wird er mit Leib u. Seel Leibeigner. (l. c.) Anhänger der Sekten ... nicht Beamte, Adliche, wohl aber Krämer, Gewerbtreibende. (sind Freigelaßne  
15 meist od. Söhne v. Freigelaßnen), fast alle ausgedienten Soldaten, Bauern. (232) Peter I (der Grosse) errichtete a. 1717 eine geheime Inquisitionskanzlei. Er war politischer u. religiöser Grossinquisitor seines Volkes. (235) - Raskolniken, Abtrünnige. -

1702 befahl Peter I durch Ukase, daß die Raskolniken in den Städten  
20 eine grosse Abgabe zahlen, u. zur Auszeichnung eine kupferne Münze, worauf ein langer Bart dargestellt, am Halse tragen sollten. Nach Ukas v. 4 Juni 1721 mußten die Raskolniken ohne Ausnahme alle Abgaben doppelt bezahlen. (239) 20 Mai 1731 Ukas v. *Anna*, durch den sie befahl alle Zauberer hinzurichten u. zu verbrennen (l. c.) Von *Catharina II* ein  
25 Ukas v. 14 Dec. 1762, wodurch die unter Alexis Michaelowitsch nach



Polen ausgewanderten Raskolniken unter glänzenden Anerbietungen zur Rückkehr nach Rußland eingeladen. Sie blieben in Polen, a. 1771 floh der größte Theil der Kalmücken an der Wolga, in 30,000 Kibitken, 4 Personen auf eine gerechnet, 120,000 Menschen, darunter allein 30,000 Streiter in die kirgisch-kaikasische Steppe, um den politischen u. relig. 5 Bedrückungen der Reg. zu entgehn. Ebenso A. 1714 floh eine 40,000 Kibitken starke Horde v. 160,000 *nagaischer Tartaren* des governments *Astrakan* nach der Krimrn unter die türkische Oberhohheit. Die russischen Sekten sehr rasch ausgebreitet unter Katharina, Paul I u. Alexander (alle 3 wild gegen sie). Wurden eine Macht... [240] Zwei Haupt- 10 klassen der Sekten: *Erste*: Mit Priesterthum, *Popowschtschina*, *Zweite*, die alles Priesterthum u. auch die Sakramente verwerfen, *Bespopowschtschina*. Ihre Anhänger Popowski u. Bespopowski...

Unter der *Bespopowschtschina* sucht Nicolaus bes. 3 Sekten m. Feuer u. Schwert auszurotten: 1) die Christowtschina, 2) die *Molakani* u. 3) die 15 *Duchoborski*. Die Christowi wählen aus ihrer Mitte Einen Mann u. Eine Frau, beide ausgezeichnet durch ihre Schönheit u. verehren sie als Christus u. seine heilige Mutter; umringen sie m. einem Rath v. 12 Bauern als Apostel verehrt. ... Die Duchoboren Art politischrelig. Freimaurer ... [241, 242] beinahe % Rußlands, i. e. des *landeskirchlichen* Rußlands, Ket- 20 zer. [245] - Von dem Widerstand nicht zu überwältigen, versprechen ihnen die Bischöfe u. Missionäre die Beibehaltung eines Theils ihrer Gebräuche, die nicht gar zu grell gegen die orthodoxe Kirche, wenn sie sich nur vereinen. Dieß heißt die *Gleichgläubigkeit* (Edinowenie) annehmen. ... [248, 249] „Persecution et souffrances de l'église catholique en 25 Russie par un ancien conseiller d'état de Russie. Paris 1842"... [250] *Anzahl der Protestanten* (Reformirte Lutheraner etc) im russischen Reich kaum 2 Millionen ... [252] Die *protestantischen* Fürstentöchter, wenn in die russische Familie eingeheirathet, müssen sich als Heidinnen noch einmal in Rußland taufen lassen ... [256] Aus einer Ehe, wo der eine Theil 30 (Mann od. Frau) griechischer Profession, können nur griechische Kinder hervorgehn ... Nur der griechische Priester darf eine gemischte Ehe einweihen ... [268] Auf diese Weise findet man bereits in den Ostseeprovinzen, in Esthland mehr als in Liefland, im Kurland am wenigsten, eine Menge zwitterhafter Deutsch-Russen in allen Ständen u. Klassen der 35 Gesellschaft. Von den ||15| vornehmsten Familien des deutschen Adels auf diese Weise einzelne Stämme ins russische Element hinüber gezweigt, sodaß bereits die meisten Familien in einen russischen od. russisch-griechischen u. in einen deutschen od. deutsch-lutherischen zerfallen. So giebt es z. B. russische u. deutsche Korfs, Vietinghöfe, Osten-Sackens etc 40 (240-269). In den Provinzen des Uralgebirges u. Sibirien das Sektenwe-

sen unter den Kronbauern am meisten verbreitet. (247) Die Irrlehre zieht sich vom Ural herab bis zum Kaspischen Meer, steigt v. den nördlichsten Polargegenden durch Sibirien bis zum asowschen u. schwarzen Meer herunter, u. schlängelt sich von da durch das Herz Rußlands bis in die 5 Ostseeprovinzen hinauf. (226) Der Kaiser, die Ministerien des Kriegs, des Innern, der Krondomänen, der Polizei, Senat, Reichsrath, Metropolit, Erzbischöfe, Bischöfe in Bewegung um sie auszurotten (243) *Judenverfolgung*. 1 Million davon im ganzen Reich. Bekehrt v. 1836-9: 1618 Seelen zur russischen Kirche. (312)

10 Gelder aus dem Kirchenfonds der katholisch-ruthenischen Kirche genommen „um sie zu russificiren“. 1833. [235,236] So im Jh. 1836 nicht weniger als 46,777 Unirte in die russische Kirche hinein getrieben, gepeitscht u. geknütet. (331) 1837 der kathol. Jugend die Schulen geschlossen, gezwungen in die der Schismatiker zu gehn, russische Landes- 15 spräche etc etc general geworden, beauftragt, Gewalt zu laufen, if needed; Schülern, Seminaristen, Lehrern alle kathol. Lehr- u. Andachtsbücher weggenommen u. die der russischen Kirche dafür gegeben. A. 1837 die gesammte unirte Geistlichkeit unter die unmittelbare Gerichtsbarkeit des heiligen Synods gesetzt. (338) Ausser der heiligen Knute (auch noch 20 37, 38, 39) noch Bajonette, Degen, Kanonen, Kerker, Verbannung u. Einziehung der Güter angewendet. (339) Noch 1840 drakonische Blutgesetze gegen die kathol. Priester, die unirte Gläubige rückbekehren sollten. ([339,] 340) Die Gesamtzahl der 1839 Bekehrten (russisch) so nach Protasow, 2,000,000. (I.e.) Der Katholik rechnet, daß es nur 1,574,215. 25 (I.e.) Kaiser nahm der bekehrten Geistlichkeit Ukas v. 5. Jan. 1842 alle ihre grossen Güter u. Leibeignen (der Klöster u. Kirchen) ab. (341) Statt dessen fixes Jahrgeloh. (I.e.) Die katholischen Gutsbesitzer (ruthenischen) werden durch unerhörte u. namenlose Bedrückungen genöthigt, in allen Dörfern, wo es nur eine Handvoll schismatischer Bauern hat, ortho- 30 doxe Kirchen auf ihre eignen Kosten zu bauen. (344) Zur Schismatisirung v. Polen werden täglich kathol. Kirchen in russische umgewandelt, u. die Praxis der Mischehen m. unerbittlicher Strenge durchgeführt. (l. c.)

„Uebrigens erklären wir uns als stets unterworfenen Sohn Eurer Heiligkeit als unserm *obersten Chef* in geistlichen Sachen u. unterzeichnen 35 uns als Ihren geistigen Sohn, bereit zu Ihren Befehlen.“ (Peter, Petersburg. 30. Sept. 1721 In einem Brief an den Patriarch v. Constantinopel, worin er ihm die Aufhebung des russischen Patriarchats u. seine Ersetzung durch den Synod.) [65] (Der Patriarch v. Constantinopel verschob durch 2 volle J. die Bestätigung. 66) Klerus weniger als der letzte unver- 40 heirathete Lohnbediente, der in Petersburg doch mindestens 20 Rubel des Monats, also 240 Rubel des J. hat, Pope nur 70 Rubel des J. Der

russische Priester muß sich, für den Mangel an fixer Besoldung, bei Taufen, Trauungen, Segnungen, Begräbnissen etc entschädigen, wo er eine soviel wie möglich ansehnliche Besoldung fordert, trinkt, ißt, so lang er kann, noch Lebensmittel f. Frau u. Kind mitnimmt, die mit ihm, ausser bei ähnlichen Gelegenheiten, den größten Theil des Jahres hungern müssen Russische Sprichwort: „Bin ich etwa ein Priester, daß ich 2mal essen sollte?“ ([161,] 162) 5

*Gerichtsfälle in den einzelnen Eparchien*

<i>Eparchien.</i>	<i>Klerus.</i>	<i>1836.</i>	
<i>Orel.</i>	3,594.	114	10
<i>Kursk.</i>	3,643.	99	
<i>Kasan.</i>	1,990.	67	
Wjatka	2,230	1	

[16] Summirt man die Anzahl aller in den J. 36, 1837, 38 u. 39 v. dem heiligen Synod u. in den heiligen Eparchialbehörden in Untersuchung gezogenen Geistlichen, die sich auf 15,443 beläuft, so ergiebt sich, daß in diesen 4 J. stets der 6<sup>te</sup> v. den 102,456 Geistlichen wegen Verbrechen in Untersuchung gezogen u. bestraft wurde. (163) ] 15

**[Charles de Martens, Ferdinand de Cussy:  
Recueil manuel et pratique de traités,  
conventions et autres actes diplomatiques.**

**T. 1. Leipzig 1845.]**

5 |17| Traité,  
conclu près du village de Koutschouc Kaynardji,  
d. d. 10 Juillet 1774.

*Art. VII.* La sublime Porte promet de *protéger* constamment la *religion chrétienne* et ses églises; et aussi elle *permet aux ministres de la cour impériale de Russie* de faire dans toutes les occasions des *représentations* tant en faveur de la nouvelle église à Constantinople (dont il sera mention à l'art. XIV) - que pour ceux qui la desservent, promettant de les prendre en considération, comme faites par une personne de confiance d'une puissance voisine et sincèrement amie.

15 *Art. VIII* Il sera libre et permis aux sujets de l'empire de Russie, tant séculiers qu'ecclésiastiques, de visiter la sainte ville de Jérusalem et autres lieux dignes d'attention. Il ne sera exigé de ces pèlerins et voyageurs par qui que ce puisse être, ni à Jérusalem, ni ailleurs, ni sur la route, aucun *charatsch*, contribution, droit ou autre imposition; mais ils seront munis  
20 de passeports et firmans, tels qu'on en donne aux sujets des autres puissances amies. Pendant leur séjour dans l'empire ottoman, il ne leur sera fait le moindre tort ni offense, mais au contraire ils seront sous la protection la plus rigide des lois. [114]

*Art. XIV.* A l'exemple des autres puissances, on permet à la haute cour de Russie, outre la chapelle bâtie dans la maison du ministre, de construire dans un quartier de Galata, dans la rue nommée Bey-Oglu, une *église publique du rite grec*, laquelle sera toujours sous la protection des ministres de cet empire et à l'abri de toute gêne et de toute avanie. 5

*Art. XVI* worin Rußland die «principauté de Valachie and Moldavia zurückgiebt an die Porte unter der Bedingung: 2) de n'empêcher aucunement l'exercice libre de la religion chrétienne et de ne mettre aucun obstacle à la construction de nouvelles églises et à la réparation des anciennes etc» [3] de «restituer aux couvents et [aux] autres particuliers 10 les terres et possessions ci-devant à eux appartenantes, qui leur ont été prises contre toute justice. 4°) d'avoir pour les ecclésiastiques l'estime particulière que leur état exige.» [116,117]

*Art. XVII.* L'empire de Russie restitue à la sublime Porte toutes les *îles de l'Archipel* qui se trouvent sous sa dépendance, et la sublime porte de 15 son côté promet: 2) que la religion chrétienne ne sera point exposée à moindre oppression non plus que les églises, et qu'il ne sera mis aucun empêchement à leur construction ou réparation; pareillement que ceux qui les desservent ne seront ni opprimés ni outragés. [118]

Convention Explicative du traité conclu à Kaynardji, le 10 Juillet 1774, 20 signée à Constantinople, le 10 Mars, 1779. [162]

#### Traité de Paix, etc le 14 Sept. 1829. (Adrianople.)

*Art. XV.* Aile traités, conventions et stipulations arrêtés et conclus à différentes époques entre la cour impériale de Russie et la sublime Porte 25 Ottomane, sauf les articles auxquels il a été dérogé par le présent traité de paix, sont confirmés dans toute leur force et valeur. (228)

### Krasinski. (contin. v. p. 13)

1

A great commotion in the Russian church produced by the emendation of the Scriptures and the devotional books, effected under the Tzar Alexius ... during the long period of the Mongol domination, the whole  
5 country fell into a state of great barbarity ... clergy sunk into the grossest ignorance and corruption ... the transcription of all the sacred and devotional books, entrusted to ignorant copyists, became gradually so disfigured, that their sense was often entirely lost, and the text of one copy differed from that of another. ... [276] Several efforts were made in vain  
10 to correct the sacred books, at last the Patriarch Nikon assembled a council for that purpose at Moscow in 1654, at which the Patriarch of Antioch, that of Servia, and 56 bishops were present; and it decided upon correcting the Scriptures and the liturgical books used for the Russian Church ... differences between the Tzar Alexius and the Patriarch |  
15 |18| Nikon, which ended in the deposition of the latter by a council in 1664 ... but it was finally decided by the above-mentioned council... the text of the Scriptures and the liturgical books was fixed in conformity to the oldest Slavonic manuscripts ... and printed. ... [277] Die Gegner, die *Raskolniks* dieser Veränderung spread their opinions over all Siberia, the  
20 country of the Cossacks of the Don, and in different other distant provinces ... A great number of them emigrated to Poland, and even to Turkey, where they formed numerous settlements ... do not differ from the established church in doctrine, but merely in some outward observances, arid in retaining the uncorrected text of the sacred books ... the separation was rendered complete by Peter the Great, his memory is abominated by the Raskolniks, and some of them maintain that he was the real Antichrist. ... [279] Die adherents des old text, die zahlreichste Klasse der Raskolniks, call themselves: *Staroverzi* ... *Yedinoverzi* (coreligionists.) ...

§

It is Strange to find amongst the illiterate peasantry of Russia religious opinions of such a spiritual character as those held by the *Malakanes* ... i. e. to meet amongst that peasantry doctrines which were entertained by the *Gnostics*, who belonged to the most intellectual classes of the Roman society. Such is the case with the *Duchobortzi*, or *Combattants* in spirit. 5 (285)

*Martinists* (by means of masonic lodges) ... Religiös wirkende freemasonry. (292) (Stifter: Chevalier St. Martin geb. 1743, | 1803) |

**[Hansard's parliamentary debates.**

**Third Series.**

**Vol. 37. London 1837.]**

[19] Vixen. *H. o. C. March 17. 1837.*

5 *Roebuck.* Some time ago, a vessel was fitted out, and before she pro-  
ceeded to her destination, application was made in the regular quarter  
—to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to ascertain whether there  
was any impropriety or danger to be apprehended if a vessel landed  
goods in any port on the Circassian coast. The application was made  
10 because fears of danger were entertained from the interference of Russia.  
The answer returned by the noble Lord, to the merchants who applied  
was, to look to *The Gazette*; and finding no indications whatever in  
*The Gazette* of any acknowledgment of Blockade, and thereby conclud-  
ing that the blockade was not recognised by the Brit. Gov., and that they  
15 were not precluded by authority from landing goods and merchandise in  
a Circassian port belonging to an independent nation, they dispatched a  
vessel; and when at the port it was seized by a Russian ship-of-war,  
and the master and crew were imprisoned ... The Circassians are in pos-  
session of almost the whole of their coast, Russia possessing only  
20 3 points—mere forts. On a coast extending many hundreds of miles,  
Russia possesses only these 3 isolated forts. All the rest of Circassia is in  
the hands of the Circassians themselves ... Russia may endeavour to  
obtain possession of all the world, and I regard her efforts with indiffer-  
ence; but the moment she interferes with our commerce I call upon the  
25 Gov. of this country to punish the aggression. ... I deny that Turkey had  
any right to cede Circassia to Russia. But even if Turkey had a right to



cede Circassia to Russia, yet, seeing that Russia is not in possession of Circassia, I maintain that Russia has no right to proclaim a blockade of the coast of Circassia. So wenig als die U. St., wenn Spain, das hat noch nicht yielded her rights to South America, were to cede ihnen die province of Mexico, u. America were to declare the port of Tampico in a state 5 of blockade. ... I want to know if the Brit. Gov. has acknowledged the treaty of Adrianople? ... *firing off a battery of protocols* ... [621-626] moved for "a copy of all correspondence between the Gov. of this country and the Gov's of Russia and Turkey,... relating to the treaty of Adrianople, as well as to all transactions or negotiations connected with 10 the occupation of the ports and territories on the shores of the Black Sea by Russia since the treaty of Adrianople". [628]

*Mr. Ewart.* If Russia were allowed to proceed as she had proceeded, the Black Sea would soon become a *mare clausum* to Brit, commerce. [628,629] 15

*Palmerston.* ... the belligerents have the right to blockade, if that blockade be effective and consistent with usage. It must not be a matter of paper, but there must be the presence of force. ... I referred him (Mr. Bell) [20] to the *Gazette*, where he would find *that no blockade had been communicated or declared to this country by the Russ. Gov., consequently 20 none was acknowledged...* as far as the extension of the Russian frontier is concerned on the mouth of the Danube, the south of the Caucasus, and the shores of the Black Sea ... which is certainly not consistent with the solemn declaration made by Russia in the face of Europe previous to the commencement of the Turkish war. ... [631, 633, 635] 25

*Maclean.* In the manifesto published by Russia ... no mention was made of a blockade or any municipal regulations, but it was expressly stated, that the Vixen was seized because she was guilty of smuggling. ... [637]

*Hume:*... if it was possible for language to disguise a plain and simple question, undoubtedly the noble Lord's correspondence had effected that 30 object; and although Mr. Bell, in repeating the question, pushed him very hard, still the noble Lord had ingenuity enough to evade it... But the noble Lord had not only evaded Mr. Bell, he had sat down without telling the H. o. C. who was in actual possession of the Circassian coast at the present moment—whether it really belonged to Russia, and 35 whether it was by right of a violation of fiscal regulations, or in consequence of an existing blockade, that the Vixen had been seized. With all deference to the noble Lord, he conceived it to be his duty to give an unequivocal answer to a Brit, merchant making inquiries on that subject ... If that were not the duty ... what was the use of the Foreign-office 40 at all? ... [641,642]

*Robinson.* There was in fact no blockade. There was no maritime force employed. Russia's right could only have arisen out of what the noble Lord had called *municipal*, but what Russia called *sanatory*, regulations. But he had never heard of any sanatory regulations which subjected a  
5 vessel and cargo to be seized, and persons on board to be imprisoned, unless... in consequence of a wilful violation of rules previously promulgated ... [644]

*O'Coniteli* When he heard the noble Lord read the letters respecting the seizure of the *Vixen*, he could not help calling to mind the expression of  
10 Talleyrand, that language had been invented to conceal thoughts... If Russia instituted a blockade of the ports of Norway, to render it effective it would be necessary that a notification should appear in the *Gazette*; but if that power chose to blockade the port of Archangel, (against its revolted subjects), it would not be necessary to notify the matter in the  
15 *Gazette*, because it would be merely a subject of municipal regulation. In this case, Mr. Bell perfectly justified in sending out his vessel, for he had been told to refer to the *Gazette* to see whether there was ||21| a blockade or not. It was clear, therefore, from this observation of the noble Lord, that he did not at that time consider the coast of Circassia as any part of  
20 the Russian territory. Again, in 1826, notwithstanding the subject matter of quarrel between Russia and the Porte, it was agreed that no sort of commercial advantage should be gained on this coast by either party. This country konnte Russia also nicht gain possession of by the treaty of Adrianople. This country could not be touched by Russia by any munic-  
25 ipal regulations, and, therefore, no seizure of a Brit, vessel could be justified on the part of Russia, on the ground that it was engaged in illicit trading ... the only safe mode of settling this matter, was by taking such steps as to let Russia know that England was determined to enforce the protection of Brit, subjects ... [646]

30 *Dudley Stuart.* Russia had put forward a justification of the blockade, in the first place, on the ground that Circassia was a hostile country, and afterwards that it was merely for the purpose of enforcing municipal regulations, and had resorted from the one plea to the other at her will and pleasure ... The vessel laid in the port where it was seized for  
35 36 hours before it was interfered with at all... *The noble Lord apparently wished the House to infer that Russia had possession of the country ...* [647,648] the want of vigour and alacrity to defend the honour of the country which the noble Lord had displayed, was *most culpable* ... the conduct of no former minister had ever been so vacillating, so hesitating,  
40 so uncertain, so cowardly, when an insult had been offered to Brit. Subjects ... not more than 2 years ago had a vessel, the *Charles Spencer*,

belonging to a Brit, subject, been seized by Russia in the Black Sea, under circumstances equally objectionable. How much longer, he would ask, did the noble Lord propose to allow Russia thus to insult Great Brit., and thus to injure Brit, commerce? ... Accounts had been received in town that day that the Vixen had been condemned, and that in the most revolting way to this country. The Brit, flag was hoisted, then hauled down, and the Russian flag hoisted in its stead; and the captain and crew were sent, not to London, but to Constantinople. *The noble Lord was degrading England by holding her out in the character of a bully—haughty and tyrannical to the weak, ||22| humble and abject to the strong* ... the Russians concerned in that outrage were rewarded with decorations ... the Duke of Wellington did not recognise the treaty of Adrianople. [652-655]

**[Vol.43. London 1838.]**

*H. o. C. June 21. 1838.*

15

*Sir S. Canning* rose to move for the appointment of a Select Committee, to inquire into the following allegations made by Mr. George Bell (das Schiff wurde seized by a Russian man-of-war in the Bay of Soudjouk-Kalé) The vessel sailed from London on October 29, and arrived at Constantinople on Nov. 19 ... the Vixen was sent to the Port of Sebastopol... the ship and cargo in the end condemned, on the ground of a violation of the fiscal regulations of the country. The decision of the Russ. Gov. received at Sebastopol on January 27 ... the master and crew were put on board the Ajax, the captor, and despatched to Odessa, whence ... afterwards sent... to Constantinople ... [903, 904]. The parties interested in the vessel, the captain, crew, and supercargo, all gave evidence that, at the time of the capture, no *Russian force was in possession of Soudjouk-Kalé* ... [908] the owners were ruined men ... Urquhart recalled ... In addition to the unfortunate effects of this transaction of the Vixen to the parties concerned, it had led Russia to fix her attention on Circassia ... we were compelled to stand still and see Russia turn a large force upon it to subdue it to her own purposes ... [914, 915]

*Stanley*... Diese restriction had been communicated in the most formal manner to Mr. Mandeville at Constantinople, expressly for the information of the Brit. Merchants, and transmitted to the noble Lord (Palmerston), who had for 6 years in his possession the notification of these restrictions ... [932] it had been the practice of former Gov's to

communicate to the committee at Lloyd's the fact of such notifications having been received ... "The Circassian declaration (Stanley liebt Urquhart's Brief an Palmerston) of independence had been published after mature deliberation, and several weeks' correspondence with different branches of the Gov., in a periodical connected with the For. Department; Circassia was marked as an independent country on a map revised by your Lordship" ... [937]

*Peel: In 1831 the noble Lord received a distinct intimation from Russia, that she meant to establish fiscal rights on the coast of Circassia ...* Between April 19 and May 23, [23] a remarkable change from official declaration to satisfaction occurred—all apparently induced by the assurance received from Count Nesselrode, that Turkey had ceded the coast in question to Russia by the treaty of Adrianople? ... Why did he not protest against that Ukase? (rev.) You told Mr. Bell that Russia had no right to demand dues, though she might have to blockade the coast... [949, 950, 952] /

|46| David Urquhart.  
Progress of Russia in the West,  
North, and South.  
2 ed. London 1853.

18 August, H. o. Lords: "all treaties between Russia and Turkey were 5  
abolished by this act (the invasion of the Principalities) and he therefore  
expected to hear that the English Squadron was inside of the Dardanel-  
les." (Lord Clanricarde) Lord Clarendon "agreed in every thing that has  
fallen from his noble friend", and "considered the entire evacuation of  
the Principalities as a *sine qua non* of any agreement whatever". 10  
(VIII, Preface to the second edit.) In the Principalities now ready  
1,500,000 qrs for exportation to England. (IX I.e.) An offer was made to  
the Emperor of China to support him against the insurgents, on condi-  
tion of his ceding Little Thibet, which is only 20 days' march from Cal-  
cutta. (I.e. note) A lie has been placed on the lips of Europe in the word 15  
*Russo-Greek Church*, (p. X I.e.)

"Non Conformists" "Old Believers" (Starovirtzé) in Russia, maintain-  
ing the original faith ... objects of the most bitter persecutions on the  
part of the Russian gov., and the familiar term they apply to the Emperor  
is "*Antichrist*". The recent movements towards independence of the 20  
Malo-Russians, amounting to about 10,000,000, is principally attributa-  
ble to this schism and persecution. (Vili, IX) This change in Russia  
Proper has required 5 centuries and a quarter, for it began in the year  
1330. (IX) Seit 1846, the Sultan has become the immediate protector of  
the Starovirtzé. (XII) Russia terrifies the Powers by a threat to act alone, 25  
and then they rush forward to yield to her their support, on the pretext of  
clogging her action. (I. c.) Then she can use the authority of the Sultan to  
establish her supremacy over the Oriental Church. (I.e.) Europe sanc-  
tions Russian intervention, by co-operating in it. (I. c.) She (Russia) has

to work out a *war between England and France*, and a *European revolution*. (XIII) The *Christians* of Turkey ... 13,000,000, the *Greeks* not exceeding 1 million. (l. c.) the half of them *strangers*, dispersed throughout the different cities. (l. c.) every other race (except the Turks) hates and despises these Greeks. (l. c.)

*Wallachians* and *Moldavians* 4,500,000; the *Bulgarians*, the descendants of the Tartars of the Volga 4,500,000 (some of them Mussulmans); the *Bosnians*, including the *Serbians* and *Illyrians* 3,000,000 (1,000,000 v. ihnen Mussulmans and 500,000 Roman Catholics) *Albanians* 1,500,000, 10 half of them Christians of the Eastern Church, half of them Mussulmans. (l. c.)  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the Mussulmans allied in blood to the Russians, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the Christians, south of the Danube, to the Turks. (I.e.) Treaty of *Unkiar Skelessi* was but to last for 8 years, consequently the freedom of the Dardanelles would be restored on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1841 ... aber nun der 15 treaty of the 13<sup>th</sup> of July 1841. (XXV) (schloß die Flotten f. immer aus v. den Dardanelles)

*Speech of Mr. Anstey, Febr. 23, 1848.* (Antrag auf impeachment gegen Palmerston.) Our importations of foreign grains—12,000,000 £. (XLII) *Memoirs of Lord Malmesbury.*

20 "for the last century, the only history is that of Russia." (LVIII)

"its (France) *internal* state results from the reaction of diplomatic proceedings in Spain, Turkey, Denmark, Hungary, etc." (I.e.) |

[47] "the revolutions of that year, (1848) and the wars of that which succeeded it, are neither isolated incidents, nor have they sprung from 25 local and distinct causes. At Copenhagen, Presburg, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Bucharest, and Palermo, the germs had been severally cultured, the instruments prepared, and the parts distributed. The warlike operations that ensued were equally directed by the same hand." (LVIII, LIX)

Du Hamel, in the St. Petersburg Journal calls attention of the Russian public to the fact that "the current year completes 3 centuries of 30 nearly *uninterrupted* amicable relations between Russia and the British public." Opposition gegen Russia v. England endete immer "with entire satisfaction" on the sacrifice of the State, or interest, which had given rise to the discharge of notes, or the parade of ships in line. In 1801, Denmark, in 1807, Denmark; in 1822, Spain; in 1827, Persia; in 1829, Turkey; 35 in 1831, Poland; in 1833, the Dardanelles; in 1836, the quarantine on the Danube; in 1837, the *Vixen* and Circassia; in 1838, Persia; in 1846, Cracow; in 1849 Hungary and its exiles; in 1850, Greece; in 1853, Moldavia and Wallachia. (LXVI).

## Part I. Spain.

If France and England differ in purpose, they are one in character. Their object is not the conquest of Spain, but competition between themselves, they have ever on their lips "*the good of Spain*". (10)

Besides the Spaniards, Europe presents 4 primitive races not infected 5 with the vulgarisms of London and Paris—the Jews, the Turks, the Gipsies, and the Russians. (13)

*Revolt of the Isle of Leon.* In the course of the year 1819, troops had been collected in the arsenal of Cadiz, called Isle of Leon, destined for the American colonies—soldiers drafted from the whole army, with the 10 view of purifying it of restless spirits engendered by the war of Independence and of dangerous opinions evolved by contact with the French. Wurden retained in a confined and in attractive cantonment ... for many months ... it was of public notoriety that a revolt was preparing. Notorisch, the views of the gov. were held to be a mystery solvable only by the 15 supposition that these projects had high support. The general went to Madrid to represent the danger—he was deposed. Two captains of men-of-war reported their vessels which were to transport the troops to America to be unseaworthy—they were deprived of their command. In a word, nothing was left undone to foment discontent and to encourage 20 insurrection; the Conspiracy was perfectly public. (31) Russia had given to the gov. of Washington the assurance that she would prevent the sailing of the Spanish expedition, and had given her *guarantee that it should never quit the port of Cadiz*. (33) the Proclamation in *Isle de Leon of the Cadiz Constitution of 1812* had been the work of Russia. (34) 25

*Congress of Verona.* "Russia alone", says M. de Chateaubriand, "answered energetically, *Yes*, to all the proposals of France. She is ready to withdraw her ambassador, she is ready to give to France every moral and material support without restriction and without condition." (43) Russia proposed from France to the Conference what the French Gov. never 30 projected; (Villèle gab dem Chateaubriand entgegengesetzte Instruktionen) Chateaubriand useful ally of Russia. (49 [, 50])

*Invasion of 1823.* The minister was no longer Villèle, but Chateaubriand, suddenly transferred to the Foreign Office, and dismissed so soon as the Spanish operation was completed. (61) 35

*Quadruple alliance, Marriage question.* "Out of the *Spanish Marriages* came the confiscation of Cracow, and, within a short time, the fall of Louis Philippe and the revolution of 1848, on which the Cossacks entered Hungary." (73)

Part II. Hungary.

Part III. The Scandinavian Kingdoms.

the great change and experiment now in progress, is the assimilation of people to people by the process of ||48| thought. (150)

5 Treaty of Gustavus III with Denmark: "to maintain the Principle of the *Baltic as a close Sea*, with the guarantee of its coast against all acts of hostility, violence, or aggression whatever, and further to employ for that purpose all the means in the power of the respective contracting parties". It thus fell to the lot of Gustavus III to establish the maritime, as of  
10 Charles XII, the military power of Russia. (159) When Alexander met Bernadotte at Abo, in 1812, it was secretly arranged between them that Sweden at the general pacification should not reclaim Finland, and that Russia should obtain for her Norway, as an equivalent. Into this arrangement England entered. (162, 3) *treaty of Kiel* between England and  
15 Dänemark. England revives the former treaties of *Peace* and *Commerce*, but not of *Guarantee*, indeed England took to herself *Heligoland*, a portion of the Gottorp territory, the possession of which she had *guaranteed in 1721*. (165)

On the extinction of the male line of Frederick III, Denmark, accord-  
20 ing to the *Lex Regia*, is assumed to go to Prince *Frederick of Hesse*, and Schleswig Holstein to the Duke of Augustenburg. (!) By the marriage of a daughter of the Czar to Prince Frederick, the whole may be secured to Russia, on the pretext of preventing a partition. ([176,] 177) The Archduchess however dies, Prince Frederick of Hesse is then cast aside. (179)  
25 Charles Frederick, Representative of the younger of Gottorp line, having, during the Swedish war, lost Schleswig, and retaining only a portion of Holstein, but being according to the peculiar and anomalous practice of these Duchies, co-regent with the King, sought in 1720 the support of Peter I of Russia. (181, 2) He conferred upon the Czar the  
30 hand of his daughter. (183) Der son des duke raised to the Imperial throne under the name of *Peter III* (184) wollte sein Holstein erobert. Assassiniert by his wife *Catherinell*. (I.e.) In 1767 Catherine bargained for a conditional surrender of her son's rights, which was ratified by her son, afterwards the Emperor *Paul*, in 1773. Dabei a *Secret Alliance* in  
35 consequence of which Denmark soon found herself constrained to join Russia against Sweden, and henceforward bound in subserviency ... The claim of Russia was *twofold*: it affected a portion of Schleswig, and a portion of Holstein; the first was dropped entirely and unconditionally. The father of Peter had been even constrained to drop the title of Schles-



wig. England and France had bound themselves in a treaty of guarantee (1720, 16<sup>th</sup> July u. 18 August, severally renewed and confirmed 16 April 1727, and 15 March, 1742) to defend the king in the possession of Denmark against "any foreign Power whatever who should come and attack it". Prussia, Austria, and even Russia herself had acceded to this 5 arrangement; therefore no pretensions in 1773 could be set upon Schleswig. (185) As to Holstein, the claim itself bore but on a little more than 1/4 of the duchy. Its admission involved a division of the fief, the Indivisibility of which was a fundamental part of the Law by which Holstein could alone be inherited. Statt dessen erhielt Rußland the counties of 10 Delmenhorst u. Oldenburg. She erected them into a *Duchy of Oldenburg*, and placed them under the apparently independent sway of the junior branch of the House of Gottorp. These counties had been transferred to Denmark in 1676 in consequence of an arrangement with the Duke of Ploen, the next heir to Gunther, the last Count who died in that year, and 15 on the condition that "if the *male* line of the Royal house should become extinct, that the 2 counties should return to them and their male descendants, and likewise to the Agnates of the princely House". (186, 7) Bremen stands in the territory of Oldenburg as ||49| Hamburg does in that of Holstein; it commands the entrance of the Weser as Holstein does that of 20 the Elbe. These 2 rivers are the sole outlets of Germany, and the possessor of them, if equally possessed of the Sound and the Eyder, holds the communication of the whole of the North.—The arrangement with Paul as to Holstein had therefore reference only to the male descendants of Frederick III. On their extinction the Holstein equivalent reverted to 25 Russia, and the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg to the Duke of Augustenburg. (187) Shortly after the death of the Archduchess (des Czars Tochter, Frau v. Prinz Friedrich v. Hessen) 1846 erschien der *offne Brief des Königs* v. Dänemark ... the results of the measure were so unmistakable that they must be assigned as its object. (188) the measure keine bona fide 30 one. (190) The suggestion of the Letters Patent did not of course come from St. Petersburg, but from Paris; it was offered as a means of escaping from Russia. At that moment the Spanish marriages in preparation u. Louis Philippe seeking to gain Russia to secure himself against the effects of his rupture with England. (190) The object of Christian VIII was to 35 preserve the *Integrity of the Succession*. (191) (a maxim soon converted into "Integrity of the Monarchy") The Lex Regia virtually repealed in its 2 principal provisions. It settles (Section 19) conjointly the succession of Denmark and Norway u. den Absolutismus als Grundgesetz. Er emanates from a *king of Denmark and Norway*, der nicht mehr existirt seit 40 den Wiener Verträgen. Der Absolutismus aufgehoben durch Chri-

stian VIII introducing "a Constitutional form of Government", "the hereditary and absolute character and quality of the Monarchy were essentially combined." "the absolute character cannot be attacked without destroying the hereditary." (192) Mit der Constitution it remained to  
5 revert to the anterior state, or to create a new one. In the one case the crown of Denmark again becomes elective; in the other, you must deal with the succession of the Crown as you have with the Institutions of the country. (193) Prince Frederick of Hesse so soon excluded as he lost his wife. (I.e.) Behauptet Christian VIII hätte weder aus liberalism od. inad-  
10 vertence auf das scheme to propose a *Constitution* "for the whole of his states". (194) that Denmark should have, out of her own head, devised an administrative union with Denmark is too preposterous to believe. (196)

"It was only the wish to prevent the Radical and Republican elements  
15 of Germany from exercising any pernicious influence that had moved Prussia to the steps she had adopted; the idea of a North Albingian Republic being apt to endanger Denmark as well as the neighbouring frontier of Germany." (Note of Maj. Wildenbruch the Prussian Plenipotentiary to the Dan. Gov., April 8, 1848) "the King (of Piedmont) con-  
20 sidered himself in duty bound to take measures in order to prevent the movement in Lombardy, from taking a Republican direction." (Note by the Sardinian minister Pareto to the brit. Ambass. at Turin March 23, 1848.) The king of Prussia prolonged the war, by ensuring the defeat of his own troops and his allies; he sacrificed at the settlement all  
25 he had contended for by arms; not being thereto constrained, but acting as a party to entrap others. ([203,] 204) the king succeeded in turning on the Poles the popular frenzy excited against Russia; then a diversion was furnished in the Duchies for the young fervour so troublesome at Frankfort, so alarming at Berlin. But it was not that a door was to be opened  
30 to military enterprise; revolution was to be shamed by discomfiture, and to be put down ||50| by disgrace. (205) Beim treaty of 52 Amendment proposed by Prussia "*l'intégrité de la monarchie Danoise demeurera intacte*", während im Proposed draught die Mächte nur sprechen v. dem Recht eventuell die Succession zu regeln u. zu faciliter die arrangements  
35 aux moyens desquels "les liens qui rattachent les Duchés de Holstein et de Schleswig à la Monarchie Danoise demeurent intactes". Preussen, durch den würdigen Bunsen unterdrückt die Erwähnung selbst dieser Duchies (210)

*The War.* 10,000 Dänen enter the Duchies, the hasty gathering of the  
40 Duchies amount to only half the number, fly at the first shock, met on the 23 April in their flight 14,000 Prussians crossing the Eyder to their

support, the army so lately in pursuit was exposed to being annihilated, finding itself hemmed in its sudden retreat between a dyke and a defile on the North of Schleswig; but the *first* exercise of the *Prussian authority* was to *sound the recall*, the reason assigned being that it was the *hour for dinner*. (213) (N. I.)

5

The Hanoverians, Mecklenburgers, Oldenburgers, Brunswickers, pour in by railways, and General *Wrangel* at the head of 50,000 men, 5  $\times$  the number of the retreating foe, at 4 o'clock A. M. Infantry under arms, cavalry mounted. Erst at 9 o'clock order zu "march" gegeben. The *Prussians* were pushed out so as to *outflank the retreating force*, on the right u. 10 on the left. The confederates, under the Duke of Brunswick u. General Halkett, fell upon them. *Immediately was sounded the Prussian recall*. Duke of Brunswick, after a stormy discussion m. General Wrangel, refused to take any further part in the Campaign. The Danes had positively been suffered to return, and carry off the baggage they had abandoned, 15 bringing their horses to reyoke to the waggons and guns. (N. II.) (214)

Danish force expelled. Nun negotiations opened mit Denmark? No. General Wrangel entered Jutland by orders from Berlin. (l. c.) (N. III.)

Danes were in the isle of Alsen (15,000 men): they were observed by 53,000 Confederates, whilst the main body of General Wrangel, *who had* 20 *taken care to carry with him the Schlesw. Holsteiners*, were in Jutland. He *remained perfectly inactive*. Trotz der superior force of general Halkett, stationed opposite the isle of Alsen, the Danes were allowed to cross the strait, to establish a *tête de pont*, to construct a bridge, to seize on the heights which commanded it, on them to build redoubts, and plant heavy 25 artillery. When these works had been completed, he commenced operations, *by besieging them, he placed his troops in a half-circle round Düppel*; this point being in direct communication with the *tête du pont* and the island, could in a *single night* be occupied by the Danish force which would then find itself in the centre of the Germans and be able by a *sortie* 30 to beat and destroy them in detail. This was foreseen by the whole army of the besiegers, except the General... On the 28 of May, at the dawn of the day, the Danes fell upon the Germans with their entire force. Halkett sent aides-du-camp to order one division after another; each in succession arrived too late. General Wrangel had returned into Schleswig, 35 *4 days before the catastrophe of Düppel*, the distance was 20 leagues, er richtet's auch so ein to arrive too late f. die support der Germans ... Murmurs of the army beaten and baffled at every turn by an inferior force .. attack nun made on the Danish redoubts, Prussian guard led to the storm, unfortunate; at all events it could not longer be said that the 40 *Prussian* General had orders, to spare the Danes and expose the Confederates! (N. IV) [215,216]

Nun Denmark u. the Confederation come to an arrangement. Darin die Duchies ganz vergessen. Nun England strides into the arena as a Mediatrix. Result: 6 months are afforded ||511 to the belligerents to recruit their strength. This course of England is perfectly parallel to that of Prussia, who *secured victories to Denmark while she lent armies to the duchies.* (N. V.) [216, 217]

*Campaign of 1849* opened by the entrance of 20,000 Danes into Schleswig. Duchies a nearly equal force, consisting, however, in a considerable degree of German volunteers and Prussians. Commanded by the *Prussian General Bonin*. Soon arrive 50,000 troops of the Confederates, of which nearly the half were Prussians; in fact, the duchies furnished to the king of Prussia a Siberia and a Circassia, where the turbulent found occupation and the seditious repose. (N. VI.) [217]

Danes speedily driven back u. following them the Schleswig-Holsteiners entered Jutland, and were soon joined by the Prussians, under *General Pritwitz*. Er theilt this powerful army in 2 bodies: the one, composed of Hessians u. Prussians, sent in pursuit of a body of Danes, *1/3 of their number*; the Schleswig-Holsteiners, 14,000, despatched to *blockade Fridericia*, which was *open to sea, of which the Danes had the command!* The heights of Goulsk, 3 leagues from the fortress, were crowned with redoubts, these taken by assault, and the victors pursuing the fugitives might have entered the fortress with them, *when again the Prussian recall sounded*, the army sat down before the place to besiege it. Fridericia laying on the sea, commanded by the Danish navy—into the place which you propose to besiege the enemy can throw at pleasure any amount of men, and remove from it, if necessary, the garrison. *General Bonin weiß das.* There could not have been a point selected more available for wasting the time and exhausting the strength of the Confederates, and affording to the Danes the opportunity of striking without risk a fatal blow. (No. VII) [217, 218]

1) the besieging fort at Fridericia, opposed to the Danish garrison; 2) an army opposite Alsen; 3) another at Jutland, the 2 latter being opposed to 2 Danish corps. On the 3 points the numerical majority (der Deutschen), acting on the offensive. Die 2 Danish corps in Alsen u. Jutland give their several antagonists the slip, (échappent) u. die whole Danish army is concentrated at Fridericia. Die Confederates do not march to support the besiegers, nor is the siege raised and the force concentrated; it is left scattered round the place in its trenches, and, consequently, one fine morning it is cut to pieces; its camp taken, 50 guns fall into the hands of the Danes. (No. IX)

Die Operations der Danes kein Geheimniß; the reinforcements were *daily seen entering* the place, and, after the besieged were known far to outnumber the besiegers, still were the men kept in the entrenchments, *but the fire ceased*. The explanation offered was that it was not advisable to exasperate the enemy, whose fire, however, never ceased. Exasperation 5  
der troops. (N. IX.) [218]

Trotzdem die forces der Confederates noch weit überlegen den Danes. Fredericia is in Jutland; they only maintained a post of their own; they had no man in *Schleswig*. Again the *military operations cease*; again an *armistice introduced to prepare for the resumption of hostilities in the fol-* 10  
*lowing year*. (N. X). [219]

*Armistice*. A line drawn from *Tondern to Flensburg*, to be occupied on either side by neutrals; the parties having to evacuate entirely; Swedes u. Norwegians on the North, Prussians u. Oldenburgers on the South. Unterdes die Muscovites pouring down the Carpathians. A *triumvirate* 15  
nun appointed f. die government der Duchies. Die duchies altogether wieder excluded from the arrangement; Denmark nennt 1, Prussia 1, England 1 functionary. (Colonel *Hodges*) (repudiated v. beiden Seiten u. eben deswegen imposed v, Palmerston) (N. XI) |

[52] *Campaign of 1850*. Armistice reached its term. Prussia has with- 20  
drawn from the Contest, the Duchies were rejoiced at this result. Swedes u. Norwegians also embarked u. sent home. Denmark assembled 40,000 men m. 96 guns. Warum dachten sie nicht an accomodation? New incentives and stimulants had, however, been found requisite at Copenhagen. France sent General Fabvier, and Russia herself had come for- 25  
ward at length to smile on the undertaking. She allowed hopes of a subsidy to be entertained, sent a squadron to hover on the coasts, and, together with the use of steamers for the transport of troops, lent... "moral support". The Duchies crossed the Eyder, in order to anticipate the Danes in securing that *important line of defence, which crosses the* 30  
*Isthmus at Isted*. Schleswig 100 miles in length u. nicht 50 in breadth; but, in fact, the arena was further narrowed to its southern extremity, and *consisted in the maintenance of those strong positions*, which from the remotest times had been the barrier of the Northmen against the Germans ... [220-223] The duchies moved across the Eyder 30,000 men mit 35  
80 guns, chiefly of large calibre, leaving 4 battalions of reserve. A *causeway* (chaussée) and military road leads from *Flensburg* (where the Danes, entering from Jutland, or arriving by sea, would effect their junction) southward through the centre of the province to the town of Schleswig. On both sides the country difficult from broken ground u. defensible 40  
positions, but principally because interspersed with bogs (junc de marais)

and marshes: some 5 or 6 miles in advance of Schleswig, a natural line of defence composed of lakes, marshes, steep (escarpés) banks of rivers, extend across from east to west. The causeway passing by the village of Idsted is inclosed in a gorge (gosier), the heights on the left being backed  
5 by the lake of "Lang Sö", and on the right by almost continuous marshes. The heights on both sides were crowned by batteries of which the crossing fire enfiladed the passage, and these were strengthened by field-works and redoubts. Here were stationed the mass of the forces of the Duchies and of their artillery. Had the Danes been repulsed in an attack  
10 upon this position, they must have abandoned their offensive attitude and the war would have terminated. On the 24<sup>th</sup> Juli 1850, the Danish army appeared before Idsted, and drove in the outposts. On the 28<sup>th</sup>, at 2 o'clock, they made an attack on every point, sending out detachments right u. left, to attempt the passages beyond the marshes u. beyond the  
15 lake. Repulsed on all points u. at Stolk lost 4 guns u. their best General, Shlepperegell ... at 9 o'clock, after 7 hours also, again brought on the charge and again repulsed, the *troops der Duchies* inferior by 10,000 men u. their sole business was to *defend their strong position*, waren 24 hours unter Waffen gewesen, sustained 1 assault in the night u. 1 in the morning,  
20 exhausted u. disordered. *They were led out into the plain* unter dem Vorwand *to pursue their advantage*. When well advanced, a fresh body of 10,000 Danes falls upon them, drives them back, and enters the entrenchments m. den fugitives. [224] Dieß das work v. *General Willisen*. (No. XII)  
*Willisen*, after losing a strong position by an ambuscade, and sacrific-  
25 ing about 4000 men, he fell on the south, never stopping until he had placed behind him the fortress of Rendsburg. Abandoning the whole of Schleswig, he withdrew behind the Eyder. His army, though defeated, received reinforcements, which raised it far above its complement when it took the field, whilst that of the Danes, which had suffered nearly  
30 as much as its antagonist, received no reinforcement whatever. Here Willisen could ||53| attack them at any point with the whole force, and annihilate them separately; he selects *their 2* exposed positions to the *extreme* right and left; he attacks *at both*, and is repulsed. Thus ends the campaign. (N. XIII.) *Willisen returns home*. [228, 229]  
35 Statt eines armistice bekommen die duchies this time 20,000 Austrians. Austria owes Hungary to the Czar, her occupation will not cease till a diplomatic act, bearing no longer on the disputes of the parties but on the *succession of the Crown*, shall have decided that matter *according to Russia's views*,—to the suppression of all the rights for which the antagonists  
40 have been contending, and withdrawing from the Danish people all faculty of disposing of themselves. ([229,] 213-230)

*Treaty of May 8, 1852.*

Whilst the war continued, not a whisper transpired *respecting the succession* ... to an unexpected question in the H. o. C. Palmerston confusedly replied by admitting that there were communications affecting the succession; but this was all that was extracted ... In the *course of 1851*, the *Protocol of Warsaw, of May 24*, printed in the papers ... dieß Protocol should leave the impression that it was an affair which concerned no foreign power ... it was between Branches of the House of Oldenburg alone ... it specified the renunciations of the persons set aside ... aber dieß statement of the Protocol in reference to the renunciations obtained was not true. Damals *not a letter of renunciation* had been expedited or signed. Sie wurden *erst obtained* 3 on *July 18*, 2 on *August 3*, 1 on *August 16*, 2 on *Sept. 13*. (König v. Denmark versprach in diesem Protocol indemnities to the claimants) ... Russia now reasserts her claims, whilst declaring her intentions of enforcing them, should the present combination come to fail! Am Schluß des Protocolls that "in London the necessary negotiations must take place, to give to this act the character of a European transaction" ... this Warsaw Protocol between Denmark and Russia was but the echo *of one already secretly signed nearly a year before between the 4 Powers at London*, obtained after prolonged u. strenuous struggles. English minister acting m. Russia; Denmark was her mere tool... [232-234] durch die griech. Scheisse. Brunnow wollte abreisen u. dafür—dieß to avert—giebt Palmerston his signature to the London *Protocol of July 4, 1850* ... Lord *Derby's administration* 1852. "the transaction was brought to that point where the Conference had only to append their signatures" ... [235] Artikel der Times vom 11 May (der Vertrag geschlossen am 8 May). [236] Not a line appeared in any other paper. ... [237] Prince *Christian* ... By fixing on him Russia forces 7 renunciations from the Cognates, that of Princess Louisa included, and cuts out the whole of the Agnates, who would come in after her and before her husband as Cognates. She admits him on condition of excluding the Females and the indirect branches of his own line, so that on their failure the whole of the ascending and descending Lines are utterly excluded. ... He has first to renounce all right in his own person; he has secondly to accept the office merely as a delegation from his wife—Princess Louisa brings the inheritance *exclusive* of Holstein. Prince Christian brings the Holstein inheritance ... "The Emperor, says the Danish report, has deigned to transfer the *exercise* of the *rights* which he may have on *Holstein* to the Prince of Glücksburg and his male descendants" ... In all the adjustments care has been taken to ensure the invalidity; Pretenders can be raised up against him on every field and on every principle. ...

*Wegener* (Defence for the full Hereditary Right) sagt: "should Prince Christian and his son die without male successors, who would then inherit?... Denmark would be ||54| disinherited by the abolition of the Lex Regia, Holstein would invite a crowd of Pretenders—Augustenburg, 5 Glücksburg, Russia and Oldenburg Princes" ... [238-240] Holstein nun cannot be got rid of, it is a millstone fastened round Denmark's neck ... All other claims are abolished by treaty, the Holstein claims alone remain ... the Heir to the fraction of Holstein will find himself Heir to the entire Monarchy ... [241] *Wegener*, p. 21 in der angeführten Schrift 10 sagt: "The abrogation of the Succession by Lex Regia makes the House of Gottorp the sole legitimate Pretender to Holstein: the introduction of the Principle of the '*Indivisibility of the Monarchy*' enables the Pretender to extend his claims to the whole of the Danish Kingdom. Could the Great Powers have signed a treaty to change first principles, make the 15 Danish Monarchy a Russian Gottorp secundo-geniture." ... towards the end of 1852 Mr. Wegener's pamphlet circulated in the Copenhagen Diet. ... [242] Supposing Russia to extend her dominion, or her influence, over Denmark, then if the Duchies were separated, the *present Canal of the Eyder* might be enlarged for the *passage of Sea-going* vessels, and not 20 only would the controlling power of the Sound be destroyed, but a *channel opened, saving a circuitous navigation of nearly 400 miles* ... [245] In the negotiations not a word is dropped respecting the grand Duchy of *Oldenburg*, it is ceded to Russia (infolge des treaty v. 1773) absolutely by silence. If so, what claim can she have on Holstein. [247] ... *Coalition* 25 *ministry*, turns not the infamous compact to shreds ... [249] Russia having obtained her enfeoffment of the Sound keeps the attention of Europe fully occupied about the keys of the Church of Jerusalem. (232-255) Never has Denmark been in more absolute dependence upon Russia than at present, and, in such rapid downward progress from the 30 summit of imaginary success. (255)

Das *Warsaw protocol of June 2, 1850*. (257)

*Treaty relative to the succession of the Crown of Denmark* (signed London, May 8, 1852, Ratifications exchanged at London June 19, 1852).

*Preamble*. Her Majesty the Queen etc. taking into consideration that 35 the *maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy*, as connected with the general interests of the *balance of power* in Europe, is of high importance to the *preservation of peace*, and that an arrangement by which *the succession to the whole of the dominions now united* under the sceptre of His Majesty the king of Denmark, should devolve upon the 40 *male line, to the exclusion of females*, would be the best *means of securing the integrity* of that Monarchy, have resolved, at the *invitation* of His



Danish Majesty, (das Warsawer Protocoll angeblich initiirt v. Denmark, um europäische Sanktion in London zu erhalten, obgleich ein Jahr vorher in London ohne Denmark abgemacht) to *conclude a Treaty*, in order to *give to the arrangements relating to such an order of succession*, an additional pledge of stability by an *act of European acknowledgment*: 5

*Article I.* After having taken into serious consideration the interests of His Monarchy, H. M. the King of Denmark with the assent of H. R. Highness the *Hereditary Prince*, and of his *nearest cognates*, entitled to the succession by the Royal Law of Denmark, as well as in concert with H. M. the Emperor of all the Russias, *Head of the elder branch of the House of Holstein-Gottorp*, having declared his wish to regulate the order of succession in his dominions, in such manner that, in default of issue male in a direct line from King Frederick III of Denmark, his Crown should devolve upon his H. the Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and upon the issue of the marriage of that 10 Prince with her H. the Princess Louisa of S.-H.-S.-G., born a Princess of Hesse, by order of Primogeniture, from *male to male*; the High Contracting parties, appreciating the *wisdom of the views* (!) which have determined the eventual adoption of that arrangement, engaged by common consent, in case the contemplated contingency should be realised, to ac- 20 knowledge in H. H. the Prince Christian of S.-H.-S.-G. and his issue male in the direct line by his marriage with the said Princess, the *right of succeeding to the whole* of the dominions now united under the sceptre of H. M. the King of Denmark. |

1551 *Art. II.* The High Contracting Parties, acknowledging as *permanent* 25 *the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy*, engage to take into consideration the further propositions which H. M. the King of Denmark may deem it expedient to address to them, in case (which God forbid) the *extinction of the issue male*, in the *direct line*, of H. H. the Prince Christian of S.-H.-S.-G. *by his marriage* with H. H. the Princess 30 Louisa of S.-H.-S.-G., born a Princess of Hesse, should become imminent.

*Art. III.* It is expressly understood that the reciprocal rights and obligations of H. M. the King of Denmark, and of the *Germanic Confederation*, concerning the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, rights and obli- 35 gations established by the Federal Act of 1815, and by the existing Federal right, shall not be affected by the present Treaty. [258-260]

*Malmesbury, Kubeck, A. Walewski, Bunsen, Brunnow, Rehausen.* (May 8, 1852.)

1) The *Protocol of June 2, 1850*, in its first article, merely conveys the 40 *unanimous desire* of the powers, which the present status gave of the

possessors of the Danish Crown *may be maintained in its integrity*, whereas by article 2 of the treaty of May 8, 1852, the *principle* of the "integrity of the Danish Monarchy" is laid down and recognised as a permanent one.

5 2) the Protocol of June 2, 1850, in its 2<sup>d</sup> article, does *not actually* [alter] the right of succession in Denmark and in Schleswig-Holstein, as it is announced to have been altered by art. 1 of the treaty of May 8, 1852; but it is only declared to be a very wise view of the King of Denmark to *intend to alter the succession* in the Royal Dynasty, in order to facilitate  
10 those measures, by means of which the Danish Monarchy may eventually be kept *together*. (257, 8)

*Separate Peace of Prussen, 2 Juillet 1850 m. Denmark* in which nothing was stipulated in reference to the causes of the war. "*Paix pure et simple*", a peace with a *secret article*: "*Article secret: 2 Juillet, 1850. S. M. le Roi de Prusse s'engage à prendre part aux negotiations dont S. M. le Roi de Danemarck prendra l'initiative à l'effet de régler l'ordre de succession dans les états réunis sous le sceptre de S. M. Danoise.*" (209) Why was this article secret? Having thus tied up her hands, she ostensibly figured in the conferences as a *récusant*. She refused to sign, with Eng-  
20 land, Denmark, and Russia, the Protocol originally proposed, and while she thus held out to the Duchies the semblance of protecting their interests, she made her adhesion to the Protocol contingent on the modifying of one of the original phrases in such a manner as to exclude the very mention of their existence, and the substitution of another which implied  
25 that "*Integrity of Monarchy*" which has been construed to signify the extinction of the Duchies. (209, 10)

In the treaty of May, the Agnatic succession is passed over without mention, whether as to claims upon the Duchies, or as to Cognatic claims upon Denmark. (264)

30 In 1232 the *Duchy of Schleswig* appears as a Hereditary Male Fief of the Crown of Denmark. In 1459, the Duchy reverted to the Crown as an Escheat on failure of right heirs of Duke Athol. In 1460, the right of electing a Duke and Count from amongst the heirs of Christian I was established. In 1570 u. 1642, Imperial diplomas for the counties of Olden-  
35 burg and Delmenhorst to the Danish Kings and the Dukes of Holstein, with reversion to their agnates. In 1580, the division took place into Royal and Ducal, or Gottorp portions. In 1608, Duke John Gottorp, with the sanction of Christian IV, as Suzerain of Schleswig, entailed the succession in the Gottorp portion upon his eldest male heir in right of  
40 primogeniture. In 1610 *Frederick III* established an analogous family statute for the Royal portion. In 1721, the reunion of the Gottorp Duchy with the royal Duchy of Schleswig took place.

Catherine of Russia, in the provisional treaty of 1767, undertook that all the surviving princes of the House of Holstein-Gottorp should renounce, and by the treaty of 1773 the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst were ceded by the King of Denmark in exchange, as an endowment for the younger branches. (264-6) 5

3 *dissolutions* of the Danish diet... the Duchies were not represented ... on Januar 28, 1852 a Royal Proclamation had promised the institution of a General Diet... Here was an opportunity of crushing the constitution by the weight of Europe ... the new Diet was elected with a view of the message, and the Government was favoured in an extra- 10 ordinary manner by an internal schism. Bauernfreunde. The popular party had the command of the lower House, and having been the most violent in the war, it was now most zealous for the Royal message. Met in March 1853. Surrender imperiously ||56| required by the Gov. in the name of an "*European necessity*", menaced in case of contumacy with a 15 withdrawal of the Constitution. [268-270] Opposition took their chief stand upon the *Lex Regia* abolished by the message ... 45 gegen 97 votes, der Gov. opposed, which, as 'i' was required, was its rejection. On this the Diet was again dissolved ... The prevailing sense bei der neuen Wahl that of fatigue, the intimate conviction that of helplessness ... Not a 20 single landed Proprietor was returned for the Lower House. The rancour of the Tenant-Right question excluded the distinguished men who had figured in the former Diets, and not one of the liberal members who had voted against the government was re-elected, the forms of a constitutional assent obtained to a measure extorted by violence. (271, 2) 25

Germany may look forward to see Russia a member of the German Confederation in respect to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg. (273) (*Aachner Zeitung*, June 24). "No man shut his eyes to the tendency of the reigning House of Russia to introduce itself into the Germanic Confederation in its quality of Sovereign of the Duchies of Holstein and 30 Lauenburg, over which it pretends that it will have to exercise power after the death of Prince Christian of Glücksburg." (*Wanderer*, 24 Juni) The late prime minister (A. W. Moltke), all but in plain words, proclaimed his dependence upon Russia, in his place in the Diet. ([273,] 274)

The Duchies, not Denmark, give Russia the Eyder, the mouth of the 35 Elbe, and the position of Rendsburg; in a word, the hold over the commerce of Germany by its main river arteries, and over the will of Germany by access to the railways, for the transfer of her troops. (277)

"A Strait which brings the power of the land to control the navigation of the seas." (280) Some 20,000 vessels passiren ihn, that traffic consists of 40 grain, timber, spars, hemp and iron. (l. c.) In der türkischen u. dänischen

Aus David Urquhart: Progress of Russia in the West, North, and South

Nation political vitality is concentrated in the capital; the *maritime power of both has been destroyed* by England, and Russia has constructed a powerful arsenal and fortress, which from an equal distance permanently menaces both—Cronstadt for Copenhagen, Sevastopol for Constanti-  
5 nople. (281) the Dardanelles lie between turkish territory on both sides; the Sund between those of Denmark and Sweden. (282) Russia forced upon the Dardanelles; she maintains the toll of the Sound. The time was when she loudly demanded the freedom of the Baltic. (283) the Kings of Denmark originally enacted these tolls when they ruled the 3 Scandina-  
10 vian kingdoms. (I.e.) When in March 1848 the Prussian troops were about to invade the Duchies, one of the incentives administered to the popular enthusiasm, was the shame of submission to the Sound Dues. (285) Der erweiterte Canal durch die Eyder würde shorten the distance to the coasts of Prussia u. dem Bothnian Gulf by nearly 400 miles, u. der  
15 through Sweden, die distance to the North and the Gulf of Finland by about 300. (I.e.) Gotha Canal u. Eyder Canal not large enough for sea-going vessels. (286) |

|28| Urquhart, Progress etc.

[Fortsetzung]

*Donau u. Circassia u. Commercial treaty.*

In 1831 Russia established a nominal quarantine on the Caucasian coast  
*not in her possession ...In 1836, she established a quarantine to intercept* 5  
vessels entering the Danube, and arrogated the right of sending them to  
Odessa to perform quarantine. (294) the robbery from Europe of its  
principal river by care for its health. (300) *the marshy islands forming the*  
*Delta of the Danube* are uninhabited and utterly valueless, except as a  
station commanding the river in war, and for that purpose only in so far 10  
as they are fortified. They were ceded to Russia at the treaty of Adria-  
nople, by *which any fortification on them was prohibited*. The plague,  
however, is in those countries the fierce enemy of mankind ... *quaran-*  
*tines* were therefore excepted from these sweeping restrictions against all  
constructions whatever within 6 miles of the river, and so on the un- 15  
inhabited and useless islands a lazaretto was built. But if sanitary regu-  
lations are established, they must be enforced; and the method of enforc-  
ing them is by guns. These were, therefore, placed in such a manner as to  
command the vessels passing up the river. (304)

(Protocol (Cannings durch Wellington in Petersburg gemacht, wegen 20  
der Greek Insurrektion of April 4, 1826) [305] (Verwandelt in treaty  
July 6, 1827) that treaty did bind each of the allies not to acquire terri-  
tory, nor to suffer it to be acquired.) [306] (Russian declaration of war  
d.d. April 26, 1828. Manifesto at its close d.d. October 1, 1829. On  
*Sept. 9 1829*, before the signature of the Treaty of Adrianople, the Porte 25  
gave her formal adhesion to all the decisions of the London conference,  
nachher zu dem treaty of July 6, 1827. [309] Lord Aberdeen, at the con-  
clusion of the war, ventured to pen a despatch to St. Petersburg, reserv-

ing to the King the right "of judging of the sacrifices which Turkey would be called upon to make")

In Bezug auf die Donau folgender Artikel im treaty of Adrianople:

"the frontier line will follow the course of the Danube to the mouth of  
5 St. George, leaving all the islands formed by the different branches in the  
possession of Russia. The right bank will remain as formerly, in the  
possession of the Ottoman Porte. It is, however, agreed, that that right  
bank, from the point where the arm of St. George departs from that of  
Soulina, *shall remain uninhabited* to a distance of 2 hours (6 miles) from  
10 the river, and that no kind of structure shall be raised there; and in *like  
manner*, on the islands, which will remain in the possession of the court  
of Russia. With the *exception of quarantines which will be there estab-  
lished*, it will not be permitted to make any *other* establishment or for-  
tification." (311)

15 Rußland errichtet 2 J. später Quarantine, zunächst nicht on the Da-  
nube, sondern auf der andern Seite des Euxine. On August 8, 1831, the  
Russian cabinet addressed a despatch to its representative at Constanti-  
nople informing him of the "constant care devoted by our government in  
order to preserve the *neighbouring foreign countries* from the contagious  
20 disease arising from Turkey", and of its intention to subject to sanitary  
regulations "the communications which freely exist between the inhabit-  
ants of the *Caucasus and the neighbouring Turkish provinces*". "It becomes  
indispensable that you should communicate the *above mentioned regula-  
tions* to the foreign missions at Constantinople, as well as to the Ottoman  
25 Gov. itself." "The English gov. could not escape from a decision; there  
was no alternative between protesting and publishing the notification in  
the '*Gazette*', all such notifications being published in the '*Gazette*';  
indeed the Minister is personally liable in the courts of ||29| law for  
damage accruing from such suppression. But mere silence sufficed so far  
30 as Russia was concerned, for thereafter no step could be taken against  
the Treaty, and, therefore, while the Protest was not made, neither was  
*the Notification* published. To avoid this last difficulty, the communica-  
tion was *not made direct*, but through the minister at Constantinople;  
while suppressed in England, it was exhibited by the Consul at Constan-  
35 tinople and so all vessels were warned off the coast." (312) the curious  
part is that these *regulations* had no existence ... The Quarantine in itself  
had no existence ... Russia's doctrines on contagion ... framed exclusive-  
ly for the good of "Foreign Countries". It has been argued *for* Russia,  
that the regulations existed for Anapa and Redout Kale where there were  
40 quarantines, and that as to the rests of the coasts the prohibition to  
approach was a Regulation. Then why *does she* approach? (313)

sudden development of the trade of the Principalities commenced in 1834 ... on *February 7, 1836* appeared the Ukase to *intercept vessels "proceeding on their voyage up the Danube"* and send them to Odessa. ... When surrendered by Turkey the channel averaged a depth of 12 feet, in the beginning of 1836 it had been reduced to 8 ... "Thus", sagt die *Times* 5 (March 2, 1836) "Russia to her other important possessions will add that of an iron gate between the Danube and the Euxine." (314)

It mattered not whether the vessel came from Liverpool or Trebizond, or was destined for Turkish or Russian ports, and as in the "Regulation" for Circassia, Customhouse and Quarantine are jumbled together, so 10 here. "This quarantine, *in so far as regards the Customs*, is to be regulated by the same laws as the present Quarantine of Bazertcheck." Before adventuring on the ukase of the 7<sup>th</sup> February she had felt her way by the forced visit of vessels, the inspection of their papers, the exaction of fees, facts brought to the knowledge of the Brit. Foreign Office 2 months 15 before that ukase. The chief partner of the principal English House at Bucharest writes on the 7<sup>th</sup> December 1835: "I saw Mr. Strangways to-day, and told him that I had information to-day from 2 captains of vessels I have had arrived from the Danube, that they were both required to show their papers to the Russian commandant at the mouth of that river, 20 settled with about 100 troops *on the Turkish side*, and they were told that there were 3 and 4 dollars to be paid when their papers were returned to them *signed*... M. Strangways desired me to furnish the details for Lord Palmerston." ... The treaty of Vienna (*art. 109*) declares that the "Navigation of Rivers along their whole course, from the *point where each of* 25 *them become navigable to its mouth, shall be entirely free.*" *Art 111* "the amount of the duties shall, in no case, exceed those now (1815) paid", and "«o *increase shall take place except with the common consent of the States bordering on the river.*" *By art. 113*, "each State shall be at the expense of keeping in good repair the Towing Paths", and "shall main- 30 tain the necessary works in order that no obstruction shall be experienced by the navigation". ... Excitement der British nation u. von all Europe, papers unanimous in their denunciations; the leading commercial cities sent up petitions to Parliament, praying for "protection" and resistance to "the encroachments of Russia". Address to the King ... a Majority of 35 the H. o. C. ready to vote an Address, embodying the appeal of the merchants, and further praying for the adoption of measures for the entrance of a British squadron into the Black Sea. ([314,] 315) [

j301 Patrick Stewart's motion. *20 April 1836*) The Minister concurred to the statement and *resisted the Address*. [316] ... it entered into no 40 man's mind to doubt that the quarantine and tolls on the Danube would

be removed. In Parliament the matter was never revived: there is no trace of communication with the Russian cabinet on the subject: but the quarantine still stands on the Islands of Leti. (316, 17)

27<sup>th</sup> April 1836 schreibt Mr. Bell an Palmerston. Antwort v. dem Foreign Office d. d. May 5, 1836, signed J. Backhouse: "I am directed by Viscount Palmerston, to acquaint you that his Lordship *has called upon the law adviser for the Crown for his opinion as to the regulations promulgated by the Russian ukase of February 7, 1836;* but in the meantime, Lord Palmerston directs me to acquaint you with respect to the latter part of your letter, that it is the opinion of H. M.'s gov., that no toll is justly demanded by the Russian authorities at the mouth of the Danube, and that you have acted properly *in directing your agents to refuse to pay it.*" (317) the bold letter of the minister puts an end to all resistance, no opinion of the law officers ever appears; and now a Russian toll is exacted in *London and Liverpool* on every English vessel sailing for the *Turkish* ports of the Danube. (318)

Whilst the impression prevailed that vigorous measures were to be taken, the idea arose of sending *a trading vessel direct to Circassia.* This matter was being discussed by the chief authorities, the king so warmly entered into it, *that a letter was written by his private secretary, stating the great service to his country which any merchant might so render.* This letter was shown to Mr. Bell, and was the origin of the voyage of the *Vixen.* [318,319]

Up to this time a Blockade had alone been heard of. The Russian cruisers had frequently detained and warned off neutral vessels ... If there was *blockade* there was *war*, and there could be neither quarantine nor custom-house regulations ... Bell schreibt an Palmerston, if "there were *any restrictions* on trade recognised by H. M.'s government", as if not, he intended to send thither a vessel with a cargo of salt. Lord Palmerston answers "You ask me whether it would be *for your advantage* to engage, in a speculation in salt in the province of Wallachia", and tells him that it is for commercial firms to judge for themselves in determining "whether they shall enter into or decline commercial speculations". Bell asks wieder "whether or not H. M.'s government recognise *The Russian Blockade* on the Black Sea to the South of the river Kouban?" Now he is referred to the "*Gazette*, in which all the Notifications, *such as those alluded to by you*, are made". There having appeared in the *Gazette* neither Notification of "*Blockade*" nor of "*Restrictions*", Bell is satisfied and the *Vixen* sails. Sein "brother is to go as supercargo, and he is sent to *Constantinople* with *despatches from the Foreign Office.* There he is informed by the Ambassador (Ponsonby) of the '*Restrictions*', but is



told, that Russia *has no right whatever to prescribe regulations for that trade.*" The vessel sailed, and was seized for breaking the *Blockade* (such documents as will prove that the schooner *Vixen* was employed on a *blockaded coast!* *Admiral Lazareff to Mr. Childs*, Dec. 24, 1836.), and confiscated on Nov. 25, 1836. On April 19, 1837 (5 Monate später) the 5 Russian gov. is "requested to state the reasons on account ||311 of which it has thought itself warranted to seize and confiscate in *time of peace*, a merchant-vessel belonging to British subjects." All specification of the *place* where the seizure took place is avoided; it is on the Black sea. The justificatory reasons, according to Lord Palmerston, are: 1) the receiving 10 on board a cargo not allowed to be imported at all; second, an attempt to trade *at a Russian port* where there is no custom-house ... *Despatch of May 23, 1837*, which closes the affair: "H. M's Gov., considering, in the first place, that *Soujouk Kale*, which was *acknowledged by Russia*, in the Treaty of 1783 as a Turkish possession, now belongs to Russia, *as stated* 15 *by Count Nesselrode*, by virtue of the treaty of Adrianople ... *see no sufficient reason to question* the right of Russia to seize and confiscate the *Vixen.*" The then Brit. Ambassador denied the Power of Turkey to dispose of *Soujouk Kale* to Russia from "the absence of any legitimate subjection to the Sultan". Besides, there was no *de facto* possession, no 20 less than 36 Brit. subjects having offered testimony or made affidavit to the contrary. (319-21)

On March 17, 1837, Lord Palmerston declared that Russia's acquisitions on the Danube and in Circassia were violations of her pledges, (p. 321) 25

On July 6, 1840, Lord Palmerston declared that the Treaty of Vienna, did apply to the navigation of the Danube ... this debate arose out of an attempt to give effect to a tripartite treaty proposed by Austria, between herself, England, and Turkey, with a view of overbearing the interference of Russia in the Danube,... It is to meet this attempt that the minister 30 brings in the Treaty of Vienna ... (322) |

|57| Martens (Georg Friedrich von)  
Grundriß einer diplomatischen Geschichte  
der europäischen Staatshandel  
u. Friedensschlüsse seit dem Ende  
des 15. Jhh. bis zum Frieden  
von Amiens.

Berlin. 1807.

*Sammlungen v. Staatsverträgen u. andern Urkunden:*

*J. Du Mont:* corps universel et diplomatique du droit des gens, à Amsterdam et à la Haye 1726-31, T. I-VIII (folio). Dazu *Rousset* suppléments au corps universel etc 1739. (t. I-V od. t. IX-XIII fol.); wovon T. I (IX) das recueil des anciens traités v. *Barbeyrac* (1495 J. vor bis 800 n. Ch. Geburt) etc Als Handsammlung: *J. J. Schmauß corpus j. g. academicum Leipzig*. 1730. 1731. 1.1, II. 8. (1096-1731) *Chr. Koch* table des traités entre la France et les puissances étrangères etc Bale. 1802. 1.1, II. 8. (1618-1787). *Martens:* Précis du droit des gens. v. *Ompteda* Litteratur d. Völkerrechts. *Bolingbroke* letters on the study of history. *De Mably.* le droit public de l'Europe etc Paris 1747.

*Europa Ende des 15' Jhh.*

*Frankreich:* Réunion aller Pairies Jaiques vollendet. Geistlichkeit u. Adel geschwächt durch Louis XI. Kann sich m. Nachdruck in fremde Händel mischen, u. Vergröbrungspläne verfolgen. *England:* Mit Heinrich VII (1485) Ende des Streits zwischen rother u. weisser Rose. Geschwächt. 5 Weder Macht, noch Intresse sich in die Continentalhändel zu mischen. Seemacht schwach. Der Handel größtentheils passiv. *Spanien u. Portugal:* durch Vermählung v. Ferdinand (v. Arragonien) m. Isabella (v. Castilien) Grund zur Vereinigung beider Königreiche. Begriff seit Granada 1492 den Mauren entrissen, die ganze pyrenäische Halbinsel m. Aus- 10 nähme v. Portugal. Blühh v. Handel u. Schifffahrt in Arragonien u. Portugal. *Deutschland:* Reichsvasallen mächtiger, Kaiser schwächer geworden. 1495 Landfrieden u. Cammergericht. Haus Oestreich, auf das s. 1440 3 Sécula hindurch die Kaiserwahlen geleitet, Ende des 15'Jhh., theils durch Reunionen theils durch Maximilians Heirath m. Maria, 15 Erbin der Burgundischen Staaten, Machtzuwachs, bald noch durch Böhmen u. Ungarn verstärkt. *Schweitz:* Ihre Unabhängigkeit v. deutschen Reich noch nicht anerkannt. Doch der 1315 errichtete Schweitzerbund Ende des 15'Jhh. als Alliirter v. entscheidender Rolle in den Kriegen seiner Nachbarn. *Italien:* In Oberitalien Menge Freistaaten. Mayland seit 20 1395 Herzog, Savoyen seit 1416; Venedig. Genua. Im mittlem Italien Florenz u. der Pabst mächtig geworden. Im untern Italien hatte Alfons v. Arragonien sich 1435 Siciliens, später auch Neapels bemächtigt. *Im Osten:* 1453 die Türken den griechischen Kaiserthron erkämpft, Servien, Bosnien, die Krimm erobert u. drohten v. Stambul aus m. noch weitem 25 Erobrungen. *Im Norden:* Die zu schwache Calmarische Union ihrer Auflösung nah. In Rußland Iwan Wasilewitz sich befreit v. den Tartaren, die russ. Fürsten unterjocht, 1478 Novgorod bezwungen, u. strebte schon nach Liefland, wie sein Nachfolger nach Polen. *Polen* im 15 Jh. *Westpreussen* (1466) erworben, Ostpreussen zu Lehn aufgenommen, u. incor- 30 porirte Lithauen 1501. Feudalanarchie. *Aufklärung:* seit dem 12'Jhh. bis zum 15' Jhh. Blühh v. Kunst u. Wissenschaft in Italy. *Handel und Gewerb:* bes. Italien, bes. durch die Lombarden auf Frankreich, Arragonien u. die Niederlande übergegangen: Brabant u. Flandern enthielten die Stapelplätze, wohin die Waaren aus dem Süden u. Osten geschifft 35 u. v. wo sie durch die Hanse im Norden u. Westen verbreitet. Änderung der Dinge bereitet durch die Erobrung v. Constantinopel 1453; Entdeckung der neuen Welt 1492 u. Seeweg nach Ostindien 1498. *Völkerrecht:*

Noch in einigen Ländern der Handel dem Ausländer nur durch Privilegia od. seltne Verträge frei u. nur durch diese Strandrecht u. Fremdlingsrecht beschränkt. Dem Mißbrauch der Repressalien nur selten durch Gesetze begegnet. Im Seekrieg am allgemeinsten gefolgt dem *Consolato del mare*.  
5 Änderung im Landkrieg durch Pulver, Verwandlung v. Lehndienst in Geld - Condottieri stattdessen od. eigens geworbene gar zum Theil schon stehende Truppen, Subsidienvölker. Nun sollten auch nicht mehr eigne Vasallen, sondern fremde Mächte j|58| die Garantie der Friedensschlüsse übernehmen. Italien. Politik bemächtigte sich zunächst der westlichen u.  
10 südlichen Höfe, vermehrt die Zahl der Bündnisse, erzeugte stehende Gesandtschaften. (1-12)

### / Abschnitt. Von 1477-1598

In Frankreich herrschten: *Louis XI* -1483. *Carl VIII* -1498. *Ludwig XII* -1515. *Franzi* -1547. *Deutschland* *Friedrich III* -1493. *Maximilian I.*  
15 -1519. In England. *Heinrich VII* 1485-1509. *Heinrich VIII* (1509-47) *Spanien* in *Arragonien* *Ferdinand* 1479-1516, *Castilien* *Isabella* 1474—1504, *Philipp I* u. *Johanna* -1516. *Carl I* seit 1516 in beiden. *Päbste*: *Alexander VI* 1492-1503. *Pius III.* 1503. *Julius II.* 1503-12. *Leo X* 1512-1521.

#### 1.) Händel der südlichen u. westlichen Mächte.

20 a.) Von 1477-1515.

*Niederlande u. Italien* Zankapfel zwischen Frankreich, Oestreich u. *Spanien*, α) *Burgundische Erbschaft*. 1477 (nach dem Tod v. *Carl d. Kühnen* Herzog v. *Burgund* u. Beherrscher der *Niederlande*) besezt Frankreich einen Theil seiner Staaten, Krieg drüber m. Oestreich, da *Maximilian*  
25 vermählt m. *Maria*, *Carls* Tochter u. Erbin. Sie | 1482, nun Friede zu *Arras*. Ueber die Vermählung *Carl's VIII* m. *Anna* v. *Bretagne* 2' Krieg, beendigt durch den *Frieden* v. *Senlis* 1493 so daß *Maximilian* auf *Bretagne* Verzicht leistet, wogegen die *Grafschaft Burgund* u. *Noyers* ihm u. seinem Sohn zurückgegeben, der *Flandern*, *Artois* u. *Charelois* v. *Frank-*  
30 reich zu Lehn nehmen muß. (*Mémoir. de Comines.*) β) *Ansprüche Frankreichs auf Neapel u. Mailand.* (*Guicciardini. Istoria d'Italia.*) (1494-1532) Nach Vermählung *Philipp's*, Sohns *Maximilian's*, m. *Johanna*, Erbin der span. Monarchie, das Haus Oestreich auch in die span. Händel wider Frankreich verflochten. Schon 1494 führt *Charles VIII* seinen Anspruch  
35 auf Italien aus, durch den 1495 zwischen Pabst, röm. König, Spanien u.

dem Herzog v. Mailand geschloßen ersten grossen Bund, *Ligue du bien public*, schnell genöthigt Neapel u. Italy zu räumen. *Louis XII* verfolgt 1498 diesen Anspruch in geheimer Verbindung m. Ferdinand Catholicus, m. dem er nach Erobrung Neapels 1500 einen Theilungstraktat schloß, aber 1506 ihm seine Rechte abtrat, als seinen Anspruch auf Mayland 5 wider Ludovicus morus, den er gefangen nach Frankreich führte, u. die Belehnung vom Kaiser suchte, die ihm ertheilt 1505 nach den zu Blois 1501 u. 1504 unter engl. Garantie geschloßen Friedensverträgen gegen die darin verabredete Doppelheirath, γ) *Ligue mit u. wider Venedig*. Isabella v. Castilien 1 1504. *Louis XII.* widerruft die wegen Vermählung 10 ihres Enkels Carl an Claudia mit Max geschloßen Verträge u. bewirkt gegen Max 1506 Ligue m. Pabst, andern italien. Staaten u. bes. Venedig, die Maxens Plane zurückhält, der sich an Venedig rächt durch die 1508 zu Cambray bewirkte Ligue, δ) *Heilige Ligue; Friede zu Blois 1513*. Nach dem fzs. Sieg v. *Gierra d'Adda* 1509 fiel der Pabst v. der Liga ab, verband 15 sich m. Ferdinand Catholicus u. Henry VII (f 1509) u. auch der Kaiser trat dieser Liga santa wider Frankreich bei. 1509 f Henry VII, u. *Henri VIII* geht v. dieser Ligue ab. *Louis XII.*, in seinen eignen Staaten selbst durch die Schweitzer bedroht, schließt 1513 m. Ferdinand Catholicus *Frieden zu Blois*, nach welchem Carl v. Castilien Renata v. Frankreich 20 heirathen u. Genua zum Heirathsgut haben sollte. Kraft seines Friedens m. England heirathet *Louis* die Schwester v. *Henri VIII.* Mit den übrigen Allirten Waffenstillstand.

b.) Von 1515-1559.

(Frankreich: Franzi (1515-1547) Henry II -1559.) Spanien Carli 25 (1516-1556.) In Deutschland Carl I (V) 1519-1558. England: Heinrich VIII 1509-1547. Eduard VI -1553. Maria. -1558. Päbste: Leo[X] 1512-21. Hadrian VI-1523. Clemens VII. 1525-1534. Paul III. -1550. Julius III. Marcellus II. -1555. Paul IV. -1559.

*Franz I in Frankreich, Carl I in Spanien.* Franz I erobert, trotz der 30 Ligue des Pabst u. der Schweitzer, nach ||59| dem Treffen v. Marignano (1515) Mayland, zwang den Pabst zum Vertrag v. Viterbo (1515) der ihm Mailand u. Parma garantirte u. Neapel hoffen ließ u. schloß seinen ewigen Frieden m. den Schweizern 1516. Nach dem Tod Ferdinandi Catholici 1516 unter englischer Vermittlung Bund v. Pabst, Kaiser, Spanien 35 gegen Frankreich u. trotz der Verträge v. Noyons u. Cambray (1516) neues Material des Zwists zwischen Franz u. Carl, seit Carl 1519 Kaiserkrone, Franz in Spanien die Rebellion unterstützte u. Carl ihn aus Italien zu verdrängen suchte, worüber

α) *Italienische Kriege: V<sup>r</sup> (1521-26)*: Nach der Schlacht bei Bicocco (22 April 1522) Mailand v. Karl erobert, Franz Sforza zum Herzog erhoben, neue Ligue m. Henri VIII u. mehren ital. Staaten, *Franz I* bei Pavia gefangen (1525), unterzeichnet zu Madrid gefangen Frieden 5 (14 Jan. 1526), worin als Lösegeld Burgund abgetreten, Ansprüchen auf Italien entsagt, 2 Mill. Th. zu zahlen versprochen, 2 seiner Prinzen als Geissein.

2<sup>r</sup>: 1526-29. Franz 22 Mai (1526) in 2<sup>r</sup> heilige Ligue m. Pabst, Venedig, Genua, Florenz, Mailand, England gen Carl. 5 August. (1529) Frieden v. Cambray (paix des dames), *Franz* behält Burgund, entsagt der Lehnherrlichkeit auf Flandern u. Artois, zahlt 2 Mill. Th. Lösegeld f. seine Söhne, läßt Mayland dem Herzog Franz II u. erkennt Genuas Freiheit an.

3<sup>r</sup>: 1536-38. Herzog Franz II | unbeerbt. Franz verlangt Mailand-15 belehnung f. seinen 2<sup>l</sup> Sohn Heinrich, Carl verweigert. Franz fängt 1536 Krieg an, m. Türken verbunden, der 1538 unterbrochen unter päbstlicher Vermittlung durch 10jährigen Waffenstillstand, während dessen Frankreich Meister v. Savoyen blieb u. Genf sich in Freiheit setzte.

4<sup>r</sup> *Krieg: 1541-1546*. Franz I Gesandte heimlich ermordet, zu Pavia, 20 erneuert dieser (1541) den Krieg, verbündet m. Türken, Dänemark u. Schweden. Sieg des Comte d'Enghuin bei *Cerisolles* 14 April 1544. Diversion durch Henri VIII u. Verrätherei der d'Etampes. Carl schließt Mai 1544 Frieden m. Dänemark, *dann m. Frankreich zu Cr espy*, 18 Sept. 1544 auf den Fuß des Friedens zu Cambray, so daß der 2<sup>l</sup> Sohn 25 v. Franz, Carl, m. Mayland belehnt werden u. eine östreichische Prinzessin heirathen sollte. Doch er | 1545, wahrscheinlich durch Gift u. Karl belehnte nun seinen eignen Sohn Philipp m. Mailand. Frankreich blieb v. Italien ausgeschlossen, das span.-östr. Haus behielt die Oberhand: der Krieg wider England endigt m. dem Verlust v. Boulogne. Mit den Türken 30 schließt Karl (1546) einen Waffenstillstand auf 5 Jahre.

β) *Religionshändel in Deutschland*. Durch den Frieden zu Crespy Karl freiré Hand in Deutschland.

*pens fracchi* „\, ;542: Luther trotz Wormser Edict v. 1521, bes. in Sachsen, Hessen, Brandenburg, Dänemark, Schweden, die wider den Reichsschluß zu Speyer 1529 protestirenden Stände 1530 zu *Schmalkalden* verbündet, m. Frankreich, England, Dänemark unterhandelt. 1532 Religionsvergleich zu Nürnberg u. 1534 Friede zu Caden. Neuer größrer Defensivbund der Protestanten zu Schmalkalden 1536. 1538 Heilige (kath.) Bund zu Nürnberg. 1542 bricht der Religionskrieg förmlich aus 40 m. Erobrung v. Wolfenbüttel, Kaiser nimmt erst 1544 thätigen Antheil.

2<sup>m</sup> *Religionskrieg bis 1552.* Karl, in geh. Verbindung m. Moritz v. Sachsen, zerstreut nach der Schlacht bei *Mühlberg* (24 April 1547) den ganzen Bund, macht dessen Häupter, Johann Friedrich, Churfürst v. Sachsen u. Landgraf Philipp v. Hessen, jenen bei Mühlberg, diesen bei Hall zu Gefangnen, beraubt 1547 Johann Friedrich der Churwürde u. 5 überträgt sie eigenmächtig auf Moritz u. dessen Nachkommen. Das auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg 1548 publicirte Interim mißfiel beiden Religionstheilen. Moritz v. Sachsen u. andre protestantische Stände verbünden sich 1551 m. Heinrich II v. Frankreich wider Karl. Jene fielen in Tyrol, dieser in Lothringen ein, besetzte Metz, Toul u. Verdun 1552, Carl 10 entkömmt aus Inspruck, unterzeichnet m. jenem 1552 vorläufig Vertrag zu Passau u. versprach einen Reichstag, konnte Metz doch nicht befreien.

3<sup>m</sup>. *Religionsfriede zu Augsburg.* Reichstag zu Augsburg 3 J. nachher. 25 Sept. 1555 v. Kaiser u. Reich der Religionsfriede dahin geschlossen, daß 1) kein Stand eine der beiden Religionen der Religion wegen be- 15 unruhigt; 2) die eingezogenen mittelbaren geistlichen Güter eingezogen bleiben; 3) die geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit über die A. C. V. suspendirt; 4) die Emigration der Religion halber frei. Auch das reservatum | [60] ecclesiasticum eingerückt. Pabst protestirt gegen den Frieden. Streitigkeiten über mehre berührte u. ungerührt gebliebne Punkte. Mit 20 Frankreich schließt Carl 1556 einen 5jährigen Waffenstillstand, während dessen es im Besitz der 3 Bisthümer.

γ.) *Resignation Carls.* 1556: seine niederländischen, span., italien. Besitzungen an Philipp II, die Kaiserwürde aber 1558 an seinen schon 1531 zum röm. König erwählten Bruder *Ferdinand*, dem er schon 1522 seine 25 *Ostreich. Staaten* ganz abgetreten hatte. Spaniens u. Frankreichs Absichten auf England scheiterten, als Philipps Frau, *Maria* v. England, 1558 f unbeerbt, u. die Ehe des Sohns v. Heinrich II, Franz, m. Maria v. Schottland kinderlos, da Franz II f 1560.

δ) *Friede zu Cateau en Cambresis.* Erster Krieg v. Philipp II gegen 30 Pabst Paul IV u. dessen Allürten *Henri II.* Paul IV Friede 1558. Frankreich hart zugesezt v. den Niederlanden aus durch Spanien u. dessen Allürte, die Engländer. Schlacht v. St Quentin. *Elisabeth* schließt 12 März 1558 ihren Preliminar- u. 2 April 1559 ihren Definitivfrieden mit Frankreich, u. ließ Calais in seinen Händen. In dem Frieden v. Cateau en 35 Cambresis (3. April 1559) m. Spanien, muß Frankreich, um die eroberten Grenzplätze wieder zu bekommen, 195 Plätze theils an Spanien in den Niederlanden u. Italien, theils an Savoyen zurückgeben. Spanien Gipfel-punkt seiner Macht. (13-23)

c) 1559-1598.

*Frankreich.* Franz II. 1559-1560. Carl IX. -1574. Heinrich III. -1589. *Henri IV* -1610. *Spanien:* *Philipp II* (1556-1598) *Deutschland.* Ferdinand! (1558-1564) Maximilian II (-1576). Rudolf II. (-1612) *England:* *Elisabeth.* (1558-1603.) *Päbste:* *Pius IV* 1559-1566. *Pius V*-1572. Gregorius XIII -1585. Sixtus V -1590. Urban VII. Gregor XIV. Innocenz IX -1591. Clemens VIII 1592-1605.

α.) *Anfang der niederländischen Unruhen.* 1564 Herzog v. Alba. 1572 bricht die Revolution zuerst aus in den nördlichen Provinzen, wo Wilhelm v. Oranien Statthalter v. Holland, Seeland u. Utrecht. *Requesens* Nachfolger v. Alba. Die Gentische Pacification v. 8 Nov. 1576 muß der span. Statthalter, *Jouan de Austria*, durch das edictum perpetuum den 17 Febr. 1577 sanctioniren.

β) *Abfall der Niederländer v. Spanien.* Weder D. Juan hielten Wort, noch seine Nachfolger, duc de Parma. Unter den Provinzen äussert sich immer mehr die Verschiedenheit der Intressen zwischen den nördlichen u. südlichen. 5 der erstren, auf Wilhelms Betrieb, schlossen Particularunion zu Utrecht 1579, der sich in Folge noch 2 Provinzen, auch einige der südlichen Städte anschliessen. Ein Jahr lang zu Köln unter kaiserlicher Vermittlung (1579) gepflognen Unterhandlungen fruchtlos: Prinz Oranien v. Philipp vogelfrei erklärt. 1581 kündigen die Staaten Spanien den Gehorsam auf, worauf der fast 70jährige Freiheitskrieg begann, eh noch Plan, neue Republik zu bilden, entstand,

γ.) *Bildung der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande.* 1584 Wilhelm v. Oranien getödtet. Weder Heinrich III v. Frankreich, noch *Elisabeth* v. England nahmen die angebotne Souverainität an. Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande. Utrechter Union blieb die Hauptgrundlage dafür.

δ) *Spaniens Krieg gegen England.* Philipp's, der 1580 auch Portugal überwältigt, *Armada* (1588) ohne Seeschlacht zerstreut u. fast vernichtet,

ε.) *Spaniens Krieg gegen Frankreich.* Seit 1584 in Verbindung m. der Ligue sucht Philipp *Henri IV* die Erbfolge zu entreissen, dieser überzieht ihn 1595 m. Krieg, endet durch den Frieden zu Vervins, 2 Mai 1598, ungünstig f. Spanien.

ζ.) *Fortgang des Kriegs gegen die Niederländer.* Als Philipp II t 1598, setzen Niederlande u. England Krieg gen Philipp III fort, nun auch sich in fremde Welttheile erstreckend u. immer mehr Handelskrieg. (24-27)



## 2.) Nordische Händel bis 1600.

*Dänemark.* Christian II 1513-23. Friedrich I-1533. Christian III. 1534-1559. Friedrich II. -1588. Christian IV. -1648. *Schweden:* Gustav Wasa. 1524-60. ||61| Erich XIV. -1568. Johann III. -1592. Sigismund. -1600. *Polen:* Sigismund August. 1548-72. Heinrich v. Anjou. 1573-75. 5  
Stephan Batori-1586. Sigismund III. 1587-1632.

*Russland:* Iwan Wasiljewitsch IV. 1533-1584. Feodor I. 1584-1598. *Boris Ghodunow.* 1598-1605. *Preussen:* Albrecht Markgraf v. Brandenburg, seit 1511, Hochmeister seit 1525. Herzog in Preussen -1568. Albrecht Friedrich 1568. j 1618. (Interimregent Markgraf Georg Friedrich 10  
v. Anspach 1577-1603.)

a.) *Der teutsche Orden*, verbunden m. dem Schwerdtträgerorden, im 13<sup>ten</sup> Jhh. in *Preussen, Liefland, Curland u. Semgallen* ausgebreitet. *Walter v. Plettenberg*, Heermeister in Liefland, kauft sich 1513 v. deutschen Orden los, u. erhielt v. Carl V, als *Wahlfürst v. Liefland*, Sitz u. Stimme 15  
auf dem deutschen Reichstag. Er führte nebst dem Erzbischof v. Riga die Reformation ein, als *Albrecht*, Markgraf v. Brandenburg, Hochmeister des teutschen Ordens, m. s. Rittern lutherisch ward u. im Frieden m. Polen v. 9 April 1525 den Theil Preussens, der Ordensland gewesen, als weltliches Erbherzogthum v. Polen zu Lehn nahm, indeß das übrige, seit 20  
1466, Polen unmittelbar unterworfen, m. diesem vereinigt blieb. Der Orden in Deutschland protestirte gegen diesen Vertrag.

Der russische Czar Iwan Wasiljewitsch IV fällt, nach Endigung eines fruchtlosen Kriegs gegen Schweden 1557 in das uneinige Liefland, 1558, macht Erobrungen; Gotthard Kettler findet weder beim Reich noch in 25  
Schweden u. Dänemark Hülfe, zeichnet nebst dem Erzbischof v. Riga 1561 Vertrag zu Wilna m. *Polen u. Litauen*, wodurch er diesem Liefland unterwarf, u. dagegen Curland u. Semgallen v. Polen zu Lehn nahm. Die *Bistümer Oesel u. Reval* hatte Friedrich II v. Dänemark angeblich gekauft u. seinen Bruder Magnus damit belehnt, auch 1560 ihn in deren 30  
Besitz gesetzt. Die Stadt *Reval u. Esthland* unterwarfen sich 1561 an Schweden. So diese Provinzen ein Zankapfel zwischen Rußland, Polen, Dänemark, Schweden.

b.) *Krieg zwischen Dänemark u. Schweden.* Seit 1523 Trennung der Calmarischen Union. Oft Streitigkeiten bes. wegen der 3 Reichskronen, Nor- 35  
wegen, u. der Grenzprovinzen. Streit wegen Reval, wegen Arretirung schwed. Gesandten u. Gewaltthätigkeiten zur See Ausbruch des Kriegs 1563, 7 J. geführt zu See u. Land, 1568 Frieden zu Roschild gezeichnet,

Aus Georg Friedrich von Martens: Grundriß einer diplomatischen Geschichte

kommt erst zu Stand 1570 zu Stettin unter des Kaisers, Frankreichs, Polens u. Sachsens Vermittlung. Hierin: 1) der Streit wegen der 3 Reichskronen an Schiedsrichter verwiesen. 2) Dänemark entsagt seinen Ansprüchen auf Schweden, u. Schweden seinen 1541 vorbehaltenen Rechten auf Norwegen, Schonen, Hailand, Blekingen u. Gothland, gab 3) Jemtland u. Herjedalen gen Rückgabe v. Elfsburg zurück u. versprach 4) Oesel u. Reval durch die Hände kaiserl. Gesandter an Dänemark gen Bezahlung der Erobrungskosten zurückzugeben. Versprechen blieb unerfüllt wie die Bedingung. Die Lübecker in diesen Frieden einbegriffen.

10 c.) *Krieg zwischen Rußland u. Polen.* Schließt 1582 Iwan Wasiljewitsch IV, unter Vermittlung des Nuncius Possewin, m. Polen 10jährigen Frieden, 1591 verlängert, alle seine Besitzungen in Liefland an Polen abgetreten.

d.) *Krieg zwischen Rußland u. Schweden.* Schweden zerfiel m. Polen. 15 Mit ihm schloß aber Rußland 1583 zu Plüsamund einen 1586 auf 4 J. verlängerten Waffenstillstand, nach dessen Ablauf 1590 der Krieg fortging bis unter Sigismund der Friede zu Teussin 1595 ihn so endet, daß Schweden seine Besitzungen in Liefland u. Esthland, bes. Narva, behielt. Rußland also aus Liefland verdrängt, in dessen Besitz Polen u. Schweden 20 blieben.

e.) *Händel zwischen Schweden u. Polen* theils über Liefland u. Esthland, theils über Schweden selbst, als der schwed. Prinz Sigismund, 1587 zum König v. Polen gewählt, 1592 auch den schwedischen Thron bestiegen, 1600 aber des leztern f. verlustig erklärt u. Carl IX an seiner Stelle 25 ernannt. (28-32) [

#### [62] // *Abschnitt. Von 1598-1660.*

Vittorio Siri *Memorie recondite dell'anno 1601-1640.* (t. I-VIII. 4.) Von demselben: *Mercurio overo historia dei correnti tempi.* 1644-1684. (t. I-XV. 4.) (*M. de St Prez od. Prest des Yves*): *Histoire des traités de* 30 *paix et autres negotiations du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle depuis la paix de Vervins. (jusqu'à la paix de Nimegue. à Amsterdam et la Haye. fol. T. I, II) Maubert* *histoire polit, du siècle.* London. 1757. 4°.

a.) Zustand Europa's um das Jahr 1600.

1) *Spanien*. Seit 1580 auch Beherrscher v. Portugal, die gefürchtetste europ. Macht, in u. ausser Europa. Auch in Italien seit Karl V das Uebergewicht. Hielt die größten Staaten - Pabst, Venedig, Florenz, - in Furcht; die kleinren - Savoyen, Parma, Modena, Mantua, Genua - fast in Dependenz.... Kriege u. Finanznoth seiner *realen* Kräfte schon sehr geschwächt, als *Philipp III.*, 1598 auf den Thron. Elende Verwaltung des Herzogs v. *Lerma* (Marquis v. *Denia*, urspr. D. Franz Gomez de Sandoval) u. seines Günstlings *Calderona* (nachmals Conde de Oliva). Spaniens erneuerte Verbindung m. Oestreich seit 1617, hob es eine Zeitlang scheinbar.

2.) *Deutschland; Oestreich*. Seit *Ferdinand I* besaß Haus Oestreich ausser dem Kaiserthron auch noch Ungarn u. Böhmen. Seit dem Religionsfriede v. 1555 *Maximilian II* Ruhe erhalten. Aber seit *Rudolf II* (1576 auf den Thron) Unruhn drohend in Italien, Deutschland, u. das Haus Oestreich auch von Türkei her in Unthätigkeit gehalten.

3.) *Frankreich*. Heinrich IV. Sully. Schwächung des span.-östr. Hauses Grundlage ihrer Politik.

4.) *England*. Elisabeth m. Henry IV einverstanden. Aber 1603 Jakob I.

5.) *Vereinigten Niederlanden*. Ende des 16'Jhh. ihrer Freiheit schon sicher. Erobrungen meist auf Kosten des v. Spain unterjochten Portugal.

6.) *Eidgenossen*. Noch nicht förmlich v. dem Reich anerkannt. Durch Religionsverschiedenheit in 2 ungleiche Theile gespalten. Ihre junge Mannschaft capitulationsmässig in den Kriegsdienst fremder, oft entgegengesetzter Partheien.

7.) *Nordische Mächte*. Einzelne davon sich unter Carl V nur vorübergehend in die Händel des südlichen Europas gemischt. Seitdem Zeitlang wieder Norden v. dem Süden getrennt. Unter den 3 Reichen, *Dänemark*, *Schweden*, *Polen*, keins dem andern sehr merklich überlegen. *Rußland* noch kaum den europ. Mächten beigesellt. *Preussen* noch schwach.

b.) Händel der europ. Mächte von 1598-1660.

1.) Von 1598 bis 1618.

In *Frankreich* Heinrich IV -1610, Ludwig XIII -1643. In *Spanien* Philipp III. 1598-1621. In *Deutschland* Rudolph II -1612. Mathias-1619. In *England*: Elisabeth -1603. Jacob I -1625. In *Dänemark*: Christian IV 1588-1648. In *Schweden*: Carl IX 1600 (1604)-1611. *Gustav Adolph*: 1611-1632.

*Päbste*: Clemens VIII -1605. Leo XI. Paul V. 1605-1621.

«*Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat* (1593-1603) Paris. 1612. fol. avec les notes d'Amelot de la Houssaye. Paris 1698 T. I. II. 4°. Amst. 1732. T. I-V. 8.»

a.) *Fortgang des niederländ. Kriegs m. Spain bis 1609*. Nach dem Frieden zu Vervins setzen England Niederlande vereint den Krieg öffentlich, Frankreich unter der Hand gegen Spain fort. Spain erobert 1604 Ostende nach 3jähriger Belagerung. 1604 Jacob I (v. England) söhnt sich m. Spanien aus. Auf Vorschlag Frankreichs, langer Waffenstillstand zwischen Spain u. den Niederlanden, Frankreich u. England Garantie auf 12 J., geschlossen 3 April 1609; darin die Vereinigten Niederlande als freie Staaten behandelt, der Handel hergestellt, u. wegen des Handels nach Ostindien bes. Urkunde ausgestellt.

β) *Eröffnung der Jülich u. Bergischen Succession*. Herzog Johann Wilhelm v. Jülich-Cleve f 1609; 25 März. Streit über die Erbfolge in seinen Staaten, die das Churhaus Brandenburg, das pfalzgräfliche Haus Neuburg, die Albertinische Linie, die Ernestinische Linie v. Sachsen, zum Theil auch Zweibrücken u. der Markgraf v. Burgau in Anspruch nahmen. Zunächst ergriffen 1609 Brandenburg u. Neuburg, kraft des Interims-Vergleichs zu Dortmund, gemeinschaftlichen Besitz. Kaiser belehnt Chursachsen 1610 zum Schein, u. besezt m. Spaniens Hülfe einen Theil dieser Lande, doch die beabsichtigte Sequestration durch Hollands u. Frankreichs Bemühen vereitelt. |[33-38] |23| Heinrich IV verbündete sich m. der protest. Union zu Hall 1610, f 14 Mai 1610; durch Vergleich zwischen dieser u. der ihr entgegengesetzten kathol. Ligue noch Oct. 1610 zum Vortheil der beiden besitzenden Fürsten, u. 21 März 1611 zwischen Sachsen, Brandenburg u. Pfalz-Neuburg der *Jüterbocksche Vergleich*. Aber 1613 der junge Pfalzgraf u. der Churfürst v. Brandenburg persönlich entzweit, jener die katholische, dieser die reformirte Religion angenommen, fing jener m. Hülfe Baierns u. Spaniens, dieser m. Hülfe der Holländer einseitige Besitznahme an. 12 November 1614 *Interimsvergleich*

zu Xanten, durch Frankreich u. England vermittelt, wonach *Brandenburg* Cleve, Mark u. Ravensberg, *Pfalz-Neuburg* Jülich u. Berg in Administration nehmen, die fremden Truppen aber abziehn sollten.

γ.) *Annäherung der beiden Zweige des Hauses Oestreich.* Rudolph II f 1612. Unter Kaiser Mathias, in Folge eines geh. Bündniß zwischen 5 Philipp III u. Ferdinand v. Steyermark, -6u. 15 Juni 1617 - die Erbfolge in den gesamten Oestreich. Staaten der Steyermärkschen Linie, mittelst Verzicht der Brüder Mathiae u. auch Philipp's III zugesichert. Dadurch Grund gelegt zur erneuerten engen Verbindung zwischen Oestreich u. Spanien, deren Folgen sich in den nächsten Kriegen entwickelten. 10

2.) Von 1618-1648.

*Frankreich.* Ludwig XIII. (1610-1643.) (seit 1624 Richelieu.) Ludwig XIV. (1643-1715) (seit 1642 Mazarin) *Spain.* Philippe III -1621. Philippe IV. -1665. *Deutschland.* Mathias -1619. Ferdinand II. -1637. Ferdinand III. -1657. *England:* Jacob I. -1625. Carl I. -1649. *Dänemark.* 15 Christian IV. -1648. *Schweden.* Gustav Adolph. 1611-1632. Christine 1632-1654. *Päbste:* PaulV. -1621. Gregor XV. -1623. Urban VIII. -1644. Innocenz X -1655.

(« Guill. Hyacinte Bougeant de la Co. de Jesus: Hist, des guerres et des negotiations qui précédèrent le traité de Westphalie composée sur les 20 mémoires du Comte d'Avaux. Paris 1727. T. I. u. histoire du traité. Paris. 1744. T. II, III. 4.»)

[α) Von 1618-1624.

j

Anfang des 30jährigen Kriegs. Beschwerden der Protestanten in Böhmen wegen Verletzung des Majestätsbriefs schon in Thätlichkeiten, diese 1618 25 i in Krieg ausgeartet, als nach Mathias Tod die Mißvergnügten, statt Kaiser *Ferdinand II* als König anzuerkennen, *Friedrich V*, Churfürst v. der 3 Pfalz erwählten. *Brandenburg* durch Frankreichs Vermittlung - J 9 Juli. 1620 - vermittelt m. der katholisch. Ligue zu Ulm, sich in die böhmischen Händel nicht zu mischen. - *Ferdinand II* unterstützt v. Pabst, 30 ~; Spanien, Polen, Maximilian v. Baiern, auch Sachsen f. sich gewonnen - ^ gewinnt schon 1620 Oestreich, *Böhmen* m. der Schlacht, die Maximilian j bei Prag erfocht, Schlesien durch Sachsens Hilfe. *Friedrich V* flüchtet T nach Holland; mit Johann Georg v. *Brandenburg*, Herzog v. Jägerndorff Í v. dem Kaiser eigenmächtig in die Acht erklärt - 22 Jan. 1621. Auch 35 J

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Aus Hansard's parliamentary debates und Georg Friedrich von Martens: Grundriß einer diplomatischen Geschichte. Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Diplomatie. Heft 1. Seite 23

*Bethelen Gabor* 1622 zum Frieden gezwungen, worin er auf Ungarn Verzicht leistete, doch 7 Gespannschaften m. der Würde eines deutschen Reichsfürsten erhielt. |

[24] (*M. de Rusdorf* Mém. et négot. secrètes par servir à l'hist. de 5 30 ans, rédigés p. E. G. Cuhn. Leipzig. 1789. *H. Comte de Bethune*. Ambassades de Mess, les Ducs d'Angouleme, du comte de Bethune et de Preaux de Chateauneuf, envoyés par le roi Louis XIII. v. l'Emp. Ferdin. II et les Potentats d'Allemagne en 1620 et 21 etc *Paris 1667*. T. I, II. Fol. - *Lettres et negotiations du Marquis de Feuquirères*. Amst. 10 1753. t. I-III.)

*Fortschritte v. Ferdinand II durch Spanien unterstützt*. Zur Vollziehung der Acht gegen Friedrich V span. Truppen aus v. Jülich unter Spinola u. bairische die Pfalz überwältigt, Ferdinand übertrug die Chur auf Baiern 1623, zerstreute die protest. Union, verfuhr im Süden v. Deutschland 15 willkürlich m. Bedrückung der Protestanten. Tilly u. Wallenstein sollten nun auch das nördliche Deutschland unterwerfen, überall herstellen kathol. Religion, unumschränkte Herrschaft des Kaiser in Deutschland, indeß Spanien bemüht sich nach Italien hin zu vergrößern.

*Fortschritte Spaniens in Italien*. Spanien hatte 1) *Savoyen* f. den Tractat 20 v. Brusol 1610 hart gezüchtigt, es zu Abtretung Montferrats an Mantua durch den *Vertrag zu Asti* 21 Juni, 1615 gezwungen, 2) sich in die Händel Venedigs m. Oestreich gemischt, 3) das Valtelin 1620, u. trotz des Madri- der Vertrags v. 1621, Graubünden 1622 besezt u. zu einem nachtheiligen Vergleich genöthigt. (*Mémoires de Bassompierre ... Linage de Vauciennes*. 25 Mém. sur l'origine des guerres qui travaillent l'Europe dep. 50 ans. Col. 1678.)

*Veränderung des Staatssystems in Frankreich*. Frankreichs Bündniß m. Venedig u. Savoyen zwang Spanien 1623, das Valtelin dem Pabst als Sequester einzuräumen (14 Febr. 1623). Vorläufer der Rückkehr zu Hen- 30 ri IV Staatssystem, seit Richelieu in den Staatsrath a. 1624. Folgen davon sich schnell äussernd theils in *Italien*, wo Frankreich u. Savoyen - Spanien u. Genua bekriegen; Frankreichs einseitiger Vertrag m. Spanien 1626 zu Monzón, der die Graubündtner mehrentheils befreite; theils in *Deutschland* u. in den *Niederlanden*. [39-44]

ß) Von 1625-1630.

*Fortgang des 30jährigen Kriegs in Deutschland:* Richelieu, die Engländer und Holländer vermochten 1624 Christian IV v. Dänemark, an der Spitze der niedersächsischen Kreisstände dem Vordringen der Kaiserlichen zu wehren, die schon an der *Weser* standen. In dem 2<sup>ten</sup> Feldzug siegt Wallenstein bei Dessau, Tilly bei Luther am Barenberge - 1626, 25 April u. 27 Aug. - dringt Tilly ungehindert in Holstein, Schleswig u. Jutland, *Wallenstein* in Brandenburg, Mecklenburg u. Pommern bis an die Ostsee vor, wo die Schweden nur noch Stralsund retteten. *Christian IV* v. Dänemark mußte den Frieden zu Lübeck - 12 Mai 1629 - schliessen. Mecklenburg u. Schweden v. dem Frieden ausgeschlossen.

*Höchster Gipfel der span.-östr. Macht.* Ferdinand II erläßt das Religionsedikt v. 1629, 6 März. - *Philipp IV* (v. Span.) drängt die Niederländer hart m. Hülfe kaiserlicher Völker, hatte in Italien theils nach dem Absterben *Vincent's II* 1627, kraft des Bündnisses v. Savoyen, 1628 ein Stück der erledigten Mantuanischen Erbschaft an sich zu ziehn gesucht, theils das Valtelin wieder besezt. Nun entschloß sich *Frankreich* zu unmittelbarer Theilnahme am Krieg in Italy, beförderte Schwedens Bruch wider den Kaiser, unterstützte die Niederländer 1630 m. Subsidien ... Fzs. Armee zwingt 10 Mai 1629, Savoyen zu einem Frieden, dem Spanien beitreten u. Montferrat räumen mußte. In einem 2<sup>ten</sup> Zug durch Richelieu Pignerol, durch Ludewig XIII 1630 fast ganz Savoyen erobert; dagegen wurden die Venetianer geschlagen, Mantua erobert, u. bes. Casal v. den Spaniern belagert. (Della Istoria di P. G. *Capriata* libri 12. ne quali si contengono tutti i movimenti d'arme successi in Italia dal a. 1613-1634. - Bologna. 1639. Delle guerre e successi d'Italia descritti dal *Cavai Luca Assarini*. Torino. 1665.)

γ.) Von 1630-1635.

*Unterhandlung Frankreichs m. dem Kaiser.* Als seit Juni 1630 der Kaiser auf dem Churfürstentag zu Regensburg sich um die Kaiserkrone f. seinen Prinzen bewarb, nutzte Richelieu das Mißvergnügen der Stände u. den eben damals erfolgten Einfall Gustav Adolph's in Deutschland, um durch die Unterhandlungen des père (capucin) Joseph Ferdinand II im Oct. 1630 zu einem Vergleich wegen der italien. Händel zu verleiten, in dessen Folge u. kraft des Tractats zu Chierasco m. Savoyen u. Spanien-



PS\*""

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Oestreich, - 13 Oct., 1631 - ||25| der Kaiser den Herzog v. Nevers m. Mantua u. Montferrat belehnte, Savoyen m. einem Strich Landes abgefunden, Valtelin an Graubündten zurückgegeben, Frankreich Pignerol behielt, dennoch aber die bezweckte röm. Königswahl damals vereitelt, 5 selbst Baiern - Mai 1631 - in geh. Bündniß m. Frankreich gezogen, indeß der Kaiser Wallenstein u. einen Theil seiner Truppen abdankte. [45-48]

*Kriegsschicksale Deutschlands 1630 bis Schlacht bei Leipzig Sept. 7, 1631.* B. Ph. v. Chemnitz Kgl. Schwed. in Dtsch. geführten Kriegs etc. 1 Theil Stettin. 1632. auch *latein.* Stockholm. Sam. *Puffendorf:* comm. de 10 rebus Suecicis libri 26. (1630-1654) Ultraj. 1686 fol. *Mauvillon* hist, de Gustave Ad. Amst. 1764.

25 *Sept.* 1629, schließt Gustav Adolph unter Frankreichs Vermittlung 6jährigen Waffenstillstand m. Polen, 24 *Juni* 1630 landet m. s. Flotte zu Rügen, besezt Kraft eines erzwungnen Vergleichs m. Bogislaus XIV Pom- 15 mern, befreit Mecklenburg, erlangt v. Frankreich nur 13 Jan. 1631 geschloßnen Subsidientraktat. Sieg über Tilly 7*Sept.* 1631, bei Leipzig... *Gustav Adolf* nach Tilly's Tod (5 April 1632) München erobert, Baiern besezt, nach Sachsen zurück gegen Wallenstein, Sieg bei Lützen den 6 Nov. 1632, aber f. Die Kaiserlichen aus Sachsen verjagt, Schweden 20 rückten in Deutschland bis an dessen südliche Grenzen u. selbst im Elsaß vor, verstärkt durch den 1633 zu Heilbronn geschloßnen Bund der obern Kreise, der unter Oxenstiern's Direction an Zahl u. Macht täglich wuchs.

*Unglückliche Schlacht, (durch Herzog Bernhard v. Weimar) bei Nördlingen* 7 *Sept.* 1634, wandt Kriegsglück gegen die Schweden u. seine Alli- 25 irten; Sachsen u. andre Stände fielen nun schnell v. dem Bunde ab ... Schon Nov. 1634 hatte, unter Darmstadts Vermittlung, Churfürst v. Sachsen m. den Kaiserlichen ein Präliminarvertrag zu Pirna gez. Dieser 30 Mai, 1635 auf noch härtere Bedingungen zu Prag in Frieden verwandelt. Nachtheilig den Protestanten. Doch mußten die meisten protest. 30 Stände beitreten.

δ) Von 1635-1648.

a) *Frankreichs Kriege ausser Deutschland.* Frankreich, dem Schweden u. die Verbündeten 1634 ihre Erobrungen im Elsaß eingeräumt, schickte diesen vorerst nur eine Hülfarmee am Rhein u. negotiirte f. Schweden 35 einen verlängerten Waffenstillstand m. Polen zu Stumsdorf; selbst nach einem Bündniß m. Schweden vom Apr. 1635 u. Vertrag m. dem Herzog Bernhard v. Weimar wollte es in Deutschland nicht m. Oestreich brechen.

Richtet seine Hauptabsicht wider Spanien, 8 Febr. 1635 Bündniß m. den Vereinigten Niederlanden wegen Fortsetzung des Krieg, dann Krieg an Spanien angekündigt, July 1635 verband sich m. Savoyen, Mantua, Parma, um Spanien Mailand zu entreißen. In dieser Absicht stellt Frankreich 5 Armeen ins Feld, schickt 2 Flotten in die Nordsee u. das mittelländische Meer, u. zahlte od. versprach grosse Subsidien. Führt Krieg: 5

*In den Niederlanden u. an den Span. Grenzen:* Arras erobert 1640, darauf Losreissung u. Empörung Portugals. Spaniens Seemacht vollends geschwächt nach Zerstörung der nach Schweden bestimmten Flotte durch den Holländischen Admiral Tromp 1639. 10

*In Italien:* Abfall der Graubündter 1637 u. des Herzogs v. Parma; Tod des Herzogs Victor Amadeus v. Savoyen 1637 veranlaßte Streitigkeit, nach den Siegen v. 1638 u. 39 Turin erobert, durch den Turiner Vergleich v. 1642 (Jun. 14 u. Jul. 1) die Prinzen v. Savoyen fzs. Bundesgenossen. So fällt Spaniens Ansehn in Italien. 15

β.) *Fortsetzung des Kriegs in Deutschland.* Sieg Banners u. Wrangels bei Wittstock Oct. 4, 1636. 1638 engre Offensiv- u. Defensiv-Allianz v. Frankreich u. Schweden, der die m. Hessen folgte. Banner behauptet 1637 Pommern gegen Gallas, verfolgt 1638 die Kaiserlichen bis in Böhmen, spielt 1639 den Krieg selbst in die kaiserlichen Erblände. [48-53] | 20

[26| γ) *Ende des Kriegs in Deutschland 1648.* Gubriant siegt m. Hülfe des Herzogs v. Braunschweig u. des Landgrafen v. Hessen den 29 Jun. 1641 bei Wolfenbüttel u. den 17 Jan. 1642 bei Klostercamp; Torstenson 23 Oct. 1642 bei Leipzig über Piccolomini... Fortschritte 1645 v. Torstenson m. Rakotzy verbunden in das Herz der östr. Staaten u. Sieg Turennes bei Nördlingen. Seit dem 10 April 1645 zu Münster u. Osnabrück eröffnete Friedensverhandlungen: Baiern f. Bruch derselben 1647, 14 März hart gezüchtigt, worauf m. Ueberrumpfung der kleinen Seite v. Prag durch Königsmark der Krieg in Deutschland endigte. Jun. u. Jul. 1648. 30

δ) *Fortsetzung des Kriegs Frankreichs u. der Niederländer gegen Spanien.* Auch an den span. Grenzen u. in den Niederlanden Spaniens Lage immer mißlicher. 1642 v. Frankreich Roussillon erobert, 1643 Sieg bei Rocroi durch Enghien u. Condé, Thionville erobert, Niederländer halfen den Frzs. durch ihre Seemacht die Flandrischen Seeplätze erobern; nach der Einnahme v. Dünkirchen 1646 kann Spanien keine weitre Hülfe den Niederlanden schicken. 35

ε) *Frieden v. Münster.* Nach 5jährigen Negotiationen u. vorgängigem Reichsabschiede, zu Hamburg den 25 Dec. 1641 ein Präliminairvergleich wegen Eröffnung eines Congresses, doch erst den 23 März 1643 ratificirt der Friedenscongress zu Münster u. Osnabrück im April 1645 eröffnet. 40

Dort sollte f. Kaiser u. Reich m. Frankreich unter Vermittlung des Pabsts u. Venedigs, hier m. Schweden negotiirt werden. Auch Frankreich u. die Niederländer m. Spanien, Frankreich m. Lothringen, Spanien m. Portugal u. Catalonien. Zahlreicher bisher kein Friedenscongreß beschickt.  
5 3jährige Negotiationen.

Zuerst zu Stande *Friede zwischen Spanien u. Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande* zu Münster. Am 30 Jan. 1648; die Ratifications 15 Mai ausgewechselt. In diesem Frieden: *Art. 1* Freiheit der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande anerkannt. *Art. 3*. In Ansehung der Besitzungen  
10 in- u. ausserhalb Europas das *uti possidetis* zur Grundlage. *Art. V u. Vidas* Recht des Handels in Ost- u. Westindien bestimmt. *Art. XIV*. Scheide dem Seehandel der Span. Niederlande geschlossen erklärt. *Art. XVI. XVII*. Der Republik der Genuß gleicher Handelsrechte m. den Hanseaten in Spanien gesichert. *Art. LUI*. Neutralität, Freundschaft u.  
15 Nachbarschaft v. Seiten des Kaisers u. des Reichs zu bewirken versprochen. *Art. LXVII* Regulirung der Grenzen in Flandern ausgesetzt. In einem Separatartikel auch wegen des neutralen Handels Abrede getroffen. Ein eigener Marinevertrag erst 1650 geschlossen. *Art. LUI* v. dem Kaiser zu Linz Juli 6 1648 u. v. dem Reich im Reichsabschied v. 1654  
20 bestätigt.

*Mit Frankreich u. Schweden, Friedensinstrumente*, zu Münster u. Osnabrück, jeder in 17 Artikeln am Oct. 24, 1648 unterzeichnet behandeln die Reichsangelegenheiten, die *Satisfactions- u. Compensationspunkte*, die Vollziehung, die Sicherung des Friedens u. Einschliessung andrer Mächte.  
25 Enthalten im Bezug:

*I.) Die Reichsangelegenheiten. Allgemeine Amnestie*, jeder Stand f. sich u. seine Unterthanen in alle seit 1618 eingebüßte unbewegliche Güter u. Würden einzusetzen, m. einigen Ausnahmen f. Baden u. Churpfalz wegen der Oberpfalz u. der 5 Churstelle, sodann m. Ausschluß der Unterthanen  
30 der Oestreich. Erblande (*Art. 2-4 O. 2-5 M.*) *Religionsfrieden* bestätigt (*Art. 5 O. 6 M.*), inbegriffen die Reformirten (*Art. 7 O. 6 M.*), Gleichheit der Rechte beider Religionstheile bewilligt, in Ansehung der Religionsübung das J. 1624, in Ansehung des Besitzes geistl. Güter der 1 Jan. 1624  
35 zwischen Catholiken u. Protestanten zur entscheidenden Norm angenommen, doch f. die Zukunft das *reservatum ecclesiasticum* vorbehalten. (*Art. 5 O. 6 M.*) Die weltlichen Vorrechte der Stände, sowohl bei Reichsversammlungen als in ihren Landen, in Regierung und Justiz, innern u. auswärtigen Angelegenheiten bestätigt u. erweitert (*Art. 8 O. 9 M.*) Unabhängigkeit der Schweiz anerkannt. (*Art. 6 O. 8 M.*) Handel u. Wandel  
40 so frei hergesteilt, wie er vor 1618 gewesen. (*Art. 9 O. 10. M.*)

II.) *Satisfaction u. Compensation: Für Schweden* Abtretung v. Vorpommern nebst Insel Rügen, Theil v. Hinterpommern, Wismar, Erzbisthum Bremen u. Bisthum Verden, alles m. der Reichsstandschaft u. andren Vorrechten (Art. 10.0.), ausserdem auch f. die Schwed. Miliz 5 Mill. Thaler. (Art. 16. O.) Dagegen entschädigt f. diese Cessionen *Chur- 5 Brandenburg* durch Halberstadt, Minden, Camin u. Magdeburg; *Mecklenburg* durch Schwerin, Ratzeburg u. s. f.; *Braunschweig-Lüneburg* durch das Recht der Abwechslung auf Osnabrück u. einige Klöster; *Hessen-Cassel* durch Hirschfeld, 4 Aemter u. 600 000 Thlr. (Art. 11-15 O.) |

[27] *Für Frankreich*: Völlige Hoheit über Metz, Toul, Verdun, nebst den 10 dazu gehörigen Distrikten, die Lehnshoheit über Pignerol u. Breisach, u. was Oestreich im Elsaß an Rechten u. Besitzungen gehabt, v. Oestreich u. dem Reich m. völliger Souverainetät abgetreten, die Rechte u. Reichsfreiheit der übrigen im Elsaß possessionirten Stände aber zwar in dem Friedensinstrument, doch nicht in der Cessionsurkunde gesichert; auch 15 das Besatzungsrecht in Philippsburg, u. die Bestätigung des Friedens zu Chierasko zum Besten v. Savoyen. (12, 12 M.)

III. Ausserdem die Angelegenheiten einzelner Reichsstände theils entschieden, wie die Marburgsche Succession, theils wie die Jülich u. Bergische Erbschaft, der Streit wegen Donauwerth etc, auf künftige Vergleiche 20 od. Erkenntnisse ausgesetzt.

IV. *Vollziehung des Friedens*. Eigne Bestimmungen Art. 16, 17. O. M. Die noch 1648 zu Prag angefangnen u. zu Nürnberg fortgesetzten Unterhandlungen u. 1649 u. 50 errichteten 2 Executions-Recesse konnten die völlige Erfüllung desselben nicht bewirken, so wenig wie die zu Sichung 25 desselben v. beiden Kronen u. den gesammten Paciscenten übernommene Garantie etc nachmaligen Verletzungen vorbeugen. Spanien blieb m. Frankreich u. Portugal u. Catalonien, Frankreich auch m. Lothringen unausgesöhnt. [53-63]

3.) 1648-1660.

30

In *Frankreich* Ludwig XIV, *Spanien* Philipp IV, *Deutschland* Ferdinand III -1657, Leopold 1657-1705. *England* Carli -1649, Republik 1653-8, Richard Cromwell -1659, Carl II 1660. *Päbste*: Innocenz X. 1644-55. Alexander VII -1667.

*Krieg zwischen Spanien u. Frankreich fortgesetzt*. Jenem zur Seite Her- 35 zog v. Lothringen u. unter der Hand der Kaiser, diesem öffentlich Savoyen. Innre Unruhen in Frankreich Uebergang v. Turenne zu den Spaniern lenken seit 1649 das Kriegsglück in Italien, Niederlanden

u. Grenzen auf span. Seite, Spanier bedrohen 1650 Paris, 1652 erobern  
Catalonien mehrentheils wieder, erobern m. Hülfe des Prinzen Condé  
Rocroy, indeß auch in Italien die Franzosen Casal räumen mußten. Seit  
1653 die innern Unruhn gedämpft, Turenne f. Frankreich wieder, Crom-  
5 well nach 1654 hergestelltem Frieden m. Holland durch Mazarin 1655  
zum Bruch wider Spanien in Europa u. America vermocht, Frankreich  
9 Mai 1657 m. Cromwell verbündet, durch dessen Beistand die wichtig-  
sten eroberten Plätze in den Niederlanden f. Frankreich wieder gewon-  
nen, Spanien zur See durch England, in Italien durch Savoy en beunru-  
10 higt, durch fzs. Intrigue mittelst des Rheinschen Bunds v. 1658 selbst der  
Hoffnung deutscher Hülfe beraubt, mußte es Frieden auf Bedingungen  
suchen, die es zu Münster, u. noch 1656 verworfen.

*Pyrenäischer Frieden. 1659.* 7 Mai Präliminarfriede zu Paris geschlos-  
sen, aber erst durch die 2 Staatsminister, Mazarin u. D. Louis de Haro,  
15 den 7 November auf der Fasaneninsel in einen Definitiwertag in  
124 Artikel verwandelt. Darin: *Art. 26* Ehe zwischen Ludwig XIV u. Ma-  
ria Theresia, der ältesten Tochter Philipp's IV verabredet. *Art. 35-40. 42*  
*Frankreich* nahm beträchtliche Plätze in den Niederlanden, Roussillon  
u. Conflans. *Art. 60.* Frankreich verspricht Portugal nicht zu unterstüt-  
20 zen. *Art. 61* König v. Spanien resignirt auf alle Rechte auf die im Mün-  
sterschen Frieden v. Oestreich an Frankreich abgetretenen Länder.  
*Art. 62-78.* Lothringen sollte der Herzog bis auf Moyeuwic, Bar u. Cler-  
mont wieder bekommen. *Art. 82, 83.* Prinz v. Condé zu Gnaden aufge-  
nommen. *Art. 91. 92. 97* Wegen Savoyen u. Modena der Zustand vor  
25 dem Krieg hergestellt. *Art. 108.* Friede v. Vervins auch wegen Navarra  
bestätigt. *Art. 2-25.* ausdrückliche Bestimmungen über den Handel, die  
Infantin entsagte 1660 eidlich allem Erbrecht auf den span. Thron u.  
beide Könige beschworen persönlich den Frieden auf der Conferenzinsel.

Zwischen England u. Spanien 11 Sept. 1660 blos der Friede v. 1630  
30 hergestellt u. publicirt. [63-66] (

### [35] c.) Nordische Staatshandel. 1598-1660.

In *Dänemark* Christian IV 1588-1648. Friedrich III. 1648-1670. In  
*Schweden:* Carl IX 1604-11, Gustav Adolph-1632, Christina -1654;  
Carl Gustav -1660. In *Polen* Sigismund 1587-1632, Uladislaus IV  
35 1632-48, Johann Casimir 1648-1669. In *Preussen:* Joachim Friedrich,  
Verweser, 1605-8, Johann Sigismund -1620, Churfürst Georg Wilhelm,  
regirender Herzog, -1640. Friedrich Wilhelm 1640-1688. In *Rußland:*  
*Michael Feodorowitsch Romanow* 1613-1645, *Alexei* 1645-1676.

a.) Von 1598-1645.

*In Rußland das Haus Romanow auf den Thron.* Innre Unruhen nach dem Tod v. Feodor Iwanowitsch 1598, u. des Boris Gudunow 1605, bestimmte ein Theil der russischen Nation 1610, Uladislaus, Prinzen Sigismunds v. Polen, ein anderer Carl Philipp v. Schweden zum Czaren, aber da weder 5 Polen noch Schweden, letztes noch in einem Krieg gegen Dänemark begriffen, den erst Gustav Adolph 1613 endete, diese Wahl sofort nachdrücklich unterstützten, setzten die Russen durch freie Wahl den Neffen Feodor's Iwanowitsch, Prinz Michael Feodorowitsch Romanow, 1613 auf den Thron. 1614 beide m. einander entzweite Könige Waffenstill- 10 stand, um jeder ungestört auf Rußland loszugehn. Michael Romanow muß m. Schweden 1617, 27 Febr. *Frieden zu Stolbowa* eingehn, worin er seine Anerkennung erkaufte durch Abtretung der Besitzungen in Ingermanland u. Carelen, so daß Rußland wieder alle unmittelbare Communication m. der Ostsee verlor. Erkaufte auch v. Polen seine Anerkennung 15 nur in dem zu Diwiliina 1618 geschloßnen 14jährigen Waffenstillstand (Dec. 11) gegen Aufopfrung v. Smolensk, Czernichovien und Severien. Als 1633 der Krieg gen Uladislaus erneuert, in den ewigen Frieden zu Wiazma, 15 Jun. 1634, eben diese Bedingungen in der Hauptsache erneuert. 20

*Kriege Schwedens mit Polen bis 1629* Waffenstillstand zu Stumm f. 6 J., dann wieder 1635 zu Stumstorf f. 26 J., der 20 J. bestanden hat. 1643 bricht Schweden rasch gegen Dänemark los, Torstenson erobert die meisten dänischen Besitzungen auf dem festen Land; Horn besetzt Schonen, Halland u. Bleckingen -; zur See leistete der Holländer Lud. de 25 Geer Beistand, Dänemark gezwungen in dem zu *Bremsebroe* 13 Aug. 1645 unter fzs. Vermittl. geschloßnen Frieden, *Art. I-XV* den Schweden die gänzliche Befreiung vom Sundzoll einzuräumen, *Art. XXV* ihnen Jemtland, Herjedahlen, Gothland u. Oesel abzutreten, *Art. XXVI u. XXVII* Halland vorerst auf 30 J. als Unterpfand des Friedens in ihren 30 Händen zu lassen.

b.) Von 1645-1660.

(*Mémoires du Chevalier de Terlon par rendre compte de ses negotiations depuis 1656-61.* Paris. 1681. T. I. II.)

Als 1655 *Carl Gustav* den König Johann Casimir v. Polen zur form- 35 liehen Anerkennung m. den Waffen zwingen wollte, Erobrungen in Polen

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gemacht, u. dem m. den Ständen des polnischen Preussens verbündeten Churfürsten v. Brandenburg 1656 zur Anerkennung schwedischer Lehns-  
hoheit u. zu Bündnissen genöthigt:

*Grosse Coalition wider Schweden: Holland* schickt Flotte in die Ostsee,  
5 die Dänemark verstärkt, u. Schweden zum *Vertrag v. Elbingen* 1656  
zwingt. *Rußland* brach nach 1656 geschloßnen Waffenstillstand m. Polen  
gegen Schweden los. *Polen* verbündet sich m. Kaiser und Dänemark 1657  
wider Schweden, worauf *Dänemark* 1657 wider Schweden losbrach,  
u. v. Schwedens einzigen 2 Alliirten, Fürst Ragozi u. Churfürst v. Bran-  
10 denburg, jener geschlagen, dieser aber setzte sich m. *Polen* durch den  
Tractat zu *Welau* 1657, wodurch er die Souverainetät Preussens erlangte,  
worauf er sich zu Bydgost mit Polen, nachmals auch m. Dänemark  
u. Oestreich wider Schweden verbündete. | [67-71]

|63| G. H. Francis.  
Opinions and Policy of etc Palmerston.  
(London 1852)

*Henry John Temple, 3<sup>d</sup> Viscount of Palmerston* etc (his title from the peerage of Ireland.) His own immediate family not enobled until the year 1722.

Geb. 20 Octob. 1784. In the early part of 1806, when the formation of the Grenville administration obliged Lord Henry Petty, who had taken office as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to appeal to his constituents, Lord Palmerston, then little more than 21 J., contested m. ihm die representation der University of Cambridge, did not then succeed. Very soon afterwards entered Parliament f. den borough (rotten) of Bletchingley. 1807, on the formation of the Duke of Portland's administration, Lord Palmerston ... Lord of the Admiralty. On the 3 February, 1808, (24 J.) he spoke briefly in opposition to Mr. Ponsonby's motion for the production of papers, to show the grounds on which the then Administration had advised H. M. to employ his naval and military forces in the expedition against Copenhagen. In 1809 wird *Secretary at War*, on the resignation of Lord Castlereagh of that office. (26 J. alt) Blieb Secretary at War bis 1828. "He had commenced fulfilling its functions under Mr. Percival, and he continued to do so during the administrations of the Earl of Liverpool, M. Canning, Lord Goderich and the Duke of Wellington." (also consistently a member of Tory administrations) Er nennt Canning *no friend* of Parliamentary Reform. His good temper almost proverbial in the H. o. C. In May, unter der Wellington Administration, wegen Austritt des Huskisson mit dem Downfall der Wellington Administration v. den Whigs Palmerston made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Blieb es bis *December 1851*. (His junction m. den Whigs in 1830) Also responsible für die Foreign Policy von the accession of Grey in 1830 bis Sir R.



Peel in 1841 (mit exception des interval between November 1834 u. April 1835). Between 1841 u. 46 Palmerston in opposition. ... [VIII-XX] In this particular case, H. M.'s ministers are pledged to secrecy; but I *also object generally to making public the working of diplomacy*, because it is  
5 the tendency of disclosures in that department to shut up future sources of information. With respect to the present expedition, it is defensible on the ground that the enormous power of France enables her to coerce the weaker state to become an enemy of England ... Daher we have not been guilty of a violation of the law of nations (1). It is admitted by the  
10 Hon. Gentleman and his supporters, that if Denmark had evidenced any hostility towards this country, then we should have been justified in *measures of retaliation*. How then is the case altered, when we find Denmark acting under the coercion of a power notoriously hostile to us? (2.) England, according to that law of self-preservation which is a fundamental  
15 principle of the law of nations, is justified in securing, and therefore enforcing, from Denmark a neutrality which France would by compulsion have converted into active hostility. (On *Ponsonby's motion on the Expedition to Copenhagen, Februar, 3, 1808*) [3]

Is there then, any serious ground for apprehension for the liberties of  
20 the country, when we know that the number of *foreigners in our service* is limited by law to the number of 16,000, and that of these the far larger proportion are employed abroad? (*Motion with respect to Foreigners in the Brit. Army, Marchio, 1812*) *Ebenso Dec. 10, 1812, bei Lord Folkestone's motion respecting the King's German Legion.* [5]

25 Although I wish the Catholic claims to be considered, I never will admit those claims to stand upon the ground [6] of right... the legislature of a country has the right to impose such political disabilities upon any class of the community, as it may deem necessary for the safety and the welfare of the whole ... Dieß gehört zu den fundamental principles on  
30 which a civilised government is founded. If I thought the Catholics were asking for their *rights*, I, for one, would not go into the committee. (*Mr. Grantham's Motion for a Committee on the Claims of the Roman Catholics, March 1, 1813*) [64] Putting this question, however, *entirely on the round of expediency*, I cannot concur with those who think that they  
35 have proved the expediency of continuing the Catholic Disabilities now, by showing that they were necessary in the times when they were originally imposed. (l. c.) [7]

Vertheidigt den large standing der *Landarmee* in England ... In the very Constitution of our Army, there is a sufficient protection of the  
40 Constitution ... a large proportion of the officers who command in it are identified by their property, their connections, and general interests, with

the civil prosperity of the state. (*Debate on the Army Estimates. March 8, 1816.*) [12-14] I believe much of our financial embarrassment to have been caused by our former *low Peace establishments.* (*Lord G. Cavendish's motion for a reduction of the Public Expenditure April, 25, 1816*) [14] " " 5

I lament as deeply as the hon. gentleman the *burdens of the country*; but it should be recollected that they were the price which we agreed to pay for our freedom and independence. (*Colon. Davies' motion on the Military Expenditure of the Country. May 16, 1820.*) [16] If there are any set of men who could drive a government to military despotism it is those 10 selfcalled, but misled reformers, who demand that sort of reform in the country, which, according to every just principle of gov., must end, if it were acceded to, in a military despotism. (*Debate on the Mutiny bill. June 14, 1820.*) [17]

Some would have had us use threats in *négociation*, without being 15 prepared to go to war if *négociation* failed. To have talked of war, and to have meant neutrality: to have threatened an army, and to have retreated behind a state paper, to have brandished the sword of defiance in the hour of deliberation, and to have ended in a penful of protests on the day of battle, would have been the conduct of a cowardly bully, and would 20 have made us the object of contempt and the laughing stock of Europe. (*Debate on Mr. Macdonald's motion resp. the Negoc. relat. to Spain. April 30, 1823*) [20]

Cum principia neganti non est disputandum:—of what use is it to dwell upon abstract principles with those (*Despotic Governments*) who 25 are accused of measuring right by power and of ruling their conduct by expediency, and not by justice? (I.e.) [21]

Vertheidigt die nicht interference m. Spanien. (April 30, 1823. I.e.) "If Spain is divided, our interference is, on principle questionable; if she is united, our interference is unnecessary." (I.e.) We might have covered the 30 oceans with our ships; we might have blockaded every port in Europe; but unless those ships had been employed to carry an army to Spain, and to feed that army with supplies, we should only have incurred a loss of money and of character, by making a vain parade of assistance so inapplicable and inappropriate. (I. c.) [25, 26] 35

Vertheidigt die Prügelstrafe in der Armee. (*Debate on the Mutiny bill. March 5, 1824.*) [28, 29]

I regret to see the increasing number of the Dissenters. It is my wish that the Established Church should be the predominant one in this country. [29] (*Debate on the building of new churches. April, 9, 1824.*) With the 40 Church of England it is the poor alone who feel the want of Church

accomodation ... it would be preposterous to say that the poor ought to subscribe for churches out of their small earnings. (l. c.) [30]

Corporal Punishment... is absolutely indispensable. (*Debate on the Mutiny bill. March 11, 1825.*) [33]

5 Although some collision (zu Navarino) might have been expected and apprehended as likely to arise, in some way or other, between the fleets of the several powers, no such combination of circumstances as that which led to ultimate hostilities could have been foreseen. It was therefore a collision entirely unexpected by Gov.... trotzdem Admiral gelobt. Keine  
10 censure passed upon him etc. [37, 38] (*Debate on the change of ministry Jan. 29, 1828*) (Der Admiral: Sir Edward Codrington.) the collision arose out of "untoward" circumstances, and tended to interrupt the négociations. (l.e.) [40] Now this battle, however meritoriously the gallant Admiral may have conducted himself, did take place (die Schlacht (battle) of  
15 Navarin), "it must be admitted, against a power with which we are not at war". (*Debate on the Address. Januar, 31, 1828.*) [41, 42]

I am a warm and zealous friend to religious liberty ... Es wäre unjust towards the Catholics as to remove from others, (*nämlich den Dissenters*) or mitigate, an imaginary grievance, while real inflictions press upon  
20 them. Daher er gegen Russells motion ||65| *Repeal of Test and Corporations Acts.* Voted against. (*Russell's motion. Febr. 26, 1828*) [54, 57]

Vertheidigt Flogging in the Army. (*Debate on Mutiny Bill. March 10, 1828*) [57-59]

Seine Reasons for approving *Sale of Commissions*, (in der engl.  
25 Armee)... the object for which men of fortune invest their capital in these annuities is—to obtain promotion. A major who has a half-pay commission, sells it to a captain on full-pay; the captain then becomes a major on half-pay u. dann looks out immediately for a full-pay major desirous of retiring, with whom he may effectuate an exchange. (*Debate*  
30 *on Army Promotions. March 12, 1828*) [61]

Resignirt Ende Mai 1828. (Gründe seiner Resignation. Huskisson *June 2, 1828.*) [64-69] We hear these persons talking of cleansing the Augean stable? of expelling traitors from the camp? (l. c.) [72]

I am anxious to express my desire that the franchise should be extend-  
35 ed to a great town, not because I am a *friend to reform in principle, but because I am its decided enemy* ... Aber practical evil which results from large manufacturing interests ... being not represented ... (places as Birmingham, Leeds, or Manchester, with a large population, is unrepresented, while a green mound of earth sends 2 members to this house. I  
40 admit, that it is better to submit to the inconsistency, than to allow of the *introduction of general reform.* (*June 27, 1828*) [74, 75]

Catholic Emancipation ... a measure of grace and favour. (*February 10, 1829. Debate on Suppression of the Catholic Association.*) Macht sich als Vertheidiger der kathol. Emanzipation sehr mausig während der Debatten v. 1829. Sucht zu beweisen, daß "Other remedies than Emancipation for Irish evils impossible" u. "If absenteeism is an evil, Catholic Emancipation is its only cure" ... *poorlaws* werden sie noch improvidenter machen, redundant population befördern. (*March 18, 1829.*) [99, 100] 5

Er "opposes disfranchisement of 40 shilling voters", weil diese bill proposed mehr in the spirit of punishment than of peace. (*March 19, 1829*) 10 [104]

*Gegen Irish Poor Law:* the effect of the poorlaws is to take from a certain class of *producers part* of the produce of their industry, and to apply it against their will, to the support of other persons. The consequence of this is a diminution of capital ... check the career of commerce... The English system of poorlaws ... proceeds on the mistaken principle, that you can multiply capital according to the wants of those who are not employed in labour. ... It is true, that the peasantry of Ireland do not *enjoy all the comforts* which are enjoyed by the peasantry of England. ... Still, however, the Irish peasant has his comforts—he is well supplied with fuel, and is *seldom* at a loss for food ... cheerfulness of mind besitzt er ... It is said, that the Irish landlord insists on *the highest possible rent that can be extorted*. Why, Sir, I believe that is not a singular circumstance. And certainly in England the landlord does the same thing. (*May 7, 1829*) [108-111] 25

*Portugal*, sagt er, daß (dieweil die Gov. den Dom Miguel unterstützte, "this destroyer of constitutional freedom") if the Gov. have deserved the censure of Parliament, that censure may be awarded. (*Sir J. Mackintosh's Motion on the affairs of Portugal, June 1, 1829*) If by "interference", is meant intermeddling, and intermeddling in every way, and to every extent, short of actual military force; then I must affirm, that there is nothing in such interference, which the law of nations may not in certain cases permit. (l. c.) [112-114] Macht sich sehr mausig gegen Dom Miguel. (Angriff gegen die Wellington Administration. *Aberdeen*)

*Greece.* Has there been much more energy and promptitude in fulfilling our engagements to Greece? July, 1829, is coming fast upon us, and treaty of July, 1827, is still unexecuted ... The Morea, indeed, has been cleared of the Turks ... But why were the arms of France checked at the Isthmus of Corinth? ... the narrow policy of England stepped in, and arrested her progress. ... But why do not the allies deal with the country north of the Isthmus, as they have done with that to the South, and 40

occupy at once all ||66| that which must be assigned to Greece?... I should have thought that the allies had enough of negotiating with Turkey about Greece.... I hope the constitution (für regenerated Greece) will be of London and Paris manufacture, and not the production of any  
5 artist in a capital nearer to Greece. (H. o. C. *June 1. 1829*) [123-126]  
Angriff auf *Austria* by the narrowness of her views, the unfortunate prejudices of her policy, almost reduced herself... to the level of a second-rate power. ... England das Gegenteil, aber jetzt: "she is represented as the key-stone of that arch of which *Miguel*, and *Spain*, and *Austria*, and  
10 *Mahmoud*, are the component parts. Time was, and that but lately, when England was regarded by Europe as the friend of liberty and civilisation. ... it is thus that they (people) see in the delay in executing the treaty of July, not so much fear of Turkish resistance, as invincible repugnance to Grecian freedom." (*June 11, 1829*) [127-129]

15 I object to the policy of making the integrity of the Turkish dominions in Europe an object essentially necessary to the interests of Christian and civilised Europe ... Was there no alternative between putting Russia into possession of Turkey, and the cessation of the existence of Turkey as an European power? ... Gov. should have used all means to induce Turkey  
20 to avoid a contest which must finally end in her humiliation. (*Debate on the Address, Febr. 5, 1830*) The character of the Greek power should be not merely sufficient to realise a revenue, but to protect its territories from the reaction of Turkish hostility. (I.e.) [131-133]

It is perfectly true that the war (between Russia and Turkey) arose out  
25 of aggressions made by Turkey on the commerce and rights of Russia, and violations of treaties already alluded to, and that the subsequent Hatti Scheriff was issued before the present Gov. came into Power. ... I, for one, shall not be satisfied with [seeing] a number of despatches from the Gov. of England, which will no doubt read well and smooth enough,  
30 urging, in general terms, the propriety of conciliating Russia, but accompanied, perhaps, by strong expressions of the regard which England bore to Turkey, which, when read by an interested party, might easily appear to mean more than was really intended. ... I should like to see, that whilst England adopted a firm resolution—almost the only course she  
35 could adopt—upon *no consideration*, and *in no event* to take part with Turkey in that war; that that Decision was fairly and frankly communicated to the Turks. (*Debate on the settlement of Greece. Febr. 16, 1830*) [136,137] had she England taken the honourable and upright course, hostilities would not have been continued in so recent a period. (I.e.)  
40 there are 3 merciless things—time, fire, and the Sultan ... as we excited the war in Candía, we are bound to protect the Candians ... by making

them a part of the Greek state. (I.e.) My Right Honourable friend (Sir Rob. Peel) has told the House *that he does not know whose representative I am.* (I. c.) Government should either make its stand on a denial of any information whatever, or they ought to give it in its fullest shape; for to give imperfect information—to mutilate extracts—to offer fragments of correspondence from which the most important parts have been left out, is to make a mockery of Parliament, under pretence of submitting to its jurisdiction. (*Motion on the affairs of Portugal. March 10, 1830*) [138-144]

There is nothing so mysterious or difficult in our foreign relations as that any man might not grapple with them, who came to the consideration of the subject with an ordinary share of intelligence. The time is past away—is gone by when diplomacy was an occult science. (*Palmerston's motion on the affairs of Portugal. March 10, 1830.*) [147]

The Powers of Europe and England especially, have not only a right but are *bound* to see, that by no separation between *Belgium and Holland* shall *the ancient territory of Holland* be prejudiced. (*Febr. 18, 1831*) the duchy of Luxembourg is claimed by *Belgium*. Aber Luxemburg gehört zum Deutschen Bund. Daher darf Belgium nicht enter. (I.e.) [157] *Parliamentsreform.* (Nun dafür, *Debate on Reform. H. o. C. March 3, 1831*) [160] the *landed interest* is the great foundation upon which rest the fabric of society, and the institutions of the country. (I. c.) [172] Dem Einwurf Peel's "that the Reform bill will destroy the influence of the H. o. L.", weil peers shall not interfere in election, Palmerston antwortet... we have been charged with not being in earnest or sincere, in our desire to give to the people a real representation, it was said, we only proposed to give a different kind of influence to the aristocracy and the landed interest. The opponents of the Bill must abandon one or other of those arguments. (*H. o. C. March 24, 1831*) [177] |

I[67]I Durch die bills the feelings of the middle classes will be changed, and their dissatisfaction will be converted into the attachment to the constitution, which will give to it a vast increase of strength and solidity. (I.e.) [179]

Von Palmerston gilt, was er v. Mr. Croker sagte: "Everybody knows that he is an exceedingly happy joker—happy sometimes in his self-satisfaction—and while he confines himself to the light and comic strain, he makes himself agreeable to everybody; but he must not attempt too much versatility; he may be a good statesman of all work, but I assure him that he is not a good actor of all work, and in his attempts at the heroic, he is apt to confound pathos with bathos, and to overleap the narrow bounds between the sublime and the ridiculous." I recommend him "To leave high tragedy and stick to farce". (*Aug. 12, 1831*) [182]

If the House is to interfere with, and control those negotiations (relating of Krieg u. Frieden), it were, in fact and effect, take the care of the public interests entirely out of the hands of the servants of the Crown. (Aug. 18, 1831) [188]

5 I deny that we have separated ourselves in any degree from Russia, but we have gone hand in hand with her throughout the whole of these proceedings ... Are ministers now to turn round upon Russia, and exclaim "Now ... Belgium is separated from Holland, you must pay us back that money, which, in the simplicity of our hearts, was paid you."

10 (*Debate on Russian-Dutch Loan, Jan. 26, 1832.*) [191]

More forbearance is due than might be, were the forces of the 2 powers approaching nearer to an equality. Daher nicht grössere power angewandt gegen *Brazils* f. die claims of our countrymen. (*Debate on Mr. Dixon's motion on the Brazilian captures. April 16, 1832*) the  
15 Brazilian Gov. has been compelled to admit the principle of indemnity. (l. c.) *Disfranchisement...* is the *chief and leading principle of the* (Reform) bill. Dies wegen Ultimatum der Minister nach ihrem Verwerfen. (*May 14, 1832*) [197-199]

*Poland*, though Great Britain, as one of the contracting parties, had an  
20 undoubted right to *express an opinion* on the construction and interpretation of that (Vienna) treaty; yet, on the other hand, that treaty did not impose immediate and peculiar obligations on this country. (*Mr. C. Fergusson's motion with respect to Poland, June 28, 1832*) to exterminate Poland, either morally or politically... it is so perfectly impracticable  
25 that I think there need be no apprehension of its being attempted. (l. c.) [201,202]

It would be to practise an imposition on the Gov. of Russia, if we sought, by a mean and paltry quibble, to relieve ourselves from obligations which we are bound to fulfil... if this House refuses to consent to  
30 the act necessary to the continuance of these payments, the honour and the good name of the country would be so tarnished, that I should despair of any useful or beneficial intercourse ever taking place between Engl, and other states of Europe. (*Debate on the Russian-Dutch Loans. Juli 16, 1832*) It is said, however, that it is strange, that at one time  
35 Russia is paid for supporting the union of Belgium with Holland, and that at another time she is paid for supporting the separation of those countries... the principle in each case being to preserve the balance of power in Europe, and maintain peace among the nations, especially with this country.... We have obtained from Russia the assurance, that what-  
40 ever may be her policy with regard to Belgium, that policy shall be consistent with the interests of Great Britain. (l. c.) [203-205]

I consider the constitutional states to be the natural allies of this country. (Aug. 2. 1832) [208]

The honourable and gallant member (*Colonel Evans*) has represented the conduct of Russia as one of unvarying aggression upon other States from 1815 to the present time. He adverted, more particularly, to the wars of Russia with Persia and Turkey ... Russia was *the aggressor in neither of them*; and although the result of the Persian war was an aggrandisement of her Power, it was not a result of her own seeking. So strongly did the Brit. Gov. of the day feel this to be the case, ||68| that although we had a treaty with Persia which bound us to give her succour in case of war with Russia, that succour was not given, for we contended we had a right to judge of the causes of the war, and that as Persia was the aggressor she had no title to our assistance. Again in the Turkish war, Russia was not the aggressor ... It would be fatiguing to the House to detail all the provocations Turkey offered to Russia: but I believe there cannot be a doubt that she expelled Russian subjects from her territory, detained Russian ships, and violated all the provisions of the treaty of Akerman; and then, upon complaint made, denied redress; so that, if ever there was a just ground for going to war, Russia had it for going to war with Turkey. She did not, however, on that occasion, acquire any increase of territory, at least in Europe. I know that there was a continued occupation of certain points, and some additional acquisitions on the Euxine, in Asia; but she had an agreement with the other European powers, to the effect that success in that war should not lead to any aggrandisement in Europe. (216) (*Debate on Russia and Poland, August 7, 1832*) However the question of the right or the wrong of Russia, in her violation of the Polish constitution may be decided, the *first act of war* proceeded from the Poles, and not from Russia. (1. c.) (Quixotic interference) [215-218]

*Greece*, "the only choice was this, whether we would assist to free Greece in conjunction with Russia or France, or allow Russia to do it alone". I ask whether we ought to have left Russia to settle this question single-handed? If she, unaided, had rescued Greece from the dominion of Turkey, would she not have acquired a paramount claim to the eternal gratitude of the Greeks; and would she not thus have established an influence which would have made Greece practically a Russian province? (*Debate on second reading of Greek Convention bill. Aug. 8 1832*) *Reasons for choosing King Otto*: U. A. "he belongs to a country (Bavaria) where there exist free institutions." (I.e.) [219-221]



**[John McNeill:  
Progress and present position  
of Russia in the East.  
London 1836.]**

5 Grund des persischen Kriegs, daß Russia "*seized an undisputed possession*  
*of Persia (Gokcheh)*" strip of land, which borders on the lake of Sevan u.  
demanded as the price of its evacuation, the abandonment of Persia's  
claims (which were probably just), to another portion of territory, (the  
lands of Kapan)... [77-79] The turbulent spirits in the ranks of the Rus-  
10 sian army, who had disputed the streets of St. Petersburg!) with the  
Emperor, and whose guilt it was not possible or convenient to ascertain  
or to punish, there found a field on which to exhaust their ardour. (Pro-  
gress) Um die Türkei anzugreifen "future success was rendered more  
certain by humbling beforehand the only asiatic whose common interests  
15 and common dangers might have led it to make common cause with  
Turkey, and the coffers of the Shah contained enough to defray the  
expense of the contest". (l. c.) [85, 86] Russia ... offered to aid the Porte in  
suppressing the rebellion which that cabinet attributed exclusively to her  
agency. The proposition was at once rejected by the Sultan, and the  
20 Russian ambassador at Constantinople resorted to every means to bring  
about a rupture with Turkey, because she persevered in her attempts to  
suppress the rebellion which Russia had offered her aid to put down.  
(I.e.) Russia was not content with inflicting on the Turk. Gov. the great-  
est indignities, and suspending her diplomatic relations with the Porte.  
25 Russian agents inflamed the petty differences between Persia and Turkey,  
induced the Prince Royal to invade the Ottoman dominions ... but the

Congress of Verona formally acknowledged the right of the Sultan to exclude all foreign intervention between himself and his subjects, whether Christian or Mahomedan ... This decision of the congress ... was officially announced to the Porte by the Brit, ambassador, and the question appeared to be decided. ... England and France invited Nicolas, who had 5 recently mounted the throne, to unite with them in restoring the tranquillity of Greece. Protocol signed at St. Petersburg (1825?) restrained the 3 powers to a friendly mediation between the Sultan and his rebellious subjects ... Sultan declines ... the 3 powers, founding their right to interfere on the interruption to which the commerce of the Mediterranean was 10 subjected by the piracies of the Greeks, concluded a treaty at London, July 6, 1827, by which they mutually engaged to enforce, by hostilities if necessary, the adjustment of the differences between the Porte and the Greeks, on terms to be prescribed to both parties. This [69] arrangement still reserved to the Sultan the suzeraineté of Greece, and a yearly tribute 15 from that country ... But Russia had her own separate grounds of discussion with Turkey, and demanded the performance of certain stipulations of the Treaty of Bucharest, with reference to the internal government of the Christian provinces of Turkey in the north-east; while the Porte ... called upon the Emperor to surrender the fortresses on the 20 Black Sea, which, by the same treaty, he had engaged to deliver up, but which, for 14 Jahre, had been retained in violation of these engagements ... Russia presents an ultimatum ... *Unexpectedly* accepted. Plenipotentiaries met at *Akerman*, in Bessarabia, and a convention proposed by Russia was accepted by Turkey, on the express understanding that 25 Russia should renounce all interference in the affairs of Greece. To these conditions Russia acceded, only a few months after she had signed the Treaty of London, which bound her to interfere in those affairs ... [93-95] Die andren Gesandten (December 1827) withdrew from Constantinople ... Russia proposed erst "to occupy Moldavia u. Wallachia in the name 30 of the 3 powers" u. to march an army into Turkey, for the purpose of "dictating peace under the walls of the seraglio". Die andren Powers wollen nicht. Nun she declared that "in the manner of executing the Treaty of London, she will consult only her own interests u. convenience", aber this declaration she was obliged to retract... schließt 1827 35 (autumn of) peace m. dem Shah. (The war had originated in a violation of the Persian territory by the Governor Gen. of Georgia)... *Treaty of Turcomanchai, Febr. 1828* Persia, besides paying the whole expenses of the war, was called upon to cede the important and wealthy provinces of Erivan u. Nukhchivan, including the fortresses of Erivan and Abbasa- 40 bad, because it was necessary, sagten die Russen, to the future tranquil-

lity of the 2 empires, that their common frontier should be defined by the  
Arras. (Araxes) (Gab aber nicht back ihren claim auf *Talish* u. *Moghan*,  
obgleich sie dadurch violated the principle ... of establishing the Aras als  
die frontier line.) [97-99] "By the treaty of Turcomanchai, Persia again  
5 bound to maintain no navy on the Caspian". ... Russia about 2Mill.  
£. St. from Shah received ... It was neither a sympathy with her co-reli-  
gionists in Greece, whom she had so often excited to revolt, and so often  
abandoned to their fate... [101-103] By the treaty of Adrianople the  
Czar acquired Anapa and Poty with a considerable extent of coast on the  
10 Black Sea, a portion of the Pashalic of Akhilska, with the 2 fortresses of  
Akhilska u. Akhilkillak u. die *islands formed by the mouths of the Danube*;  
stipulated für die destruction of the Turk, fortress of Georgiova, and the  
abandonment by Turkey of the right bank of the Danube to the distance  
of several miles from the river; attempted a virtual separation of Mol-  
15 davia and Wallachia from Turkey by sanitary regulations... removed  
partly by force, and partly by the influence of the priesthood, many  
1000 families of the Armenians from the Turk, provinces in Asia to his  
own territories ... He established for his own subjects in Turkey an  
exemption from all responsibility to the national authorities, and bur-  
20 thened the Porte with an immense debt under the name of indemnity for  
the expenses of the war and for commercial losses, and finally retained  
Moldavia, Wallachia u. Silistria in pledge for the payment... Having by  
this treaty imposed upon Turkey the acceptance of the protocol of  
March 22, which secured to her the suzeraineté of Greece, and a yearly  
25 tribute from that country; Russia used all her influence to procure the  
*independence of Greece* .. Wurde erected into an independent state; of  
which Count Capo d'Istria, who had been a Russian minister, was named  
president. [105-107] (*Progress and pres. Posit. of Russia in the East.*  
1836)

### [Francis: Opinions and policy (Fortsetzung)]

*Military Flogging. (Wieder dafür, Debate on Mil. Flog., April 2, 1833.)*  
[233]

the claim of Russia to the possession of Poland ... bears the date of the Treaty of Vienna, and is founded on the sanction of Europe. The Brit. Gov., therefore, feel that, as one of the contracting parties to that treaty, they have a right to *entertain and express* [70] *an opinion* on any act which, in their opinion, tends to a violation or departure from the stipulations into which they entered with the other contracting parties ... Russia is bound in good faith to preserve to Poland the continuance of that *Constitution* ... the Poles had taken the *uncalled-for*, and, in my opinion, *unjustifiable step*, of not merely asserting their rights ... but declaring the *dethronement of the Emperor*... the contracting parties to the Treaty of Vienna had a *right* to require that the *Constitution* of Poland should not be touched—and this was an opinion which I have not concealed from the Russian Gov. I communicated it *by anticipation* to that Gov. previous to the taking of Warsaw, and before the result of hostilities was known. Dann wieder when Warsaw fell... The Russ. Gov., however, took a different view of the question. (*H. o. C. July 9, 1833*) a general war must have taken place if England had interfered by arms (i. c.) I am persuaded, (Emperor of Russia not absolute), that where cases of undue severity on the part of the Russ. Gov. to the Poles have occurred, we may set them down as proofs that the power of the Emperor of Russia is *practically limited*; and we may take it for granted, that the Emperor has, in those instances, yielded to the influence of others, rather than follow the dictates of his own spontaneous feelings. (I. e.) [242-245]

*Turkey* "The integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire are necessary to the maintenance of the tranquillity, the liberty and the balance of Power in the rest of Europe." Was eine *Partition* der Turkey angeht "I have a double security,—in the first place, in the *good faith* of

Aus George Henry Francis: Opinions and policy of Palmerston (Fortsetzung)

*Russia*; and, secondly, in the doubt I entertain, whether it enters into the policy of Russia *at present* to accomplish this object." (*July, 11, 1833.*) Without minding the taunts thrown out as to our *pacific policy*, we shall do our utmost to preserve the peace of Europe. ... On the other hand, I  
5 utterly repudiate the idea, that this country trembles at the power of Russia. We certainly wish to be on *friendly terms with Russia*, not only because we have interests in common, and because we have *every motive* to be on good terms with that power; but also, because the consequences of war may be nearly as disastrous to the conquering as to the unsuccessful power. At the same time, we never will consent to purchase the  
10 friendship of Russia by the sacrifice of the least portion of the honour of the country. (I.e.) [246-248]

*Cornlaws.* If I am to understand this question as leading to the affirmation ... of the establishment of a perfectly free trade in corn, without  
15 any duty whatever—to such a proposition I should be decidedly opposed ... als "fraught with injustice to the interests of a large and important class of the community". (19 March, 1834) [253, 254]

*Political refugees.* It is not consistent with my duty to hold out to the House ... any expectation that his M's Gov. will feel themselves at liberty  
20 to propose to this House any grant of money in aid of those unfortunate persons. ... (Mit den *French* (v. der ersten Revolution) u. *Span.* Emigrants wäre es anders gewesen.) (March 25, 1834) [258]

*Spanien.* Great Britain ... identified with the cause of the existing Gov. of Spain ... by the additional articles to the Quadruple Treaty.  
25 (June 24, 1835.) [281]

*Occupation of Cracow,* the treaty of Vienna stipulates that foreign troops shall, on no account whatever, enter the State of Cracow; that treaty contains also an individual reciprocal condition on the part of the State of Cracow, that on no account shall it harbour such persons as are  
30 described in that treaty, but shall, on demand, deliver up such persons to either of the 3 contracting powers whose subjects they happen to be; and it is upon this article of the treaty, that the residents of the 3 powers, in their note to the Senate of Cracow, found their claims to the expulsion, within 8 days, of the Polish refugees from that territory ... a number of  
35 the natives of Poland assembled at Cracow, and were in constant communication with the Austrian and Russian Provinces of Poland ... the spirit of the treaty was such as to forbid Cracow from allowing the residence of such persons in their State. They had entered ;711 into an engagement not to harbour offenders against the laws, or men who had  
40 deserted from the army, or fled from prosecution. ... I am bound to say, that no sufficient reason has yet been given, either for the entrance of the

troops, or the shortness of the interval which existed between the time of the demand, and that of the occupation of Cracow. ... I should even say, that if no treaty had existed at all, if Cracow had only stood on the same common footing as all other nations of Europe, and a neighbouring power pointed out to her the existence of certain persons within her territory, who were employed in exciting *disturbances among the population of that power*, the mere duty of good neighbourhood would require that Cracow should take effective measures to prevent her soil from becoming an asylum for the disturbers. ... I do not stand up here to defend a measure which, on the contrary, I must censure and condemn. I have merely stated those circumstances which, though *they do not excuse the forcible occupation of Cracow, might yet afford a justification etc. for the demand of these powers*, if it had been made in a more limited form than it was. ... Dem Vertrag v. Wien gemäß it was their duty früher to communicate to this Gov.... but at the same time, in determining to take a step which, to say the least of it, was one of unnecessary violence, without consulting H. M. Govern., that they *be justly said perhaps to have paid an involuntary homage to the justice and plain dealing of the Country* ... da wir nicht gegeben haben würden unser assent to such a proceeding. (Sir Stratford Canning's motion. March 18, 1836.) [304-308]

I do not stand here to expound or explain the intentions of Russia. ... It is not prudent or wise *...to anticipate wrongs. (Debate on Russia and Turkey, April 20, 1836)* by the Treaty of Vienna, the navigation of the Danube is free to all nations ... When Russia acquired a portion of the Danube by the Treaty of Adrianople, that part of the river fell within the scope of the Treaty of Vienna, (I.e.) as being a part of Russia. [312-314]

*Polish refugees.* It is exceedingly painful to me to oppose the grant of any money to those individuals, which the natural and spontaneous feelings of every generous man would lead him to acquiesce in. (H. o. C. March 25, 1834) [259] Es wird ihm vorgeworfen, er habe in bezug auf Polen held out certain reasons to induce the country to entertain expectations ... not afterwards... realised. Wenn er gesagt habe früher, es sei nicht in der power of Russia to exterminate a kingdom (Poland), so habe er gemeint, Russia könne nicht nominally or physically exterminate a nation ... of so many millions of men as the Polish kingdom, in its divided state contained. (April 20, 1836) [314, 315]

*Expulsion of refugees.* It is undoubtedly true that every independent nation has an indisputable right to afford protection and the rights of hospitality to any foreigners who may take refuge there; but it is also a duty of every country to maintain the relations of good neighbourhood with the bordering States; and it is the interest of every power which

exercises the rights of hospitality to take care that the persons enjoying them do not abuse them to the purpose of forming and executing conspiracies to disturb the tranquillity of neighbouring States. (H. o. C. Aug. 9, 1836) [323]

5 *Quadruple Treaty* ... Portugal must be looked upon as one of the substantive Powers of Europe ... Spain holds out to us a fair and legitimate hope that she may yet become what she has been in former times, a flourishing and even a formidable power among the European kingdoms. (H. o. C. March 10, 1837) We have been accused of favouring innovation, and encouraging revolution. (I.e.) [327, 332]

10 *Roebuck* said: "I care not for the balance of power, I care only for the commerce of England. I care not if one power gain possession of the whole world, as long as the commerce of England is maintained" ... What would be the position [72] of England, if her commerce with all the  
15 rest of the world happened to depend on one single will, by which the whole of the rest of the world was governed and directed? (Deb. on the seizure of the *Vixen*. March 17, 1837) [334, 335]

20 *Russia*: (Gegen Attwood *alarmist*) since the peace, Russia has been exhausting her means daily in pomps and shows, in reviews in the north and reviews in the south: she has expended any surplus revenue her vast territory may give her, and although she has a large number of men under arms, yet when we consider the little means she possesses to muster them from various distant places, and then to train and bring them into the shape of an offensive army, the honourable member may depend upon it she is  
25 not in a situation to give reasonable cause of alarm to any power ranked among the principle States of Europe. I say that *Russia gives the world quite as much security* for the preservation of peace as England. I assert that Russia would find it more difficult to undertake a war which had not for its object self-defence, than England. (Dec. 14, 1837) [357, 363]

30 *Vixen* ... He (Mr. Bell) entered into a speculation for views and purposes of his own, which he was perfectly at liberty to do ... If I were to find fault with Mr. Bell, it would be because his speculation was entered upon, not with commercial, but with political motives, and with the intention of placing 2 great countries [in a position] of which war might be  
35 the consequence, and herein he showed himself not actuated by proper views. But did he receive encouragement from me to enter upon that expedition? I repeat my *denial of that assertion*. ... It is said that Mr. Bell, this innocent Mr. Bell, was led into a trap by me, by the answers I gave him. I deny that there is the slightest foundation for any such assertion ...  
40 Er antwortete nicht auf einen Punkt v. Bell's Brief: "He wished to know what was the opinion of Her M's Gov. with regard to ... the *right of* /

*Russia to the sovereignty of Circassia*, and whether ... she was entitled to establish those custom-house, and sanatory regulations she was enforcing by the power of her arms? ... no individual merchant is entitled to ask her M's Gov. to give an opinion on questions of that sort." (June 21, 1838. *Sir Stratford Canning's motion*) 5

The trap, if there was one, was laid not *for* Mr. Bell, but *by* Mr. Bell. (I.e.) Bell schrieb ihm (in Antwort) "my letter asked but one question, and that was, whether the Gov. recognise the Russian blockade on the Coast of the Black-Sea?" (I. c.) Palmerston replied "that, for information on that point, I must refer him to the *Gazette*; and there the correspond- 10 enee ended". (I.e.) [392-395]

*Russia*. My honourable friend says, that if Russia had a person exclusively devoted to her interests in the Brit. cabinet, he could not have served her more sincerely than I have unconsciously done; that I have been labouring to destroy the Turkish empire, and put an end to its 15 integrity, and subject such portion of it as remains under the *nominal* sway of the Sultan, entirely to the views of Russia ... It is *impossible* for any Gov. to have acted with more honour and good faith in any matter than the Russ. Gov. has acted with the other powers in respect to Turkey ... We can only judge the intentions of Russia from her conduct; and I must say, 20 that it is not just to impute to that power that her present conduct has any tendency whatever inimical to the integrity of the Turkish Empire. (June 1, 1840) [424,425]

the *protection of the Greek religion* by the Emperor of Russia arises out of distinct treaties with the Porte. (March 12, 1841) [429] 25

"*sham mediations*" in the contest between Denmark and Germany. (July 24, 1849) [489]

The *Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi...* was no doubt to a certain degree forced upon Turkey by Count Orloff, the Russian envoy, under circumstances which rendered it difficult for Turkey to refuse acceding to it. 30 Mehemet Ali had invaded Syria, and had advanced far into Asia minor, and threatened Constantinople. The Sultan applied to the Brit. Gov. for assistance; but the Brit. Government was not at that time in a condition to render that assistance. We had not a naval force at our disposal sufficient for that purpose. It was known that Russia had offered assistance, 35 and they sent it. The Brit. Gov. were, however, *surprised* to find that when the Russian troops quitted the Bosphorus, they carried that treaty away with them—a treaty for 8 years, of which the most objectionable portion was, that it gave practically, to the Russ. Gov. a *power of interference and dictation in Turkey, not consistent with the independence* of 40 that State. (March 1, 1850) [492]



**[Correspondence relative to  
the affairs of the Levant.**

**Pt. 1-3. London 1841]**

**[Pt. 1]**

5 1731 *Treaty of London, July 15, 1840.* (Gez. v. England, Oestreich, Preussen, Rußland u. Türkei.) (Collective note presented to the Porte by the Representatives 27 July, 1839.) [691]

(The Right Hon. Henry John Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, a Peer of Ireland, a Member of H. M's Most Hon. Privy Council, Knight  
10 Grand Cross of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath, a Member of Pari., and Her Princ. Secret, of State for For. Affairs)

*Art IV.* "Admit no foreign ship of war into the straits of Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles ausser in diesem Fall, only as a measure of exception adopted at the express demand of the sultan, and solely for his  
15 defence in the single case above-mentioned." (If Mehemet Ali should effect his land or seaforces against Constantinople.) [692]

*Separate Act annexed to this convention.* (Gez.: Palmerston, Neumann, Bulow, Brunnow.)

§ 1.) His Highness (der Sultan) promises to Mehemet Ali, for himself  
20 and for his descendants in the direct line, the administration of the Pacha-lic of Egypt; and His Highness promises, moreover, to grant to Mehemet Ali, *for his life*, with the title of Pacha of Acre, and with the command of the fortress of St. John d'Acre, the administration of the southern part of Syria, the limits of which shall be determined by the following line of  
25 demarcation etc etc [696]

§ 4.) It is expressly understood, that... Mehemet Ali... shall be bound to deliver up the Turkish fleet, with the whole of its crews and equipments, into the hands of the Turk. Agent who shall be charged to receive

the same. The Commanders of the Allied Squadrons shall be present at such delivery. [697]

[Pt. 3]

Mr. Guizot sagt zu Earl Granville: "Is it worth while for the sake of excluding the Pacha of Egypt from the Gov. of Candia during the few 5 years of life that now remain to him, to risk the dangerous consequences that may result to all the world, from France not concurring in the settlement of the peace of the East." (Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston. Paris. Nov. 6, 1840) [2]

It is not at first sight evident what the dangerous consequences are, 10 which, Mr. Guizot says, may result to the world from France not concurring in, that is to say, not being a co-operating party to, this settlement ... the anxiety of H. M.'s government to obtain the co-operation of France arose not from any feeling that such co-operation was indispensably necessary to give permanent stability to the arrangement when ef- 15 fected, but chiefly because such co-operation would have ensured the prompt submission of Mehemet Ali etc (Palmerston to Granville. Nov. 12, 1840) [4] (Metternich läßt besänftigende Briefe an Guizot kommen.)

Your Lordship ... the chief promoter and supporter of the Expedition. (Mr. Wood to Palmerston Oct. 10, 1840) [7] 20

Count Nesselrode continues in his opinion, that it is impossible for the allies to take the initiative in any overture to France; and the despatches since received from Baron Brunnow giving an account of the objections raised by your Lordship to Prince Metternich's proposal of a Meeting at Wiesbaden, have conformed Count Nesselrode in the determination of 25 the Russian Cabinet to await events. His Excellency read me these despatches this morning, and expressed his reliance in the firmness of the Brit. Cabinet to carry out the stipulations of the Convention of July to their full extent. (Bloomfield to Palmerston. Petersburg, Nov. 11, 1840) [34] 30

The Prussian Minister and Austrian Chargé d'Affaires have urged the necessity of the Allies adopting some measure which would allow France to become a party to the final settlement of the Turco-Egyptian question. ... Count Nesselrode appears not to have thought it necessary to meet their wishes ... (Id. to id. Petersburg Nov. 17, 1840) | [53, 54] 35

1741 It is difficult to see in what way France would now come in as a party to the settlement of those arrangements. (Palmerston to Bloomfield, Dec. 2, 1840) [54] Bombardement v. St. Jean d'Acre begann 3 Nov. (General C. F. Smith, Colonel commanding) Genommen 4 Nov. [58]

Aus Correspondence relative to the affairs of the Levant

It has never entered into H. H.'s (Mehemet Ali's) intentions to keep the fleet of H. Sovereign. ... When Sami Bey was sent on a mission to the Sublime Porte, he offered in the name of H. Highness, the restitution of the fleet, which was on the point of putting to sea to return to Constantinople, when the hostilities begun in Syria postponed the execution of the orders of the Viceroy ... (Boghoz Youssouf to Admiral Napier, Alexandria, Nov. 23, 1840) [75, 76]

In my hands Syria was an element of power which enabled me to give effectual assistance to the Sultan and to Turkey, in the hands of the Porte... Syria was given over to anarchy, to disorder, and to civil war. (Mehemet Ali to Louis Philippe, d. d. November 11) [91-93]

The honours which the Emperor has conferred upon the Brit, naval officers employed in the recent operations in the Levant, have been the source of extreme gratification to Her Government. (Palmerston to Lord Clanricarde, January 11, 1841) [123]

Aus dem Protocol of the Conference held at the House of the Minister of For. Affairs of the Sublime Porte, d. d. December 20, 1840 between the Minister of For. Affairs, on one part, and the representatives of Austria, Prussia, Engl., Russia, [140] wir sehn, daß nach dem Submissionsschreiben v. Mehemet Ali an die Sovereign Porte, der Internunci (Austrian) erklärt: "Das french gov. sei entitled to their respect and their consideration ..." mußten make allowances for the difficulties by which it is surrounded ... Syria has returned to the rule of H. H., der treaty of July 15 existiré noch f. sie, wenn nicht f. die Porte, etc. Ebenso der preussische Chargé d'Affaires. [145] The Ambassador of Engl. "I declare that, in my opinion, Mehemet Ali has now no right; thus the Sultan is master to take the course which he shall consider fitting, and that we can only afford him our advice." ... [147] (Ponsonby). Prince Metternich thinks that the Brit. Gov. has not employed the means in its power to induce the Porte to grant hereditary tenure in Egypte to Mehemet Ali. (Palmerston to Lord Beauvale, Jan. 26, 1841) [161]

Palmerston sendet March 16, 1841 draft of a Conference between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia u. Russia, on the one part, u. die Sublime Porte on the other, an Viscount Ponsonby. Darin heißt: "It would be proper to record the respect which is due to the above-mentioned principle (viz. ships of war of For. Powers prohibited to enter the straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus) by means of an arrangement in which France should be invited to concur ..." [321, 322]

Art. 1) "... so long as the Porte is at peace, H. H. will admit no foreign ship of war into the said straits." [324]

Die türkische Armee fiel 1839 zuerst in Syrien ein. (Mai 1839)

[Pt. 1]

"the french ministers" ... expressed an anxious desire under these critical circumstances, the most cordial concert should exist between the French and Brit. Governments. *(May, 24, 1839. Paris. Granville to Palmerston)* 5

(the Turkish Army had crossed the military line of demarcation between the Turk, and Egyptian Forces and established fortifications at Bir, on the Euphrates, Ibrahim Pacha was, in consequence, concentrating his troops at Aleppo; but Mehemet ||75| Ali under the persuasion that it was the object of the Turkish Gov. to throw the responsibility of aggression 10 on the Egyptians, had enjoined his son to make no movement, until the turk. troops had advanced so far as to put that question out of doubt.) [19, 20]

("I reserve, bis auf ampler information the discussion of some of the opinions which L. Palmerston ... has expressed to you" ...) This minister 15 appears to me to make up his mind a little too readily to a second Russian expedition to Constantinople, upon the faith of guarantees, perhaps illusory ... he does not appreciate, in a manner sufficiently impartial, the respective positions of the Porte and Mehemet Ali. At Vienna they are very equitably disposed upon this subject... M. de Barante will 20 guard his language in a manner to avoid giving rise to the supposition that we recognise even in the most restricted sense, the validity of the treaty (of Unkiar Skelessi) against which we have protested in 1833; or ... that... we would be disposed to tolerate either the subversion of the throne of the Sultan, or the dismemberment of the Empire. *(Duc de 25 Dalmatie (Sault) to Baron de Bourqueney. Paris. May, 30. 1839)* [25, 26]

A European Convention should take the place of the stipulations of Unkiar Skelessi. I am not ignorant of all the obstacles which would be raised to such a plan by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, whose policy has always been to keep its relations with Turkey beyond the pale of Euro- 30 pean law. It is for the same reason that there are grounds for fearing that that Cabinet will not lend itself to negotiations carried on by means of permanent conferences. (Id. to id. June 17, 1839) [81]

*In den Proposed Instructions to Sir Robert Stopford* (June 19, 1839) 35 heißt:

In such an event (nämlich wenn des Sultan's army had suffered a great defeat) it is also possible that a Russian force, either naval or military, might enter the ports and territory of Turkey with the *professed* object of

Aus Correspondence relative to the affairs of the Levant

protecting the Sultan ... *After* the Admiral had obtained from the Pasha the order for the retreat of his troops, and *after* he had received certain information that such order had been obeyed, it would be extremely desirable, that the Brit, squadron should proceed to Constantinople, and  
5 should remain there, or in the Black Sea, until the Russian forces had evacuated the Turkish territory ... [85]

*Nesselrode to Count Pozzo di Borgo. (Communicated by M. de Kisseleff. St. Petersburg)} June 15, 1839. )*

"If England came to an agreement with us to issue a declaration  
10 couched in these terms, the Emperor would authorise his Representative at Alexandria to hold precisely the same language. The other Allied Courts would doubtless hasten to unite their efforts to those of Russia and England." [100]

[Pt. 2]

15 *M. Thiers to Guizot. Paris, October 3, 1840.* "When the Porte, ill-advised, renewed its hostilities with the Viceroy, and lost at the same time its army and its fleet ... dann death of the Sultan Mahmoud, what was the apprehension of England and France, both then perfectly united? ... that of seeing Ibrahim victorious, cross the Taurus, threaten Constantinople,  
20 and bring, at the same instant the Russians into the Capital of the Ottoman Empire. ... France stopped the victorious Egyptian army ... she conceived that, *before forcing the Dardanelles* (wie der brave Palmerston vorgeschlagen) it would be right to demand from the Porte its consent to the entry of the 2 fleets in the event of a body of Russian troops having  
25 traversed the Bosphorus ... England acceded to these Propositions, and the 2 Cabinets were perfectly agreed ... |

[76] On the 25<sup>th</sup> of May u. 20 of June ... Palmerston acknowledged dem Herrn Bourqueney, daß die Ansprüche Mehemet Ali's a consideration of secondary importance; that a higher consideration ought to pre-  
30 dominate over all others, viz., the necessity of saving the Ottoman Empire from an *exclusive* protection (der Russian) which sooner or later would be fatal to it, if France and England did not come to an understanding ... In diesen views das french Circular, to all the courts d. d. 17 July 1839 u. Note of 27 July 1839—she originated the proposal of  
35 uniting Austria, Prussia, and Russia herself, in all the resolutions relating to the Turco-Egyptian Question. (France wollte check the Viceroy, zweitens substitute for the exclusive protection of Russia, that of the 5 preponderating Powers of Europe.) (l. c.)... Lord Palmerston ... was less

disposed than France to call for this general concurrence of the 5 Powers ... the English Cabinet then believed that it could depend on France, beyond all others, for ensuring the safety of the Turkish Empire. ... No one was then disposed to think that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire depended on the boundary which might separate the possessions of the Sultan and the Viceroy in Syria. All held that it reposed on a 2 fold condition: on preventing Ibrahim from threatening the capital, and on exempting the Russians from coming to its succour. France shared this belief with *all* the cabinets ... Austria and Prussia adhered to the views of France and England. The Court of Russia refused to join in the Conferences, which were to be held at Vienna with the view of making this European protectorate with regard to the Sultan a matter of general concern ... M. de Nesselrode said to the Ambassador of France, in the beginning of August, 1839 'for the rest, it is of small import to us, whether a little more, or a little less, be given to or taken from the Pasha in Syria'. Damals also nur Russia dissentirt, das nicht liebt the 'Western Powers to interfere in the Oriental Question' ... the danger was removed after Ibrahim had suspended his victorious march. The 2 belligerent parties were in presence; the Pasha all powerful, the Sultan beaten and without resources; yet both motionless, thanks to the intervention of France. The Brit. Cabinet proposed to wrest the Turk, fleet from the hands of Mehemet Ali. This France refused fearing to excite fresh hostilities ... So begann die difference of opinion. The ill will des Brit. Cab. für den Viceroy broke out mit great vivacy: France sought to moderate it. Upon the representations of France, the Brit. Cab. renounced the idea of recovering the Turkish fleet by forcible means ... The Viceroy had conquered the Sultan at the *Battle of Nesib*, without having been the aggressor, had consented *to stay* when he might have overturned the Sultan's throne deserved more consideration als Palmerston wollte; dieser nämlich f. den hereditary possession of Egypt ihm nehmen the Holy Cities, the Island of Candía, the district of Adana u. the whole of Syria ... France wollte ihm lassen den hereditary possession of Syria. Dieß France proposed *in Sept. 1839*. Russia sent M. de Brunnow in Sept. to make her propositions. Russia who had lately repelled as little suitable the Idea of an European Intervention between the Sultan and the Viceroy, and appeared to see no other resource but a direct agreement (zwischen Porte u. Egypt), Russia now adhered to *all the territorial* arrangements which England might please to adopt, and demanded, that in the event of hostilities recommencing, she might be permitted, in the name of the 5 Courts, to cover Constantinople with an army; while the English and French fleets should blockade Syria. These propositions exactly realised

the combination, which England had hitherto regarded as the most *dangerous for the Ottoman Empire*,—the protection of a Russian army ... these propositions not accepted. M. de Brunnow left London u. returned to it in January 1840, with new propositions ... they granted France u. 5 England the power of introducing each 3 ships of the line into a limited part of the Sea of Marmora, while the Russian troops should occupy Constantinople ... At this point the negotiations remained stationary from February-July, 1840 ... France never ceased labouring to effect a reconciliation between the Sultan and the Viceroy ... England had to 10 choose between Russia, offering it to abandon the Viceroy on condition that M. de Brunnow's propositions should be adopted, i. e. that the execution of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi should be acquiesced in by Europe; and France, merely demanding a just and temperate negotiation between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali... In 1839 Lord Palmerston bot an 15 the hereditary Possession of Egypt, and the Pashalic of Acre, without the fortress; in 1840 ... the Pashalic of Acre, with the fortress besides, but without the hereditary right in them ... Diese letzte proposition, so little worthy of the title of a new proposition, had in no respect the character of an ultimatum. It was not at all represented to us in that light. So far 20 were we from viewing it as such that on a hint from M. M. de Bulow and de Neumann, we conceived the hope of procuring for (1819, XXI 289) the Viceroy the possession of all Syria, during his life combined with the hereditary possession of Egypt. Upon the affirmation of M. M. de Bulow u. de Neumann that this proposition, if made, would be Lord 25 Palmerston's last concession, we despatched M. Eugène Perier to Alexandria with a view to predispose the Viceroy ... France had some right to think, that so long a negotiation would not end without a final explanation, that ... the alliance ... for 10 J. mit England would not be dissolved without a last effort towards an accomodation, the obenangefiihr- 30 ten hints v. Neumann etc confirmed her in this expectation. All at once, on July 17 Lord Palmerston summons the French Ambassador to the for. Office, and informs him that a treaty had been signed 2 days before; he tells him this, without even imparting to him the *text of the treaty* in question ... arrangement nahm place, without France having been pre- 35 viously apprised of the fact u. die French alliance ... so readily sacrificed. ... The offer of restoring the Turkish fleet, which the Viceroy made in June to the Sultan, from which, it was feared, a direct arrangement, secretly proposed by us, might arise; the possibility which at that time presented itself of raising Syria in revolt: vielleicht caused die sudden 40 resolution des Brit. Cabin. Egypt was never really under the | 1781 dominion of the Sultans ... The 4 powers, in granting to the success-

fui vassal who has been able to govern Egypt, hereditary right in that province, grant him, besides the Pashalic of Acre, but they refuse him the 3 other Pashalics of Damascus, Aleppo, and Tripoli; and they call that preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The integrity of the Ott. Emp. is then preserved, even if Egypt and the Pashalic of Acre is de- 5  
tached from it, but destroyed, if, in addition to these, Tripoli, Damascus, and Aleppo are detached. We plainly assert that such a proposition cannot be gravely maintained in the face of Europe ... Der Pasha hat nicht nur Egypt sich able gezeigt zu govern, sondern auch Syria, which the Sultans could never govern ... Er restores in the Mahommedans long 10  
humbled ... the consciousness of their strength ... Why weaken this useful vassal, who, once separated from the States of his Master by a well-chosen frontier, would become for him the most valuable of auxiliaries? He aided the Sultan in his struggle against Greece ... When Constanti-  
nople shall be threatened, Alexandria will be in peril. Mehemet Ali 15  
knows this well... Und das bond of vassalage soil fortexistiren was not the alliance of France of greater consequence as regards the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and the peace of the world, than this or that line of demarcation in Syria? ... To expect that when without us, and in spite of us, 4 powers shall have pursued together an object bad in itself,... and 20  
pursued it by an alliance too nearly resembling those coalitions which within the last 50 years have covered Europe with blood, France will after this be found without distrust, without resentment for such an insult, is to form a notion which she has never given occasion to the world to entertain of her national pride." [285-292] 25



**[Hansard's parliamentary debates.  
Third Series  
(Fortsetzung)]**

**[Vol. 54. London 1840.]**

5

*H. o. C. June 1. 1840.*

*Hume:* "the collective note of the 5 Powers, delivered on July 27, 1839, had prevented the Divan from concluding peace without their concurrence" ... we had joined in supporting the policy of Russia ... instead of forwarding, we were positively preventing peace between Turkey and  
10 Egypt—which was essentially a Russian object... France was desirous that Syria, as well as Egypt, should be yielded up to Mehemet Ali, and that for Syria he should pay tribute, own his vassalage to the Porte, and consent to assist the Sultan, whenever he was required to do so. ... He maintained that, in the year 1833, the Sultan had given Mehemet Ali  
15 Syria as a Pashalic, and had afterwards given him Adana and other places as an appendage to it ... it was in consequence of the Sultan's having attempted to take back those provinces from Mehemet Ali, and of his having landed troops in Asia Minor to enforce his attempt, that Mehemet Ali had been compelled to put his own forces in motion, and  
20 that in the progress of events the Turkish fleet had deserted to him from the Sultan ... When Mehemet Ali had offered to give back the Turkish fleet on certain terms, to be guaranteed by France and England, England had refused to guarantee these terms ... Within the last 6 months Reschid Pasha had made a proposition for peace to Mehemet Ali, which would  
25 have been accepted, had not the Brit. Gov. interfered to prevent ||79j it.  
[781-784]

*Palmerston.* He was fully persuaded that the interests of this country required the maintenance of the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire ... the integrity of the Ottoman empire would at once be destroyed by the dismemberment of some of its most fertile and rich provinces ... [788]

5

**[Vol.55. London 1840.]**

*H. o. C. July 22. 1840.*

*Viscount Sandon.* ... *sulphur question* ... *li* the noble Lord had exerted himself as he ought to have done, the dispute with Naples relative to this matter would never have gone to the extent of creating a rupture with the 10 Neapolitan Gov., or to perilling the valuable interests of our trade with Sicily ... Mexico had imposed a duty of nearly 200 % on some articles of our exports without the notice of 6 months, required by treaty, having been given. The attention of the noble Lord has been called to this subject early in February, läßt 2 months verstreichen (elapse), before any 15 instructions had been sent out... He would next pass to *Buenos Ayres* ... how long the blockade of that country was to be permitted? Palmerston, when *interrogated* relative to this matter etc ... erklärte that the blockade was only of an *occasional* character. But for 2 years the trade of this country had been interrupted by that blockade ... *Portugal* ... 3 years 20 since—imposed a differential duty of 15 % on all Brit, goods carried to that country from England in Brit, vessels ... [882-884]

*Macleay.* "In the affair of the Vixen, it was always extremely difficult to ascertain the noble Lord's real opinion." (über die validity des treaty v. Unkiar-Skelesi) As to the present time the opinion of the foreign office 25 remained in obscurity as to whether Russia obtained possession of the coast of Circassia by the 6th article of that treaty, and whether we were not excluded from the whole coast of Abasia ... [895]

*Disraeli:* For his own part, he thought that Brit, commerce had been more prejudiced during the foreign administration of the noble Lord than 30 in any other period of the like extent in the history of the nation. [901]

*H. o. C. Aug. 6 1840.*

*Hume:* "In reply to an intimation from Mehemet Ali that he would declare himself independent of the Porte, Col. *Campbell* said: 'I replied to him that he should remain contented with the *status quo*, as settled at 35

Kintayah, and trust to the great Powers for any arrangement for the future'... Mehemet Ali was the *de facto* Governor of Syria ... Government appeared to him to be playing the part of Russia" ... [1366-1368]

5 *Palmerston.* His hon. friend had asked what had become of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. He could tell his hon. friend that *Russia had stated* that other powers had mistaken her intentions with respect to that treaty, and that in signing it she had not been actuated by any selfish or exclusive views, and she would consent if the other powers of Europe would join with her, and take the position she held with reference to this treaty  
10 between herself and Turkey, that she would not renew it, as she did not wish to have any exclusive control in the matter. Therefore the distinct policy of her M's Gov. and the other powers led to a clear understanding, that the separate treaty between Russia and Turkey should expire, and should not be renewed ... he could assure the House, that in the whole |  
15 1801 of our proceedings, nothing had been done in any way inimical to the interests of France. He would only add, that as the treaty had not been ratified, it could not be produced ... [1374,1375]

Auf die Frage v. Mr. *Leader* "it appeared to be the general feeling in France, that there had been a want of *official courtesy* towards France in  
20 the mode in which these negotiations were carried on", [1376]

*Palmerston* "there was no want of courtesy whatever towards France in the manner in which these negotiations had been carried on. During the course of the last 10 months, it was the desire of all the powers to act in concert to secure the important object with respect to which they were  
25 all agreed, but it turned out, after a short time, that there was such a difference of opinion between France and the other powers as to the measures which should be adopted to insure the result which all desired, that they could not act together with any probability of arriving at a conclusion. On this being found to be the case a communication was  
30 made to France that if this difficulty continued, and the other 4 powers came to an understanding on the subject, that must not be a matter of surprise to her ... a projet was drawn up on our side which was presented to France, which was answered by a *contre projet* on her part. We then offered a middle course to which France stated, that she could not agree.  
35 Again, between 2 or 3 months before the convention was signed, a communication was made to her on this subject, and it was distinctly stated *to be the extreme* to which the other powers were prepared to go. After 2 months' deliberation she gave pointed and conclusive reasons why she could not be a party to this arrangement. The 4 powers then determined,  
40 in *accordance with the regulation already made with France*, that they would join in carrying the arrangement into effect, and notice of the

same was given to the French Minister 2 days after it was completed"  
[1377, 1378]

(*Prorogation of Parliament, Aug. 11 1840*), aufgelöst das H. o. C.  
June 22, 1841.) [1410]

**[Vol. 56. London 1841.]**

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*H. o. Lords. Jan. 26, 1841.*

*Lord Brougham.* In 1839 we offered to the Pacha himself Egypt... in absolute hereditary sovereignty ... In October 1839, we offered not only Egypt, but we proposed to cut out of Syria, by way of addition or arrondissement, for Egypt, a large and important portion. We offered in fact 10 the pachalic of Acre, which, as has been said, meant Syria ... In May, 1840, we had offered the Pachalic for life, with the fortress. ... the difference between the hereditary offer and that for life in the east... so trivial and insignificant... Therefore, the independence and integrity of the Turkish empire, which was an object of such paramount importance, 15 that for it we were to give up the alliance with France, to unite ourselves with the remains of the holy Alliance, with Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in preference to France, was of such weight with us in May, 1840, that we offered to give up to its supposed enemy, Mehemet Ali, the fortress of Acre, which was the key to the pachalic, the pachalic being the key to 20 Syria, Syria being the key to the Taurus, the Taurus being the key to the Bosphorus, and the Bosphorus the key to Constantinople ... What a strange thing it was that our policy being entirely directed against one particular power, Russia, who of all the world should be found a consenting party to our policy, but that very power? Nay more, the policy in 25 question being directed against Russia, the very same power was its | [[81]] great patron, if not its original proposer. ... Russia herself being the principal promoter, if not the original author of the plan ... Russia not only a party, but, underhand, and in some way or other, the contriver and suggester of the whole ... the alliance between England and France 30 made it hopeless for Russia to turn her eyes towards Constantinople —this it was, that, while it endured, made the Turkish empire, even in its weakness, secure. And if there was one single object more cherished, more pursued than another by Russia, it was that this alliance between England and France should cease ... to gain this object at any price had 35 long been the chief aim of Russia ... [19-24]

H. o. C. Januar 26. 1841.

5 *Mr. Grote*, (über das agreement of July 27, 1839) "In so far as concerns our Syrian expedition, it surely requires no very longdrawn deduction to prove that we have acquired thereby no increased securities against Russian ambition. Why, Russia is herself the grand projector of the enterprise ... we (are said to) have overreached Russia by executing a Russian plan of campaign ... *convention of Kutajah* (in Bezug auf Porte u. Mehemet Ali) v. 1833 ... Palmerston erklärte selbst *March 17, 1834*, 'that the communications made by the Brit. Gov. to the Pacha of Egypt, and to 10 Ibrahim Pacha, did materially contribute to bring about that arrangement between the Sultan and the Pacha by which the war was terminated' ... Mehemet Ali has never violated the settlement of Kutajah; the Pacha held in 1840 the same territory which that convention allotted to him, without any subsequent increase. The Sultan tried to violate the 15 convention in 1839, but was defeated at the battle of Nezig ... the noble Lord (Palmerston) chose to become himself the direct agent in subverting the settlement of Kutayah ..." [54, 56, 57]

*Hume*. "So early as the 27 March 1840 moved für die production of papers ... the noble Lord managed adroitly to evade the motion, 'it 20 would be injurious to the public service'... Am 24 July challenged the noble Lord with having agreed to a treaty 10 days before, and asked for information, etc. Part of the noble Lord's statement was *a denial of the existence of any such treaty* a mere technical error justified the noble Lord in such a statement, because what he had called a treaty, was in 25 H. M's speech styled *a convention* ... In that day's *Morning Post*, notice was given that such a treaty had been agreed to, but the noble Lord said that he had not seen the *Morning Post*, and this was the way in which the House had been treated. All information was withheld, and yet within a month afterwards they found that such a treaty had been concluded ... It 30 was well known *that a majority of the cabinet* were opposed to him (*Palmerston*) ... [83-85] the dying words of the Sultan Mahmoud were to enjoin that peace should be made with Mehemet Ali... Mr. Wood, the agent of Lord Ponsonby, had carried money and arms to Syria and had done its utmost to promote disorder and revolution ...In July 1838 on 35 the recommendations of the Brit, and French consuls, the Porte laid aside his intention to throw off the Turkish allegiance ... 50,000 stand of arms having been placed in the hand of the Druses, and other tribes of Syria, sodaß no men alive could say, when and for how long the orders of

the Sultan would be obeyed by them ... the real secret was that Russia wished to cripple and weaken Turkey, and no means more effectual could be found than promoting civil war ... Aufjedem andren Weg Mehemet Ali would have been left ready at any time to march 50 or 60,000 men to the defence of Turkey, should etc be assailed by Russia ... [88-90] In 5  
seinem amendment schlug Hume u. a. vor 'that we regard with distrust the Convention formed by H. M's Ministers with the military gov. of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, under the pretext of preserving the integrity of the Ott. Empire, which has been more injured by the encroachments of Russia than by any other power'" ... | [93] 10

¶[82]¶ Sir R. Peel ... Guizot selbst erklärt in der French Chamber of Deputies "the fact of the treaty having been signed was not communicated to me until the 17<sup>th</sup> of July, 2 days after it took place" "Considering the character of the man, and especially considering the friendly feeling of M. Guizot towards England, he could not but say, that after the 15 signing of the treaty of July 15, between the powers who were severally parties to the treaties of 1814 and 1815, having such a man as Mr. Guizot resident amongst us, and leaving him ignorant of the fact, he was not surprised that there should be some ground for indignation." ... He must enter his protest against Parliament having been allowed to separate last 20 year without a knowledge of the events then in progress having been communicated to it... Parliament was sitting on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July, when the noble Lord said, that he still hoped for the cordial co-operation of France ... the general tenor of the speech of the noble Lord was, that France was favourable to his views. The noble Lord had then the letter of 25 M. Guizot in his possession, containing a strong remonstrance upon the subject of the treaty ... If such conduct were to be acted on as a precedent, it would undermine the authority of Parliament... But *the peculiar conduct* of the noble Lord with regard to the treaty should be remembered. So anxious was he for *its immediate execution, that the parties to it* 30 *consented that it should be put into operation without waiting for its ratification.* Their orders were given to their naval and military commanders to convey fire and sword into the heart of Syria ... [101, 103]

Aus Hansard's parliamentary debates (Fortsetzung)

**[Vol. 59. London 1841.]**

*H. o. C. Sept. 20, 1841*

*Dr. Bowring:* As long ago as 1836, Lord Ponsonby had sent a subordinate official of the Constantinopolitan Embassy, a Levantine, to sow the  
5 seeds of discontent and insurrection (der Syrians gegen Mehemed Ali) and he (Mr. Wood) had been rewarded by the consulship of Damascus. This gentleman (Mr. Wood) returned again when it was decided by the  
4 Powers to eject Mehemet Ali from Syria, and Lord Ponsonby thus instructed him on August 4, 1840: "I direct you to declare in my name  
10 loudly to whoever chooses to hear you, that I am authorized to acquaint the Syrians that the Brit. Gov., in union with the Gov. of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, will protect the Syrians who shall return to the direct obedience of the Sultan." .... Die Conspiration des Wood in 1836 bewiesen durch seine Briefe an den Emir Bechir El Sheckaby on Aug. 13, 1840,  
15 an den Emir El Kasim, (an den Maronite Patriarch August 15, 1840,) ... This Christian (Wood), envoy of a Christian Gov. called upon the Mussulmans in the name of the Koran, which he entitled "the Holy Book" "the Sacred Law", to revolt ... His zeal, indeed, seemed to be boundless ... [629, 630]

20 Das Scheißministerium resignirte (August 30, 1841.) |

**[Vol.55. London 1840.]**

**I[83]I** *H. o. C. July 13, 1840.*

(Krakeel m. China, Naples, Buenos Ayres, Persia, Brasilien, Washington etc)

25 *Sir Stratford Canning.* Die occupation of Cracow dauerte v. 1838 über 1840 hinaus. Die 3 residents usurpirten alle Power, destroyed the trade between Cracow and Great Britain, which for a period of 16 years appeared so promising; trade and industry of the country ruined *towards the close of 1839.* Das *people of Cracow* drew up and addressed a memorandum to the Gov. of France and England. Darin heißt es: "the misfortunes which overwhelm the free city of Cracow and its inhabitants are such that the undersigned see no further hope for themselves and their fellow citizens than in the powerful and enlightened protection of the gov. of France and England. The situation in the free city of Cracow  
35 deprived of liberty for the exercise of industry in the limits indispensable

to its development, and of a *sufficient protection* for private interests against arbitrary power, that upon their narrow frontiers their communications interrupted with the neighbouring states; the university of Cracow, which by the resort of young men from the neighbouring countries, conformably to the treaty of Vienna, might have secured to the country a 5 certain degree of welfare ... is now without students, in consequence of the prohibitions to allow the youth of the neighbouring provinces to pursue their studies there. This measure is maintained although the university has been re-constituted according to the intentions of the protecting sovereigns, and that the competition for the professorship be sub- 10 mitted to the decision of universities, situate within the states of the protecting sovereigns.) and in which we found ourselves placed gives us the right to invoke the intervention of every power that subscribed the treaty of Vienna." [674-676]

Mr. *H. Gaily Knight*. There is something *curiously inconsistent* in the 15 proceedings of the noble Lord when Russia is concerned,... will he do nothing for Cracow, that he may get a Russian army to descend into Asia minor, and thus, eventually, give the Dardanelles to Russia, and Egypt to France? ... is not the time when we are entering into new engagements with Russia a fit opportunity for asserting the rights of 20 Cracow? A contract implies that each party wants something of the other, and therefore offers the moment when conditions may be made ... At 1836 three of the 5 Powers who were parties to the treaty of Vienna, took upon themselves without any reference to the 2 other contending parties, to confer upon Cracow what they called a new con- 25 stitution, and to declare, that from that time the residents of the 3 Courts should become the gov. of this free country ... At length the complaint of Cracow reached this country, and a motion on its behalf was made in this House—on which occasion the noble Lord declared "that he could not see any sufficient justification of the course which 30 the 3 powers had pursued" ... the constitution of Cracow is annulled, the Senate overthrown, the independence of her tribunals destroyed, her commerce is at a stand, and even her ancient university to which the youth of Poland used to resort, has been plundered of its endowments, and is all but put down. The very police of the place are foreigners 35 (Austrians)—not protectors, but spies—and paid by the 3 protecting powers—are employed to watch the tormented inhabitants, and ||36| invent the conspiracies which they fail to create ... Cracow, *la citta dolente*. What Cracow desires is, that a conference of the 5 powers should be convened, and restore the constitution to what it was origi- 40 nally made by the treaty of Vienna, and that for the future a British consul and a French Consul should reside at Cracow. ... The Senate of



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Aus Hansard's parliamentary debates.  
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France have already proclaimed their sentiments on this subject and the new Minister (Thiers) of France is the declared friend of Cracow. ... [680, 683] On these subjects (connected mit Poland) the noble Lord has disappointed us again and again. I remember when the noble Lord was  
5 pressed to exert himself in favour of Poland, that he admitted the justice of the cause, the justice of our complaints, but he said only restrain yourselves at present, there is an ambassador just setting out of known liberal sentiments, you may be sure he will do all that is right, you will only embarrass his negotiation if you incense the power with whom he  
10 has to deal, so, take my advice, be quiet at present, and be assured that a great deal will be effected. We trusted to those assurances. The Liberal ambassador went, whether he ever approached the subject or not was never known, but all we got was the fine words of the noble Lord, and no results. Again when Sir St. Canning on a former occasion brought for-  
15 ward the subject of Cracow, we were promised that an English consul should be established at Cracow in a very short time. What has been done? the noble Lord told us, in the early part of this session, that he did nothing for fear of giving umbrage. [680]

*Sir St. Canning.* The first occupation of Cracow took place under cir-  
20 cumstances ... which threw a softening shadow over it, and afforded some excuse for the violation of the treaty. It was immediately after the close of the Polish insurrection ... the Russian troops suddenly entered Cracow ... the occupation lasted only for 2 months. [673]

*Lord Palmerston* ... The grounds on which the 3 powers justified the  
25 step they had taken, however valid they might in their own opinion deem them, were not born out by the fact, and were not sufficient to bring the occupation of Cracow within the treaty of Vienna. H. M.'s Ministers had informed the 3 powers that they deemed the occupation of Cracow a violation of the treaty of Vienna and had protested against it; but it was  
30 one thing to express an opinion, and another thing to take hostile steps to compel the 3 powers to undo an act which they had done, and especially in a case where, from local and geographical circumstances, *there were no means of enforcing the opinions of England*, supposed that this country was disposed to do so by arms, except by declaring war, because  
35 Cracow was evidently a place where no English action could by possibility take place ... It was obvious that Cracow, if its *commercial* intercourse with this country were merely considered in reference to its own particular consumption, could not be an object of very great importance. The population of the city of Cracow did not amount to much more than  
40 110,000 souls. As a point of connexion with the rest of the continent, it was undoubtedly, in times past of some importance ... ;371 With respect

to the occupation of the city of Cracow, it should be recollected that though that occupation was sanctioned and ordered by the 3 powers, it was practically executed *chiefly* by Austria. It was at present, and had been for some time garrisoned by Austrian troops ... between Austria and the Brit. Gov. the question (of the evacuation of Cracow by the Austrian Garrison) *remained only a question of time* ... If he were now asked to say *when* that object (the release of Cracow from military occupation) would be obtained, or what were the intentions of Ministers on the subject, he thought that his experience of the manner in which *his unfortunate assertion of an intention to appoint a Brit. Consul at Cracow* had been taken up by hon. Gentlemen opposite, justified him in positively refusing to give *any answer* to such a question, which might expose him to similar ... *unjustifiable* attacks ... he certainly should not recommend the House to follow the example of the French Chambers. ... [685-687, 689] 15

*Sir R. Peel* ...he thought that the noble Lord had quite failed to establish his position, that the trade and commerce of this country had lost nothing in consequence of the occupation of Cracow ... How did the noble Lord make out his case? By showing that the amount of *general exports to Germany* had not fallen off... the question, in fact, was how did the noble Lord show that our commerce with the whole of the north of the continent would not have shown a greater progressive increase if we had retained the trade of Cracow? ... [691, 692] entwickelt zugleich "that had more active measures been taken by Gov. at an earlier period, this usurpation would have been put a stop to", u. daß wenn Palmerston, statt 1836 im Parlament previously zu erklären, the intention of Great Britain of sending out a consul, wirklich einen geschickt hätte, he would have succeeded. ... [694, 695] 20 25

*Lord Eliot*: When the noble Lord told them that the allied Powers intended to withdraw their garrisons he had not also told them that they intended to restore the independence of Cracow, according to the provisions of the treaty. 30

Auf Interpellation v. Sir Strat. Canning gesteht *Palmerston* that he had received the address and memorial sent by the inhabitants of Cracow to the Gov. of Engl. u. France. [695] 35

**[Vol. 88. London 1846.]**

*H. o. C. Aug. 17. 1846*

*Hume* trägt an "that a humble Address be laid before her Majesty, praying her to lay before the House a copy of the Convention entered into by the 4 Great Powers of Europe." [820]

*Palmerston* unimportant differences ... upon this particular subject— with France ... in these proceedings *no* concealment had been practised towards France ... What on earth had the *holy alliance* to do with this treaty which had been entered into for a specific purpose? the treaty, also, was not with the same parties that contracted the holy alliance, *for England was no party to that alliance* ... \

**[Vol. 19. London 1833.]**

1381 *H. o. C. July 11. 1833.*

*Henry L. Bulwer.* By the *treaty of Adrianople* ... the Sublime Porte was degraded in the eyes of its subjects, and the prestige which formerly hung around it was gone. This was all that Russia wanted ... the disgrace of the Porte naturally occasioned a variety of insurrections amongst its subjects; Mehemet Ali, of those subjects at first the most powerful, and afterwards the most formidable. ... It was said, that some time previous to the Russian expedition, or consent of assistance, she (Russia) informed us, and the Porte specially informed us, that events were taking place in Asia which would oblige the Porte to have recourse to foreign interference, and that we were asked by *both* parties to put a stop to Mehemet's progress, which a note from us—a mere note from us—would have been able to do. That this note we delayed writing, and that thus Russia was *forced* to take the part she took ... some persons—seemed rather to favour the idea of Russian dominion in the East as favourable to the general civilization and to the happiness of the people of that part of the world. He acknowledged that, of all ideas, this seemed to him the most singular of any that ever entered the brain of any man acquainted with history ... Half a century ago Russia was not half European, now Europe was half Russian ... There was hardly a court in which she (Russia) had not family alliances and secret agents. ... Concluded by moving for "a humble Address to H. Majesty for Papers respecting the Measures pursued by Russia, in her late interference with the State of Turkey" ... [571-575, 578]

*Palmerston*.—"If Russian conquest should lead to the Christianizing and civilizing the inhabitants of that country, such advantages—and no one could estimate them higher than he did—would be counterbalanced by the consequences which would result to Europe to the dismemberment of the Turkish empire ... he had great doubts that *any* intention to partition 5 that empire *at all entered* into the policy of the Russian government. Besides, he very much doubted also whether the Russian nation—properly so called—would be prepared to see that transference of power, of residence, and authority to the southern provinces which would be the necessary consequence of the conquest by Russia of Constantinople. ... 10 H. M's Gov. had been taunted with being afraid to go to war, and had been accused of truckling to other Powers in consequence of this fear ... If the present relations established between this country and France were pointed at in these sneers, he would only say, that he should look back with feelings of pride and satisfaction at the part he had acted in bringing 15 about that good understanding ..." | [579, 580]

[39] *Cutlar Fergusson*. If she (Russia) now retired from Turkey, it would only be for the purpose of rendering her return more easy, and her prey more sure. Such was her honesty ... [580]

**[Vol.22. London 1834.]** 20

*H. O. C. March. 17. 1834.*

*Sheil*. Even Russia (nach dem Vorrücken v. Mehemet) concurred recommending, that succour should be afforded. *Russia calculated, of course, on the refusal.* ... In May Lord Ponsonby reached Constantinople. Count Orloff arrived as well as Lord Ponsonby. ... One of the arti- 25 cles of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi conforms all prior treaties, *in particular that of Adrianople* ... a third interdicts her from resorting to any other European Power (als Russia) for 10 years ... [307-310] *Incident.*

**[Vol. 20. London 1833.]** 30

*H. o. C. Aug. 24. 1833.*

*Colonel Evans* "he desired to know if it were not the fact, that a treaty had been agreed to between Russia and the Sultan himself, without the concurrence of any Minister, and without the knowledge of any diplomatic agents at the Porte?" [873] 35

Aus Hansard's parliamentary debates (Fortsetzung)

*Sir Robert Inglis:* "whether there really had been concluded a treaty offensive and defensive between Russia and Turkey? ... Correspondence in the *Morning Herald* (d. d. August 21), according to which the treaty geschlossen ... precluded Turkey from entering into any new treaties with  
5 other powers, except with the concurrence of Russia? ... he trusted that if the noble Lord could not now give the information required, he would be prepared *before the prorogation of Parliament* to lay before the House, not merely the treaties that had been made, but all communications connected with the formation of those treaties between Turkey and Russia."  
10 [873, 874]

*Palmerston.* "His M's government had been informed, that a treaty had been recently signed between Russia and the Porte; but as that treaty was not officially signed, and as he was not in possession of it, the House could not expect of him to give any information as to what that treaty  
15 contained. With respect to the information said to be received by means of the public journals, it could be no blame to Gov. if, by the activity of their agents, they were sometimes beforehand with the Government... When they were sure that *such* a treaty as that alluded to really did exist, and when they were in possession of that treaty, it would be then for  
20 them to determine what was the course of policy they ought to pursue" ... "a demand for assistance to the gov. of this country had been made in the course of *last August* (1832) by the Porte, before it had applied to Russia for assistance. The application that had been made to the country on the part of the Porte was for maritime assistance, and H. M's Gov.,  
25 from the nature of circumstances had not thought fit to grant the application." [875]

*H. o. C. Aug. 28. 1833*

Auf die verschiedenen Fragen v. *Th. Attwood* (u. a. auch "as Count Orloff was *soon afterwards* (nach dem treaty of Unkiar Skelessi) sent over  
30 to England, what reception he had met with at His Majesty's court?"): [899]

*Palmerston:* Er hatte sich selbst geirrt. Das request der Porte f. naval assistance had been made in the month of October 1832 ... he would only remind the ||40| House, that when we were embarking in naval operations  
35 in the North Sea, and on the coast of Holland, and were under the necessity of keeping up another naval force on the coast of Portugal, it would have been impossible to have sent to the Mediterranean such a squadron as would have served the purpose of the Porte ... it was but

justice that he should state, that so far from Russia having expressed any jealousy as to Gov. granting that assistance, the Russian ambassador officially communicated to him, while the request was still under consideration, that he had learned that such an application had been made, and that, from the interest taken by Russia in the maintenance and preservation of the Turkish Empire, it would afford satisfaction if Ministers could find themselves able to comply with the request.... With regard to there having been any communication with the Pacha of Egypt,... as it was a war against a Sovereign by a subject, and that sovereign was in alliance with the King of England, it would have been inconsistent with good faith to have had any communication with the Pasha ... "Count Orloff had not been in this country on a mission—he had been sent to the Hague on one: but to this country he came only in the character of a distinguished traveller." [900, 901]

*H. O. Lords. Aug. 29. 1833*

15

*Prorogation of Parliament.* In der Thronrede: "the hostilities which had disturbed the peace of Turkey have been terminated; and you may be assured, that my attention will be carefully directed to any events which may affect the present state or the future independence of that empire".

*Schluß des Incident.* [903] 20

**[Vol.22. London 1834.**

*House of Commons, 17. März 1834.]*

*Sheil:*

*In October 1833 Monsieur la Grènee* addressed the following Note to Count Nesselrode: "The undersigned Chargé d'Affaires of H. Maj. the King of the French, has received orders to express to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, the profound affliction felt by the French Gov., on learning the conclusion of the treaty of July 8, 1833, between the Emp. of Russ., and the Grand Signior. In the opinion of the King's gov., this Treaty assigns to the mutual relations existing between the Ottoman empire and Russia a new character against which the powers of Europe have a right to protest." Nesselrode replied in an offensive u. contumelious language, a note concluding mit den words, der Emper. of Russ. würde act "as if the declaration contained in the note of Monsieur la Grè-

*nee had no existence. St. Petersburg}}, Oct. 1833" ... If the French gov. remonstrated, it was to be presumed that the noble lord did not remain silent. Where was his correspondence? ... M. Thiers ... incidentally acknowledged, that it was a part of the treaty, that all vessels of powers at 5 war with Russia, should be excluded from the passage of the Dardanelles ... Our own Parliament did not meet until the 5 of February (1834), but before it assembled, an incident occurred which remained to be explained. The French and English fleets united proceeded to the Dardanelles, which Russia had spared no expense to fortify, and having displayed the 10 tricoloured and "the national flag of England" ... both fleets sailed away, and instead of proceeding to Smyrna, gave preference to a more distant, but less commodious harbour, where, however, Russian influence was not quite so predominant as in that celebrated haven ... On February 24 (1834) the following paragraph appeared in the *Globe*... 15 organ of the For. Office ... lautend: "Another treaty between Russia and Turkey has been concluded at *St. Petersburg*, which was signed by Achmet Pacha, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January ... Enough has transpired to satisfy the most jealous that its spirit is pacific, and, indeed, advantageous to the *Turk. Empire*. The Porte is relieved from the pressure of the engagements 20 imposed on her at Adrianople: and we understand that the Principalities, with the exception of *Silistria*, will shortly be evacuated, and the sum exacted by the former treaty reduced 'j. Such relaxations of positive engagements are proofs either of the moderation and good sense of Russia, or of the influence which the union of England and France, and the firm and 25 concerted language of those 2 Powers have acquired in the Councils of *St. Petersburg*" ... this treaty did not at all relate to that of July 8. (1833) Not one word was said of the passage of the Dardanelles... By the treaty of 1675, concluded by Sir John Finch, the navigation of all the Turk. Seas was secured to England. In 1809, a little time after our rupture with the 30 Porte produced by the attack on the Dardanelles, a new treaty was executed, by which the passage of the Dardanelles and the canal of Constantinople was secured to England. Art. 11 provided, that, in time of peace, no ship of war should pass, no matter to what country it might belong. In 1774, by the treaty of Kainardji, the passage of the Darda- 35 nelles was first secured to Russian merchant vessels. In 1780 a quarrel took place respecting an armed vessel. In 1783 a new treaty was entered into, and another in 1792 (that treaty by which the Crimea, just like Greece, was declared independent, and then absorbed in Russian domination), and by both treaties the passage was secured to merchant vessels 40 only. In 1800, Russia having obtained the protectorship of the Ionian Islands, entered into a treaty securing the passage of the Dardanelles to*



the merchant-vessels of those islands. In 1812, the Treaty of Bucharest was signed, by which Bessarabia was given up to Russia, and all former treaties respecting the Dardanelles were confirmed. In 1829 the *Treaty of Adrianople*: "7<sup>th</sup> Article the Sublime Porte declares the passage of the Canal of Constantinople completely free and open to Russian merchant- 5 vessels under merchant flags, from the Black sea to the Mediterranean, and from the Mediterranean to the black Sea; upon the same principle the passage is declared free and open to all merchant-vessels belonging to Powers at peace with the Porte" ... thus the stipulation was, that all nations at peace (*not*, be it observed, with Russia, but with the Porte) 10 should enjoy the right of unimpeded passage ... *the consequence was precisely the same as if the Porte surrendered to Russia the possession of the Dardanelles*, and the last of the sultans was the first satrap of Nicholas the Great... There did not appear to be any sound reason for withholding this treaty. ... Ponderous folios of fruitless negotiations on the 15 affairs of Belgium had been given to the world; ... Nach dem Fall v. Polen we did remonstrate, and despatched Lord Durham to St. Petersburg (why was not Sir Stratford Canning there?) and what had been the result?... [311-317] |

[42] *Henry Lytton Bulwer* seconded the motion. ... he looked upon 20 treaties rather as declarations by the powers making them, of what they considered their respective interests for the time being, than any binding obligation. What he would lay stress upon, and what this country at large, as well as other countries laid stress upon, *were the alarming practical demonstrations made by Russia in her inroads into Turkey*, and all her 25 subsequent proceedings... [318]

*Palmerston* ... He fully admitted, that to resist the production of papers upon a subject of this kind, was to appeal, in a strong and pointed manner, to the confidence of the House; *but, upon the present occasion, he hoped that the House would refuse to accede to the Motion* ... the trans- 30 actions between Mehemet Ali and the Sultan commenced in October 1831 ... the decisive action between the troops at Koniah did not take place till December, 1832. Now, it was not usual for this country to be ready to interfere in contests between sovereigns and their subjects;... the early period at which the contest began, and the length of its dura- 35 tion, proved that, till near its conclusion, it did not assume a character so different from that of the usual contests between the governors of the provinces and the Sultan, as to lead to the supposition that the result would be very different... It would have required some strong reason to have induced the Gov. of England to interfere, by force of arms, in the 40 contest between the Sultan and his rebellious subject, the Pacha of Egypt.

Assistance was at length asked by the Porte in *November* (erst sagt er August, dann Oktober, jetzt November) 1832, but the decisive battle of Koniah took place so soon afterwards, namely in December following, that, *from want of time*, no interference could have been exercised, on the  
5 part of this country, early enough to have prevented that catastrophe, (the whole history of the Turkish Empire was full of successive revolts of powerful vassals against the Sultan, sometimes with success at the first on the one side, sometimes on the other; but almost invariably ending in the re-assertion of the authority of the Sultan.)... M. Maurojeni, the first  
10 *official* bearer of the application of the Sultan, did not arrive in *London till Nov. 3, 1832* ... fleet would not have arrived in time to have prevented the decisive battle in Koniah ... we were then engaged in other operations, which occupied the whole of our naval force ... But, although his  
15 M's Gov. did not comply with that demand of the Sultan for naval assistance, yet the *moral* assistance of England was afforded; and the *communications made by the Brit. Gov.* to the *Pacha of Egypt*, and to Ibrahim Pacha, commanding in Asia minor, did materially contribute to bring about that arrangement between the Sultan and the Pacha, by which the war was terminated ... Great Britain never complained of Rus-  
20 sia granting that assistance ... but on the contrary, was glad that Turkey had been able to obtain effectual relief from any quarter ... the notification, die ihn zum Gesandten machte, reached Lord Ponsonby in November, and the *only circumstances* which prevented him getting to Constantinople until the end of May, were the difficulties experienced in making  
25 the necessary arrangements for his conveyance, and the unfavourable state of weather ... the Honourable Gentleman had inquired whether the Brit. Gov. approved of that treaty, or looked upon it with satisfaction? Certainly 11[43] it did neither; because that treaty, even *on the first glance*, wore the semblance of being intended to give Russia some advantages with  
30 respect to Turkey, which she did not possess before, and which were not to be enjoyed by the other Powers of Europe. But he was bound to say, that the explanations which had been since given of what were apparently the most objectionable parts of that treaty, had tended, in some degree, to alter the impression which the announcement of that treaty necessarily produced upon  
35 the Gov. ... [319-324] If the Gov. acted "with temper", showed "no unnecessary distrust" etc ... he was inclined to think, that the case might not arise in which that treaty would be called into operation; and that therefore it would, in practice, remain a dead letter ... with respect to the language of Russia, it was, on all occasions, the duty of the Engl. Gov. to look  
40 rather to the acts of a foreign Power, than to the language which that Power might hold on any particular subject or occasion, they (England u. |

France) had now cemented a friendship, which had only grown stronger, and more lasting in proportion as the 2 gov. had become better acquainted with each other ... *Communications were still carrying on with respect to these matters; the discussions, if he might so call them, were not yet completed; and it was contrary to the practice of Parliament to compel the Gov. to produce correspondence, pending a negotiation in which the interests of the country were materially involved. ... Peace ... could be preserved only by the House reposing confidence in the Gov. ...* [325-329]

*Col. Evans.* On the one hand, the Pacha of Ejjypt had conquered from the Porte a large tract of territory; and on the other hand, Russia, on the invitation of the Porte, had occupied Constantinople for the preservation of Turkey. These 2 things were amply sufficient of themselves, supposing no treaty whatever had followed to place Turkey in a very different position from that which she had before occupied. ... Before that treaty (of Unkiar Skelessi), in case of a war with Russia, the Dardanelles were open to a British fleet, but under that treaty, the Dardanelles were barred, and the Russian ports in the Black Sea were secure against a British fleet. That was a most serious and injurious change. But if the French Minister was correct, it was a change that could not be permitted. According to the declaration of the Minister of France, the treaty of July between Russia and the Porte, was in direct opposition to the laws of Europe ... Information ought decidedly to be given of that point, in order that the House might judge of the actual position in which the question stood. ...

*Sir R. Peel.* In Bezug auf Portugal the noble Lord had not felt it his duty to withhold ample explanations, verbal and documentary ... The noble Lord said, first, that on matters which were still pending, it would not be fair to Ministers to call upon them to produce a copy of their last despatches. ... The second objection of the noble Lord, that such information could not be called for by the House without casting blame on Ministers. ... His third argument... went far to destroy the validity of the 2 preceding. It was, that explanations had been already made to the Gov., which had abated the fears entertained as to the objects of Russia. ... The noble Lord had declared, that he, as a Minister of the Crown, rejoiced that Russia had replied as that Power had done to the application of the Porte for assistance ... the occupation of Constantinople by Russian troops, even for a friendly ||44| object, sealed the fate of Turkey as an independent Power ... Although there was a British man-of-war in waiting yet such had been the difficulties or the dangers to overcome, that the Engl. Ambassador was 6 months in making his way to Constantinople. ... But, after all, the noble Lord had a triumphant answer to all objections. "There exists" says the noble Lord, "the closest alliance be-

tween England and France." He could but remark, that whenever the noble Lord was thrown into any difficulty as to any part of our foreign European policy, he at once found a ready means of escape, by congratulating the House upon the close alliance between this country and France ... It was, probably, because that alliance was so intimate, that French example and French policy have controlled our proceedings with respect to Turkish independence ... England compelled to connive, at least, at an aggression upon Turkey, which France had directly encouraged ... course which France herself had taken with regard to Algiers ...

10 [334, 335, 337-340]

*Mr. Secretary Stanley:* "he boldly asserted that what stopped the progress of Mehemet Ali was the distinct declaration of France and England, that they would not permit the occupation of Constantinople by his troops ... Before she concluded that treaty, Turkey possessed the Power of closing the Dardanelles to both, or to either of 2 belligerents ..."

**[Vol. 21. London 1834.]**

*H. o. Lords February 4, 1834.*

*Duke of Wellington:* He happened to know, that on a former occasion, when Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt, was desired by this Gov. not to carry into execution certain measures which he wished to effect, and when he was positively told that he must not proceed, he at once desisted. The fact was, that if this country wished to prevent him from carrying on war in any part of the Levant, it had only, to employ a fleet to force him to act according to its direction. Those directions would be as readily obeyed by him now as they were formerly. If, in the Session of 1832, or 1833, they had plainly told Mehemet Ali that he should not carry on this contest in Syria and Asia Minor, they would have put an end to this war without the risk of allowing the Emp. of Russia to send a fleet and an army to Constantinople. But, instead of doing that, instead of taking a commanding position, our fleets were in the Douro and the Tagus, protecting civil war, and in the Channel, blockading the fleets of our Dutch allies. ... our 3 allies, Holland, Portugal, and Spain, and he might add a fourth, our ally Turkey, were placed under the protection of the other powers. They were, if he might use the word, swamped in Europe at the present moment. [12,13]

*Earl Grey,* he did not believe it to be the duty of the Gov. of this country to interfere directly in such a war (between the Sultan and his revolted vassal), or to enter into hostilities with Mehemet Ali, from

whom we had received no cause of complaint, and with whom we had at the moment extensive commercial relations, which it would not be our interest to disturb ... At the period (des treaty of Adrianople) despatches sent from the Secretary of State's office in this country, strongly protesting against that treaty, and declaring that the independence of the Porte would be sacrificed and the Peace of Europe endangered, by its being agreed to. | [25] 5

**[Vol. 32. London 1836.]**

[[45]] *H. O. C April 20, 1836.*

*Patrick M. Stewart*, the demand made the other day to the authorities of Cracow to deliver up the individuals concerned in the revolt (Polish) 5 years before... [1263] In Bezug auf das country round the Euxine ... Russia had not taken the manly means of invasion and conquest, she had proceeded with her aggressions stealthily and secretly, and had exhibited the spectacle of the dissembling strong seizing every opportunity of obtaining unjust advantage over the helpless weak ... [1266] Of 600 looms for muslin busily employed at Scutari in 1812, only 40 remained in 1831; and of 2,000 weaving establishments at Tournovo in 1812, only 200 remained in 1831. The Turkish manufactures gave way before the abundance and cheapness of our own. ... Durch den treaty of Adrianople, Turkey saddled with a debt of 4 millions. ... It gave to Russia 200 miles of the Circassian coast and the Delta of the Danube, with the alarming provision annexed, that 6 miles of the opposite coast should remain uninhabited ... the treaty of St. Petersburg, of 1834 ... Russia was to remit the Turkish debt, to evacuate the Turkish provinces, to retain Silistria. ... When Ibrahim Pacha's army was in Asia Minor, a Russian officer was despatched to the Pachas of Erzeroum and Trebizond, to inform them that in the event of Ibrahims army marching towards Erzeroum, both that place and Trebizond should be immediately protected by the presence of a Russian army. ... The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were objects of deadly jealousy to Russia. They vie with her in her staple production ... Relying on positions bristled with fortifications, Russia ventured to lay hands on British shipping, and to arrest it, in spite of the treaties of Europe ... Many ships had sailed, and others were going out, to whose captains strict orders had been given not to submit to the right of boarding and search, which Russia had lately claimed ... the fate of those ships must be inevitable, unless some expression of opinion were made on the part of the House ... Unless that were done, Brit, shipping, 10 15 20 25 30 35

## Aus Hansard's parliamentary debates (Fortsetzung)

to the amount of not less than 5,000 tons, would be seized, and marched off to Odessa, until the insolent commands of Russia were complied with ... Lord Durham, acting upon instructions received from England, remonstrated with the Russian Gov. for the hindrance which had been  
 5 given to Brit, trade. He had been referred to Count Nesselrode, Count Nesselrode referred to the Governor of South Russia and the Governor of South Russia again referred to the Consul at Galatz, who communicated with the Brit, consul at Ibraila, who was instructed to send down the captains from whom toll had been exacted, to the mouth of the  
 10 Danube, the scene of their injuries, in order that inquiry might | [1271-1274,1276,1277] |32| be made into the subject, it being well known that the captains thus referred to, were then in England ... Grade damals Russia die insolence to fortify a strong position gegenüber Sweden, by which she would obtain the complete command of the Baltic. In this new  
 15 work, too, she had the further insolence to employ the captive Poles. ... *Stewart* moved: "to send a diplomatic agent forthwith to the free and independent state of Cracow" and to take such steps "best adapted to protect and extend *the commercial interests of Great Britain in Turkey, and the Euxine*". [1277,1279]

20 *Sir Edward Codrington* (der Admiral v. Navarino) unterstützt die motion ... It was an old and good maxim of Brit, policy that where our trade was there should be our ships. The trade we carried on in the Baltic was hardly worth our protection, while that in the Black Sea was hourly increasing with Turkey and the provinces bordering on Persia ... Mehemet Ali had of old felt the strength of our representations on the subject  
 25 of the evacuation of the Morea. Er hatte received orders to resist all applications to induce him to evacuate it at the risk of his head, and he did resist accordingly ... but at last prudently yielded to necessity, and evacuated the Morea ... if we prevented him from disturbing Turkey,...  
 30 she would be able to defend herself against Russia. ... he looked on the *fortifications which Russia was erecting in the island of Aland*, close to the coast of Sweden—as evidences of intention—to aggrandize herself at the expense of her neighbours in the north as she had already done in the south. She had a numerous flotilla anchored beside the islands ...  
 35 [1279, 1281,1282]

*Palmerston*. If Parliament will place their confidence in us,—if they will leave it to us to manage the foreign relations of the country... *we shall be able to protect the interests, and to uphold the honour of the country, without being obliged to have recourse to war ... the question is*

not whether the Gov. are alive to those considerations to which the speech of my hon. friend points—but *whether circumstances have occurred which show the existence of danger to which the Gov. are blind, and against which they are not likely to guard, unless driven thereto by the direct interference of this House...* My hon. friend has shown that during 5 the last few years, the trade with Turkey ||33| has risen from next to nothing to a very considerable amount. And what are the years during which this change has taken place ... years when Turkey was involved in intestine war, when every circumstance connected with the internal and political condition of Turkey was unfavourable,... During that period ... 10 our trade with Turkey has increased in a most rapid and unexampled manner. Then with regard to Persia, the same observation applies ... the import at Trebizond during the last 3 or 4 years has increased from 450,000 £. to 800,000 £. But what was the state of Persia at that time? It had been but recently involved in a question of a disputed succession, 15 and in a state of civil war. ... If my hon. friend had been able to show, that whereas some years ago we had had a large and important commerce with Turkey and with Persia, and that that commerce had, by the aggression of other countries, or by the neglect of the Gov. of this, dwindled down to an inconsiderable trade, then there might have been 20 ground to call upon Parliament... As to the aggressions which he conceives Russia meditates against us. ... I can assure the House there is no disposition on the part of H. M's Gov. to submit to aggressions on the part of any power, be that power what it may, and be it more or less strong ... but... I confess that I was not able to make out from his 25 (Stewarts) statement any specific fact which he alleged to have taken place. ... There can be no doubt, I apprehend, that by the treaty of Vienna, the navigation of the Danube is free to the commerce of all nations ... citirt the articles ... when Russia acquired a portion of the Danube by the treaty of Adrianople, that part of the river fell within the 30 scope of the treaty of Vienna, as being a part of Russia ... my hon. Friend has (not) alleged any actual violation of that treaty ... [1283, 1285-1289] {Stewart sagt that a case of interruption ... actually occurred with respect to some ships returning home)... [1289] I have received no official information that anything has occurred which is not warranted by 35 the treaty: ... when such a statement shall be made to me by the parties concerned, it shall be brought under the attention of the Gov., and shall be dealt with by them in such manner as the law-advisers of the Crown shall deem consistent with the rights of the subjects of this country ... we

should submit to wrong from no Power whatever—... but we should also cautiously abstain from anything ||34| which might be construed by other Powers, and reasonably so, as being a provocation on our part... [1289, 1292]

5 *Lord Mahon.* the painful and perplexing state of Eastern affairs is mainly owing ... to the policy, or rather let me say, the want of policy of the noble Lord ... Lord Aberdeen, in a despatch to Lord Heytesbury d. d. *31 October* (1829), comments with no small dissatisfaction on many parts of that Treaty (of Adrianople), and especially notices the stipulations respecting the Islands in the Danube. He denies that that peace has  
10 "respected the territorial rights of sovereignty of the Porte, and the condition and the interests of all maritime States in the Mediterranean" ... the cry of the Hon. Gentlemen opposite was then, that the Duke of Wellington was far too friendly to Turkey, that the Tories were attached  
15 to it, because it was a barbarous State; that its alliance and position were of no advantage to us, and that Russia was acting with singular moderation and total absence of ambitious views. ... [1293-1295] As to a Syrische Scheiße. Nor was it one of those sudden or violent inroads defying by its rapidity, all reasonable calculation; Syria was invaded in  
20 the spring; in July was fought the battle of Horns, deciding the fate of that province, and it was not till the 21 of December afterwards, that the whole Turkish army was annihilated at the decisive battle of Coniah ... then the Sultan, compelled to apply to the succour of some other power ... Schickt Maurojeni (der Sultan), u. then Namik Pasha, to en-  
25 treat the assistance of a naval squadron, undertaking to defray all the expenses of that squadron, and promising in further requital of that succour, the grant of new commercial privileges and advantages to Brit, subjects in Turkey ... All the Powers of Europe were then friendly to our granting the application of Turkey and even Russia ... Even admitting  
30 that the noble Lord, in the trying situation in which he was placed, was compelled to reject the solicitations of Turkey, I should at least have expected that he would have taken most anxious precautions to guard against excessive influence on the part of Russia, and to keep her interference confined to narrow bounds... he would have provided, with  
35 peculiar vigilance, for the diplomatic duty to be performed at Constantinople ... Kein Gesandter dort on the verge of the decisive battle of Coniah ... If an active and able ambassador had been present at Constantinople through the whole period, the ascendancy of Russia might have been successfully stemmed. ... A secretary of embassy (wie M. Man-



deville) can not possess or speak with the tone of an Ambassador ... if ever there was a country in which the weight and station of an Ambassador were useful—or a period in which that weight and station might be advantageously exerted—that country was Turkey, during the 6 months before the 8th of July ... | [1297-1299] 5

**[Hansard's parliamentary debates.**

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5

[16] *Cracow. (H. o. C. Aug. 17 1846)*

*Hume.* In the month of April last, he had asked whether there was any objection to lay on the Table of the House copies of correspondence, or whether there was any, with respect to the unfortunate state of Cracow. On the 22<sup>d</sup> of February, the army of Austria, and afterwards of Russia and  
10 Prussia, took possession of that place, and the atrocities that followed in Galicia were appalling to any individual who read them etc. the Gov. had been, on a former occasion, called upon to send a representative to Cracow as consul, there being consuls there from the other 3 States, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the noble Lord now at the head of the Foreign  
15 Department (*Palmerston*) was then (1836) also at the head of that department; and his answer then was, that the Gov. were taking steps to send out a consul to take upon him the duties of that office. ... in 1837, when asked why he had not fulfilled his pledge and sent out a consul, he said the Gov. had given up the intention; but never stated why or  
20 wherefore. [815,816]

1 Art. des treaty of Vienna. "The Poles who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia shall obtain a representation and national institutions regulated according to the degree of political consideration that each of the Gov. to which they belong shall judge expedient and  
25 proper to grant them." By the 6<sup>th</sup> Article des treaty the town of Cracow with its territory is to be for ever a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Art. 9. "The Courts of Russia, Austria, and Prussia engage to respect and to cause to

be always respected, the neutrality of the free town of Cracow and its territory. No *armed force shall be introduced upon any pretence whatever.* " Außerdem an *additional treaty relating to Cracow*, signed by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, d. d. 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1815, in which it was expressly engaged that there shall be no interference with the independence of 5 Cracow. The 6<sup>th</sup> Article sagt: "The three Courts engage to respect, and to cause to be respected at all times, the neutrality of the free city of Cracow and its territory, and no armed force shall enter it under any pretence whatsoever." ... Great Britain had never remonstrated on the subject. ... 20<sup>th</sup> February 1846 there arrived a force of Austrian troops at Cracow, to which took possession of the place without any remonstrance on the part of this country. After a short time these troops were removed, and took with them all the public authorities. Soon after the Russians marched there, and, after remaining some time in the place, disturbances broke out naturally from such treatment as the people were exposed to; and this 15 had led to the most lamentable results in that city ... the nationality of Poland had been destroyed; and now the little spot which had been preserved had been invaded and overrun by a military force, moved also daß ein "Address to be presented to Her Majesty damit laid before this House copies or extracts of any correspondence between the gov. of her Majesty 20 and the gov. of Cracow, Russia, Prussia, or Austria, relative to the appointment of a Brit. Consular Agent at Cracow, since the declaration made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the H. o. C, in 1836, of his intention of sending a consul to reside at Cracow". [817-820]

*M. Milnes.* The question of Cracow had on former occasions been 25 brought before the House in 1836 and 1840, on both which occasions Palmerston said that he regarded the encroachments on that place as essentially unjust, and if he had *abstained from remonstrance*, it was on the ground that it was difficult to give effect to our remonstrances. ... It was because we did not effectually *remonstrate*, that these things 30 had gone on. Palmerston said, in 1836, that it was not for the dignity of this country that it should appoint a consul when it was probable that his *exequatur* would be refused by the 3 Powers. Now, if England and France, under the treaty of Vienna, had appointed consuls, he did not believe for a moment that the 3 powers would have refused them ... 35 (Cracow nach der *Insurrektion*, *veranlaßt* durch die russ.-östr. Truppen), Durch Oestreich besezt. Dann die Galizische Saueri, (weil einige v. den refugees came over into Gallicia.) 26 February this order issued by the Prefect of the province: "I call upon the inhabitants of Tarnow that they shall take possession of the turbulent spirits (meaning the proprietors). 40 To do this they may arm themselves with their scythes and their hatches.

They shall deliver them up to the Gov.; and I am authorised *for this* immediately to give to those persons who shall so deliver them up a sufficient recompense in money." massacre of 1,478 of the proprietors. *Austrian proclamation d. d. March, 12*: "Faithful Gallicians: you have aroused  
5 yourselves for the maintenance of order and law; you have fought for the law, and you have destroyed the enemies of order" ... In the *Gov. Gazette* of the 28 of April, 1846, a statement from Prince Frederick of Schwartzenberg, in which the acts that had taken place were declared to have been authorised by the Austrian Government... [821-825]

10 *Palmerston*. "Sir, nothing can be more painful to men of proper feeling than discussions turning on the subject of Poland ... the motion which my hon. Friend has made, is one that I cannot think it my duty to accede to. My hon. Friend has moved for the production of correspondence which took place between the Brit. Gov. and the Gov. of Austria,  
15 Russia and Prussia, now 10 years ago, turning on a state of things then existing, and bearing on intentions which the Brit. Gov. at that time entertained of sending a consular officer to Cracow ... it would be very injurious to rake up the differences that existed at that period, and which had not any bearing on this subject. I even think that, with respect to the  
20 interests which my hon. Friend has at heart, the *production of that correspondence would be injurious*. ... Whether the treaty of Vienna is or is not executed and fulfilled by the great Powers of *Europe, depends not on the presence of a consular officer at Cracow* ... It was known to the Gov. of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, that there were going on plots and con-  
25 spiracies ... at any rate that there were going on communications, the object of which was to produce an outbreak in the Polish provinces or dependencies of each of those 3 Powers ... It was imagined by the Gov. of Cracow that schemes were in progress, the tendency of the accomplishment of which would have been to disturb the tranquillity of the  
30 city; and application was made by the Gov. of Cracow for the entrance of foreign troops into their territory. ... I think, that in a just interpretation of the Treaty, that article of it which says that foreign troops should not enter into the territory of Cracow, must mean that they should not enter without the assent of the Gov. of Cracow ... I *believe*  
35 the *original* entrance of the Austrian troops into the territory of Cracow was in consequence of an application from the Gov. But then those Austrian troops retired. *Why* they retired has never yet been explained. With them retired the Gov. and the authorities of Cracow; the *immediate*, at least the early consequence of that retirement, was the establishment of  
40 a provisional Gov. in Cracow, and the inroad of troops from Cracow into the Austrian territory. They seized the salt mines of Wieliczka, and

some of the treasure there in store. No doubt the Austrian troops were justified in repelling that inroad ... Well, Sir, therefore in regard to those recent events in Cracow, I would give the three Powers *credit* for not having *intentionally* departed from the engagements of the Treaty of Vienna; but I maintain, undoubtedly, that when the emergency which 5 they allege as the ground of their proceedings shall have ceased, it will be the duty of the 3 Powers to replace the republic of Cracow on the footing of complete independence, to which by the treaty of Vienna it is entitled. Now, I hope that such is the intention of the 3 Powers: I have no knowledge to the contrary; but [17] I rather think that the House will find 10 amongst the papers which I shall be ready to produce, an assurance that that is the intention of the 3 Powers. I have too *high an opinion* of the *sense of justice and of right* that must animate the Gov. of Austria, of Prussia, and of Russia, to believe that they can feel any disposition or intention to deal with Cracow otherwise than Cracow is entitled by treaty 15 engagements to be dealt with ... [826-830] as far as proper representations on the part of the Brit. Gov. can go, everything shall be done to ensure a due respect being paid to the Provisions of the treaty of Vienna." Macht natürlich einige gerührte Phrasen über die Morde in Galizien, Hume withdraws his motion u. v. allen liberalen Seiten Dank f. die 20 English feelings er ausgesprochen. [833]

**[Vol. 89. London 1847.]**

*H. o. C. Jan. 28. 1847.*

Auf abermalige Interpellation v. *M. Milnes* wegen der production of papers relating to the non-appointment of a Brit. consul at Cracow. 25

*Palmerston*: that a correspondence had taken place on the subject between the Brit. Gov. and the 3 Powers, which had produced some asperity ... the subject had no necessary connexion with the discussion on the incorporation of Cracow, and he saw no advantage in reviving an angry discussion on a subject which had only a passing interest. [510] 30

**[Vol.90. London 1847.]**

*H. o. C. March 4. 1847.*

*J. Hume*. (In 1831, there was a previous occupation and military possession; and in 1836 there was another military occupation, towards the close of last session habe er seine reasons ausgesprochen zu zweifeln 35 the *intention* to cause Austrian-Russian troops to retire from Cracow;

but, on that occasion, the noble lord at the Head of the Foreign Department ... begged of the House not to give credence to the statements which he (Mr. Hume) then made, as the noble lord (Palmerston) was in possession of better information, and he was convinced that the occupation of Cracow was only a temporary occupation ... he expressed his regret that this country should have been a party to a treaty which she was not capable of enforcing ... In *der speech der Königin, 19 January* (1847), at the *opening* of the Session of Parliament: "The extinction of the free State of Cracow has appeared to me so manifest a violation of the treaty of Vienna, that I have commanded that a protest against that act should be delivered to the Courts of Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin, which were parties to it. Copies of these papers will be laid before you" ... [862, 863] Durch Proklamation v. *November 11, 1846* Osterreich. Proclamation, worin es u. a. heißt: "The courts of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, ... have been unanimously of opinion that the political body created in 1815, and destroyed by the revolution itself, has been productive of results too fatal to the maintenance of peace; that it has shown itself too incompatible with the condition of the internal tranquillity of their own states, and with the maintenance of principles of general peace, to render it possible for them to reconstruct it." ... 3 parties to the treaty to take upon themselves, to annul that free State ... [864, 865] the leading stipulations about Cracow which are contained in the separate treaty of May 3. (1815) concluded between the 3 Powers, are inserted, word for word, in the general treaty to which all the Powers are parties ... and those stipulations constituted the Articles 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 of that general Treaty ... [867]

In der östr. Erklärung v. *Nov. 11, 1846*: "We accordingly, by these presents, take possession of the city of Cracow and of its territory, such as it has existed up to the present time, unite it to our Crown, and declare it to form an integral portion of our empire, in which we incorporate it henceforth." ... [868]

*Hume*: "Having it in our power, by a legislative enactment, to say whether we shall continue to pay *a sum of money* in pursuance of stipulations contained in the Treaty of Vienna, we ought not to allow one portion of the bargain to be broken, and keep the **other.**" ... It appeared to him to be quite clear, that if *Russia* had not kept to the bargain made on ~~her~~ **daher** part, we were liberated from the *payment of the money*. Er proposed **daher** to submit to the House 4 resolutions. ... In *Article 6* des *additional treaty* (zwischen **Osterreich** Preussen u. Rußland) relative to Cracow, d.d. *21 April 1815* (by the 118<sup>th</sup> article of the treaty of Vienna declared to have the same force and validity as if it had been asserted in the

general treaty): "the 3 Courts engage to respect, and to cause to be respected at all times, the neutrality of the free city of Cracow and its territory, and no armed force shall enter it under any pretence whatsoever. On the other hand, it is understood and expressly stipulated, that the free city and territory of Cracow shall not afford any asylum or protection to runaways, deserters, or persons under persecution, belonging to the countries of either of the 3 contracting Powers, and that, on the demand of their surrender by the competent authorities, such individuals shall be arrested without delay, and delivered up, under a proper escort, to the guard appointed to receive them at the frontier." ... no such requisition was made ... der Senate of Cracow hatte also auch nicht refused to deliver up such persons ... [868, 870, 871] On the 25<sup>th</sup> of June, *Lord Aberdeen* wrote a letter in which he said he would suspend his opinion at present respecting the occupation of Cracow, and would abstain from active interference on behalf of that republic ... Lord Palmerston, in his letter of August 4, said that he hoped nothing would be done in regard to the State of Cracow which was at variance with the stipulations of the treaty of Vienna ... [864] In 1832, the *constitution* of Poland was formally abolished ... (appropriation der revenues der national polish church to the purposes of another creed; ebenso, auf Seiten Rußlands, an unrelenting system of persecution on account of religion.) ... [872] In Bezug auf seine 4<sup>te</sup> Resolution, he must show that the money we had so long paid to Russia, we were not bound longer to pay. By the 4<sup>th</sup> article of the *Treaty of Vienna*, an agreement was entered into between *England, Russia, and Holland*, respecting the Russian-Dutch loan, borrowed by Holland from Russia, and payable upon 2 conditions. So long as Belgium should continue to remain a portion of the Netherlands, we bound ourselves to pay in a certain proportion upon the capital of the loan, until the whole should have been cleared off ... the money regularly paid until 1831. He (*da die revolution Belgien v. Holland trennte*) had then objected to the continuance of that payment. Dann später neue convention gemacht (nämlich 16 Nov. 1831) between Russia and England. It stated that its object was to render the spirit of the Convention of 1815 more consonant than it had come to be to the then existing state of things, u. ferner "to secure to Russia the payment of a portion of her old Dutch debt, in consideration of the general arrangements of the congress of Vienna ... arrangements which remain in full force". ... The Russian-Dutch loan had been regularly paid from 1816-46, during that period the sum total of our disbursements amounted to no less than 3,374,000 £.— will require further annual payments from the brit. treasury until the year 1915, amounting to 3,917,187 £ St., Jedes Jahr 72,916 £.—Also

Hume's 4<sup>th</sup> Resolution, daß da Russia seine [adhesion] to the treaties of Vienna withdraws, auch diese Zahlung aufhören solle. [875-879] ||18| *Viscount Sandon*. ... the independent existence of Belgium was not considered a settled thing, till all the 5 powers agreed to it ... the words in the 5 convention of 1831, relating to the treaty of Vienna, introduced at the instance of the Ministers of Russia themselves, (erklärt Lord Russell schon) [883, 885]

*H. o. C. March 11, 1847.*

*Bickham Escott* wished to ask Lord Palmerston ... that, da das payment 10 of the money of der Russian-Dutch Loan depended upon the provisions of an act of Parliament, he would ask whether, since there had been a manifest violation of the stipulations of the treaty of Vienna, it was the *intention* of the noble lord to *introduce a Bill* to enforce the *future* payments of this money?

15 *Palmerston*. ... the payment of the interest on this loan was authorized by the Act of Parliament, to carry into effect the Convention of 1815; in consequence of the events of 1830 and 1831, it became necessary to enter into a new convention, and a new Act of Parliament was necessary, to authorize the Exchequer to act upon that convention. No new conven- 20 tion was now required, and he apprehended that no new Act of Pari, was necessary ... [1157]

*Sir W. Molesworth*. We engaged to pay the interest of a portion of the Russo-Dutch loan as a part of the purchase-money of the colonies of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice; and ... if we refuse to 25 continue those payments, we are bound in honour to restore those colonies ... Dafür (f. die Colonien) we agreed to bear equally mit Holland certain other charges, to be agreed upon by the Allied Sovereigns, for the final and satisfactory settlement of the union of the Low Countries mit Holland ... Dafür Convention zwischen uns, Rußland u. Niederlanden 30 v. 19 May 1815. Im preamble stated daß der king der Netherlands *desirous to make a suitable return to the Allied Powers for having* delivered his territories from the French, daß die Allied Powers waived ihre pretensions in favour of Russia, daher King of the Netherlands had resolved to execute with Russia convention, wozu England party in pursuances sei- 35 ner engagements m. Holland durch Convention of Aug. 13, 1814 ...; on behalf of the Netherlands to pay a certain sum to, or rather for Russia, namely, that we should take upon ourselves a portion of the debt due by Russia on account of a loan raised by the House of Hope etc. of Amsterdam.



"the colonies in question originally belonged to Holland ... we took possession of them in the last war, not because we were at war with Holland, but to save them from France, when France took possession of Holland. In 1814 Holland was liberated from the dominion of France, and in consequence it was held that we were bound to restore to Holland 5 her colonies. A convention to that effect was signed in London, Aug. 13<sup>th</sup> 1814. In the first article all colonies restored on the Cape of Good Hope, and the settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice: these we reserved to be disposed of by a supplementary convention ... diese contained in the additional articles der convention ... wonach Holland diese io Sachen abtritt, in consideration of certain payments to be made by England ... As we had engaged to make those payments in such a manner that the union of Holland and the Low Countries should be finally settled, it was expressly stipulated with Russia on the 5<sup>th</sup> April, that the payments should cease if the union were broken prior to the liquidation of 15 the debt. ... the convention of the 16<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1831 was executed in consequence of the separation of Holland and Belgium. That separation verbally released us from the obligation of paying the interest of the Russo-Dutch debt." [1180-1182]

[Vol. 91. London 1847.]

20

H. o. C. March 16, 1847.

*Stuart Worthy*. It was (1814) well known and plainly understood, that at that time Russia, much more than any other of the Allies, stood in need of pecuniary assistance ... Austria, Prussia, and England, waived their rights in favour of Russia ... What was obtained by that convention? 25 2 parties, Russia one—England and the Netherlands were jointly the other. But England was not security for Holland, nor Holland for England, the debt was due to subjects of the king of the Netherlands by the Crown of Russia ... (the amount was 25,000,000 florins) ... In *einer note des Russian plenipotentiary* zu dem engl.-holl.-russ. Vertrage heißt es: "In 30 consideration of the *facilities* which Russia afforded to these arrangements, her allies ceded to her all the pecuniary pretensions to which the deliverance of the Belgian provinces had given rise." Diese *facilities* bestanden exactement in den Bestimmungen über Polen. "Lord Castle-reagh contended, supported by France, for an independent kingdom of 35 Poland; Russia contended for the whole duchy of Warsaw, and for giving the kingdom of Saxony to Prussia. Austria ... first disposed to support England, ... contended then for a final partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. It was at last, in consequence of the letters of

Lord Castlereagh, that Russia made that proposition in the presence of Lord Castlereagh, in Dec. 1814, in the Committee of the Congress of Vienna, by which Cracow was established as a free state." [39-44] ... Colonel du Plat schreibt an Aberdeen: "Cracow, since its elevation to an  
5 independent state, has always been the depot of very considerable quantities of English merchandise, sent thither by the Black Sea, Moldavia, and Galicia, and even via Trieste; and which afterwards find their way to the surrounding countries. Dann im Lauf des Jahrs auch zu kommen in railway communication m. den great lines of Prussian Silesia, Bohemia,  
10 Austria ... Also central point of the important line of railway communication between the Adriatic and the Baltic. Early in the ensuing year, also, it will be in direct communication of the same description with Warsaw. ... Looking, therefore, to the almost certainty of a very great part of the trade of the Levant, and even of India and China, finding its  
15 way up the Adriatic, it cannot be denied that it must be of the greatest commercial importance, even to England; to have such a station as Cracow in the centre of the great net of railways connecting the western and eastern continent." ... [47, 48]

*Smith O'Brien.* He had not heard, but he hoped they should hear ...  
20 some reason assigned by Palmerston for his not having fulfilled the promise which was given in 1836, that there should be a diplomatic agent sent from England to Cracow ... if a diplomatic agent had been sent from England to Cracow, these transactions would not have occurred. But when these strange circumstances did come to pass, surely it was the duty  
25 of the Brit. Gov. to have concurred with France protesting against the threatened proceedings of the 3 powers, which would at least have had the effect of causing some delay ... But, unfortunately, at that very time the noble Lord thought it his duty to engage this country in a quarrel with France—very near bringing the 2 countries into collision ... [57]

*[Bickham Escott:]* a payment of an unjust demand to a foreign Power from a servile fear ... *The Duke of Wellington said this Treaty of Vienna \*  
30 *[19] was a masterstroke of Diplomacy on the part of Lord Castlereagh,* for Russia had been tied down to the observance of that treaty by a pecuniary obligation. But it appeared that, though the treaty was violated, the  
35 obligation was to be valid ... [62]

*Smythe.* On the 17 of April (1846) a despatch from Prince Metternich to Count Dietrichstein was communicated to Lord Aberdeen, which, while full of alarms about the Polish emigration, gave no alarm with regard to Cracow. From April 17-Nov. 6 the 3 Powers gave no sign. On Nov. 6,  
40 Count Dietrichstein communicated the intentions of the 3 Powers to Lord Palmerston, and on Nov. 16, Cracow had ceased to exist. [65]

*Disraeli.* The Emperor Alexander was in military occupation of Warsaw (the ancient duchy of), and he naturally wished to keep it... Austria had once possessed Cracow, and she wished to have it again; whilst Russia wanted to preserve it. In the end, it happened with Cracow ... it ended in a *mezzo termine*. Russia at first proposed that Cracow should be a protected town ... Prince Metternich warned Russia that Cracow would be a disturbing focus in that Country; but the Emperor of Russia disregarded the warning, because he did not wish Cracow to belong to Austria; and, not being able to obtain it for himself, he preferred the middle course ... was also Cracow instituted as a normal form of political liberty and constitutional government? [84] Irrig sehr servile Rede, (ebenso Bentinck)

*Lord Palmerston.* Gegen Disraeli: the extinction of the State and city of Cracow was a violation of the treaty of Vienna ... Sonst independently of the 118\* Article, you must get rid of the 6, 7, 8, and 9' articles, which are part of the general treaty to which all the Powers were contracting parties. ... Well, then, it may be asked, if that is our opinion, why is there any hesitation in acceding to the proposition of the hon. member for Montrose, and to recording our opinion as a resolution of this House? ... it is not consistent ... with the honour, the dignity and the character of this House, and of the country, that the H. o. C. should pass strong resolutions against the conduct of foreign Powers, in respect to treaties to which this country is a party; and then having declared that a treaty has been violated, to sit down quietly, and not follow up the resolution by any further proceeding ... Dafür his *protest* against the annexation of Cracow ... communicated to the Parties ... dann die Erwähnung des Protests in der Speech of the throne ... Deßwegen gegen die motion v. Hume N. I. Was 2 geht it is my intention to meet the second with the negative. ... Does that violation, release this country from its obligation under the convention in reference to the Russian-Dutch loan? My opinion decidedly is that it does not. [93,95-97]

**[Vol.96. London 1848.]**

*H. o. C. Febr. 8. 1848.*

(Anstey fragt an beim House for copies of the whole of the documents relating to those bygone transactions) 35

*Anstey.* the extent of territory at present belonging to Russia, is double that which it was in the year 1772 ... From the time of the infamous Marquess of *Carmaerthen*, Secretary of state to William III—and whom,

during the visit to his court, the *Czar Peter* found means to corrupt to his interests with the gold of British merchants,—Russia has never been without an agent to represent her in some of the Cabinets of Europe—the Richelieu and La Ferronays, Ministers of the Restoration, Mole, Minister of Louis Philippe ... [297,298] professions of Palmerston's attachment to the cause of Poland. ... The Duke of Wellington, on going out of office, had left behind him a Protest against the Treaty of Adrianople ... Ebenso Aberdeen ... (vor June 1829?) ... Von 1815-30 there are none of those paper blockades, armed interventions, and military negotiations, with which the noble Lord has made the world so familiar ... Der treaty of Adrianople in violation of the London treaty of 1826. ... (Palmerston came in Nov. 1826). ... In 1833, Turkey found herself engaged in war with her vassal, the Pacha of Egypt, pushed on by Russia. ... In 1833, Mehemet Ali's forces, under the command of Ibrahim Pacha, his son, marched against Constantinople. Damals konnte die Porte nicht resist ohne to call in aid of those Powers who had guaranteed the integrity of his empire—a guarantee on the faith of which the Porte, in 1829, had agreed to accept their interference. Accordingly, and on the security of treaties, application was made by the Porte to the noble Lord to protect Turkey against the Pacha of Egypt. The noble Lord refused his protection. Russia then *offered* her assistance; her offer was refused ... renewed application to England for support; and this time Russia affected to lend her countenance to the request. It was again refused ... at a subsequent period it appeared that the slightest intimation of the noble Lord's wishes would have sufficed to check Ibrahim's march ... a mere *consular agent at Alexandria* of *himself* sufficed to check it. The Sultan daher gezwungen to accept a treaty which came to him ready drawn from St. Petersburg, and which placed his person and capital in the hands of the Russian troops. Count Orloff was sent with this treaty from St. Petersburg; and he procured its acceptance by the Porte. It was signed at Unkiar Skelessi, shortly after his arrival; (der volume of papers which the noble Lord in 1840 presented to the House, in explanation of the treaty of July, 1840, commences only with February 15, 1839.) but not till the Porte had made another ineffectual attempt to move the noble Lord to justice. No sooner had the Porte received it, than the treaty was communicated by them to the Brit. Embassy, with a prayer for our protection against Ibrahim Pacha, and also against Nicholas ... application rejected. But that was not all. With an atrocious perfidiousness, the fact was made known to the Russian minister! Next day the very copy of the treaty which the Porte had lodged with the Brit. Embassy was returned to the Porte by the Russian Ambassador, who ironically advised the Porte "to choose better

another time its *confidantes*". ... No sooner was the treaty signed, than shaking off his inaction, the noble Lord gave the necessary orders, and an Engl. squadron accompanied by a French squadron—for the French Gov. were then most disposed to co-operate implicitly with England in the affairs of the East—made a hostile demonstration, not against Russ. 5 ports in the Baltic or Black Sea, but against the Dardanelles and other parts of the dominions of our ally the Sultan! Yet the alleged necessity of this demonstration was grounded upon the Porte having accepted the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi at the dictation of the cabinet of St. Petersburg. [305-311] (Ministers wenden alle means an to count the House out at this 10 occasion.) (So bricht die Rede v. Anstey abrupt ab.) (Gov. resorted to a Parliamentary trick for the purpose of getting [rid] of a charge involving the character of the noble Lord.)

[H. o.J C, Febr. 14, 1848.

[Lord Dudley Stuart] a charge against the conduct of a Minister of the 15 Crown ought not to be endeavoured to be got rid of by any undue means, such [as those] that were resorted to on Tuesday night last. | [626]

[20] H. O. C, Febr. 23, 1848. Anstey.

The Poles had been in arms for a month or thereabouts, before the noble Lord came into office ... In Bezug hierauf (Polen) "Not one paper as yet 20 has been laid before the House! the House is under an official ignorance of the course pursued by the noble Lord." ... The House does not even know whether any communication whatever took place ... when it was proposed to England by France at an early period of the insurrection to interfere by remonstrance, and afterwards in a more effectual manner 25 between Russia and the Poles, the noble Lord distinctly refused the application. The noble Lord used arguments which led the Court of the Tuilleries to believe that if France ventured on such a course without the concurrence of England, the good understanding between the 2 countries might be endangered. Sweden was then arming her fleet for the purpose 30 of making a diversion in favour of Poland, and of regaining to herself the provinces in the Baltic which had been so unjustly wrested from her in the last war. The noble Lord instructed our Ambassador at the Court of Stockholm in the same sense, and Sweden discontinued her armament. The Persian Court ... had, with a similar purpose, despatched an army 35

3 days on its march towards the Russian frontier, under the command of the Persian Crown-Prince, Abbas Meerza, the father of the present Shah. Under the instructions of the noble Lord, the Secretary of Legation at the Court of Teheran, Sir John MacNeil, followed the Prince, and at the  
5 distance of 3 days' march from his headquarters overtook him, and there under instructions from the noble lord, and in the name of England, threatened Persia with war if the Prince advanced another step towards the Russian frontier. Similar inducements were used by the noble Lord to prevent Turkey from renewing the war on her side ... At that period ...  
10 negotiation going on between Lord Palmerston and the Members of the Belgian congress to induce the latter to accept the mediation of England between the revolted provinces of Belgium and the Court of the Netherlands. A Pole, Walewski, with the sanction of the noble Lord, left London and went to Brussels, where there was, at that time, a firm deter-  
15 mination to resist the mediation of England, and the protocols at the Congress or Conference of London. Das office dieses Polen war to represent to M. de Merode, who commanded a majority of that Congress, that it mainly depended upon the pacific settlement of the Belgian question whether or not anything was to be done by England on behalf  
20 of the Poles. M. de Merode u. his party nahmen sofort (acquiesced) the mediation of England, and agreed to adopt the Treaty of the 24 articles on the fait of the noble Lord's assurance. Prince Talleyrand, also, then representing France at the Court of London, on receiving notice of this transaction, and relying fully on the noble Lord's sincerity, again address-  
25 ed to him a note in the sense of this Polish agent, fully expecting that ... the result would be a combined action on Polish affairs on the part of England and France; but the acquiescence of Belgium having been now obtained, the end of the noble Lord was accomplished, note returned ... to the astonishment of Prince Talleyrand, a distinct refusal. That note has  
30 never been laid before Parliament. ... Darin heißt: "that an amicable intermediation on the Polish question would be declined by Russia—that the Powers had just declined a similar offer on the part of France—that the intervention of the 2 Courts, France and England, could only be by force in case of a refusal on the part of Russia—and that the amicable  
35 and satisfactory relations between the Cabinet of St. James and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, would not allow his Brit. Majesty to undertake such an interference. The time was not yet come to undertake such a plan with success against the will of a Sovereign whose rights were indisputable." ... "But in the meantime his Brit. Majesty has instructed his Minis-  
40 ter at St. Petersburg to insist upon the national existence of Poland according to the Treaty of Vienna, and the maintenance of her national

institutions." ... the cost of her (Poland) fall ... was defrayed, in a great part, out of the *new loan* which the noble Lord had induced Parliament to grant under the pretext of paying off the debt contracted in 1815. ... In seiner Despatch, d. d. 12 August, 1847 schreibt er an Lord Ponsonby, in regard to "the integrity der Roman states", damals bedroht durch 5 Austria "that H. M's Gov. was of opinion, that the stipulations and engagements of the *Treaty of Vienna* ought to be adhered to in Italy as well as in all other parts of Europe to which they applied". ... In einer späteren despatch an denselben "that the integrity of the Roman state may be considered as an essential element of the political independence 10 of the Italian Peninsula, and that no invasion of the territory of that State could take place, without leading to consequences of great gravity and importance". ... Nun der Pabst refused to be a party to the Treaty of Vienna ... Austria selbst, in 1831, was ready and willing to have acted with England and France, not only in enforcing the stipulations of the 15 Treaty of Vienna, but in going far beyond it. She was prepared to assent to the establish in Poland of an independent kingdom, under a prince not of the Russian nation. ... On *April 18, 1832*, the late Mr. Cutlar Ferguson before the House Palmerston on that occasion defeated the Motion of Ferguson, by the simple process of being absent. On 20 *June 28, 1832* derselbe Ferguson again moved for the production of the organic statute by which Russia had forever abolished the Constitution of Poland. This was an occasion for the noble Lord ... barely assenting to the Motion, without saying anything on the main question. The organic statute was, therefore, presented to Parliament in conformity with 25 this Motion. Nothing more being done in the matter, the effect was to establish and to recognize in a solemn manner the fact of the destruction of the kingdom of Poland ... For some time nun nichts andres in the way of private communication. The answers, however, which they privately received from the noble lord, were invariably favourable. He, from time 30 to time, continued to assure them that everything was going on well [1138-1147]—Erklärung des Palmerston on July 17, 1840 über Cracow ...2 days before, the noble Lord had signed with the Baron Brunow that famous treaty of July, which bound England to the Russian alliance, and ruptured our engagements with France ... Almost Palmerston's first act 35 on coming into office was to *accept* the Treaty of Adrianople ... He contrived this in the following manner. Amongst the clauses in the Treaty of Adrianople extorted by Russia from Turkey, there was one which gave to Russia dominion over a great extent of coast in the black Sea, limited by certain boundaries. Now Circassia was not specifically 40 mentioned in that clause ... Circassia formed no part of the Turkish territory. Circassia did not belong to Turkey to give, nor to Russia

to receive. However, by the treaty, a geographical line was so drawn as in fact to include Circassia within the ceded territory; and, on the authority of that pretended cession ... Russia had grounded a pretended title to dominion over Circassia. In the exercise of that pretension, Russia, in 5 1832, notified, through her Ambassador at Constantinople to the noble Lord, through [his] ||21j then representative and agent there, Mr. Mandeville ... the establishment of a quarantaine and custom house—with regulations of a sanatory and fiscal nature at Anapa, and elsewhere, on the coast of Circassia ... Mr. Mandeville took upon himself, *with the* 10 *approbation of the noble Lord*, to publish at Constantinople to the Consul Gen. of England, and the Brit. merchants there, those regulations and ordinances promulgated by Russia for the sanatory and fiscal gov. of the tribes and coasts of Circassia ... By this act, the Brit. Gov. was made to recognise 2 usurpations 1) the illegal Treaty of Adrianople, and 2) the 15 pretended cession of Circassia ... Circassia was abandoned to Russia; and, with Circassia, the freedom and privileges of commerce, immemorially enjoyed by Brit. merchants on her coasts, but which the Russian tariff refused ... Palmerston took upon himself to erect Mehemet Ali into an independent power. Without the consent of the Porte, he, *in 1832*, 20 accredited Consuls and diplomatic agents to that ambitious Pacha. He entered into treaties with him, altering existing regulations and arrangements touching matters of trade and revenue, and establishing others in their room. The consent of the Porte was not even asked beforehand, nor its approbation afterwards received. Mehemet Ali thus encouraged by 25 the noble Lord to consider himself independent of the Porte ... to confirm him in that independence, Ibrahim Pacha, his son, at the head of the Egyptian army marched against Constantinople. Palmerston sandte *nicht even instructions to the Consul at Alexandria* to use his influence there with Mehemet Ali... At the moment of the noble Lord's second refusal 30 of assistance, a Russian squadron on board suddenly sailed from Sevastopol in the Black Sea towards Constantinople, and disembarked a large force of Russian troops upon the shores of the Bosphorus, and laid siege to the capital. The Sultan was intimidated into a secret communication unknown to the Porte. Count Orloff kömmt especially from St. Petersburg. The only condition on which the Russ. diplomatist would consent to withdraw 1) his troops, and 2) assist Turkey in checking the advance of the Pacha of Egypt, the immediate acceptance of the *Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi* ... (as it turned out afterwards, the remonstrance of a simple Consul at Alexandria was found quite sufficient to check the Pacha's 40 progress.) ... The moment the Porte had signed that treaty, the noble Lord—who would not grant help, nor even use mediation with the Pasha



to check his ambitious designs against the Porte, sent an English squadron, with which was combined a French squadron, to threaten the Turkish coasts and capital. The pretext was ... the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi ... Er hatte even refused to interfere to the extent of a simple remonstrance through his representatives, with the Russian Ambassador, *gegen* 5  
diesen treaty ... sends a fleet to threaten the coasts, not of Russia the assailant, but of Turkey the assailed ... At the very time that this demonstration was being made, an assurance was given by the noble Lord to the Russian Ambassador at this Court, that this combined movement of the squadrons *was not intended in any sense hostile to Russia*, nor to be 10  
taken as a hostile demonstration against her; but, that in fact, it meant nothing at all. *I say this on the authority of Lord Ponsonby*, the noble Lord's own colleague, then Ambassador at Constantinople ... the result was, that Turkey, forced into further concessions, signed the shameful *Convention of St. Petersburg*, and then *the British fleet was withdrawn*; 15  
*the noble Lord at the same time expressing his satisfaction with the moderation of the terms so imposed by Russia!* ... The *convention of St. Petersburg* was a *ratification of the Treaty of Adrianople*. Now, in the same communication in which the noble Lord announced to Russia and Turkey his pacific intentions and the withdrawal of the English squadron, he 20  
assured the Russ. Gov., that the Brit. Gov. were perfectly satisfied with the amicable intentions of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg in regard to Turkey, and its laudable disinterestedness, as evinced in that convention, and that upon those grounds the combined squadrons had been withdrawn. Thus, did he, for the second time, accept and ratify the Treaty of 25  
Adrianople ... these were the beginnings of that course of successful usurpation which the Pasha of Egypt was induced by Russia to prosecute, and which afterwards produced a new war with the Porte, and the treaty of July, 1840. *Upon these early events ... the noble Lord has taken very good care to lay no information whatever before it...* William IV. (at the 30  
period of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi)... was powerfully impressed with the necessity of maintaining and supporting Turkey, and of preventing the progress of Russian encroachment in that quarter. He forced the question upon the attention of the noble Lord ... I can prove, that the noble Lord was obliged to take his directions in this matter from the late 35  
King's Private Secretary, and that his existence in office depended upon his compliance with the wishes of the Monarch ... the noble Lord did on one or 2 occasions, as far as he dared, resist; but ... his resistance was vain, and ... invariably followed by abject expressions of contrition and compliance. I will not take upon myself to assert that on one occasion the 40  
noble Lord was actually out of office for a day or two; but I am able to

say, that the noble Lord was at least in danger of a most unceremonious  
expulsion from office, on that occasion. I refer, Sir, to the discovery  
which the late King had made, that the noble Lord consulted the feelings  
of the Russ. Gov. as to the choice of an English Ambassador at the  
5 Court of St. Petersburg; and that Sir Stratford Canning originally des-  
tined for the Embassy, was set aside to make room for the late Earl of  
Durham—an Ambassador more agreeable to the Czar ... The noble  
Lord contradicts me. Sir, I ask him to produce the papers which relate to  
the nomination of Sir Stratford Canning, ... his subsequent rejection,  
10 and the consequent election of the Earl of Durham as the representative  
at St. Petersburg ... His Majesty was also aware that the means taken  
by Russia to prostrate the strength of Turkey were commercial means. In  
fact, a fiscal system, of the most absurd and mischievous character, had  
been brought in by Russian [influence, and engrafted on the old simplicity  
15 of the Turkish financial administration ... there were treaties existing  
between England [and Turjkey ... commercial treaties—by which every  
article was imported free, and every article of export exported at 3%. |  
I [22] IA similar favour had been granted to Russia by the Treaty of Adria-  
nople ... She had not at that time a single merchant at Constantinople ...  
20 No sooner the treaty [was signed] than her emissaries amongst the Greek  
subjects of the Porte persuaded them to declare themselves Russians ...  
So great number of Greek rayahs unduly obtained an entire exemption of  
taxation ... universal discontent amongst the farmers of taxes, who found  
their gains destroyed; ... very great embarrassment to the Gov., because  
25 of the loss of revenue which was the natural result. In order to obviate  
the disadvantage the Porte introduced—or rather extended—the baneful  
system of monopolies, by which the sale of certain articles was granted  
only to those who had paid to licenses from the Gov. Russia did not re-  
monstrate against these monopolies, although granted in evident infrac-  
30 tion of one clause of the Treaty of Adrianople; and this for very profound  
reasons of policy ... Russia, in questions of commerce, has never an eye  
to commercial advantage, but always to territorial aggrandizement... Sie  
wollte procure internal disaffection and discontent ... Die great Russian  
merchants complained, aber reprimanded by the Russ. Embassy ... Hielt  
35 sich außerdem gern pretext vor, weil one clause of the treaty of Adria-  
nople empowers her, in the event of any violation whatever of any clause  
of that treaty, to exercise as though with the previous and entire sanction  
and recognition of the Porte, the immediate right of reprisal. Another  
clause ... that, until all pecuniary demands arising out of that treaty  
40 should have been liquidated, the Turkish fortress of Silistria, and other  
places possessed by Russia, were not to be given up ... Turkey bios v.

Rußland zu free ... when her finances had been brought into a more prosperous condition. William IV determined daher to negotiate with Turkey a treaty of commerce; employed dafür den Urquhart... des William IV private secretary Sir Herbert Taylor ... Palmerston so gezwungen to empower den Urquhart to draw up and procure the acceptance of the 5 articles of a treaty of commerce. ... The general terms of this treaty were to this effect: that all monopolies should be abolished, so far as respected Brit, merchants and their agents—that all taxes imposed upon Brit, merchants or their agents, or duties except those provided by the treaty, whether they were duties of export, or import, or of transit, should be 10 repealed; that there should be commissioners appointed between the 2 States—Engl, and Turk, commissioners—to inquire into the value of all articles, usually exported from Turkey and which should find a sale in England; that those commissioners should revise their reports once in every 5 years; that those commissioners should set ad valorem duties 15 upon the different articles of commerce in this manner, namely, that if any one article of commerce was so exclusively the production of Turkey as to insure it a ready sale, at the prices usually received under the monopoly in foreign ports, then the export duty to be assessed might be a high one, so as to be remunerative and productive of revenue, but that, in the 20 case of commodities produced elsewhere than in Turkey, and not being of sufficient value in foreign ports to bear a high duty, a lower duty should be assessed; and, lastly, that this tariff should be revised every 5 years. ... There was one clause of the utmost importance ... for repealing a prohibition which had been imposed by the Turk. Gov. upon certain 25 exports—a prohibition first obtained in that treaty by means of... Russian influence ... Russia had obtained from the Porte the absolute prohibition of the exportation of all articles whatever, capable of being produced in the countries of the north. What were those articles? They form almost the only branch of our trade with Russia. Exportation was abso- 30 lutely prohibited in the case of corn, hemp, timber; permitted only in the case of dyes, gums etc. articles which Russia did not produce. Ebenso prohibited the exportation of oil. The effect of the admission of Turkish oil into the English market, would have been entirely to exclude Russian tallow ... the whole of the contest between Palmerston einerseits, u. dem 35 King u. Urquhart andererseits, was directed to the treaty of commerce, (wie das House will find, if the papers are granted.) Every art was used, every fraud was employed to circumvent Mr. Urquhart, and to destroy the negotiation. The attempt was made to corrupt him by the promise of employment elsewhere. The attempt failed. There was no cause left but to 40 destroy him. ... (Er habe hier die passages of the correspondence with Sir

Herbert Taylor, which relate to this matter ... if any one of my statements is denied or doubted, I am quite prepared to read them ...) Palmerston attempted first to overthrow the project, by denouncing it as a Russian project ... his colleague, Lord Sydenham, then Mr. Poulett  
5 Thompson, a Russian merchant, who had great interests in the Baltic (obgleich a *nominal* retirement on his part from the great firm which had the trading monopoly in the Baltic provinces of Russia) ... a Russian merchant, and a Russian agent in the Brit. Cabinet—denounced the very same treaty at the very same time as an "anti-Russian project". ... the  
10 determination of the King prevailed ... instruction sent to Lord Ponsonby, by the noble Lord, at the dictation of the King, to propose this treaty, without alteration in the smallest particular, for acceptance by the Sublime Porte ... this treaty, founded upon Urquhart's reports settled and adopted in the Foreign Office ... settled u. adopted in the Board of  
15 Trade, and accepted in its terms by the noble Lord and by Mr. Poulett Thompson, before it was sent to Constantinople, I have now to inform the House, that that treaty has never to this hour been signed ... that it has never to this hour been so much as presented to the Porte ... The noble Lord was directed by the King in the year 1835, u. lange vor 1833  
20 to make inquiries on the spot touching the independent rights of Circassia. Dafür das sailing of the *Vixen* u. die application of his owner, Mr. Bell, to the noble Lord etc. ... In the midst of those occupations King William ... heard with an indignant surprise ... that, in the course of a visit which the Czar Nicholas had recently paid to Warsaw, that  
25 potentate had addressed a speech to the municipal authorities of that city, wo er declared, that Poland was no more, that the arrangement of the Congress of Vienna was at end. that her territory had merged into Russia; and that it was no longer as Poles, but as Russians, that the Polish people were thenceforth to belong to him. Some 2 or 3 years  
30 before that period, the Poles, who had sought refuge here and in France, had brought first to France and then to England the archives which the Russian Viceroy had left at Warsaw; containing Statepapers ... from the beginning of this century down to 1830, when the archives fell into the hands of the victorious insurgents. Those papers placed in the hands of  
35 Palmerston by Count Zamoyski, the nephew of Prince Czartoriski. Palmerston had these despatches for 2 years, and did nothing with them. William IV, at the period of the speech at Warsaw, ordered these papers to be given up by the noble Lord. They were given up and examined at the time at Windsor Castle, and it was found desirable to print and publish  
40 them ... In spite of great opposition of Palmerston, the King compelled him to lend the authority of the For. Off. to their publication, so daß der

editor, who took the charge of revising them for the press, published not a single document which had not the noble Lord's initial or signature attached. I myself have seen the noble Lord's initial attached to one of these documents ... obgleich the noble lord has denied these facts. Palmerston was compelled to place these documents in the hands of Mr. Urquhart for publication. Urquhart was appointed Secretary of Legation at Constantinople Sept. 1835—der real editor des ||23| [Portfolio,] das erschien v. Novemb. 1835-June 1837 ... It ceased shortly before the death of the King, during his last illness ... Urquhart, instead of forcing the noble Lord, by pressure of the law, to pay the expenses of the "Portfolio" out of the funds of the For. Office ... in 1838, paid them himself... *Strangways* (lebt) u. the late Mr. Backhouse ... the 2 Undersecretaries of State ... I wish I could raise from the grave Mr. Backhouse; and ask him under what circumstances it was that he was induced by the noble Lord to set his name to those deplorable "denials" of the connexion of the *Portfolio* with the Foreign Office, which have appeared in print ... that unfortunate gentleman, in his last moments, and with bitterness of tone, declared that the noble lord had brought him to his grave ... 3 Oct. 1835 erhielt Urquhart his commission as Secretary of Legation at Constantinople ... given him for the one purpose of securing the adoption there of the Turkish commercial treaty ... Urquhart blieb trotz dessen bis June od. July 1836. Palmerston pressed him to go: the applications to him urging his departure were numerous; but his answer invariably was: "I will not go, until I have this commercial treaty settled with the Board of Trade and the For. Office; and then I will accompany it and procure its acceptance at the Porte." ... Schließlich gab Palmerston his approbation to the treaty, der treaty forwarded to Ponsonby, dann Urquhart proceeded to Constantinople ... *Sir Herbert Taylor*, shortly before his death, gave direction for the destruction of all his papers, with one remarkable exception ... embracing all the papers connected with this case. Those papers he ordered to be given up to Mr. Urquhart... (placed by him in my hands); for the purpose, as *Sir Herbert Taylor* expressed it, of vindicating, upon the fitting opportunity, the memory of William IV ... Ehe Urquhart abreist nach Constantinopel erhielt er Briefe v. *Ponsonby* (der Gesandter zu Constantinopel) Darunter Einer d. d. 23 *March, 1836*: "It is only lately ... that I have known the facts of the total freedom of that country (Circassia) from every legitimate subjection, or tie to the Sultan, and, therefore, the total illegality of any title assumed to it by Nicholas. If we had any man in England worth a straw, we should soon settle these matters; but our statesmen, high and low, are pedlars ..." the noble Lord suborned Lord Ponsonby to make those com-

plaints (später zu Constantinopel angeblich on the authority of several merchants and other residents at Constantinople), in order to procure the removal of Mr. Urquhart from his post. ... Urquhart has never been dismissed. A mere *congé* was given him ... In the mean time, attempts  
5 had been made by the noble Lord to discredit Mr. Urquhart's character at Windsor castle and elsewhere. Before leaving Constantinople Mr. Urquhart received letters from Sir John M'Neill, our minister at Teheran, and from other public servants in different parts of the world, all referring to communications to his prejudice made to them from the Foreign  
10 office, circulated by the Servant of the Foreign office all over the world. ... Gleich nach der removal of Mr. Urquhart v. Constantinople ... immediately the *treaty was thrown aside* ... 2 J. später nahm Palmerston ihn auf, gab im Parlament f. (seinen verrückten) treaty Urquhart the compliment of being the author of it, disclaiming for himself all merit in its  
15 regard. Aber der noble Lord had destroyed the treaty, falsified it in every part, converted it to the ruin of commerce. As drawn by Mr. Urquhart, it had been a treaty which placed the subjects of Great Britain, in Turkey, upon the footing of the most favoured nation. As altered by Palmerston, it placed the subjects of Great Britain upon the footing of the taxed and  
20 oppressed subjects of that Power. Sein Urquhart stipulated for the removal of all transit duties, monopolies, taxes, duties of whatever character, other than those stipulated by the treaty itself. As falsified by Palmerston, contained a clause, declaring the perfect right of the Sublime Porte to impose whatever regulations and restraints it pleased with  
25 regard to commerce. Urquhart's treaty left importation free, or at least subject only to the old duty of 3%; der des noble Lord raised the duty v. 3 auf 5%. Urquhart's treaty stipulated for an *ad valorem* duty, to be assessed in the way ... mentioned. Palmerston's [treaty] stipulated a fixed duty of 12% *ad valorem* upon every article, whether it would bear the  
30 duty or not. Der original treaty extended the benefit of Freetrade to Turkish ships u. Turkish produce; der substituted treaty contained no stipulations whatever on the subject ... (Russische subjects waren natürlich durch diese stipulation nicht einbegriffen in der duty of 12% of articles) ... Sir, I charge these falsifications—I charge also the conceal-  
35 ment of them—upon the noble Lord; and further, I charge the noble Lord with having falsely stated to the House that this treaty was that which had been arranged by Mr. Urquhart. ... Mr. Bell, in compliance with the wishes of his Sovereign, equipped the *Vixen* at his own expense, for a commercial voyage to the Circassian coast. For the same purpose  
40 he put on board of her a cargo of salt, an article which is there in great demand. ... Arrived on the coast, Mr. Bell took her into a harbour (of

I Circassia) not in the occupation of Russia. There was nothing whatever from which to give Russia occupation, or even the name of it. There were no Russian ships of war in sight, nor in the offing ... a Russian vessel of war came into the harbour 36 hours after the Vixen had cast anchor, and at a moment when the owner and some of the officers were on the shore 5 engaged in fixing the dues demanded by the Circassian authorities, and payable on the value of the goods. ... Dieß Kriegsschiff came not coastwise but from the open sea. they sent a boat and forcibly took possession of the *Vixen*, unter dem *false pretext*, of her having violated the international law of *blockade*. So der despatch des Russian Admiral... Rus- 10 sian Cabinet aber, takes measure, *in concert with the noble Lord*, (as the Duke proves); so as to enable the Russ. Gov. to obtain both the confiscation itself, and the recognition of that confiscation by the Engl. Gov., and so at once the formal acknowledgement that the treaty of Adrianople and entire extinction of Circassian independence. ... In dem despatch 15 daher v. St. Petersburg, announcing that the confiscation of the ship had followed the seizure, that confiscation was grounded no longer upon the inapplicable laws of blockade, but upon certain municipal regulations of Russia ... stated to have been made in 1831 or 32 by the Russ. authorities, for the purpose of establishing quarantines and customs-houses on 20 the coast of Circassia. Delays in Palmerston's replies to Russia. Versichert immer that they are going on well u. verweist stets, upon being asked for the papers in connexion with them, to do so, giving also his reasons ... If, the noble Lord says, they relate to any case that is pending, it must be injurious to produce them, but if, on the contrary, they relate 25 to a case that is past and gone, they can obviously be of no use to the Gentleman who moves for them, or to the House. ... When matters were ripe for concluding the case, Lord Durham falsely stated in a despatch of 3 or 4 lines, not more, at least, was laid before Parliament —that the Cabinet of St. Petersburg was fully justified in seizing the 30 *Vixen*, for the Russians were in actual occupation of the bay, and there was even a Russian fort there. *It was an most unfounded statement*. There was not even a blockading squadron in the offing—much less a Russian fort in any part of the coasts of the bay. ... Während Palmerston auf die erste russ. Depesche 73 days m. seiner Antwort gezögert, nun—the King 35 being now in imminent danger of that death which soon followed —schickt ab sofort despatch containing an unqualified recognition of the right of Russia to do what she has done. ... Agenten v. Palmerston Colonel Du Plat, Mr. Fonblanque; ...

In 1839 2<sup>d</sup> war was raging between Mehemet Ali u. dem Sultan. Rus- 40 sia, under the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which gave her the right to the

occupation of the Dardanelles, to the exclusion of all other powers, in the event of war, was about to enforce her rights under that treaty. Der Sultan applied to the Brit. Crown for protection. To merit the protection sought, the Sultan had offered—the proof is here—to place the  
5 Dardanelles in possession of an English and French squadron. This he first offered in 1836. What was the answer of Palmerston? It was a censure upon the Diplomatic agent, when the offer had been made. Redshid Pasha, then Turkish Ambass. at the Court of France, made the proposal. The censure was addressed by Palmerston to his own Secretary of  
10 Embassy, Mr. Urquhart... I have here the noble Lord's letter of censure upon Mr. Urquhart; and the ground is, his having even listened to the proposal of Redshid Pasha to place the Dardanelles in the power of an English and French squadron—instead of a Russian squadron—in the event of Mehemet Ali marching against Constantinople ... In 1839, com-  
15 munications upon the same subject renewed between the Courts of Constantinople, Paris, and London. The noble Lord was applied to by the Court of the Tuilleries, who solicited Brit, co-operation in compelling Russia to abstain from possessing herself of the Dardanelles. That was the *point de départ* as M. Thiers termed it; the exclusion of Russia. It was  
20 not Mehemet Ali that had to be excluded, but the Czar. *Palmerston's Antwort* has come to light only by the publication, in 1840, in France, of despatches in the archives of the Tuilleries, which M. Passy, one of the Ministry of the 22<sup>d</sup> May, thought it his duty to make public. Palmerston machte die counter proposition, that a French and English fleet should  
25 indeed be sent to the Dardanelles, to compel the Russians to quit Constantinople; but only if the Russians continued to retain the places after the danger of the Egyptian invasion should have ceased; d.h. wie die french gov. in their next despatch: "the noble Lord in the mean time resigned himself with great facility to the contingency of a Russian oc-  
30 cupation of Constantinople." ... It was only after the Russians were there, that, according to the noble Lord's proposal, the Engl, and French intervention was to commence. Even then, Sir, it was still further limited; the 2 fleets were not to enter the Dardanelles even in that case, but upon invitation—invitation from the Sultan, a prisoner to the Czar! ... Macht  
35 new proposal, that the 2 fleets should enter the Dardanelles whensoever invited. Judging of this proposal by reference to its subject matter, the French Gov. understood it to mean that an application was now to be made to the Porte, for permission to be at once granted to the English and French fleets, authorising them to enter the Dardanelles as soon as  
40 a Russian force should enter the Bosphorus. Under this impression, the French sent corresponding instructions to Admiral Lalande, at Constan-



tinople. Palmerston sent to the Brit. Admiral these instructions in quite another sense. Erst instruirte er Admiral Stopford to enter the Dardanelles only when the invitation of the Porte should come through the Ambassadors of France and England u. nur during the course of the actual disputes m. Mehemet Ali. Definitive instructions des Lord 5 Palmerston d.d. 13 July, 1839: He says, that if "in the course of the dispute with Mehemet Ali, the Porte finds itself" obliged to ask or accept assistance from any other Power, "the Brit. Gov. is confident that the Porte will at the same time address itself to Great Britain for the same object". If the Porte does so, Lord Stopford has orders "to proceed with 10 his squadron towards Constantinople, on receiving from the Porte, through the medium of the Ambassador, an invitation to that effect". The variation in the instructions were remarkable; die French Gov. protested against it as soon as it was discovered. Er änderte aber nichts in those instructions ... die french Ministers informed the noble Lord that 15 they were determined at whatever cost to prevent a Russian occupation of Constantinople; and that they would prefer to act with England; but that they were prepared to act without her if they judged fit. Just at this period Sultan Mahmoud died ... On the accession of Abdoul Medjid a new ministry appointed; a traitor, *Khosrou Pasha*, came into office. Hired 20 agent of Russia. Er recalled the Turk. Ambassadors from France and England. On several occasions he betrayed the signs of a secret and treasonable collusion with the enemy of both. Under the influence of a conviction that the machinations of Khosrou made that step necessary, in order to save his life, Achmet Pasha, the Admiral, went over to Alexan- 25 dria with the Turkish fleet; and there delivered it up into the hands of Mehemet Ali. No sooner had this taken place, than, so far from doing anything to quiet the just apprehensions of the late Sultan's faithful servants, the occasion was seized by the noble Lord to issue an immediate order to Admiral Stopford, to abandon the Dardanelles altogether, and 30 to proceed to Alexandria. That was the determination taken by the noble Lord ... abandoned wegen der intimation der French Gov., that Admiral Lalande should not co-operate in such an enterprise, but remain where he was, and enter the Dardanelles if necessary; i. e. in the event of a Russian force entering the Bosphorus ... July 15, 1840 Palmerston stated 35 the French had abducted him u. refused to co-operate with England in the cause of the Sultan ... Aber die charge falsch, as appears from *documents produced before the French Chamber*, and withholden from this House by the noble Lord. The For. Minister of France never refused to act mit England ... Für alle gehandelt sich um die emancipation der Turkey v. 40 Russia u. her treaty of Unkiar Skelessi... U. a. schlug der edle Lord dem

fzs. Gesandten vor: "to have a squadron of English and French ships in readiness to act, at the moment that a Russian force entered the Bosphorus, and was in possession of Constantinople". Er proposed that these should then be sent to manœuvre on the coast of Syria ||25| at 5 6 weeks' sail distance from those Straits,—and that there they should make a demonstration against Mehemet Ali and his Egyptian forces; and that, when by these means, they had induced Mehemet Ali and the Egyptians to retire from Syria, they should then, and not before, present themselves before the Dardanelles,—fortified as they then would be, by 10 Russian engineers, and garrisoned by Russian troops; and should then, after communication had with Lord Ponsonby and the French Minister, attempt to force the impregnable Dardanelles;—i. e., added the noble Lord, if they then thought themselves strong enough! The proposal was ridiculed by the French minister u. immediately the noble Lord receded 15 from it. ... The confidential proposal which the French Minister had made to the noble Lord in Febr., 1839, was by the noble Lord communicated to M. Kisseleff, the Russian minister, in August. When the announcement of this atrocious perfidy was made in the *French Chamber*, there was one universal shout of execration. ... Der point, worum es 20 sich handelte, was the exclusion of Russia from the Dardanelles, die destruction der Russian ascendancy at Constantinople ... Auf einmal, to the astonishment of France, of Europe, and the world, the Russ. Baron, de Brunow, arrived in London, on a private and special mission from the Emperor Nicholas. He was admitted to an interview with the noble Lord. 25 On both sides, "desire was expressed" to put an end to that state of mutual distrust which had existed ever since 1829. Brunow proposed that England should break with France, abandon those measures for the preservation of the integrity of Turkey which England had taken with France, allows Russia to occupy Constantinople ... Dann Russia would take care 30 that England should have all those advantages secured to her in Turkey which she had hoped from the French alliance. Palmerston informed den Brunow that "his Colleagues" did think this out of question. Er machte dagegen a countreproposal (zu s. Glück Lord Holland, effecting the removal of the last obstacle in the way to obtaining the concurrence of 35 his colleagues) u. zwar in the *name of the Cabinet*: that a Russian naval and military force should be admitted to occupy Constantinople; that, in return, the Russ. Gov. should allow 3 line-of-battle ships to enter the Dardanelles ... Brunow rejected this offer ... Russian Cabinet at length gave way ... on an assurance, that the other Powers, if they were called in 40 at all, should only be allowed to co-operate in demonstrations on the coast of Syria, or anywhere else, except at Constantinople; and that to

Russia alone should be confided the trust of garrisoning Constantinople and occupying the Dardanelles, whilst England should have, at the utmost, the permission accorded to her, of sending 3 line-of-battle ships thither to do honour to the Russian armament ... a stipulation inserted, that the 3 English ships should be kept at the extreme corner of the Sea of Marmora; provided only that the Russian ships would keep at the part of the Sea of Marmora nearest the Bosphorus. As if the occupation of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles stood upon the same footing. Such were the terms on which the treaty of July 15, 1840, signed between England and Russia, this treaty was signed without communication with France. Why? Weil there was some difference of opinion between England and France upon the question, whether or not Syria should remain an hereditary fief under the Egyptian sceptre (Mehemet Ali hatte Syria erhalten durch Palmerstons intervention u., for the purposes of Russia, in 1833 and 34. Upon the representations of Lord Ponsonby alone, were Adana u. its territory added to the Egyptian Pashalic ...) From that moment, Russia became supreme ... When der treaty of July 1840 was signed, Sir Stratford Canning fragt Palmerston as to the existence of such a treaty, and its purport u. ob he had any objection to produce the treaty to the House. Er declined u. declared that he could not produce it, *because it was not yet ratified.* He did not tell the House that, by a special clause in that treaty ... it was stipulated that the execution or fulfilment of the treaty should precede its ratification ... the hostile measures, taken for the purpose of giving effect to that treaty, prosecuted; at the very time when he was hiding the existence of the treaty from this House ... the Ministers of France fell into the snare ... laid for them by the noble Lord ... results were frenzy in France, disgust here, exasperation in Germany, the enfeeblement of all for the profit of Russia. This was in 1840. In 1841, by the desire of renewing the *Engl* alliance, they agreed to the hated treaty of Unkiar Skelessi u. dem Treaty of 15 July, 1840. Almost the very last act of Palmerston, before quitting office in 1841, was to receive the signature of France to the treaty of June, 1841, wodurch der Treaty v. Unkiar Skelessi (v. 1833, auf 8 J.) then to expire, was renewed and made perpetual. Dazu der Ausschluß fremder Kriegsschiffe ... the strength of the Bosphorus is nothing for the purpose of repelling an invasion on the side of the Black Sea; aber die strength der Dardanelles, in resisting an invasion from the Mediterranean is everything ... the treaty of Adrianople he adopted, the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi he adhered to, the treaties of 1840 and 1841 he made ... entente cordiale gone for ever since the events of July, 1840 ... statement of *Mr. Porter* (Board of trade) made in 1841. ... In July 1841, a few days after the treaty was signed, Tiverton

speech des Palmerston gegen die Frenchmen ... that, Sir, was the legacy which he left to his successors in office. ...

the only question pending, when Palmerston 1846 wieder in office, die unsettled question of the Span, marriages. Engagement made between  
5 Guizot u. Aberdeen that, if the one country did not start a Cobourg prince, as a candidate for the hand of the Queen of Spain, the other should not start a French Prince. Sobald Palmerston in office, asked by Guizot, whether he acceded to that arrangement? Palmerston wartet a whole month, ohne zu antworten. In the mean time, in the diplomatic  
10 correspondence of Palmerston favourably represented the hypothetical case of some Cobourg Prince being put forward ... Guizot, fearing another deception, bewirkt die 2 Heirathen in Spanien. Sobald Differenz between France and England ... Cracow to Austria annexed ... the French Gov. wendet sich an die Engl, [for] co-operation in a joint protest gegen  
15 die Incorporation. Lord Normanby antwortet, die outrage, of [[26]] which Austria had been guilty in annexing Cracow, not greater than that of which France, in effecting a marriage between the [Duc de] Montpensier and the Spanish Infanta. Der eine act violation des treaty of Vienna, der andre des treaty of Utrecht. (1205) In justification of their course,  
20 Palmerston u. Normanby there was no obligation upon the 2 Powers to protest conjointly, they might satisfy the obligation which there was upon them to protest by protesting separately ... in 1836 he stated precisely the contrary ... Great Brit, sei called upon to protest, aber nicht separately, noch at all, except conjointly with France ... Sein sogenannter  
25 Protest v. 1846 was no protest—I invite him to show me in what respect it answers to the definition of that term ... the treaty of Utrecht renewed for the last time in 1782; again abrogated by the breaking out of the revolutionary war in 1792; it was not renewed at Campo Formio, Lunéville, nor Amiens; it was not renewed by the treaty of Paris and Vienna;  
30 has also ever since 1792 ceased to exist ... Er selbst (Palmerston) sagt 19 March, 1839 im H. o. C. bei Gelegenheit der blockades of Mexico u. Buenos Ayres: "the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht have long lapsed in the variations of war". ... he specifies only one exception, that relating to the boundaries of Brazilian and French Guiana, because the noble  
35 Lord says, and says truly, that that clause had been by express words incorporated into the Treaty of Vienna ... in the case of the French and Spanish marriages—his object was to establish a ground of discord with France. ... In the case of Persia and Afghanistan ... false statements made in Parliament, and garbled versions of State papers laid before it,  
40 calculated and intended to mislead the House ... Collusion practised in the case of Persia uninterruptedly from the year 1834-38, between the

servants of Her Majesty and the servants of the Czar of Russia, for the purpose of destroying that ... ascendancy which the treaty signed by Sir Harford Jones Brydges in 1811 secured to us, and for the further purpose of placing the Court of Teheran under the exclusive control of the Russian envoy; that similar measures accompanied by others of a more 5 aggravated description, had been put in practice in Affghanistan ... forgeries were committed for the purpose of misleading Parliament as to the intentions and dispositions of the princes and people of Affghanistan. ... Bes. so verstümmelt, verfälscht, durch suppression of whole paragraphs, parts of sentences, words here and there selected with great care die 10 despatches des late *Sir Alexander Burnes* wie Anstey nun beweist. ... I am in condition to prove it by reference to the *original drafts of his* despatches. Der Vater des late Burnes schreibt nämlich an Anstey: "Should a Committee of the House be granted, I shall be most ready to lay such of the following documents as are in my possession before it. *J. Burnes.*" ... 15 Sir Alexander Burnes himself, writes to his brother in law, Major Holland, d. d. Aug. 25, 1839, on this subject: "The exposition of the Governor General's views in the Parliamentary Papers is *pure trickery*, and I have said so in every company since I have read them" ... not by accident ... frauds like these .. committed ... the Envoys who, at the 20 Court of Teheran, represented England, were instructed *upon all occasions* to concur with the *Envoys of Russia* in their measures—those measures having for their object the ascendancy of Russia in that country, and the destruction of English influence. ... In Central Asia it is said to this day, that Russia and England are united on the terms of Sovereignty and 25 vassalage. It is the Czar of Russia that is said to be the Suzerain. It is the Queen of Great Britain that is said to be the vassal ... until Lord Aberdeen, by his famous letter of May 20, 1842, to his Colleagues in the Admiralty, and on the cited authority of the law officers of the Crown, annulled the instructions which the noble Lord had left behind him on 30 going out of office d. d. 6 April, 1 u. 17 June u. 28 July 1841—the right of search and detention over French vessels on the west coast of Africa had been to the noble Lord an effectual instrument for increasing and stimulating that irritation and frenzy of the French mind against England, which his whole policy had provoked ... [1141-1224] 35

*Urquhart.* The noble Lord has been charged ... with a whole clear and connected system of guilt ... truckling to the powerful and overreaching of the weak ... the Motion is not for a Committee of Inquiry, but only for papers ...

Aus Hansard's parliamentary debates (Fortsetzung)

**[Vol. 98. London 1848.]**

*H. o. C. May 16 1848.*

*Urquhart.* citirt die *histoire des dix ans.* "The Consul of Austria had not  
quitted Warsaw ... Austria not disinclined to assist in the re-establish-  
5 ment of Polish nationality ... but upon 2 conditions: *the first*, that Poland  
would accept for King an Austrian Prince; the *second*, that this propo-  
sition should be made conjointly mit France and England. Walewski  
nach Paris. Antwort: 'it was ready to join England, if England would  
consent to the project.' Mr. Walewski then proceeded to London. Lord  
10 Palmerston avowed 'without reserve', that France and 'no other Power'  
was the object of the 'distrust and fears of England', that 'His Britannic  
Majesty entertained most friendly relations which he was in nowise in-  
clined to disturb, with St. Petersburg', that he 'would not consent' to  
unite his efforts with those of the King of France, 'in an object hostile or  
15 disagreeable to Russia.'" (*Louis Blanc*) Kurz nachher overtures made by  
the French Gov. to the noble Lord. (1831) u. er antwortete: "that an ami-  
cable intermediation on the Polish question would be declined by Russia  
—that the Powers had just declined a similar offer on the part of France  
—that the intermediation of the 2 courts, Fr. and Engl., could only be by  
20 force in case of a refusal on the part of Russia—and that the amicable  
and satisfactory relations between the Cab. of St. James and the Cabinet  
of St. Petersburg, would not allow his Brit. Maj. to undertake such an  
interference. The time was not yet come to undertake such a plan with  
success against the will of a Sovereign, whose rights were indisputable."  
25 ... [1121,1122]

**[Vol. 5. London 1831.]**

*H. o. C. Aug. 8, 1831*

*Poland. Hunt.* "Petition from the Westminster Union, in favour of the  
Poles ... concluding by praying the House to address H. Maj. to dismiss  
30 Lord Palmerston from his councils. *Hume* he concluded from the silence  
of the Gov., that they intended to do nothing for the Poles, but allow  
them to remain at the mercy of Russia." Nachdem er vorher den  
Palmerston umsonst gefragt "whether anything was to be done for  
unhappy Poland?" *Palmerston:* "whatever obligations existing treaties  
35 imposed, would at all times receive the attention of the Gov."

**[Vol. 6. London 1831.]**

*H. o. C. Aug. 16, 1831.*

(Art. 1 des Wiener Treaty: "The Duchy of Warsaw etc. shall be irrevocably bound to the Russ. empire by its constitution.") *Palmerston* widersezt sich dem Antrag v. Evans f. Production of Papers in Bezug auf die neu- 5 trality ... "observed or violated in the present war by the States bordering on Poland, particularly Prussia", sagt u. a.: the Ministers of this country could not have witnessed that contest without the deepest regret, and it would be most satisfactory to them to see it terminated. [103, 107,108]

**[Vol. 9. London 1832.]**

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*H. o. C. Jan. 26, 1832.*

*Herries* "there was not the smallest iota of claim on the part of Russia for the continuance of the debt by England ... Holland refused to pay her portion, on the ground that the loan was contracted to continue her in undivided possession of the Belgic provinces, and that she no longer had 15 the sovereignty of that country; and it was impossible, when the principal was exonerated that the subordinate party should [27] [be held] bound by his engagement... [910, 911] *Sir Edward Sugden* there was not a single debateable point in the present question ... the Gov. had no power whatever to pay a shilling of the money, under the circumstances that a separation had de facto taken place between Belgium and Holland. [947] 20

*Palmerston.* "enormous sacrifices of Russia to maintain the integrity of all existing monarchies against the military sway of Napoleon" "the sole recompense, she demanded was the present loan", "ardent desire of Russia to co-operate with England" "Was this gratuitous generosity 25 on the part of Russia to be now turned against herself?" "We had hitherto acted in concert with Russia and the other Powers." "affairs in general were proceeding in a satisfactory train." [964-966] Er behauptet sogar [*Hemes:*] "that because the King of Holland had not given his consent to the separation of Holland and Belgium, therefore the separation had not taken place." Diese *separation* in des King's speech selbst erwähnt ... every payment ... made since the King's speech was a direct violation of the treaty. [967, 968] 30

**[Vol. 13. London 1832.]**

*H. o. C. June 28. 1832*

Lord Ebrington rose to present a petition coming from Polish refugees resident in London ... for Brit, interference in the affairs of Poland.  
5 [1115] *Cullar Fergusson* lenkt wieder die attention des House auf den state of Poland. Verlangt copy des Manifests des emperor of Russia d. d. February, 26 and of the "Organic Statute" to which it referred ... [1115,1130] *Palmerston* no person could regret more than he did the expressions which had been uttered, (nähmlich daß der Emperor of Rus-  
10 sia a *miscreant* conqueror) [1143] *Wyse*: "this was not the first time that he had heard great tenderness recommended towards the Emperor of Russia". [1144]

**[Vol. 14. London 1832.]**

*H. o. C. July, 12. 1832.*

15 *Peel* 2 Fragen v. *Palmerston* "studiously confounded" (Russian-Dutch Loan), the one, whether this country was under an obligation, of honour and good faith, to continue these payments to Russia; the other, whether H. M's Gov. were warranted, by law, in advancing the money in January last? [330]

20

*H. o. C. Aug. 7, 1832*

Colonel Evans giebt forward the Motion ... on the subject of the infraction, by Russia, of the Treaty of Vienna, with respect to Poland ... [1209] *Palmerston*: "With respect to *Poland*, he could also say, without at all touching on the question of Russia having broken her faith to the Poles  
25 on the subject of a Constitution, that, in the late war, the Poles, not the Russians, were the aggressors, for they *commenced* the *contest*." [1215]



[House of Commons] Aug. 8. [1832]

(Greek Loan Convention.) *Palmerston*. It had been said, that we were undertaking this guarantee wholly to please Russia, and that, in the Greek arrangement, we were following blindly the policy, and doing the work, of the Holy Alliance. [1273]

**[Vol. 19. London 1833.]**

*H. o. C. July 9. 1833.*

*Cutlar Fergusson* motion that "His Maj. will be pleased not to recognize, or in any way give the sanction of his Gov., to the present political state and condition of Poland, the same having been brought about in violation of the Treaty of Vienna to which Great Brit, was a party". ... [416]

*Lord Palmerston*: no vote of this House would have the slightest effecting in reversing the decision of Russia, "the Brit. Gov. were prevented from interfering, knowing as they did, that their interposition would have been too late to save the Poles from destruction". ... "the present emperor of Russia was a man of high and generous feelings". ... [435-437]

*H. o. C. July 11. 1833.*

*P. L. Bulwer* verlangt die Papiere über die türk.-syrische Geschichte. *Admiral Poussin* arrived at Constantinopel, and engaged for the retreat of the Pasha on certain terms, which included the refusal of Russian assistance. To this Russia refused her consent—"you have asked for me, and you shall have me"; her troops marched accordingly on Constantinopel ... No longer ago than last Christmas ... Count Appony, the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, stated, in speaking of the Affairs of the East, that this Court had a greater apprehension of French Principles than Russian ambition ... [571, 576] *Palmerston* opposes the Motion, because the transactions to which the papers called for referred, were incomplete, and the character of the whole transaction would depend upon its termination ... as the results were not yet known ... the Motion ... premature ... The hon. Gentleman had urged it as an accusation against ministers that they had not interfered to defend the Sultan against Mehemet Ali and prevent the advance of his army. He was not prepared to deny, that, the latter part of last year an application was made on the part of the

Sultan to this country for assistance, but the Gov. was at that time not prepared to afford it; Ministers, in short, did not think it fit to afford assistance to the Porte at that particular juncture. No doubt if England had thought fit to interfere, the progress of the invading army would  
5 have been stopped, and the Russian troops would not have been called in ... The Russian Gov., in granting his aid to the Sultan, had pledged its honour, and in that pledge *he reposed the most implicit confidence*, to limit its assistance to the defence alone of the Sultan, and ... to withdraw whatever force might be placed at the disposal of that sovereign, for the  
10 purpose of securing his defence, as soon as peace was established between the Porte and Turkey ... if they had quietly beheld the temporary occupation of the Turkish capital by the forces of Russia, it was because they had full confidence in the honour and good faith of Russia. [578, 579,581] *Col. Evans*, he could not help expressing his surprise at the  
15 confidence which the noble Viscount seemed to place in the good faith of Russia. [582]

**[Vol.22. London 1834.]**

*H. o. C. March 17. 1834.*

*Sheil*. In the autumn of 1831, Ibrahim Pacha marched into Syria, on  
20 December 3 Acre besieged, fell in May 1832, took Damaskus on June 14, das fate of Syria entschieden durch die battle at Horns. It was easy to foresee these successes, and to anticipate the victory of Egyptian discipline over Turkish disorganisation. Was it not most strange that at this period we had no Ambassador at Constantinople? ... *Türken verlang-*  
25 *ten v. uns naval aid, würde abgeschreckt haben Ibrahim from advancing.* He marched on, and forced the passes of the Taurus. On Dec. 21, the battle of Koniah ... fought, and the last Turkish army was annihilated. The moment for Russian interposition had arrived. The Emperor Nicholas, after England had refused her assistance, sent Gen. Mauravieff to  
30 Constantinople, mit a letter, written in the language of fraternal endearment, to the Sultan, offering fleets and troops. This proposition was not at first acceded to ||28| but on Febr. 2, 1833, he applied for this sinister aid. As yet there was no English or French Ambassador at Constantinople. Ponsonby, ernannt November, arrived erst in May. 17<sup>th</sup> February  
35 Admiral Roussin reached Constantinople, on the 19<sup>th</sup> remonstrated (which England never did) on the occupation of Turkey by Russian troops ... on the next day the Russian fleet arrived in the Bosphorus. Admiral Roussin employed his best efforts to induce Ibrahim to sign a

treaty, but he was counteracted by Russia, da er alone was ... Die Erklärung Palmerstons vom 11<sup>ten</sup>. Am 8<sup>ten</sup> der Treaty von Unkiar Skelessi ... dieser treaty announced August 21, im Morning Herald ... while Count Orloff was apparently complying mit den wishes of France and England, he was preparing a stroke which only became known the day after his 5 departure, which has since covered the Ambassadors of those countries with confusion, and has placed Turkey in the hug of the bear ... Die navigation of all the Turkish seas u. Passage der Dardanelles den Engländern gesichert durch Vertrag v. 1675, dann 1809, ... verlangt die "copies der treaties zwischen Turkey u. Russia seit 1833, u. of any cor- 10 respondence between the English, Russian, Turkish Gov., respecting those treaties, to be laid before the House." [307-309, 315, 317]

*Palmerston:* gegen die Motion. ... [319] In their confidence Ministers were not deceived; the Russian force did retire. ... (Erst Sept. 1832, sagt er, verläßt Sir Stratford Canning Constantinopel wohin er in the begin- 15 ning of 1832 kam) ... it was perfectly impossible that the treaty (der v. Unkiar Skelessi) not to be ratified at Constantinople until the month of September, should be officially known to him in August ... the assurances and explanations which it (the Brit. Gov.) had received from the contracting parties to that treaty greatly tended to remove its objections ... (gibt 20 dem Sheil zu, daß in dem treaty v. 8<sup>ten</sup> July Turkey bound to assist Russia, if England was at war with Russia, Turkey must exclude our ships from the Dardanelles) ... he did not mean to say, that under its provisions merchant vessels, might not, in effect, be practically excluded from the Black sea ... the Hon. Gentleman would, he was sure, excuse him for 25 not exactly stating why the Brit. fleet went to the Dardanelles, why ran thence to Smyrna, u. why it returned from Smyrna to Malta ... [322-328]

*Col. Evans* ... the speech of the noble Lord appeared to him the most unsatisfactory that he had ever heard from him. ... [330]

[*Robert Peel:*] *Palmerston.* "I think it very likely, that the Treaty of July 30 may never come into operation." ... *Sir Robert Peel* nennt Palmerston "a very inconclusive reasoner". ... the fact of Russia having occupied Constantinople, even for the purpose of saving it was as decisive a blow to Turk, independence, as if the flag of Russia now waved on the Seraglio. But, said the noble Lord, the Gov. could not take any step for the prè- 35 servation of Turkey; it did not receive any formal application from the Porte for assistance until August or September; and a great battle was won by Ibrahim Pasha in July. What? Were then H. M's Gov. so ignorant of what was passing in the Levant, that they must wait for a formal application from the Porte, before tendering her either advice or as- 40 sistance? ... Wo war die fleet occupied: In blockading the Tagus and Scheldt ... [336-338]

Aus Hansard's parliamentary debates (Fortsetzung)

*H. o. C. March 25, 1834.*

*Palmerston.* "the mere fact of this country being a party to the Treaty of Vienna, was not as synonymous with our guaranteeing that there would be no infraction of that treaty by Russia". *O'Connell* had heard the  
5 speech of the noble lord mit surprise u. regret. [656] *Th. Attwood.* No honest man, in the private transactions of life would say so. [657]

**[Vol. 31. London 1836.]**

*[House of Commons] March 1, 1836.*

*Sir Stratford Canning* interpellirt das Parliament über das Einrücken  
10 v. Preußen, Russen, Österreichern, am 17 Febr. in Cracow. *Palmerston* "I am not now prepared to give an opinion on the subject." [1129, 1130]

**[Vol. 32. London 1836.]**

*[House of Commons] March 18, 1836.*

*Sir Stratford Canning* Interpellation über Cracow. *Palmerston.* [403-420]

15

*[House of Commons] April 20, 1836.*

*Grote* presents petition from 60 merchants of the city of London m. Bezug auf die Handelsregulationen der Russen in Black Sea. ... *Sir Stratford Cannings* petition über denselben Gegenstand v. Glasgow. *Patrick M. Stewart* motion ... enactments u. restrictions intended to interrupt  
20 our commerce on the Danube ... [1258-1260] *Palmerston:* government do intend to send a consular agent to Cracow. I should trust, therefore, that my hon. friend should consent to withdraw that part of his motion ... [1284] As to the navigation of the Danube ... no ground has been shown upon which this House could be called upon to take any step with regard  
25 to that part of my Hon. friend's case and that question may fairly be left in the hands of the Gov. ... [1289] *Lord Mahon.* When he (*Palmerston*) had sent only 2 men-of-war to Alexandria, nur signified seine disapprobation to the Pasha of Egypt, that aggression (1831) would have been arrested, at its outset... Der Sultan implored the aid of England. He sent  
30 over to this country first, M. Maurojeni u. dann Namik Pacha ... to the

refusal of the noble Lord may be mainly ascribed the Treaty of the 8\* of July. ... Sir Stratford Canning quitted Constantinople on Aug. 9, 1832, Lord Ponsonby appointed Nov. 29, kömmt erst den Mai 1 nach Constantinople ... [1297-1299]

**[Vol. 37. London 1837.]**

5

*[House of Commons] March 17, 1837*

*Vixen*, Treaty of Adrianople. *Roebuck*: moved for papers elucidatory of this singular transaction. [628] *Palmerston*: I must object to the production of papers. If they bear upon a question now under consideration, their production would be dangerous: if they refer to questions that are 10 gone by, they can obviously be of no use. [636]

*[House of Commons] March 22, 1837*

Auf Stuarts Interpellation, *Palmerston*: "he had altered his intention, and had not sent a Consular Agent to Cracow, and it was not, at present, his intention to do so". [702]

15

**[Vol. 38. London 1837.]**

*[House of Commons. 25. Mai 1837.]*

June 16, 1837: May 25 1837 Stuart motion über Consularagent in Cracow. (Palmerston nicht da, House counted aus) [1086-1088]

**[Vol.43. London 1838.]**

20

*[House of Commons] June 21, 1838.*

*Vixen* (Sir Stratford Canning für das appointment of a select Committee) [903] *Peel* sagt: the noble Lord expressed his surprise that Canning's motion should be of so trifling a character ... protection of the Brit. Commerce trifles? ... There are 3 distinct points in favour of Mr. Bell: 25 1) the six years' concealment of blockade by the noble Lord; 2) his answer returned to Mr. Bell; 3) das encouragement given him abroad, by Lord Ponsonby u. Mr. Urquhart. [947, 952]

(Majority gegen die Motion nur 16) (184 gegen 200) |

[Vol. 39. London 1838.]

[29] *H. o. C. Dec. 14, 1837.*

*Thomas Attwood.* the moment that any country depended upon the  
friendship of a tyrant, that moment the people became slaves. The  
5 moment that Russia acquired power to injure us, that moment she ac-  
quired dominion over us. ... He might be told that we had 6 ships of the  
line at Lisbon. The ostensible excuse for maintaining so many ships there  
was to protect the life of the Queen of Portugal; but they did not care so  
much about the life of the Queen; the real object was to put down liberty,  
10 to support despotism and fraud, and to destroy the constitution which  
the Queen of Portugal had sworn to defend and maintain ... the Russian  
war against *Circassia*. Some Gentlemen thought that if the Russians estab-  
lished their dominion in *Circassia*, and, through it, in Persia and Tur-  
key, our Indian empire would be in danger ... The noble Lord had decla-  
15 red last year that Russia had no right to blockade the ports of *Circassia*  
against English ships. Why, then, had not the noble Lord taken means to  
break up that blockade? ... the true question was ... whether it was our  
interest that she should occupy that coast? ... The *London Gazette* was  
indeed the only quarter to which a Brit, merchant should refer for such  
20 information, (als die *Vixen* with regard to the blockade of the coast of  
*Circassia*), and not the Ukases of the Emperor of Russia ... the press ...  
the tool of parties ... Mr. Hume was sure to be out of the way whenever  
anything of importance was going forward. ... Russia exercises her  
encroachments with measured insolence ... the base and infernal press,  
25 the most infernal deluder ... England was bound in recognizances of  
800 millions never to go to war again (said an Hon. Member in that  
House seven years since); and another Hon. member said he knew it, and  
he thanked God for it ... his pocket full of money, and his heart of  
cowardice ... the bitterest and most remorseless enemies that the industry  
30 and honour of England had were the *Radicals* in that House, although he  
was one of them; but he hoped he was not quite so bad. He wished for  
real liberty—not the mere degradation of the aristocracy ... the liberty  
he meant was, the raising up of the lower classes ... He would come now  
to the *treaty of Unkiar Skelessi*. This treaty was said to be one of reci-  
35 procity—the noble Lord had so designated it on a former occasion; that  
reciprocity being, that if the Dardanelles should be closed against Eng-  
land in the event of war, they should be closed against Russia also. This  
certainly was Irish reciprocity, for it was all on one side. ... Attwoods

resolution u. a. "to lay before the House copies of all communications between the Gov. of this country and Russia with regard to the naval armament of Cronstadt, the war between *Russia and Circassia, and the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi*". [1095, 1097-1102]

*Sir E. Codrington* seconded the motion. ... Russia (in 1828-9) was 5 drawn into the war with Turkey by the conduct of her allies. Shortly after the battle of Navarino it would be seen by a reference to certain Greek papers, that the Emperor of Russia made a proposal that in consequence of the insults to the united flags of England, France, and Russia, if Turkey did not agree to the treaty of London, those 3 nations would declare 10 war against her. By that proposal Wallachia and Moldavia were to continue in the hands of Russia; and he (*Sir E. Codrington*) was to have the command of the fleet, and take possession of the Dardanelles. If this agreement had been entered into, the consequence would have been, if they were driven to the necessity of dictating terms at the steps of the 15 Seraglio, Turkey must have ultimately submitted; and by a provision of the treaty, after that event occurred, each nation was to resume its original position. If Russia had not retired from Wallachia and Moldavia, she would have been compelled to do so by the united force of England, France, and Turkey ... [1102,1103] 20

*Palmerston*. ... We do not mean to interfere in a war carrying on \ between Russia and Circassia ... As to the Vixen ... Russia had given \ such explanations of her conduct as ought to satisfy the Gov. of this \ country ... that ship was not taken during a blockade ... it was captured \ because those who had the management of it *contravened the municipal* 25 *I and custom-house regulations of Russia* ... It is not the intention of the Gov. to have recourse to hostile measures to compel Russia and Turkey—two *independent* powers—to cancel the treaty (of Unkiar Skelessi) made between them ... With regard to the affair of the Vixen, the whole matter is at an end ... *Now, Sir, with regard to the treaty of Unkiar* 30 *Skelessi, that, also, is a matter which has gone by*; it is a treaty which, at present, is not one of the acknowledged treaties of Europe, and, consequently, can form no ground whatever for England to declare war with Russia. It was a treaty entered into for a *limited* period, and to meet peculiar circumstances; and *that period having expired, and those circum-* 35 *stances having disappeared*, and the probability also being that the 2 powers parties to it will not find it necessary that its engagements should be renewed, I think I am justified in saying that its introduction by the hon. Member upon the present occasion is *wholly unnecessary and uncalled for* ... Russia he (*Attwood*) seems so desirous to convert into a general 40 alarm-giver.... Between the beginning of 1814 and the end of 1815 Russia

Aus Hansard's parliamentary debates (Fortsetzung)

received 7 millions by way of subsidies from England, and 4 millions as part of a war contribution from France, and it was these same 11 millions which enabled her to bring under arms those 160,000 men whom I myself saw in the plains of Champagne. ... The papers *connected with that treaty*  
5 *were laid before the House 3 years ago* ... [1105,1109-1111]

*Maclean.* Whilst Circassia was in the possession of Turkey this country had the same right to trade there by paying the same *dues paid* as to trade to any other Turkish port, but upon that coast she was now forbidden to land goods of any description which were not included in the Russian  
10 tariff, and the commerce of England was in this respect greatly impeded ... the trade of Trebizond alone was worth a million a-year. | [1112]

**[Vol. 55. London 1840.]**

130[ *H. o. C. July 6, 1840.*

(*Austrian Treaty of Commerce.*) [*Palmerston:*] "With respect to the ob-  
15 jection, that fully to realize the advantages contemplated by this connexion, a subsequent treaty with Turkey would be necessary in order to prevent that power from excluding us altogether from the Danube, he would only remark, that by virtue of existing treaties, English ships had a right of trading in any Turkish ports, and that so all parts of the Danube  
20 comprehended within the Turkish territory whilst the freedom of the remainder was guaranteed by the treaty with Austria." | [487]



(Heft 2)  
Exzerpte aus britischen Zeitungen

[Notizen]

||2. Umschlagseite|| Cholera  
*strike at*  
dear dully-deadly Dudley

5 arms, *entrenchment*,

*varnished savage.*

10

*Burnley*

skilful

15

*decide upon*  
*forces enraged against him*  
*August 12*  
brave words  
brave deeds  
elegant tissue of generalities  
ironical  
Jesuitism

glories of the constitutional  
system |

## MI [Exzerpte aus britischen Zeitungen]

1 October.

*Strike of the Hop-pickers.* A general strike has taken place throughout the hop-growing districts. (*Morning Advertiser*)

Lord Palmerston ... a popular favourite. (*Tallis*)

5

Authentic accounts have been received that the Entire English and French fleets have entered the Dardanelles and arrived at Constantino-ple. (I.e.)

Stated as certain that Persia had placed at the disposal of the Sultan a corps of 6,000 of her best troops. (*I. c.*)

10

*Bucharest* Sept. 14. The quantities of corn accumulating at Braila and Galatz are so large that the want of warehouse rooms is severely felt. Trade is in a state of utter stagnation, and the labouring classes suffer accordingly. (I.e.)

At Preston 13 mills are closed, and at the expiration of a fortnight 15 every mill in the town is to be shut up by the masters. The weavers have this week addressed a memorial to the employers, soliciting an interview, or offering to refer the matters in dispute to arbitration, but the masters have declined this request... the rupture between the operatives and employers on all hands seems to be increasing. (I. c.)

20

*Bank of England returns*  
for the week ending the 24 Sept:

*Depositors* have increased their withdrawals to the extent of £.214,788. *Demand for discount* has increased by £.400,000 *decrease of active circulation* to the extent of 486,475 £. (nearly 500,000 *l.*) *Decrease of bullion:* 25 £.181,615 bring now £. 15,680,783. |

Exzerpte aus britischen Zeitungen

	3  <i>Notes issued:</i>	29,065,880.
	<i>Public deposits:</i>	£. 6,712,265
	<i>Private deposits:</i>	£. <u>10,839,185</u>
		£.17,551,450
5	<i>Active circulation:</i>	£.21,935,445
	<i>Notes in reserve:</i>	£. 7,130,435 ( <i>increase £. 153,280,</i>
		<i>produced by the sale of stocks to that amount)</i>
	<i>Governmental securities:</i>	£. 12,339,083
	<i>Private securities:</i>	£. <u>17,143,223</u>
10		29,482,306

|4| The *Siècle*, which is supposed to have its information from the Turkish Embassy, declares that the application to the Porte to send for ships from Besika Bay was made on the pretext that danger was apprehended during the *fêtes* of the Bairam for the Christians; but the Porte 15 refused, observing that there was no danger, and that if there was it would protect the Christians without foreign aid, and it would not degrade itself by calling for it. It would not, it said, apply for ships until after the *fêtes*, and then in support for its rights—and accordingly rußische Schiffe. (*Sunday Times*) *unscrupulous \*

20 |5| Monday October 3

Yesterday there was a great anti-Russian meeting at Henley. In the course of the week there will be similar expressions of public feeling at Wolverhampton, Leicester, Manchester, Birmingham. On, Friday... a metropolitan demonstration in favour of Turkey. (*Morning Advertiser*) 25 (*London Tavern*)

The Turks have caused troops to advance from Trebisond and Erzerum towards the Turko-Russian frontier. Orders have been sent for the Minister of war at St. Petersburg to despatch large bodies of troops in a great haste from Sebastopol to re-inforce the ||6| garrisons of the ports of 30 Anaklia, Poti u. Nicolaief. (I.e.)

*Jassy Sept. 19.* Prince Gortschakoff has just communicated to the commanding officers of the different corps of the invading force the instructions sent from St. Petersburg by the Minister of War for taking the steps necessary to establish the winter quarters of the Russ. army in 35 Wallachia u. Moldavia. (*Daily News*)

The King of Prussia quitted Berlin on Sunday evening for Warsaw. (*Sun*) **I**

[7] Let war come or not, and be its result what it may, we turn with abhorrence from that policy which, instead of restraining the invader by an armed and resolute attitude, has done its best to engage in conflict 2 mighty armies, inflamed by hereditary hate, and the fanaticism of hostile creeds, under the false pretence of preserving the peace of Europe. 5  
(Press) I

[8] Wednesday, October, 5.

We have now 2 dispatches from Vienna—the one announcing that Lord Westmoreland had declared at Olmutz that England would not support the Turks, if Russia agreed not to consider the passage of the Dardanelles 10 by our ships of war as an infringement of the treaty of 1841; the other, that the Divan had taken the initiative, and declared war against the northern Colossus. (*Morning Herald*) Am 27<sup>ten</sup> Sept. hielt der Sultan den grossen Rath. (*Globe*) Poté Ànaklia and Port St. Nikolai are to be placed in a condition of defence while her forces are advancing in the 15 neighbourhood of [9] the Araxes and of Erzeroum. (*M. H.*)

The Sultan had on the 27<sup>th</sup> convoked a Grand Council, consisting of 120 of the principal ministers, councillors, pachas and others—the question of peace and war was submitted to them by him, and they decided in favour of the latter alternative. (*Globe*) 20

*Times. Oct. 3 (Paris Corresp. die Nachricht über Westmoreland)*

On the 26<sup>th</sup> a Grand Council, convoked by the Sultan, and numbering 122 civil and religious dignitaries, from amongst the most experienced and distinguished of his subjects, met to consider the rejection of the modifications of the Vienna Note by the Emperor of Russia and the course to 25 be pursued consequent on that rejection. It was resolved by the Council that, it would be contrary to the dignity and subversive of the sovereign authority of the [ ] 10| Sultan to sign the Vienna note without the modifications suggested by the Divan; and that inasmuch as the Czar declared those modifications to be totally inadmissible, and refused to abandon 30 his demand for an engagement destructive of the independence of the Ottoman empire; it only remained for the Council to advise the Sultan to proceed at once to adopt the measures necessary for the preservation of his empire, and to free his dominions from the presence of their invader. (*Morning Post*) 35

Grave as the prospect of war must be considered, a feeling is gaining ground that a collision between the Russians and Turks cannot now be well avoided; but that a message of arms between the forces who have

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been || 111 watching each other for the last 6 weeks on either side of the Danube, is necessary for the honour of both parties. Once that an exchange of shots has taken place, it is hoped that negotiations may be opened on a broader and surer footing for the maintenance of peace.

5 (*Guardian*) /

|12| Thursday. October 6.

The *Ottoman Porte* has pronounced, by the decision of its Imperial Council, for open war. ... On the other side, the Emperor of Russia has declared for *peace* ... we can state upon undoubted authority, that the  
10 interests of the "*Czar*", as expressed at Olmütz by his own lips, are not only in favour of a pacific settlement, but are reconcilable to a great extent with the conditions proposed by ourselves. He represented that, as he had accepted the Vienna note at the hands of the conference in full  
15 satisfaction of European demands, and on the terms framed by his opponents, he could not with any regard to his own dignity, be now referred to any second proposal. He offered, however, to accept || 131 a declaration or interpretation which seems to deprive the original Vienna note of the objectionable features since discovered in it, and stated distinctly that, although he could not swerve from the conditions first imposed upon  
20 him, he was ready to admit at once such an explanation of those conditions as was conformable to the views of the French and British Governments, provided only that his acknowledged rights were still maintained. (*Times*) It can surely never be worth while to plunge Europe into war for the sake of such a difference as this. There is no longer any  
25 dispute about the *substance* of terms of peace. (I.e.) "couple of savage chiefs in the interior of Africa. (I. c.) After all, what does the world care for the Emperor of Russia, that it should go to war out of *deference* to his political mistakes? (I.e.) ||14| If, as we began by asserting, the hypothetical war impending is to be an Homeric War of Kings, which of all  
30 these Royal personages will find himself on the throne when it is at end!" (I.e.)

News from Bucharest d. d. 24<sup>th</sup> Sept., has been received here (... Paris). It contains sad reports of the condition of the Russian troops in the Principalities. Nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of them are in the hospital or rather on the sick  
35 list, for there is but very small hospital accommodation, and wretched medical attendance. Typhus has broken out amongst the soldiery, and cholera, too, has made its appearance. Their food is scanty and unwholesome, the commissariat being totally inefficient. (*Morning Post*) /

[15] To-morrow afternoon there will be a meeting in Downingstreet of the Cabinetministers. (*Globe*)

*bedquilmakers* workingmen threw the lot, whether they should commence in striking, and then the masters closed unanimously their shops. *Bolton*. 5

Masters, in the various places, strafen sich wechselseitig mit 5000 (Manchester), 2000 (Bolton), 3000 (Preston) welches zuerst nachgibt.

*Fabrikanten in Bury*

[[16]] *Ger st. Broadstr. gegenüber Arzt in Freiburg* | 10

[[17]] Friday. October 7.

The only result would be a document bearing two conflicting interpretations, each of which might be made available in turn. (*Times*) The western powers, therefore, require that the Vienna note should be put entirely aside, as destroyed by the Czar's own exposition of its purport, and that 15 a new instrument should be framed to obviate any future misunderstanding. This is the question now at issue between Russia and Europe. (1. c.) It is a question, as the reader will see, of forms exclusively. (1. c.) the Bank of France has raised its rate of discount to 4%, that of Berlin at 5%, at that of St. Petersburg at 6% (1. c.) | 20

I[18]I The encroachments of a Power so menacing as Russia must undoubtedly be encountered, if necessary, by the armed resistance of Europe, but at present no encroachments are threatened. Russia is willing to accept the conditions we propose; and, if we fight, we shall be fighting not for terms, but for the forms in which those terms shall be 25 framed (I.e.)

*Bombay*. Master Spinners and Manufacturers announce Russia gains everything, if she can keep the Passage, and avoid a war. And, for the purposes *procrastination is everything*. (*Morning Herald*) \

I[19]I The French Gov. has resolved to take the bull by the horns 30 —30,000 men are under orders to be ready at a moment's notice, to be shipped on board the Ocean squadron, which will waft them to Stamboul—The command of the corps d'armée will in all probability be bestowed upon General Canrobert... the plan arranged at present is, that England will send 10,000 men, and that France will take 20,000 from the 35 late Hilfort Camp, and [[20]] 10,000 more from Algiers. They will proceed at once through the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus into the Black

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Sea, and be disembarked at Varna, so as to take the Russians in the rear. A plan is also formed to prevent the Russians from crossing the Danube, or traversing the [21] defiles of the Balkan ...

The *Patrie* announces, in a communicated note, that the telegram received this evening from the East does not confirm the declaration of war by the Sultan, reported by the Morning Chronicle. (I. c.) |

I [23] I *Schiffe nach America.*

	<i>Southampton,</i>	October 12,	Wednesday	<i>Hermann.</i>
		October 26,		<i>Franklin.</i>
10		November 9,		<i>Washington.</i>
		November 23,		<i>Humboldt.</i>
	<i>Liverpool</i>	October 19,		<i>Arctic.</i>
		November 7,		Baltic.

I [24] I *Colonel Maberley.*

15 "The Emperor of Russia has declared for Peace." |

I [25] I the operators have inscribed on their banners "10%, and no surrenders". (*Tottis*)

## Monday. October 10.

The miserable condition of Russian troops in the Principalities. (*M. P.*)

20 The orators of the London Tavern showed their good ruse, in the general expression of their belief that Lord Palmerston was the Minister best fitted to vindicate English interests. (I.e.)

40 articles, we have no doubt, condemnatory of Russia have appeared in the *Times*. But when any practical measure is suggested which might, 25 in any degree, rein or control this Russian arrogance, then forth comes the *Times* to deprecate anything which might lead to war, and to insist upon the continuance of endless and purposeless negotiations. (*M. H.*)

Government has been forced to raise the interest on Exchequerbills from 1 d. to 2 d. p. c. per diem. (*D. N.*) waren [26] gefallen mehr als 30 10% discount. (I.e.) the unfortunate financier. (I.e.) We do not assert that trade may not already have borrowed too much. (I.e.) "How will he (Gladstone) provide for the payment of the dissentions from his con-

version scheme, which will require, first and last, about 8,000,000?" (I. c.) Shameful will it be in the Gov. should the difficulties which trade may have to encounter through too much eagerness and miscalculation —though we hope they will not be great—be augmented by Govern, coming into the market for a loan to supply deficiencies occasioned by financial miscalculations, all the elements of which were at the command of the Financier. (I. c.) | 5

I[27]I The Cabinet Council season has begun. The first was held on Friday, the second on Saturday, and a third was announced for this day. (I. c). The Sultan and his Ministers are understood to have intimated that if the evacuation of the Danubian principalities is not in progress in the course of 9 weeks, war will be declared. (I. c.) 10

"The Ottoman Porte has announced a condition to the declaration of war, that hostilities against the Czar would only take place in the event of the Russian troops not evacuating Moldavia and Wallachia within 9 weeks." 15

The harvest in most parts of Germany and in Russia appears to have given nearly as unsatisfactory a result as in this country; indeed, as regards quality, the complaints from the North of Europe are more general than we remember for several years past. Letters from Danzig inform us that only a very small proportion of new wheat which has been brought forward had proved of suitable quality for shipment. ... From Königsberg we have similar reports in respect to the result of the harvest; and the failure of the Potato crop is said to be greater in that neighbourhood than in any year since 1847 ... At Rotterdam, on Monday, wheat was 5 s. p. qr. tighter than on that day week. ... | 20 25

I[29]I From the Mediterranean we learn that, notwithstanding the expectation of large supplies from the Black Sea, the value of wheat had continued to move upwards. ... Letters from Galatz, of the 22<sup>d</sup> ult., state that good qualities of wheat might have been bought there at 24 sh., and the best descriptions at 27 sh. p. qr. free on board. Freight to England was, however, so high as to have put a stop to shipment; the rates asked were, for the United Kingdom 24 s. 6 d., and for Marseilles 21 s. 6 d. p. qr. Large stocks were held there, and Granaryroom had become | I[30]I scarce. (*Mark Lane Express*). 35

There have been riots again in the Champagne, the Lorraine and the Alsace (*Leader u. Nation*.)

In Paris there have been some slight disturbances about daily (I.e.) toujours à propos des grains, et aux cris d'à bas Napoléon. (I.e.) A very general impression prevailed in the around that this régime would get through the coming winter with difficulty, and that when the population 40



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of Paris crossed by hunger and by the want of work, should be stirred up to one of those terrible fits of passion which sometimes seize a people, it would rise like one man, and sweep Bonapartism from its path. Alrea][31]dy a deep discontent is setting among the working men. They  
5 are flocking in from the provinces, lured by the cheaper bread, and are competing with their fellow workmen for subsistence. Wages are beginning to fall. Moreover, the run of work is slackening sensibly, consumption is falling off. The prospect of a crisis makes the work cautious and the stops early. Workshops are closing here and there. (*Leader*)

10 *Bacup.*

*Burnley masters combination.* At Burnley they have bound themselves under a penalty of 2,000 *l.* to be bound to each other, and at Bacup they have entered into a similar bond, with a penalty of £. 5,000. (l. c.) |

I[32]I 15 October. Talus. Saturday

15 "Gaol Inquiries" are now a constant feature in the reports of the press. From what has been disclosed till now, it appears that Prison discipline in Birmingham consists of collars and mural torture; in Leicestershire of cranks, and in Hampshire of the less artificial method of starvation. And you call this a *free* country! (*Tallis modified*)

20 As stated in a former letter that the so-called peace concluded with Burmah was but a commence of war, and that the new acquisition to | I[33]I the Indo-British empire would prove the same source of permanent troubles. From the last Overlandmail we are informed of the Burmah war party increasing in strength, of the new provinces being literally  
25 possessed by large bands of robbers, instigated by the Gov. of Ava and requiring a considerable increase of military force at Prome; and of "the British troops being sickly and disgusted, healthy sites for barracks having not yet been discovered".—(l.e.).

In the Patna district the shameful neglect of all means of irrigation on  
30 the part of the British rulers is again producing, at this moment, its regular contingent of cholera and famine, consequent on the long-continued drought. (l.e.)

I[34]I It is shown by a return just issued that the year ended the 5<sup>th</sup> of  
35 January last the duty on tobacco and snuff amounted to £.4,542,572. From an other official document it appears that in the month ended the 5<sup>th</sup> ult, there were 9,838 cwt. of potatoes imported, against 1,896 cwt. at

the same year. A third parliamentary paper informs us of the quantity of opium imported in the month ending the 5<sup>th</sup> ult. being 10,832 lbs, against 23,991 lbs. in the same month in the preceding year. (I.e.)

A fourth report just issued gives the following statistics of wrecks of British and foreign vessels on the coast of [[35]] the United Kingdom. 5

	<i>total wrecks.</i>	<i>Sunk by leaks or collisions.</i>	<i>stranded and damaged so as to require to discharge cargo.</i>	
1850	277	84	304	
<i>total:</i>				681 10
<i>total lives lost: 784.</i>				
1851	353		348	
<i>lives lost: 750</i>				
<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">[total:]</span>				701.
1852			1100	15
<i>lives lost: about 900 I</i>				

[[36]] Monday October 17.

The combined fleets were still in Besika Bay on the 6<sup>th</sup>.

The manifesto of Porte had been forwarded to the various Powers.

It is said that 6 French frigates—the Vauban, the Descartes, the Asmo- 20  
dèe, the Cacique, the Montezuma, and the Panama—are to be fitted out  
to join the allied fleets. (*Morning Post*) \

**I [37] I** At all times the British diplomatists try to attain the object of the  
governing classes without offending the prejudices and the feelings of the  
governed classes. (*Leader*) 25

In no single year from 1846-1852 have the supplies from Russia (wheat  
u. flour) been equal to 20%. (*Economist*.)

It is asserted in Paris yesterday (Sunday) that an important dispatch  
had been received from St. Petersburg. The Czar, who had promised to  
accept any proposals the mediating Powers might make, has, on receiving 30  
the news of the Turkish declaration of war, declared, that he retracts all  
his concessions. He added that nothing remained now but war to the  
knife, (*guerre à l'outrance*). *Sun.* \

**I [38] I** The Constitutional affirms, that orders have been sent to Toulon  
to get sufficient ships ready to convey troops to the Dardanelles. 35  
(*Standard*)

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The term which the Turkish manifesto fixes for the evacuation of the Principalities expires on the 25<sup>th</sup> inst. (*Morning Chronicle*)

The Emperor Nicholas had just sent a courier in all haste to Vienna to declare that he accepted freely and completely the whole of the conditions proposed by the mediating Powers, when he received the declaration of war on the side of the Porte. (*Times*). \

I[39]I On the 9<sup>th</sup> Prince Gortchakoff received the Turkish Ultimatum, überbracht ihm dieß eigens durch Redschids son. (*intimated by Omar Pasha to Prince Gortchakoff*)

•10

*Manifesto of the Sublime Porte.*

The Sultan's conduct has given no motive for quarrel—he has acted with a remarkable spirit of moderation and conciliation. ... The question of the Holy Shrines had been settled to the satisfaction of all parties ... Russia has infringed all the treaties with Turkey. ... The Vienna note in  
15 its pure and simple form has not been adopted by the Porte, because as a whole it was not different from that of Prince Mençhikoff... The Interpretation of the great powers zustimmend, suchten ihre good intentions. It must be remarked, however, ||[40]|| that while we have still before our eyes a strife of religious privileges raised by Russia, which seeks to base  
20 its claims on a paragraph so clear and so precise in the treaty of Kainardji... was werde auf die Gefahr hin the risk of placing in the hands of Russia vague and obscure paragraphs ... which would offer to Russia a solid pretext for her pretensions to a religious surveillance and protectorate ... the very language ihrer eigenen employés ... is a patent proof of  
25 the justice of the opinion of the Ottoman government—the refusal of Russia to accord the modifications required by the Sublime Porte was grounded on its desire not to allow explicit terms to ||[41]|| replace vague expressions, which might at some future period furnish it with a pretext for intermeddling ... the Ottoman Cabinet was on the point of entering  
30 into negotiations with the representatives of the Powers on the basis of a draft note draught up by itself in conformity with their suggestions (welche occupying a middle place between the note of the Sublime Porte and that of Prince Mençhikoff). It was at this moment that news of the passage of the Pruth by the Russians arrived, a fact which changed the  
35 whole face of the question. Omer Pasha to *commence hostilities* if after a delay of 15 days from the arrival of his despatch at the Russ. headquarters an answer in the negative shall be returned ... Should the reply of Prince Gorçhakoff be negative, the Russian agents are to quit the Otto-

man states, and that the commercial relations of the respective subjects of the 2 gov. shall be broken off. At the same time the Sublime Porte will not consider it just to lay an embargo upon Russian merchant vessels, Das has been the practice. Consequently they will ||[42] be warned to resort either to the Black Sea or to the Mediterranean, as they shall think 5 fit, within a term that shall hereafter be fixed ... The Sublime Porte will leave the straits open to the mercantile marine of friendly powers. |

I[43]I Le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre, les représentants des puissances ont reçu la communication de la lettre de sommation adressée au prince Gorchakoff et du manifeste annonçant à l'Europe les résolutions de la Porte. (*Press*) 10

L'état de guerre entre la Turquie et la Russie restera longtemps purement nominal, de moins dans les limites des deux empires en Europe, et dans les deux lignes d'opérations dans les provinces impraticables sur la rive gauche et sur la rive droite du Danube inférieur. La guerre est impossible dans la ||[44] saison actuelle, et jusqu'au printemps. (I.e.) 15

Le 9 courant sa majesté l'empereur a ordonné une réduction importante de l'armée. Ist blos congé für ungefähr 100.000, les cadres restant les mêmes. (I.e.) Les ambassadeurs turcs à Paris et à Londres et les consulats turcs en Sardaigne, ont été autorisé par la Porte Ottomane à enrôler des turcs pour le service du sultan et à leur annoncer les frais de route. 20 ... Ces jours derniers M. de Bruck a fait des observations à la Porte sur l'in||[45]tention qu'on lui prête de faire un appel aux réfugiés politiques pour former une légion étrangère. Reschid Pasha a répondu à l'internonce d'Autriche que, malgré les propositions qu'on ne cessait de faire au gouvernement à cet égard, il n'avait encore rien décidé, mais que si la 25 Turquie était abandonnée par ses alliés, elle se croirait parfaitement en droit d'user de tous les moyens pour sa propre défense, et que si dans ce cas elle employait les services des réfugiés politiques disséminés dans divers pays de l'Europe, personne n'aurait à y trouver à redire. |

I[46]J Nous avons lieu de croire que la demande officielle du concours 30 de la France et de l'Angleterre, de la part de la Porte Ottomane, est en ce moment arrivée à Paris et à Londres. (*Constitutionnel*)

Wien Sonntag 16 October (Teleg. despatch) Fürst Gortschakoff beantwortete Omer Pasha's Schreiben negativ; über die Räumung der Fürstenthümer könne er nicht verfügen. | 35

j [47] I 19 October Mittwoch.

*Verfassungsentwurf f. das Herzogthum Schleswig.*

*Titel 1. § 1.* Unser Herzogthum Schleswig ist ein unzertrennliches Zubehör unserer dänischen Krone. Hinsichtlich der Erbfolge in derselben dient das Thronfolgegesetz v. 21. Juli 1853 zur Richtschnur.

§2 Hinsichtlich derjenigen Angelegenheiten die nach Bekanntmachung vom 28. Januar 1852 zu dem amtlichen Wirkungskreis unseres Ministeriums f. die auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, Kriegsministeriums, Finanzministeriums u. Marineministeriums gehören, hat Schleswig mit den übrigen Bestandtheilen der Monarchie gemeinsame Gesetzgebung u. Verwaltung... 17% des Defizits v. den *besondren* Einnahmen des Herzogthums bestritten. Reichen die Einnahmen des Herzogthums zur Bestreitung der Quote nicht hin, so wird der Landtag nicht über den Betrag, sondern über die Art des Aufbringens Beschluß fassen. § 9 entzieht den Gerichten das Befugnisrecht eine obrigkeitliche Verfügung als unrechtmässig zu bestreiten.

*Titel 2. § 11* Einberufung der Stände in jedem 3 Jahr. § 20 Wahlrecht (actives u. passives) auf den Wahldistrikt beschränkt. |

I [49] I Un nouveau conflict semble eminent à Copenhague, entre le gouvernement et la chambre des députés. A propos de la prise en considération du projet de nouvelle loi fondamentale pour le royaume de Danemark proprement dit, la plupart des orateurs se sont prononcés avec énergie contre l'abolition de Constitution existante, aussi longtemps que le gouvernement n'aura pas soumis au Folkething le projet de la Constitution pour la monarchie tout entière. Le gouv. s'est montré très-réservé en présence de cette prétention et résolu à ne pas céder et à ne pas présenter de nouveau projet. Après une courte discussion l'assemblée, sous la présidence de M. Tschaning, a décidé, dans la séance du 14 octobre, d'écarter le projet du gouv. et de prendre pour base des délibérations la loi fondamentale danoise de 1849, en supprimant les articles qui appartiennent à la constitution commune à la monarchie tout entière. Pour être électeur dans le Holstein il faut posséder en bien fonds une valeur de 800 rixdalers, inscrite à la caisse d'assurance de l'état 300 rixdalers suffisent dans le Schleswig. Les autres dispositions sont, restées les mêmes à peu près; l'assemblée des états Holsteinois aura 49 membres; celle du Schleswig 43. Pour être électeur il faut être âgé de 25 ans dans le Holstein, de 30 dans le Schleswig. Les députés ne peuvent être élus que dans le district qu'ils habitent. Le droit électoral est enlevé à tous les individus compromis dans la révolution et amnistiés.

40 (*Indépendance*)

Il est positif qu'on a demandé à Abdel Kader si en cas de guerre contre la Russie, il prendrait un commandement. Les négociations auraient été conduites par le Scheick-ul-Islam, et les Turcs assurent que l'émir s'est montré disposé à entrer au service de la Turquie, mais qu'il aurait exigé qu'on prit l'avis de Bonaparte. Le commandement qu'on lui destine 5 serait celui de l'armée d'Asie. (*Wiener Presse*) /

I[52]j We quite understand the popularity of a war with Russia on behalf of the Poles or the Hungarians, even if there were no ground for our interference, except political sympathy, and our interest in constitutional freedom. (*Times. October 12*) 10

The first collision between British and Russian armies would be a signal of revolution all over the continent, and we think it by no means unlikely, nor, indeed, altogether objectionable, that such a consideration may have occasionally passed through the minds of our aristocratic, | I[53]I plutocratic, timocratic, despotic, and anything but democratic rul- 15 ers. (*Times. October 19*)

We are deliberately to go to war with Russia in defence of the Turkish *nominal* sovereignty over certain really independent Provinces, because by so doing we shall provoke a rebellion in the Austrian empire. (I.e.)

20

The *Siècle* of this day gives an account of the arrest of M. Goudchaux, the banker and exminister of Finance. The charge against him in the warrant was that of being possessed of arms and of being affiliated with secret societies. There was a great ||[54]|| number of receipts for money given to the necessitous families of political exiles, and these were all kept 25 by the police; but M. Goudchaux, after a detention of few hours, was set at liberty. At Nantes M. Mangin, sen., the proprietor of a paper, and his son, have been arrested. (*Globe*)

With reference to the proceedings of the Emperor of Russia during his late visits to Olmütz and Berlin, the Czar's chief object was to make a 30 new alliance between the Northern Powers. "To overcome the resistance of Prussia he used every ||[55]|| argument—I may say every bribe; for he offered, in the event of his advancing into and holding Turkish territory, to yield the occupation of Warsaw and the military dominion of Poland to Prussia." (*Morning Post Paris Correspondent*) 35-

Arrestation le 17 Octobre à Paris. (*Presse*) /

||[56]|| On October 7 the Sultan's manifesto was read to be in all the mosques.

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October 21. Friday.

the Frankfurt Journal.

A letter from Vienna, d. the 14<sup>th</sup> inst., announces that no arrangements are yet being made for carrying into execution the Imperial decree relative to the reduction of the army, and that, on the contrary, the generals who command in Lombardy, Hungary and Croatia have all demanded reinforcements on account of the state of the public mind in those countries. (Morning Post)

Peasant-leagues |

10 [57] According to a telegraphic despatch d. d. Trieste, Oct. 19 "the Sultan had demanded the entry of the English and French fleets into the Dardanelles, and the Ambassadors had promised to give them orders to come." (Morning Chronicle)

15 As to the reported successes of the Russians over Schamyl, letters have arrived which show them to be utterly false. No engagement of any description has been fought in the Caucasus since the month of May, and we all remember the victory then gained by Schamyl, at Mendoh, and [58] the retreat of the Russians, who were driven back from their attempted encroachments upon Malka. (*Morning Post*) \

### [Notizen]

[[3. Umschlagseite]] *September 1 (Palmerston)* 1848

*July 21, 1849* (idem) (totally ignores the Russian interference.) Cloven  
foot exhibited.

*Bigland. Hist. of Spain.* 229 S.  
Sheffield. Stafford, Leicester. |

5



**(Heft 3)**  
**Exzerpte aus Werken**  
**von Georg Friedrich von Martens und Franz Schuselka**  
**sowie aus Correspondence relative to the affairs**  
**of the Levant und aus The Portfolio**

|i| Correspondence relative  
to the affairs of the Levant.  
Presented to both Houses of Parliament.  
1841.

5

[Pt. 1]

Count Mole, in the course of a conversation I had with him 3 days ago, on the affairs of the East of Europe, took occasion to remind me of the approach of the period of Mehemet Ali's return from his expedition to the mines of Sennaar, and to express his wish that by previous communication, the French and Engl. Govern, should be prepared to act in entire concert, when the Pasha again brought forward the question of his independence of the Porte, which he would not fail to do soon after his arrival at Alexandria. (*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston. Paris. Febr. 15, 1839 received Feb. 18.*) "nothing", sagt Mole "would tend more to the attainment of that object, than to indulge the Pasha in the expectation of the good offices of France and England being employed at Constantinople to secure to his son the succession to the Gov. of Egypt, on the same condition on which it is now held by Mehemet Ali." (I.e.) [1, 2]

Hafiz Pasha has lately shown a disposition to induce the Sultan to act offensively against Mehemet Ali. (*Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston Therapia. January 27, 1839*) (received March 3)

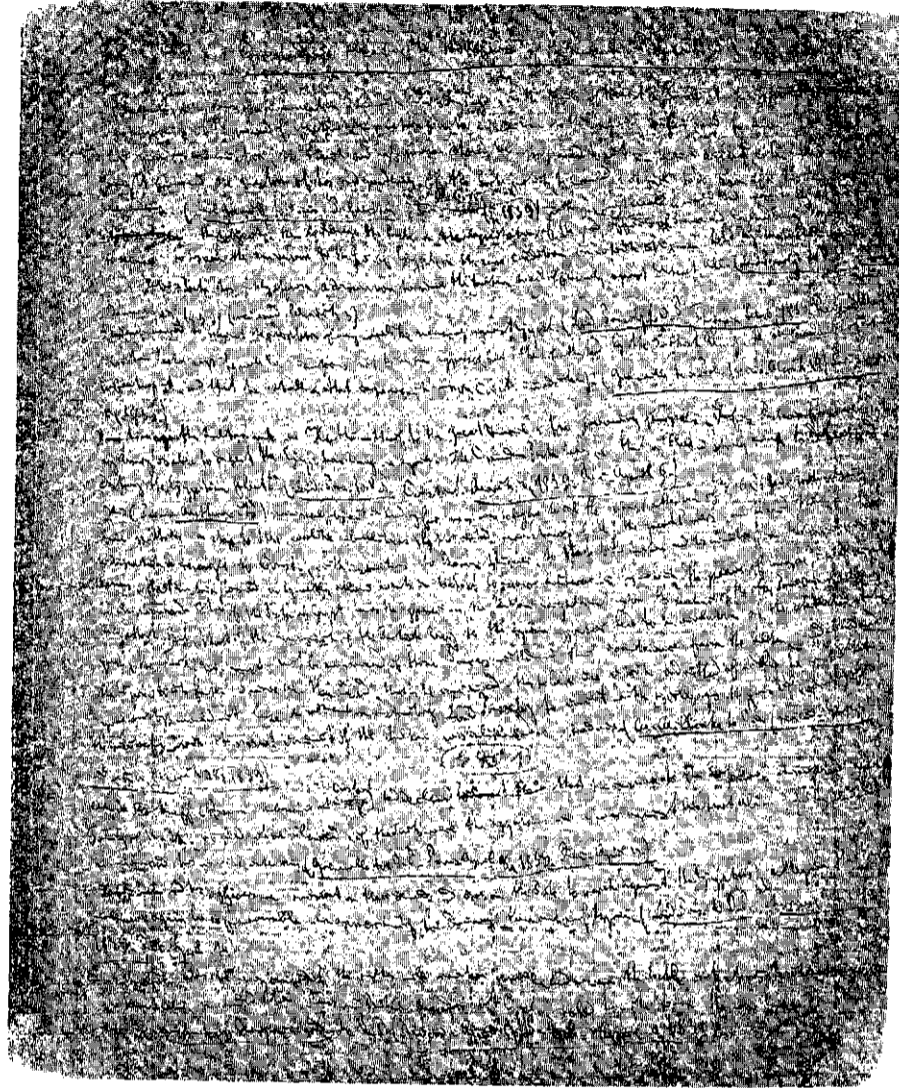
I had endeavoured to prevent the adoption of any warlike measures against Egypt. (*Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston Therapia Feb. 6, 1839. Received March 1.*) [2]

Ibrahim Pasha says he will be cautious not to be an aggressor, but that if attacked by the Turkish Army, he has no doubt of entirely defeating it, and that he shall in that case march upon Constantinople immediately. (*Granville to Lord Palmerston (receiv. March 14) Paris March 11, 1839.*) [3]

Some time ago the Sultan sent a Hatti-Sherif to the Great Council to the following purport. "Hafiz Pasha informs me that my Army is able to defeat the Egyptian Army in Syria. The Capudan Pasha tells me that my Fleet is strong enough to defeat and destroy the Egyptian fleet." (*Lord, Ponsonby to Viscount Pafmerston Constantinople. March 4, 1839, Rec. Aprilo.*) [A]

"His (Prince Metternich's) principal object in sending for me ... was to beg me to call the earnest attention of H. M's Gov. to the necessity of at once putting a stop to these warlike ebullitions, by the united remonstrances of all the Great Powers; and he said that he was about to dispatch a messenger to Constantinople, with instructions to Baron Stürmer, to state to the Sultan and his ministers, in the most positive terms, that Austria would not quietly allow events in the East to assume a character by which the peace of Europe itself might be compromised. That if the Pasha of Egypt was the aggressor ... the Sultan might count upon the assistance of the other Powers in repelling any attack. But, that if the approach of the Turkish Army to the Syrian frontier led to a violation of the established status quo, the Turk. Gov. must not be surprised if those Powers withdrew their countenance from the Sultan, and abandoned the Empire to its fate. Prince Metternich then added, that as he conceived this to be a case which admitted of no delay, he trusted that your Lordship would not lose a moment in instructing Lord Ponsonby to concert with his colleagues the means of warding off the mischiefs which the present conduct of the Sultan was calculated to produce." (*M. Milbanke to Viscount Pafmerston (receiv. Aprilo) Vienna, March 28, 1839*) [5]

M. de Bouténeff (Russian ambassador at Constantinople) had declared that the assistance to the Turk. Gov. stipulated in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, could not be claimed, if the Turks were the aggressors in a war against Mehemet Ali ... der Sultan habe dennoch not renounced his



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warlike intentions. (*Granville to Viscount Palmerston Paris April 8, 1839. Ree. April 11.*) [5]

Hafiz Pasha and his officers are incessant in their demands and cries on the Porte to march against the Egyptians, alleging that there will never  
5 again be so favourable an opportunity for driving them out of Syria. (*Lord Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston Therapia, March 19, 1839. Ree. April 14.*) [8]"'

Count Nesselrode tells me he is confident the Sultan will maintain peace, and resign the hostile intentions he cherishes against Mehemet Ali, provided the Russ. and Brit. Ambassadors at Constantinople, hold to the  
10 Divan the same language on that subject. (*Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston (Receiv. April 15). St. Petersburg April 1, 1839*) | [8]

[2] The Pasha declares that he will not be the aggressor, but that if the Sultan does attack him, he will follow him up, and take entire possession  
15 of Orfa and Diarbekir, and which nothing will then oblige him to relinquish ... The Pasha added, that he hoped the Sultan would not be so impolitic as to attack him. I am, however, of opinion that the Pasha was not sincere in his hope, and that he does desire a war with the Porte, provided the Sultan were the aggressor. (*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston. (Ree. May 9) Cairo, April, 1839*) [12]

(*Minute of a treaty to be concluded entre la Sublime Porte u. Great Britain, contre les projets insensés d'indépendance du Pasha d'Egypte, v. Palmerston dem Redshid Pasha zu London vorgeschlagen in den ersten Wochen of May*)

25 Hauptsache darin, daß f. den Fall Mehemet sich independent macht, od. wenn, in consequence of the death of the Pasha, some one of his sons, or some member of the Pasha's family, or some other individual, may render himself guilty of disobedience to the resolution and the will of H. H.: *art. 1* the English fleet to detain the ships of war and merchant  
30 vessels of the Pasha, *art. 2.*) the Ottoman and English fleets shall unite to act in concert on the coasts of Egypt and Syria. [13-15]

Count Nesselrode expresses great confidence in the continuance of peace between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt. ("His Excellency has shown me the instructions he has sent to Count Medem, the Russ. Consul-  
35 general in Egypt, to persuade Mehemet Ali to withdraw his forces in Syria from their present advanced position.") (*St. Petersburg May 14, 1839, ree. May 27, Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston*) [16]

By letter from Mr. Werry this morning from Damascus (April 27) the Sultan's forces have crossed the Euphrates at Bir. (*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston Alexandria May 4, 1839. received May 27.*) where they have erected some fortifications ... It appears to me that the present movement of the Sultan's army must have been formed some time since, 5 and the necessary preparations made, as by crossing the Euphrates at Bir, they avoid all the fortified defiles of the Taurus, and will completely come in the rear of them. (*id. to id. Alexandria, May 5, 1839, ree. May 27*) [16,17]

His Highness, the Viceroy, having thought that this conduct on the part io of the Porte must have had for its object to throw the blame upon us, has written to H. High, the Generalissimo to make no movement before he was sure of the advancement of the troops of the Sultan. (*Artin Bey, first Secretary Interpreter to Mehemet Ali to Boghos Bey. 1 May 1839*) (ree. May 27) [17,18] " " 15

Count Medem read to me, yesterday, a despatch of 12<sup>th</sup> April, from Count Nesselrode. Count Medem is directed to intimate to Mehemet Ali, to recall Ibrahim Pasha from Syria, and to retire the Egyptian troops towards Damascus, without delay. That as it is clear from the reports received by the Emperor from Constantinople, and from the Pruss. offi- 20 cers in the service of the Sultan, that the offensive movements of the Egyptian army have been the sole cause of the advance of the Sultan's forces, Mehemet Ali must be the first to retire his troops, and then the Emperor will prevail on the Sultan to cause his army to withdraw from the Syrian frontier. Count Nesselrode adds, that a copy of the despatch 25 will be sent to the different Courts of Europe ... Count Nesselrode appears to have grounded his despatch on very false data, in assuming that Mehemet Ali was the aggressor. So far from Mehemet Ali being the aggressor, it is a fact that for some months past, the letters of Lord Ponsonby to me, and the despatches from Baron Stürmer and from 30 Admiral Roussin to their Consuls General here, mention the hostile preparations of the Sultan, and his intentions to attack Syria, and the efforts of the different Ambassadors to prevail on the Sultan not to take so rash a step; ... As to Mehemet Ali I assert confidently, that it never was his intention to be the active aggressor, nor to pass the frontiers of Syria, nor 35 to attack the Sultan's forces ... Wollte er retire his troops, he could not have any security, that after their withdrawal, the Sultan's army would not enter Syria, and perhaps destroy all the works erected by Ibrahim Pasha in the Taurus frontier; and if circumstances proved favourable,

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they might advance still further. (*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston Alexandria May 7, 1839* rec. May 27) [18,19]

Whatever may be suggested by H. M's gov. as most expedient to be done in the present alarming state of affairs in the East, will be most favourably attended to by the French Gov. (*Granville to Viscount Palmerston Paris 24 May 1839*, rec. May 27) [20]. |

[3] Marshal Soult and his colleagues, with most of whom I have had the opportunity of conversing upon this subject, express the strongest desire that the Brit, and French gov. may act entirely in concert, (*id. to id. May 27 1839*, rec. May 30) [20,21]

Pforte (Sultan) erklärt dem Osterreich. Internuncius: "I am led to suspect ... that the warmth and vivacity which characterise the language of Prince Metternich, are the effect of the tone which has been used in writing to him, either from hence or from other places. The Internuncio has spoken to Nouri Effendi about a middle course for the solution of this question, without having recourse to arms; ... this ... cannot be realized, unless Mehemet Ali restores Adana, Damascus, Aleppo, Seyda, Jerusalem, and Naplous, and reduces his present forces to such amount as would alone be compatible with his condition as a subject." (*Reply of the Sultan to the Communication made to him, communicated by Mousteshar Nouri to etc Ponsonby, April 28, 1839*) (Receiv. May 30) [22, 23]

The Marshal would be ready to give instructions to the French Admiral, in conformity with those addressed to the Brit. Admiral. His Exc. informed me, that he had dispatched 2 officers, the one to proceed to Constantinople, the other to Alexandria, with directions, after having communicated with the French Ambassador and M. Cochelet, to repair to the head-quarters of the 2 armies, and to endeavour by personal representations to the respective commanders, to prevent the breaking out of hostilities, and to report the exact state of affairs. His Exc. added, that supposing the threatened collision should this time be averted, he considered it would be necessary that the 5 Powers should concert together as to the means of definitely settling the future relations between the Sultan and the Viceroy. (*Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Received Jun. 2) May 31, 1839*) [24]

◁ (to p. 75 kleines Heft) I have particularly recommended to M. de Barante to endeavour to ascertain if the Russ. Gov. contemplates ex-

tending the operation of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi to a state of things to which it evidently does not apply, since its stipulations are formally conceived in the anticipation of an attack directed against the Porte, and not of a struggle in which the Porte itself should take the initiative. (Paris, May 30, 1839. Soult to Bourqueney. May 30 1839) [26]

*Extract of despatch from M. Cochelet to Marshal Soult.* The Viceroy has declared to M. Cochelet, Consul-General of France, that he engages, in case the troops of the Sultan which have passed the Euphrates near Bir shall retire to the other side of the river, to make a retrograde movement of his army, and to recall his son Ibrahim Pasha to Damascus; that in 10 case this pacific demonstration shall in its turn be followed by a retrograde movement of the army of Hafiz Pasha beyond Malatia, H. H. will recall the Generalissimo into Egypt. Moreover, H. H. the Viceroy has added of his own accord, that if the 4 Great Powers should consent to guarantee peace, and to interest themselves to obtain for him the succès- 15 sion of his family, he would withdraw a part of his troops from Syria, and would be ready to come to a definitive arrangement proper to guarantee the security, and adapted to the wants of the country. (*Inclosed in Granville's to Viscount Palmerston (ree. June 7) Paris d. d. June 5, 1839*) [27]

The Marshal expressed his regret, that I had not as yet been able to make 20 any official communication to him from your Lordship, in regard to the instructions to be given to the Admiral of the combined fleet on the Levant station. (*Granville to Viscount Palmerston (receiv. June 9) Paris, June 7, 1839*) [28]

Nobody here doubts of war, and the general opinion is, that the Army of 25 the Sultan will be defeated. (*Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. June 9) Therapia, May 20, 1839.*) "The Great Powers have established, as the criterion of right or wrong, the abstinence from aggression, declaring the culpable to be the Sultan or the Pasha, as the one or the other might be the first to commence hostilities. *Judgment has been given by* 30 *Russia, who assumed to speak in the name of all; and the Pasha has been declared the aggressor.* The charge of aggression, made against him by Russia, is confined to late acts done by the Pasha; but from the beginning, during the whole period, as well as in this ||3| latter hour, the Pasha has always been the aggressor. ... Russia has declared a truth—a limited 35 truth; the Great Powers cannot deny it; their repeated declarations engage them to oppose the aggressor." (I.e.) [28,29]

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Metternich schlägt vor die succession dem Ibrahim Pasha zu sichern ...  
I would remark, that such an arrangement, if it were practicable, would  
offer the best chance of preserving order in Egypt after Mehemet Ali's  
death, which will otherwise be exposed to many chances ... if war be-  
5 tween the Sultan and the Pasha is to be averted, a firm and early demon-  
stration on the part of the 4 powers, may, perhaps, be best calculated to  
produce that effect. (*Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (receiv.*  
*June 9) Vienna, June 1, 1839*) [29, 30] Metternich erklärte es bedürfe des  
joint moral weight of the 4 Powers, (id. to id.)

10 Col. Vincke (Preuß zu Constantinople) had drawn up a memorandum, in  
which he strategically proved to the Turks, that the commencement of  
hostilities must end by their defeat. (*Lord William Russell to Viscount*  
*Palmerston (ree. June 10.) Berlin June 5, 1839*) [30]

I told the Marshal that though I had no official instruction upon the  
15 Turco-Egyptian question, I had received *private* letters from your Lord-  
ship ... of the concurrence of H M's Gov. in the view taken by the Aus-  
trian and French Gov., as to the best and most practicable settlement of  
the question, namely: that Egypt should become hereditary in the family  
of Mehemet Ali under the sovereignty of the Sultan, and that the Egypt-  
20 tian troops should evacuate Syria. Marshal Soult said, that in the des-  
patches of Count St. Aulaire from Vienna, of the 18 and 22 of last  
month, and on the 4\* inst., all reporting the conversations he had held  
with Prince Metternich of the affairs of Turkey, it did not appear that the  
Austrian Minister had suggested the *evacuation of Syria* by the Egyptians,  
25 as forming part of the proposed arrangement. I replied ... that your  
Lordship was *under the impression* that this was the view both of the  
Aust. and French Gov. ... Marshal Soult: on all these matters, his most  
anxious desire was, that our 2 Gov. should come to a perfect understand-  
ing; and that if a conference of the 4 Powers (or the 5, includ. Prussia)  
30 should take place on the affairs of the East, the instructions of the  
Representatives of France and England at such conference should be  
identical, (ree. *June 16, Granville to Viscount Palmerston Paris June 14,*  
*1839*) [31]

I was informed on the 2 inst. of a movement across the Euphrates of the  
35 Turkish Army, by a letter from Mr. Yeames. I met Count Nesselrode  
the following day; and as soon as I mentioned the subject, he said he  
believed that *there was not a word of truth* in the report: that his accounts  
from Constantinople were the most recent possible, and they led him



entirely to disbelieve the intelligence which had been communicated to me, and which had appeared in the German papers. I saw Count Nesselrode again, last evening, and *although* it is impossible any longer to doubt that the information which has been received from every quarter is well-founded, the Russian minister will not admit that it is accurately true; 5 and they maintain the accounts to be exaggerated. (*Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. June 17) St. Petersburg, June 8, 1839*) [32]

Under the 23<sup>rd</sup> ult, advices, reached this Gov. by spies, that the Sultan's authorities had begun to cross troops at Bir, which were stated to consist 10 of 3 regiments of Infantry. ... The subsequent advices which reached this Gov. the *following* day (24) are, that 3,000 Irregulars had crossed the Euphrates under Koord Mahomed Pasha ... the troops that have crossed at Bir, compose part of one of the columns of the Turkish army, which is advancing on the frontier in that quarter, and which, it is said, will be 15 joined by Ali Pasha of Bagdad, who, it is stated, has already arrived at Diarbekir with about 25,000 or 30,000 men. Another column, under the Seraskier Hafiz Ali Pasha, of, it is said, 60,000 strong, is advancing from Malatia, on Roum Kale; and the third column of 40,000 men, under Halil Pasha and Solyman Pasha, are advancing on the Marash line ... 20 Nach advices from Damascus, the Haouran insurrection still continued, and had assumed a more [4] determined character. This may arise from some understanding ... between them and the Sultan's Seraskier, to act in unison with Hafiz Pasha's brother and Suffook Bey, in any operations which they may undertake to the South and on the Desert line, to cut off 25 H. Exc. Ibrahim Pasha and his forces to the South, from his operations on this northern frontier ... His (Ibrahim Pasha's) [instructions] are to act on the defensive, and on his own territory to resist 2 attacks of the Sultan's forces; but on the 3<sup>rd</sup> he gives him permission to advance ... The Annadis or Bedouin Cavalry, sind his only troops on the frontiers: they 30 are stationed at the Sedjour, watching the movements on the other side. (*Mr. Acting Consul Werry to Viscount Palmerston (Received June 17) (darin eingeschlossen das Cität Aleppo 4 May, 1839)*) [35, 36]

accounts have been received at this place, of the passage of the Euphrates by the Sultan's troops at Bir, and that forces under Hafiz Pasha are also 35 advancing on the northern frontier ... the Egyptian troops have been summoned to Aleppo by Ibrahim Pasha, from all parts of Syria, and he has encamped his forces in the immediate neighbourhood of that city ... The Emir Bechir has received orders to send a force to Damascus and Tripoli; and about 1,000 Christian troops will march to each of the above 40

places, under the command of the son and grandson of the Emir. This is a measure of precaution, as at neither of the above cities is the Mahomedan population believed to be well affected to the existing Gov. Indeed any success on the part of the Sultan's troops, it is believed, 5 would be the signal for revolt not only at those places, but throughout Syria. An exception ... the Christian troops of Lebanon, who certainly entertain fears that should the Sultan repossess himself of Syria, the Mahomedans would regain the ascendancy, and once more exhibit their naturally intolerant and fanatical character towards other sects. (*Consul* 10 *Moore to Viscount Palmerston* (Ree. June 17) *Beyrout, May 9, 1839.*) [38, 39]

By the latest advices, it would appear that the Sultan's army would have its head-quarters, and form the pivot of its operations at Roum Kale, its left extending on the high road from Bir to Aleppo, with its extreme left 15 to be supported by the Arab tribes under Suffook Bey, operating by crossing the Euphrates between Bir, and below Dair. Its extreme right resting on Marash, to co-operate with the malcontents of the ranges of the Taurus: By way of Roum Kale and Bir, against the centre and main body of the Ejjyptian army, the columns of the former turning the Ejjyptian 20 tian positions at Aintab; by way of Marash, to co-operate with the malcontents of the ranges of the Taurus, extending to Byass, Beylan, and Alexandretta, and threatening the left wing and rear of the Ejjyptian army: the Arabs under Suffook Bey acting on the right of the Ejjyptian army, and attacking the flank of Syria, uniting with the insurgents of the 25 Haouran, and intercepting the desert line from south to north, cutting off the operations of Ibrahim Pasha therewith, and attacking him in the rear at Aleppo. Besides crossing the Euphrates unopposed, and advancing into the Egyptian territories, and attacking Ibrahim Pasha's army, the Sultan's Seraskier has also the advantage of having the population in his 30 favour. ... It does not appear by the progress made by the Egyptian Gov. in forming depots of provisions, which generally are at a considerable distance in the rear of Aleppo, and on the desert line, and by the hardy operation executing by Ibrahim Pasha, of concentrating the army on the Aleppo frontier, that H. H. had previously planned to throw his opera- 35 tions across the Euphrates, and make Mesopotamia the theatre of his campaign, whether to prosecute the same towards Bagdad, or to the north. In fact, they would appear to have been planned for defence rather than for aggression. (*Consul Werry to Viscount Palmerston* (Ree. June 17) *Damascus, May 10, 1839*) [40,41] In the event of Ibrahim Pasha 40 meeting with a repulse, a rise would ensue here (Aleppo) and throughout the towns of Syria, (gen die Christen.) (eingeschlossen in Obigem.) | [49]

[5] "It is under these circumstances that M. de Medem communicated to Mehemet Ali the despatch of Count Nesselrode, which directs him to obtain a retrograde movement of the Egyptian army ... Mehemet Ali, in replying, showed great prudence, and much moderation. He said, that all that had passed in Turkey since his departure for Soudan, sufficiently testified the hostile intentions of the Sultan with respect to him ... if the Turks repassed the Euphrates, he would withdraw his troops as far as Aleppo; if they took up their position again at Malatia, he would enjoin Ibrahim Pasha to withdraw to Damascus; and that, lastly, if Hafiz Pasha should withdraw with his army beyond Malatia, he would recall Ibrahim Pasha into Egypt... the Viceroy has added, of his own accord, that if the 4 Great Powers consent to guarantee peace, and to interest themselves to obtain for him the succession of his family, he would withdraw a part of his troops from Syria, and would be ready to come to an understanding as to a definitive arrangement etc. (*Despatch from the Consul General of France in Egypt. (Communicated by Baron de Bourqueney) Alexandria May 15 u. 16, 1839*) [54]

The Porte is divided: against the war are reckoned Réouf, Khosreff, Nazif Pasha, Nouri Effendi, Sarim Bey, and 3 Councillors: in favour of war, Said Pasha, Seraskier, son-in-law of the Sultan, Achmet Capudan Pasha; and, finally, Hafiz Pasha, Generalissimo, who has never conducted a war as General Officer. This party is strengthened by the partizans of the Mabeim, and by a great number of Ridsals, ... and also by those still more numerous, who, enemies of the present order of things, would overturn it at any risk, even at that of a revolution. All the Ulemas are of this party: the total loss of their influence, which they hope to recover, is their motive." (*Baron Roussin to the Duc de Dalmatie. Therapia. 16 Mai 1839*) [57]

On May 7, Count Medem sent to Boghos Bey a copy of the despatch from Count Nesselrode ... sent him auch den original despatch of M. de Bouténeff; and as Boghos Bey gave those 2 documents into my hands, I am enabled to send copies of them to your Lordship ... In consequence of a letter from Boghos Bey, the Pasha arrived here on the morning of the 12 inst., and Count Medem and M. de Laurin had some interviews with him on the 12, 13, and 14 inst., at the last of which he agreed to a declaration in the terms agreed on, and which the Pasha said he would send to the Consul-Generals of the 4 Great Powers. ... I have now the honour to transmit etc. a copy of that declaration ... My latest accounts from Aleppo are of May 6, at which date Ibrahim Pasha was at Aleppo

with the main body of his army; and Aleppo, Killis, and Hamah, had been reinforced by troops from the south, but only after the arrival of the army of the Sultan at Bir; after which, also, the greater part of the horses of the Cavalry and Artillery had been brought in from grass. It cannot, 5 therefore, be said that Ibrahim Pasha was the first to commence operations indicative of hostilities, as even now he has not reinforced Aintab, which is the nearest of his posts to the Turkish frontier, from which it is distant about 7 hours. ... Ibrahim Pasha has some Bedouin Cavalry near the Sedjour, to observe the movements of the Sultan's army. ... I trust 10 that the remonstrances of Lord Ponsonby and of the other Ambassadors, will yet prevail on the Porte to retire the Turkish Army before any action takes place ... in the ineffective state of a Turkish commissariat, any Turk, army cannot long have means of subsistence; and it must, therefore, either retire or advance, and in this last case an engagement will be 15 inevitable ... die Mussulman population in Syria dem Mehemet Ali quite alienated by their sufferings from conscriptions. (*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. June 17) Alexandria May 19 1839.*) [58,59]

Darin eingeschlossen:

1) *Count Nesselrode to Count Medem. Petersburg March 29, 1839.*  
20 "Thus the 2 Armies are at this moment in presence of each other. The troops of Mehemet Ali were the first to approach the frontier. Those of the Sultan only followed that movement, in order not to be taken by surprise, and to be able ||6| to repel force by force, in case the Egyptian army should commit any act of hostility ... In attentively considering the re- 25 spective position of the 2 armies, our august master has satisfied himself that it is the army of Mehemet Ali which first made a movement, which, without being one of aggression, yet bears the character of a threatening demonstration, which nothing can justify ... the Powers of Europe have unanimously resolved to maintain the peace of the East... the determina- 30 tion which the Emperor has adopted in that respect... is irrevocable. It is shared by all the Cabinets of Europe, for they all have equally at heart the *preservation of the Ottoman Empire from the dangers of a new complication* ... the circumstances of the moment are too serious for explanations alone to be sufficient for us. When armies are in presence of each 35 other, the most pacific language does not remove the danger of a conflict which the smallest incident may provoke at any moment. To remove this danger there is but one way; it is to re-establish afresh the distance which hitherto separated the 2 armies. Thus, as the Army of the Pasha of Egypt is the nearest to the frontier, it is that army which should be the first to 40 retreat. Therefore, the fresh troops and the depots of warlike stores which have been brought to Aintab and Aleppo, must forthwith return

towards Damascus, to replace matters in the state in which they formerly were. Then, when that Army shall have resumed its former positions, the Cabinets, friends of the Porte, will be able, on their side, to appeal to the pacific inclinations of the Sultan, to engage that Sovereign to give to Hafiz Pasha the order to return into the cantonments which he has lately left, and to put a *stop to the defensive measures* which the menacing attitude of the Egyptian army has rendered necessary. 5

Oestr. de Laurin: Auftrag v. dem Internuncio at Constantinople die Russen bei Mehemet Ali zu unterstützen. ... the Great Cabinets united to us in intentions and principle, will watch over the maintenance of peace in the Levant ..." [61, 62] 10

2) *M. de Bouténeff to Count Medem. Pera. April 24. 1839.* "the present is a favourable moment for Mehemet Ali to prove to his Sovereign, in a manner which cannot be mistaken, the sincerity of his pacific intentions, the assurance of which you received from the Pasha's own lips, by recalling his son Ibrahim Pasha, and by withdrawing a part of his Army from Syria, which measure would, in the present state of the finances of Egypt, materially lighten the Pasha's expenses." [64, 65] 15

3) *Declaration made by Mehemet Ali to Col. Campbell.* The Viceroy has declared to Col. Campbell, H. Brit. Maj. Agent and Consul-General, that he engages, in case the troops of the Sultan, etc. (Sieh den Brief v. Campbell S. 5) [65] 20

4) *M. de Laurin to Baron de Stürmer. Alexandria, May 16, 1839.* Mehemet sei angelangt den 12'. Habe ihm gesagt "that he had been shamefully calumniated (alluding to the note of Count Nesselrode), ... that the troops of the Sultan had established themselves in Diarbekir and in Asia minor, under pretence of combating the Koords, long before the Egyptians had advanced; that the provocations and the cries of war which had caused the revolt of the Haouran, had uniformly had their origin in the Osmanli camps; that it was true that the incursions of the Turcomans into the provinces of Adana and Tarsus, had obliged him to send troops thither in order to control them, but that they had always been sent back to their cantonments as soon as that object had been accomplished; that even the weak garrisons of Gulek and of the Beilans had no other object than that of affording support to the moveable columns employed in the pursuit of the abovenamed wandering tribes; that it was only about at the end of January, that some re-inforcements, consisting of Egyptian recruits, had been sent to Syria; and that at that period the army of Hafiz Pasha was already organized ... If I am attacked, I shall throw myself on Orfa and Diarbekir, and shall not give them up again except on the condition that hereditary tenure be granted to me." ... "They speak of 30 35 40

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Peace (sagt ||7| Mehemet) while passing the Euphrates; I must defend myself. The summons of the Emperor of Russia to cause the troops to return to their peace cantonments is very untimely; I should not be able to comply with it *without ruining* my cause in Syria ..." ... Nach seinen  
5 Unterredungen m. Medem, erklärt de Laurin: "he would solemnly, and in writing, declare to the Consuls-General of the 4 Great Powers, that he never had entertained the intention of disturbing the peace; but that, being acquainted with the views of a portion of the Divan at Constantinople, he had wished to be prepared to repel aggression; and  
10 that he would even cause part of his army to return from Syria to Egypt, and would recall from thence his son and his family, so soon as the European Powers would pledge themselves to guarantee to him peace ..." Laurin erklärt ihm: "as he had resolved to maintain a purely defensive position, his conduct would probably be judged correct ... I gave my  
15 opinion to Count Medem, that he should accept this declaration, although only a conditional one. 1) because I thought the despatch from the Court of St. Petersburg to be founded on a very different state of things from that in which Mehemet Ali was actually placed with respect to the Porte; that instead of being, as is therein supposed, the aggressor,  
20 he is himself, in fact, menaced by the troops of the Sultan. 2) because it [is] reasonable to suppose that the Imperial Court, if it had been aware of the existing complication, would not have thought it its duty to oblige Mehemet Ali to recall his troops, in *order not to deprive him of the means of defence*, and not to encourage the Osmanlis to advance into Syria, and  
25 to *disturb its repose*; and finally 3) because the condition stipulated by Mehemet Ali, of commencing by obliging the troops of the Sultan to repass the Euphrates, is of little moment to the Grand Signor ... while it is of the highest importance for the tranquillity and the repose of Syria."  
[68-70]

30 *Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (Received June 17) Therapia May 22, 1839* ... Nouri Effendi admitted that the Sublime Porte resolved upon war. [71]

*Id. to id. (Received June 17) Therapia, May 26, 1839.* Count Medem has written to M. de Bouténeff, that he is satisfied with the explanations  
35 given by Mehemet Ali, that the Egyptians are not the aggressors, as has been supposed by Count Nesselrode ... We (Ponsonby u. Baron Stürmer) have both exerted our best means to persuade the Sublime Porte not to risk a war ... [72] Darin eingeschlossen:

*Baron Stürmer to Prince Metternich. Constantinople May 22, 1839.*  
40 Tahar Pasha, who left this for Malatia on the 5<sup>th</sup> of April last, arrived

in this capital on the 19<sup>th</sup> ... he must have represented the army as being in the most advantageous position for the commencement of hostilities and for a great blow. According to the same accounts the determination to make war was taken at a Council convoked at the Porte, by order of the Sultan, on the 20 inst ... As I foresaw, and as I had the honour of 5 report- ing to your H. at the time of the departure of Tahar Pasha, that officer's mission was evidently only undertaken with a view to gain time, and to free the Porte during 6 weeks from the demands for explanation of the foreign Missions, to which it stated, that it was unable to give explanations as to its intentions, before that General should have examined with 10 his own eyes the state of affairs ... the partizans of Mehemet Ali are anxious to throw the blame of aggression on the Porte; they say, that a mistake has been committed in Europe, in accusing the Pasha of Egypt of having advanced his troops to the extreme frontier of Syria, those troops having always been from 9-15 leagues removed from that frontier ... 15 that although last year he spoke of war and independence, he has since sheathed his sword, paid the tribute which he owed, and put himself in right with respect to the Porte, which appeared satisfied with this apparent submission ... I ... advert to *the question of the aggression* ... because the conduct of Russia, in case the Porte should see itself compelled to 20 demand the assistance of that Power, will depend on its solution. [74, 75]

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston Therapia May 26, 1839, inclosing: M. Frédéric Pisani (the Chief Dragoman) to ||8| Viscount Ponsonby, Pera, 26 Mai, 1839: Said Bey expressed H. H's desire that England should give him assistance to overcome Mehemet Ali. I gave him clearly to 25 understand that Your Exc. knows that England will not aid the Porte to destroy the status quo at present, but that if the aggression comes from the side of Mehemet Ali, England will assist the Sultan in repelling the attack ... [76]*

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. June 19) Paris, June 17, 30 1839.*

Marshal Soult again expressed to me his disappointment that I had no official communications to make to him relative to the instructions to be given to the Brit, and French Admirals in the Levant; and he requested me earnestly to press upon the attention of H. M's Gov., the necessity of 35 immediately concerting them ... already 7 sail of French ships of the line had arrived off Smyrna, one was to sail yesterday from Toulon for the same destination, 2 others will speedily follow ... and thus the French fleet on the Levant station will consist of 10 sail of the line, besides

frigates and sloops of war ... he looked forward with great confidence to the moral effect of the union of the 2 fleets, amounting altogether to 20 sail, on the conduct of the Sultan and of Mehemet Ali, as well as to the power they will have of preventing a collision between the Turkish and  
5 Egyptian squadron, and of suspending the military operations of the 2 armies, by cutting off their supplies by sea. In regard to a permanent settlement of the differences between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt, the Marshal was of opinion that it could only be effected by the concurrence of all the Great Powers of Europe, and that a conference of their  
10 Representatives could alone afford any hope of their agreeing upon the terms of the arrangement; and that Vienna appeared to be the most central and convenient place for its assembling. [76, 77]

*Soult to the Baron de Bourqueney (Communicated by Baron de Bourqueney) Paris le 17 Juin, 1839.* At St. Petersburg ... M. de Barante sup-  
15 posed from indications *which I do not consider decisive*, that the Russ. Gov. was inclined to seize every honourable pretext to avoid involving itself in the embarrassments which the execution of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi would entail... At Constantinople, through the veil of  
20 pacific protestations, the Porte manifested its hostile intentions in the eagerness with which it sought grievances against Mehemet Ali, even in the most trivial circumstances and in the most improbable reports ... (I will now enable you the answers des Lord Palmerston as to the opinion der French Gov.) the Engl, and French squadrons, assuming a sort of  
25 armed mediation, should constitute themselves mistresses of the sea; should impose complete inaction upon the naval forces of Egypt and of the Porte, and should induce them to re-enter their harbours in the event of their having left them ... the employment of such forces, by rendering war almost impossible, will deprive Russia of every pretext for putting  
30 in movement her Sevastopol fleet or her land army. In order the better to obtain the result which we have in view, it may perhaps be expedient that the Austrian flag should appear among the combined French and Engl, squadron: one or 2 frigates ... sufficient for the purpose ... Prince Metternich has already expressed this opinion ... If our declarations and the attitude of our squadrons should fail in preventing the 2 parties from  
35 coming to hostilities, od. zu cease therefrom ... Russia wird nicht refrain wollen v. physical intervention ... aber dann a European Convention should take the place of the stipulations of Unkiar Skelessi ... the necessity of conceding to Mehemet Ali the hereditary investiture of a part at least of his actual possession, appears to be almost generally admitted  
40 ... dies f. Ali schon nöthig to place his family in security from the vengeance of the Porte after his death ... Dafür wäre der Porte eine com-



pensation zu machen. Lord Palmerston thinks that nothing less than the restitution of the whole of Syria would suffice ... At Berlin ... a part only of this province ... Dieser point should be referred to the Conference which, if our views prevail, will be established between the Powers ... We anxiously await the answer of Lord Palmerston of the decision of the London Cabinet upon the subject of the common deliberations of which we propose to establish the seat at Vienna, (u. die Instruktion f. den Admiral Stopford.) [80-82] 5

*Viscount Palmerston to Earl Granville. June 19, 1839.*

"The inclosed paper contains the substance of the instructions which H. M's Gov. propose to give Sir Robert Stopford, the Commander-in-Chief of H. M's Naval Forces in the Mediterranean, and upon which they request the previous opinion of the French Gov. The part of these instructions which relates to the possibility of the Engl, and French squadrons going up to Constantinople in the event of a Russian force entering the Turk, territory, may require some consideration ... such a measure would ... be ... the only way of effectually counteracting the bad consequences which might result from the entrance of the Russians into Turkey; but if that movement were to be effected against a vigorous resistance on the part of the Turk, forts in the Dardanelles, it would be difficult to accomplish it, unless the fleet were accompanied by some force which could be landed to carry the forts by the rear ... those forts are weak on the land side, and might be taken one after the other, by any moderate force which attacked them in the rear." [82] 10 15 20

*Inclosure, Substance of proposed instructions to Sir Robert Stopford.* 25

The Admiral to proceed with the ships under his command to the bay of Scanderoon, or to any other neighbouring part of the coast of Syria which may be near to the places where the armies of the Sultan and of Mehemet Ali may happen to be ... it would not be easy for the squadron to force its way up to Constantinople ... 30

XXX (kleines Heft) "There would be time for the Admiral to communicate on this matter with H. M's Ambassador at Constantinople, for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner this measure could be best executed; and having stated to the Admiral their opinion on this point, H. M's gov. must leave it to his discretion, to determine whether, in the event of permission to pass not being granted, the force under his command would be strong enough to force the passage without sustaining such an amount of loss in men, and of damage to the ships, as would cripple the squadron and unfit it for any useful operation after the passage had been effected ..." 35 40



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(wenn Widerspruch v. *egyptischer* Seite erst prevent all further communication by Egyptian vessels, whether of commerce or war, between Syria and Egypt ... He would then leave on the coast of Syria such ships of war as he might think necessary for this purpose, and would proceed  
5 with the rest of his force to Alexandria ... If Mehemet Ali (mit his orders to send nach Syria for suspending hostilities) complied ... the Admiral should remain off Alexandria with his squadron, till he had learnt that the order had actually been obeyed, and he might *then* return to the coast of Syria ... If the Pasha should refuse to give the order, the Admiral  
10 should then employ such means of pressure, gradually increasing in their stringency etc.) [83-85]

*Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. June 24) Vienna, June 14, 1839.*

The Prince's (Metternich!) recommendations seem to have made little  
15 effect upon the Porte, and that the tone of the Turkish Ministers was decidedly warlike. The only overture to which they seem to have listened, was one for obtaining the *immediate restitution of Syria to the Sultan*, by means of the intervention of the 4 Powers. This overture was made by Baron Stürmer in his own name, *not in that of H. Gov.* ... Since I saw him  
20 (Metternich), I have learnt that France has already pronounced herself upon some of the leading points of the affair. King Louis Philippe thinks a conference indispensable, and that the place at which to assemble it is Vienna. He is willing to concur the succession in Egypt to the family of Mehemet Ali, and the reversion of Syria, to the Sultan, after the Pasha's  
25 death ... [87, 88]

*Telegr. Despatch from Marseilles d. d. June 22, 1839.*

"At the departure of the 'Dante' from Alexandria, news had arrived, on June 7, of the invasion of the Egyptian territory by the Turks, who had possessed themselves of 15 villages, the inhabitants of which had  
30 been armed. (Zur Revolt gegen Mehemet Ali.) On this intelligence Ibrahim Pasha had marched a division of 25,000 men against them; transports had left Alexandria with troops on board." [90]

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston. (receiv. June 27) Paris, June 24, 1839:* "Mehemet Ali on the receipt of this (viz. den despatch oben er-  
35 wähnt.) intelligence, had invited the Consuls of the 5 European Powers to attend him, and had laid before them the despatches of Ibrahim Pasha, and asked their advice as to the conduct he should pursue. They advised him to act entirely on the defensive; and upon their remonstrating against

the intention he had avowed of sending his fleet to sea, he gave up that intention." | [95]

[10] *Count Nesselrode to Count Pozzo di Borgo, (communicated by M. de Kisseleff June 27, 1839) St. Petersburg June 15, 1839.*

"the movement of Hafiz Pasha upon Bir, situated at the extremity of 5  
the frontiers of Syria, appears to indicate that it entered really into the  
views of the Sultan, all the while declaring his pacific intentions, to cause  
the army of the Taurus to advance to such a point as to render a conflict  
inevitable, by attributing it to some chance circumstance, without the  
Porte appearing to have given any provocation for it... events may have 10  
now proceeded with too great rapidity for the efforts of the Allied Rep-  
resentatives to have succeeded in arresting the execution of a plan of  
aggression, which the Porte appears to have meditated for a long time,  
and which it has contrived to veil in the most profound mystery ... the  
remonstrances which we might now address to the Porte would certainly 15  
be somewhat late ... There remains but one task for us to fulfil, i. e., to  
confine this struggle within the narrowest possible bounds, so that it may  
not compromise the maintenance of the general repose of Europe ...  
The real danger for Europe at large is not in a combat carried on in Syria  
between the troops of the Sultan and those of the Pasha of Ejjypt ... 20  
the danger would not begin to become serious until, in the event of the  
fate of arms declaring against the Sultan, the Pasha of Egypt should  
profit by this advantage to place the *safety of Constantinople* and the  
existence of the Ottoman Empire in peril ... There would no longer be  
question of a struggle between 2 Mussulman forces—, there would be 25  
question of a European complication ... To prevent things reaching such  
a point, it is of consequence to take measures in time for confining the  
struggle between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali within certain limits. ...  
Consequently ... in order ... to set due bounds to the action of the Pasha  
of Ejjypt ... it would be necessary to declare to him in the most formal 30  
manner, 'That as long as he shall confine himself to the defence of the  
territories which have been assigned to him by the arrangement of  
Kutaya; as long as he shall not extend his military operations beyond the  
district of Diarbekir and Orfa, as he has formally promised to the Allied  
Consuls, so long will Great Britain, in conjunction with the other Powers 35  
of Europe, remain a passive spectator of the struggle which is going on in  
Syria; but that from the instant he shall act on the offensive, from the  
moment that he shall extend the theatre of the war beyond the defiles of  
the Taurus in order to carry it into the centre of Asia Minor, from that  
moment England would consider such act of hostility as if it were direct- 40

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ed against herself ... that in the same manner she would consider herself  
in a state of war with him, if he attempted to send out his fleet to enter  
upon a naval contest with the Sultan If England etc. (Siehe vorige  
Korrespondenz) ... It (this frank explanation) will prove to the Brit.  
5 Ministry that, far from wishing to bring about a complication in the  
Levant, we are using all our care to prevent one; and that, instead of  
greedily availing ourselves of the stipulations of our Treaty of Alliance  
with the Porte, we are ourselves the first to desire to prevent the recur-  
rence of a crisis which would compel us, in spite of ourselves, again to  
10 take up a military attitude on the shores of the Bosphorus ... Have the  
goodness, Sir, not to delay a moment in informing us of the reception it  
(this step) meets with from Lord Palmerston. *The Emperor flatters him-  
self, that this reception will fully answer our wishes*, and that the under-  
standing which will be established between the English Cabinet and our  
15 own [*l'entente qui s'établira entre le Cabinet Anglais et le nôtre*] for the  
preservation of the Peace of the Levant, will serve speedily to re-establish  
it, even if the short-sighted policy of the Divan should have attempted  
momentarily to disturb it." [98-101]

*Instructions to the French Admiral in the Levant, Paris June 26, 1839,*  
20 *(Communicated by M. de Bourqueney, (June 29. )*

Vorliegend Instructions an Admiral Stopford, gleichzeitig *an den*  
*French* Admiral v. Soult geschickt, worin es heißt: the 2 admirals should  
reciprocally communicate to each other their instructions, and should act  
towards each other with all the confidence and frankness requisite to in-  
25 troduce into their operations the same unanimity which subsists between  
the 2 Governments. Whenever circumstances may require concert and  
co-operation, the chief direction will belong to the officer of the highest  
rank or of the longest standing ... [102] (Admiral was *Lalande*) Soult  
natürlich "omitted that part" der Palmerstonschen instruction, wo er ihm  
30 change od. modification vorschlagen zu müssen glaubte. |

]11| *Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. June 30) Paris, June 28,*  
*1839.*

"I learnt from Marshal Soult, that he had directed M. de Bourqueney  
to propose to your Lordship, that the Brit, and French Ambassadors at  
35 Constantinople should be instructed to bring under the consideration of  
the Divan, the entrance of the combined French and Engl, fleet into the  
Sea of Marmara, in case a Russian naval and military force shall have  
entered the Bosphorus. The Marshal said, he fully concurred in your

Lordship's view of its being desirable that the Brit, and French flags should appear before Constantinople at the same time with that of Russia; but he had doubts 'as' to allowing so important a question as that of declaring war against Turkey and Russia, to which the forcing of the passage of the Dardanelles was tantamount, to be left to the discretion of the Admirals. That question had better, he thought, be reserved for the consideration of the 2 Govern. The passage of the fleet up to Constantinople, he observed, would be a dangerous and difficult operation, if really resisted by the Turks, unless a military force were attached to it to take possession of the forts by land, and no military force adequate to such an undertaking had been embarked on board either fleet. The fire of the forts was not the only danger to which, he said, the fleet would be exposed; it might have to encounter in a damaged and crippled state the hostility of the Russ. fleet, combined with that of Turkey, prepared in the Bosphorus for combat, and aided by the Russian army." [104]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. June 27) Alexandria, May 28, 1839.*

"I then brought the conversation round to the mountaineers of Pyass, and along the continuity of that range to the Taurus, extending to Marash. Ibrahim Pasha replied: 'All is quiet in that part ... I must have Marash. I require it for the keeping of these mountaineers in order; as it was evident; the other day they committed all sorts of depredations in Giaour Dagh, and that range: I went against them; what followed? They merely went on the other side of the mountain, saying, We are in the Sultan's territory ... Marash I must have, as also along the line to Orfa; and then all will be quiet and right in Syria. I shall not then require to keep such a large force, to keep these mountains etc. in order, and I shall be able to give my attention to the interests of the country, and to further the commercial interests of all, and particularly of the English.'" ... The Christians in Syria are all in Mehemet Ali's favour, and they dread any success of the Sultan: the more as the Turkish population in Syria has for some time back been threatening the Christians, to whom they have said that their reign was nearly over ... Mehemet Ali had intended a few days ago to send out his fleet to cruise off Alexandria, and the order had already been given by him to that effect, but the Consuls-General of Austria, France, and Russia, as well as myself, having separately mentioned to him our opinions, ... that it would be ... perhaps conducive to the maintenance of peace, that his fleet should remain in harbour, he immediately acceded to our desires, and the fleet now remains here. [105-107]

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*id. to id (Ree. June 27) Alexandria June 6, 1839 enthält die folgenden:*

*Inclos. I.) Col. Campbell to Viscount Ponsonby. Alexandria, June 5, 1839. "Your Excellency will perceive that the Pasha writes to his son that we told him to 'repousser la force par la force', but as is seen by the*  
5 *procès-verbal, we said so, in the event only that the army of Ibrahim Pasha should be attacked in its positions in his territory." Am 4 June verliest ihnen Mehemet Ali (den 4 Generalconsuln) that the troops of the Sultan had actually passed over into the territory of Syria, and had occupied the vil-*  
10 *lage of Ouront... Ouront, where the Turkish Cavalry now is is a village of the Province of Aintab ... from Ouront, schreibt Ibrahim Pasha an Mehe-*  
met Ali, according to your orders, our soldiers retired ... [108-113]

*Inclosure II. id. to Viscount Ponsonby ... some Turkish Cavalry of Hafiz Pasha had attacked the Egyptian Cavalry encamped in front of Aintab, and have excited the villages in the Aintab district to revolt; eleven*  
15 *villages having received arms and ammunition from Hafiz Pasha, are now in revolt. On receipt of those news, Ibrahim Pasha had left Aleppo on the 29<sup>th</sup> May, and gone to a small village between Aleppo and Aintab, where he awaits the arrival of Solyman Pasha with a brigade and with some artillery, most probably to drive back the advance which had at-*  
20 *tacked his Cavalry ... the great causes of complaint on || 12| the part of the Porte, date from the peace of Kutaya, and from mutual irritation on the part of the Porte at the triumph of Mehemet Ali, as also from the semi-*  
independent and anomalous position of that Pasha ...

*Inclos. III.) Id. to Viscount Ponsonby , Alexandria, June 6, 1839.*  
25 *... it is most clearly evident that the Porte has been the aggressor in the commencement of active hostilities: as not only has Hafiz Pasha incited the population of Syria to revolt, and supplied them with arms, ammunition, and money, but he has also attacked a corps of the Cavalry of Ibrahim Pasha, at a point incontestably within the Syrian territory ...*  
30 *it should be borne in mind that it is a certain fact that Mehemet Ali has a powerful party amongst the great dignitaries of the Porte, and even in the Divan itself; and I am almost certain that he could at any moment raise up the Turkish provinces in Europe (certainly Albania) in rebellion against the Sultan. [114,115]*

35 *Subinclosure. "The 14 villages of the district of Ouront in the province of Aintab have been occupied by the troops of Hafiz Pasha. He has distributed arms and ammunition to the inhabitants of these villages ... Cannon were fired at Nezib to announce the arrival of Hafiz Pasha in that town ... the Pasha of Marash also is stirring up the population of*  
40 *Kourd Dak; that one of the superior officers of that Pasha's troops has been noticed among the tribe of Koords who plundered Boulanick ..."*  
[116,117]

*Viscount Palmerston to Lord Beauvale. June 28, 1839.*

All three of those Governments (the Austrian, French, and Russian) appear to be strongly impressed with the necessity of preventing, if possible, the outbreak of hostilities between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, or of putting a speedy end to those hostilities, if they should unfortunately 5 have already broken out ... The Russian Gov. aber scheint zu meinen that the Powers of Europe might be contented to remain passive spectators of the continuance of those hostilities, so long as the contending parties should carry on their conflict within the limits of Syria. But in this view H. M's Gov. cannot agree; because it is not so much the scene of 10 action, as the possible result of the conflict, which may exercise a decisive influence on the great interests of Europe, and a signal defeat and dispersion of the army of the Sultan, would be scarcely less disastrous on one side of the Taurus, or the Euphrates, than upon the other ... H. M's Gov. are not willing to consent that Mehemet Ali should continue to occupy 15 the districts of Diarbekir and Orfa: — districts beyond the province of Syria, and considerable importance in a military and political point of view, and which it has long been the desire of Mehemet Ali to acquire ... Although Russia has hitherto endeavoured to retain with her own discretion everything belonging to her relations with Turkey, yet the Cabinet 20 of St. Petersburg must clearly see that the general interests of all the Powers of Europe are so directly interested in the fate of the Turk. Empire, that no one Power can separate herself from the rest in her dealings with respect to Turkey; but that Turkish affairs must henceforward be considered to be as much a European question, as any other 25 affairs with which the Cabinets of Europe have been occupied. The French Gov. proposed that these matters should be discussed in a Conference of the 5 Powers, to be held at Vienna. Prince Metternich has stated reasons why, in his opinion, these matters cannot properly be submitted to a formal conference, but he has proposed that Vienna should be 30 the seat of negotiation on those affairs. H. M's Gov. saw many strong reasons in favour of the French proposal; and some of much weight against it; the proposal of Prince Metternich is open to fewer objections, and holds out less advantages ... H. M's Gov. ... are willing to agree to proposition of Prince Metternich, provided it shall be acceded to by Rus- 35 sia and Prussia, as well as by Great Britain and France. ... The general view which H. M's Gov. ... entertain of the affair in question ... : that there can be no end to the danger with which these affairs menace the peace of Europe, until Mehemet Ali shall have restored Syria to the direct authority of the Sultan; shall have retired into Egypt; and shall have 40 interposed the Desert between his troops and authorities and the troops

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and authorities of the Sultan. But Mehemet Ali could not be expected to consent to this, unless some equivalent advantage were granted to him; and this equivalent advantage might be hereditary succession in his family to the Pashalic of Egypt ...[[118,119]

5 1131 *Viscount Palmerston to Earl Granville. June 29, 1839.* I herewith transmit etc. a copy of a despatch (der vorigen S. 12) which I have addressed to H. M's Ambassador at Vienna ... It seems to H. M's Gov., that the great interests of the Powers, as regards the affairs of Turkey, can never be considered as secure, until Mehemet Ali shall have evacuated Syria, and shall have withdrawn his forces into Egypt ... [119, 120]

Durch den alten Sult gezwungen, muß schreiben:

*Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby. July 5, 1839.* I have to instruct your Exc. to state to the Porte, that if the course of events should lead the Porte to ask or to accept military or naval aid from any European Power, in the contest with Mehemet Ali, H. M's gov. trust that the Porte will at the same time address itself to Great Britain to the same effect: and your Exc. will say, that Admiral Sir Robert Stopford has orders to repair with his squadron to Constantinople, for the purpose of affording to the Sultan physical and moral support, the moment Sir Robert Stopford shall receive from the Porte, through your Exc, an invitation to that effect. Similar instructions will be given by the French Gov. to Admiral Roussin, and you will make your communication on this matter to the Porte simultaneously with that of the French Ambassador. [124,125]

25 *Mr. Pro-Consul Werry to Viscount Palmerston (received July 5) Aleppo June 4, 1839,* darin aus den Inclosures: the Sultan's troops continued advancing, and had crossed the river Sedjour; and had come as far as Telbashir, 2 hours on this side of the river, and 5 hours to Tellisheir, where H. Exc. Ibrahim Pasha's camp is ... the Sultan's troops that have occupied Telbashir, are principally all *Koord Irregular Cavalry* ... [127]

*Consul Werry to Viscount Palmerston. (Receiv. July 5) Damascus. June 7, 1839.* it does not appear to me in truth and justice, that it can be established in the present attitude of the rival armies, that the *status quo* of the Treaty of Kutaya is observed by the Sultan's Seraskier on the northern frontiers of Syria ... While the main body of his army, encamped on this side of the Euphrates between Roum Kale and Bir, makes advances



towards and on the Egyptian territory, this movement is gradual, and in proportion to those operated by his irregulars and the malcontents on both wings of the Egyptian Army, and H. H. Ibrahim Pasha's position at Aleppo ... Ibrahim Pasha has quitted Aleppo with all his forces, between the 29<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> ult., and fixed his headquarters, and concentrated his 5 army at *Tellisheir*; 10 hours in advance of Aleppo ... [136,137]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Received July 5) Alexandria, June 14, 1839.* Mehmet Ali schreibt June 10 an Ibrahim Pasha: You inform me that our adversaries carry their aggression and invasion further and further; that they have armed the inhabitants of all the villages situated beyond Aintab, and those of Kessil Hissar on this side of the villages of Aintab; that they have gained to their side the chief men of Aintab; that besides having (p. 142) from first to last, corrupted the territory of *Pyass*, the mountain *Kourdaghi* and that of *Giaour Daghi*, they have incited the insurgents to attack Akhar, a dependency of Tripoli, and 15 to assassinate and plunder the Governor of the place ... If we have patience any longer, we shall be unable to stop them, for by degrees they will scatter disorder everywhere ...

*Id. to id. (ree. July 5) Alexandria, June 16, 1839.* One of the Pashas of the Sultan, Solyman Pasha of Marash, has entered into, and taken possession of Aintab, the chief town of a district in Syria, and Hafiz Pasha himself was with the corps ... No doubt can therefore remain in regard to the aggression of Hafiz Pasha on Syria. ... the moderation of Mehemet Ali has been clearly shown in the orders he gave to Ibrahim Pasha to remain at Aleppo as long as possible, even at the risk of seeing the 25 rection caused by Hafiz Pasha, spread in Syria, and giving time to the Turks to concentrate their forces and receive all their reinforcements ... the Sultan's emissaries were using all their means to cause a revolt against him in every part of Syria ... Darin die *Inclos.* :

*Ibrahim* schreibt an *Mehemet*: The regiments which were at Aintab 30 have been withdrawn by me, and I have left only )|14| one battalion of Infantry in the fortress of that town. Solyman Pasha of Marash has entered Aintab ... [143,144]

*Letter of Ibrahim Pasha to His Exc. Hafiz Pasha (d. d. June 8, 1839):* "According to the despatches addressed by the Great Powers to their 35 Consuls-General at Alexandria, I am persuaded that they do not approve of the war, and that H. H. ... is of the same opinion. Nevertheless,— 1) Solyman Pasha of Marash has sent a body of Cavalry, and he has attacked our Cavalry, which was at Boulanic. 2) You have sent a corps of Kourid Mystic Bey to Payass, with the view of raising the pop- 40

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ulation. 3) Hadji Omar Oglou has been sent to Kourd-Dagh with the same object. 4) You have attacked our Hanadis in our territory with regular and irregular Cavalry. 5) You have distributed arms amongst the inhabitants of the villages of the Province of Aintab, and Solyman Pasha entered that town, and is still there. Yesterday also your Exc. with a Corps of Regular Cavalry, made an incursion near to our camp, and discharged your artillery upon our advanced guard of Hanadis ... If your Exc. has orders to begin the war, wherefore these intrigues, these plots?" [145]

10 *Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (receiv. July 5) Alexandria, June 16, 1839.*

The French packet-steamer arrived here late in the evening of the 13<sup>th</sup> inst. with Captain Caillier, an aide-de-camp of Marshal Soult. Capt. Caillier was the bearer of despatches, d. d. May 28, from the Marshal to M. Cochelet, directing him to call on Mehemet Ali to cease all hostilities in the event of their having taken place, and to retire his army into Syria, if they had passed beyond the limits of that province. The Marshal says in his despatch, that the 5 Great Powers have resolved to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire ... that Mehemet having in these late affairs given proofs of good faith, and having kept his word, he had acquired fresh titles to the good-will of the European powers—so much the more, as the Porte, on its part, had evidently been the aggressor; that France consults at this moment with England and with the Allies, on the means of employing the united squadrons of England and France ... M. Cochelet having explained this to Mehemet Ali, the Pasha, on the 15 inst., agreed to give a formal letter to Capt. Caillier to be delivered by him to his son Ibrahim Pasha, in which he directs him not to pursue the Turks beyond his frontier, in case the Turks should already have repassed it, and to halt wherever Capt. Caillier may find him, in case the Egyptian army should already have entered the Sultan's territory and occupied any part of it... M. Cochelet was, I believe, so glad that he has prevailed so far on the Pasha without the aid of his Colleagues, that he hastened to accept the Pasha's offer, in order that he might be able to say that France had done everything and that her voice was all-powerful.

35 [145, 146] *Inclosed:*

*Mehmet an Ibrahim (d. d. 16 June 1839)* M. dem bearer dieses letter, Aide-de-Camp des Marshal Soult ... another aide-de-camp goes to Constantinople, to proceed from thence to Hafiz Pasha. ... If, before the arrival of M. Caillier, you have not yet driven across the frontier the Turkish troops which had entered within our bounds, that officer will cause

you to remain where you are, and after having been to Hafiz Pasha, seen the Aide-de-camp despatched to him, and ascertained what he has done, he will return to make his report to you thereupon. If, on his return, he tells you that the Ottoman Army remains stationary, and that the Turkish troops which had entered within our limits are about to be withdrawn, you will not make any movement on your own part, and you will remain where you are. But if after the return of M. Caillier with this assurance, Hafiz Pasha does not remain stationary, if he continues the same movements as formerly, and does not withdraw his troops from our frontier, you will march against him and engage him. Finally, in case you should, on the arrival of that officer, have already driven away the Turk, troops which had entered within our bounds, and if you should have advanced, you must still remain where you may then be, and wait until the arrangements which the Great Powers may make, shall be known, and shall have been notified to you by me. [147] 15

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (rec. July 5) Alexandria, June 18, 1839.* the Sultan's vanguard has retired upon the main body, and thus evacuated the territory of Mehemet Ali ... Dagegen die efforts of Hafiz Pasha to cause revolt in the lower ranges ||15| of the Taurus, extending to Beylan and Pyass. And his plan, therefore, seems to be to avoid a battle, 20 and to cause revolt, and to move on in the rear of that movement... [148]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. July 5) Alexandria, June 19, 1839.*

Ibrahim Pasha was (on the 10<sup>th</sup> June) with his army at Touzel, which is not far from Aintab, and Hafiz Pasha was about 3 hours' distance at 25 Nezib, near the banks of the Sedjour river, but in the territory of the Sultan; and Solyman Pasha of Marash was still in Aintab with troops of the Sultan ... [150]

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. July 7) Therapia, June 16, 1839 ...* The French Ambassador ... read to me a part of a despatch from 30 Marshal Soult... It contained instructions to apply in the strongest manner to the Sublime Porte to prevent hostilities, if they had not already commenced, and to put an instant end to them if they had; and it directed His Exc. to communicate with me, and said that the Brit. Gov. entirely concurred with the French in everything relating to affairs in this 35," country ... His Exc. asked me what I would do. I replied, that *having no instructions*, I could not take any steps etc etc [152]

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*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 8) Paris, July 5, 1839.*  
The Debate in the Chamber of Deputies, on the vote of credit demanded by the gov. for the augmentation of the French Naval [Force] in the Levant ... Not a dissentient voice was heard against the proposition  
5 of the gov. ... die speakers der different political parties, concurred in the policy of maintaining the independence and integrity of the Turk, empire; of rescuing the Sultan from the protection of Russia; and of resisting, with determination, the pretentions of Russia to the exclusive right of stationing her fleets in the Bosphorus. the debate lasted 5 days ... the  
10 vote will much strengthen the hands of the French Gov.; and the ground on which it was supported by most of the speakers, cannot fail to show, that France is not less determined than England to resist the principle of Unkiar Skelessi [153,154]

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 4) Paris, July 2, 1839. ...*  
15 Marshal Soult expressed his entire concurrence in your opinion, in regard to the impolicy of continuing the present relative position of the Sultan and of Mehemet Ali, and the necessity of settling on a permanent footing their relations to each other; but he was not prepared to assert to your Lordship's proposition that no settlement would be satisfactory which  
20 did not restore the whole of Syria to the direct authority of the Sultan. He said, that the Court of Berlin had suggested the plan of the Pashalics of Tripoli and of Aleppo being given up by Ibrahim Pasha, leaving to him the possession of the Pashalic of Acre and of Damascus; that he was not aware of the view of the Court of Vienna in regard to this matter,  
25 and that the French gov. had not yet formed any opinion upon it. Marshal Soult, however, gave me to understand, that his hesitation to accede to your Lordship's proposal, arose from his doubt of the possibility of obtaining Mehemet Ali's acquiescence in it, rather than from any objection to the arrangement itself. [153]

30 *Lord William Russell to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 8) Berlin, July 3, 1839.* M. de Ribeaupierre read to me a despatch, addressed by Count Nesselrode to the Russian Ambassador in London ... M. de Ribeaupierre told me, that the King of Prussia had spoken to him three times during his visit at Potsdam, on the subject of this despatch, expressing  
35 the pleasure he received from the moderate and politic views of Russia, and his hope that they would be acceptable to the Brit. Cabinet. Baron Werther has since expressed to me his satisfaction at the language held by Russia; concluding by saying, that the question was placed by all parties in the hands of H. M's Gov. ... Frederick the Great said it was not the

Power which struck the first blow that was guilty of aggression, but the Power which by its armaments forced another Power to strike a blow in its own defence. The acceptance of this definition would make Mehemet Ali the aggressor. [155]

*Lord William Russell July 3, 1839, Berlin.* "Count Bresson showed me 5  
some despatches of Count St. Aulaire's, relating his conversation with  
Prince Metternich ... H. Highn. (Metternich) had suggested the expedi-  
ency (in case the Sultan's army should be defeated) of allowing the Rus-  
sian army to occupy Constantinople, whilst the English, French, and  
Austrian fleets sailed up the Dardanelles." [155] 10

*Viscount Palmerston to Lord William Russell. July 9, 1839 ...* The Rus-  
sian Gov. proposes in the event of any marked success on the part  
of Mehemet Ali, to leave the Egyptians in the possession of Orfa and  
Diarbekir; but Diarbekir is the central key of Asia minor; and whoever is  
strongly in military possession of that post, will have the command of the 15  
whole ||16| country. ... when Russia and Mehemet Ali should determine  
to co-operate together against the Sultan, a Russian force from Gumri,  
united with the troops of Mehemet Ali at Diarbekir, would sweep  
through the whole extent of Asia minor ... [156]

*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquess of Clanricarde. July 9, 1839 ...* 20  
I have to instruct your Exc, to thank the Russ. Gov. for this communi-  
cation, (d. d. 15 June) H. M's Gov. fully appreciate *the confidence thus*  
*evinced in the Brit. Gov. by the Cab. of St. Petersburg, and are rejoiced to*  
find, that the general tenour of the views which have been taken of the  
matters in question by the 2 Cabinets, should be so much the same. ... 25  
The only arrangement ... which could appear to H. M's Gov. to be cal-  
culated to secure peace for the future, would be the evacuation of Syria  
by Mehemet Ali ... und making the Pashalic of Egypt hereditary in his  
family ... If the Russ. Gov. should concur in this general view, and  
should instruct its Ambass. at Vienna accordingly, there can be no doubt, 30  
that such an expression of the part of Russia, would carry with it all the  
weight which naturally belongs to the sentiments of Russia upon such a  
matter ... [156,157]

*Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (ree. July 11) Vienna. July 1, 1839*  
Prince Metternich, ... attaches the greatest value to an invitation from 35  
the 2 Powers to the Emperor of Russia to join his squadron to theirs in  
the Mediterranean ... reason ... of this affair, being the joint concern of

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all Europe. (Kündigt ihm die Krankheit des Sultans an.) the Austrian squadron in the Levant will be reinforced, and place itself under the orders of Admiral Stopford. [159,160]

*Viscount Palmerston to Lord Beauvale. July 13, 1839. ...* Was dies nun  
5 angeht that England and France should invite Russia to send her Black Sea squadron into the Mediterranean, to co-operate with the combined Brit., French, and Austrian fleet ... H. M's Gov. are inclined to doubt the expediency of such a measure at present ... für die suspension der hostilities in the Mediterranean, die combined fleet would be sufficient...

10 *If, indeed,* the 5 Powers should determine to press upon the Porte and upon Mehemet Ali, the arrangement by which Mehemet Ali would have to evacuate Syria, and *if the Pasha should demur to accede to that arrangement, there might then* be an obvious advantage in proving to the Pasha, by the co-operation of the Russian flag with that of Austria,  
15 France, and England, that the Great Powers are unanimous in their decision. [160,161]

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (rec. July 11) Paris, July 8, 1839* Marshal Soult has read to me the Note which he proposes should be addressed by the French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, requesting  
20 that a French fleet may pass the Dardanelles, in case an Egyptian army should approach Constantinople, and foreign succour be required for the defence of the capital... He expressed his hopes that H. M's Gov. would instruct Lord Ponsonby to address to the Turk. Gov. a similar note, for the admission of the Brit. fleet within the Dardanelles ... [161, 162]

25 *Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. July 13) Therapia, June 24, 1839 ...* On the 21<sup>st</sup> the French Ambassador had an interview with Nouri Effendi, to receive a verbal reply from the Porte to his Exc's note, demanding the recall of the troops from the Aleppo side of the Euphrates. The Porte would not give a written reply. The verbal one was,  
30 "that the ministers had not communicated to the Sultan the demands made by the French Ambassador". [163]

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (receiv. July 13) Therapia, June 24, 1839.* report... that the French fleet will oppose by force the progress of the Ottoman fleet... The Capudan Pasha intends to sail on Satur-  
35 day with all his fleet for Rhodes ... The Pasha considers that the French have no right to hinder him from following the orders of his Sovereign: and he says that he has positive orders to engage the Egyptian fleet ...

if the French were alone in their present proceedings, that would not prevent him from following his own plans; but if the English should be agreed with the French, in that case he should feel himself constrained, much against his inclination, to submit to their will. | [164, 165]

[17] *Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby July 13, 1839.* ... if the 5  
Sultan should die, and if in consequence of his death, the presence of  
the Brit. Squadron at Constantinople should appear useful ... offer the  
assistance of the squadron to the Turk. Gov., in concert with the French  
Ambassador, who will have instructions to make a similar offer of the  
assistance of the French fleet ... Admiral Sir Robert Stopford to go up 10  
to Constantinople, if invited to do so by the Turk. Gov. ... der French  
Ambassador will have instructions to make a similar offer of the assist-  
ance of the French fleet ... [166]

*Viscount Palmerston to the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty. July 18.*  
*1839* ... acquaint Admiral. Sir Robert Stopford, that a further instruction 15  
will be sent to H. M's Ambassador at Constantinople, stating, that if the  
Russian fleet should, for any reason whatever, enter the Bosphorus, his  
Exc. will apply for permission for the Brit. fleet to do the same ... Das-  
selbe schreibt *Viscount Palmerston* an *Ponsonby*, d. d. July 18, 1839.  
[167,168] 20

*Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston. St. Petersburg July 8,*  
*1839.* I have every reason to believe that the Sultan deceived M. de Bou-  
ténéff, and that his commencement of hostilities was as disagreeable to,  
as it was unexpected by His Imp. Maj. ... [169]

*Earl of Granville to Viscount Palmerston (ree. July 17) Paris, July 15, 25 \**  
*1839.* ... Soutl informed me that Bourqueney had communicated ...  
to you ... the readiness of the French Gov. to become a party to a  
general guarantee of the integrity of the Turk, empire by the 5 Great  
Europ. Powers ... [171]

*id. to id. (receiv. 17 July) inclosed despatch, daß Sultan Mahmoud died 30;*  
*on the 30\* of June. His eldest son, declared of age by the Divan, was*  
*proclaimed Emperor. On the 28' orders had been sent to Hafiz Pasha to*  
*suspend hostilities. [172]*

*Baron Bourqueney to Viscount Palmerston. (receiv. July 21) London,*  
*July 19, 1839 communicated officiellen, dem Palmerston mitzuthelenden 35*  
*Brief v.:*

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*Duke of Dalmatia (Sout) to the Baron of Bourqueney* d.d. Paris, July 17, 1839 ... all the Cabinets wish for the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Monarchy under the dynasty now reigning ... and they would not hesitate to declare themselves against any combination  
5 whatever, which might impair it ... *Palmerston* d. d. July 22, 1839, antwortet in denselben Phrasen an Baron Bourqueney. [173-175]

*The Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston* (Ree. July 23) *St. Petersburg July 15, 1839.* ... Count Nesselrode said "Austria proposes, that for the hereditary tenure of the Pashalic of Egypt assured to  
10 his family, Mehemet Ali should relinquish Syria at his death. We do not object to that arrangement. Your Gov. say, that Syria should be immediately restored to the Sultan. *We also think that better.* But have you any reason to suppose that Mehemet Ali will accede to such a proposal?" [177]

15 *Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston* (ree. July 23) *Vienna, July 11, 1839* ... the orders to the Commanders (den turkish), by sea and land, to suspend operations, were sent on the 28<sup>th</sup> or 29<sup>th</sup> ...  
*Id to id. (ree. July 23) Vienna, July 11, 1839.* As to the plan of pacification, Prince Metternich fully adopts your Lordship's ideas; but the  
20 Porte having itself designated the terms upon which it is willing to confer Egypt upon the family of Mehemet Ali, he considers these, consisting of the restitution of Syria and Candia, and the disarming, as a *sine qua non*; whereas the restitution of the eastern coast of the Red Sea, and the terms upon which Egypt is to be held as a fief, are open to negotiation.  
25 His plan for the conduct of this negotiation is the following. It must begin at Constantinople, and will be complete when the Porte shall have agreed with the 5 Powers upon the terms to be granted to the Pasha: this agreement to be consigned to official notes. When this is done, the 5 Powers will notify to the Pasha the terms, and call upon him to accept  
30 them, supporting their intimation by such pressure, in case of refusal, as may be sufficient to determine his assent. This assent being obtained, the arrangement to be placed under the guarantee of the 5 Powers. The outline of terms is already sketched, and may be considered as adopted by England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. France remains; and Prince  
35 Metternich requests the Brit. Gov. to persuade France ... it is probable that the Porte || 181 will insist... upon a diminution of Mehemet Ali's fleet, and this diminution is precisely what will be most unpleasant to France, who has always looked upon the naval power of Egypt as a re-inforcement to her own, and thereby a counterpoise to our maritime



superiority in the Mediterranean ... If the moral weight of the 5 Powers should not determine the submission of the Pasha ... the *Russian* proposition to consider *ourselves in a state of war* might be found the only one efficacious ... the Admirals should be furnished with instructions ... I have comprised in this despatch the result of many conversations with 5 Prince Metternich ... [178-180]

*id. to id.* (ree. 23 July) Vienna July 11, 1839 ... *Russia* already adopts the principle, that everything is to be done in common. Upon all the details Prince Metternich agrees to your Lordship's ideas without reserve, and is sure of their adoption by *Russia*: so that, according to him, England, 10 Austria, and *Russia*, are placed exactly upon the same line, and there only remains to induce France to relinquish her deviations from it. [180]

*id. to id.* (Ree. July 23) d. d. Vienna July 11, 1839 Metternich ... told me ... that its (der Austrian squadron) sailing would be delayed until an answer should be received from Paris to an application calling upon the 15 French Gov. to *confirm its instruction to its Admiral to that which had been given by England*, the principle of parity between the Sultan and the Pasha being one which Austria could not admit, any more than she could its application to the equal treatment of their vessels. Till this was done Prince Metternich said the Austrian squadron could not join the com- 20 bined fleet, as it would not know with whom to act. [180,181]

*id. to id.* (received July 23) Vienna, July 14, 1839. ... arrival of an estafette from Constantinople. I inclose Lord Ponsonby's despatches received by this occasion; those of the Internuncio will be communicated by Prince Esterhazy. There are 2 differences between them. The first is, that Baron 25 Stürmer mentions it to be intended by the Porte to apprise Mehemet Ali that the Sultan may be induced to appoint one of his sons to the Pashalic of one of the Provinces he (Mehemet Ali) at present holds, which is virtually a relinquishment of Syria to Ibrahim Pasha. The other, that the Internuncio notifies the consent of the Representatives of the 5 Powers 30 having been given to support the propositions of the Porte, while Lord Ponsonby only speaks of their having agreed to notify the facts to the Consuls. There is a further difference between this overture made by Nouri Effendi, and the one he made to the Internuncio; in that, the evacuation of the Holy Cities was omitted, as in this, is the disarming. 35 [181]

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*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 24) Therapia. July 3, 1839* In pursuance of the desire of the Sublime Porte, the Ministers of the 5 Great Powers assembled this day at the House of the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs ... Nouri Effendi... the Sultan (erklärt  
5 Nouri Effendi) ... determined to send one of the eminent men of his Court to offer the Egyptian Pasha pardon for the past, and assurance of favour for the future (of which the Sultan sent a decoration as the mark and evidence), and to promise that H. H. would confer upon the Pasha and his family the hereditary Gov. of Egypt to be held by the Pasha and  
10 his descendants as vassals, on the condition that Syria etc. should be immediately restored to the Sultan. [183]

*Viscount Palmerston to Lord Beauvale. For. Office, July 23, 1839* (incloses him "*Draft of Note to be presented to the Porte by Admiral Roussin*", worin es u. a. heißt: Für den Fall der Gefahr: the Sublime Porte would  
15 doubtless understand that the surest method of reconciling a regard for its dignity, and even for its security, with the grievous necessity to which it would find itself reduced, would be, to request, not from one Power in particular, but from the whole of Europe, the support which would be indispensable for it. A great Empire ... is not degraded by placing itself  
20 under the protection of the great European interests. It finds even in the diversity of those interests, when they unite in coming to its succour, the sure guarantee that this protection cannot be transformed into a supremacy dangerous to its independence. This system of conduct ... is, moreover, the only one which is consistent with the duties and the just susceptibilities of the policy of the Great Courts ... H. [M's] (die french) Gov. therefore is persuaded, that it meets the intentions of the Sublime Porte by requesting that, in the event of the land or sea forces of one or more of the Allied Powers being invited to Constantinople, orders may be given immediately to open the passage of the Dardanelles to a French  
30 squadron which would arrive for the protection of the ||19| throne of the sultan ... [185, 186]

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 25) Paris, July 22. 1839.* ... complete route of the Turk, army under Hafiz Pasha ... battle of June24 ...

35 *Inclosure I. Alexandria July 6.* The Egyptian army under the orders of Ibrahim Pasha, having attacked the Turk. Army commanded by the Seraskier Hafiz Pasha, at Nezib, beyond Aleppo, the latter abandoned the field of battle after an action of 2 hours. All the *matériel*, in guns, cannon, and ammunition, has fallen into the power of the Egyptians.

Ibrahim wrote this intelligence the 25<sup>th</sup> of June from the tent of the Turkish General-in-Chief. He had returned to Aintab on the 28<sup>th</sup>, but had ordered 3 regiments of Infantry and 3 regiments of Cavalry, to advance upon Orfa and Diarbekir. [187]

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 26) Therapia, July 8, 1839. "*

... Ahmed Pasha accused Hosrew and Halil Pasha of having murdered Sultan Mahmoud, and of the intention to give up this country to the Russians. He said he had written on July 2 to Hafiz Pasha, to call upon him to march with his army to depose the present Minister by force. He would ask Mehemet Ali for his support in the undertaking and announced his intention to take the Ottoman fleet to Candia ... [188]

*Inclos. I. Baron Roussin to Viscount Palmerston Therapia July 7, 1839.* ... the Capudan Pasha is in insurrection with his fleet against the Gov. of H. H., and has set out for Rhodes, pretending that this Gov. is sold to Russia ... they (our gov's) are the Allies of the Sultan Abdul Medjid, and their wishes will be in his favour. I have given this assurance to the Gov. of H. H. on the part of my own. As I have *not the least doubt of the perfect understanding* which exists between ours etc ... [189]

Das ganze statement erfuhr Ponsonby v. Roussin, dieser wieder vom fzs. Admiral Lalande, who was visited by the second in command of the Ottoman Fleet, Osman Bey, bearer of a message from Ahmed Pasha ...

*Inclosure III. Viscount Ponsonby to Col. Campbell, Therapia, July 7, 1839.* ... The French Ambassador ... advised the Porte to send couriers in all haste to Hafiz Pasha; and I believe he has advised that orders should be given for the recall of the army back to this neighbourhood. I shall give advice, that the army be left where it is, because that part of the Empire ought not to be exposed to become the prey of Mehemet Ali ... [190]

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (ree. July 26) Therapia, Juli 8, 1839.* Before these late events, and after the death of Mahmoud, I told the Grand Visier that I thought it very possible the Ottoman army would be defeated; and *I advised him* in that case to avoid, *with pertinacity, making any concessions to Mehemet Ali* of territory, etc. before the advice of the Great Powers should be given. He assured me, that he would not make any concessions ... It is not impossible that Hosrew knew, when he answered me, that Hafiz had been defeated. [191]

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*Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston* (Rec. July 26) *Vienna, July 17, 1839* ... the first news of the battle ... reached the Corps Diplomatique at Constantinople ... through Count Königsmark, who received it on July 7 ... Prince Metternich is in possession of reports which prove to his  
5 satisfaction, that the defeat was known before the overture to Mehemet, and that it decided that measure ... It is called a battle, but in fact there was none, the whole Turk, army having run away as soon as the cannonade grew hot ... the attack was made by Ibrahim upon the receipt of Mehemet Ali's order to that effect. Captain Caillier, who bore the counter  
10 order, will have reached the camp within 48 hours after the defeat of the Turk, army, so that we may hope that Ibrahim will have halted upon the Euphrates ... the Turk, army is to be considered as totally disbanded ... [191,192]

*id. to id.* (received July 26) *Vienna, July 19, 1839.* ... It appears highly  
15 probable that the Porte and the Pasha will come to an agreement. The overture, of which Akiff Effendi is the bearer, having been sent with the knowledge of the defeat of the Turk. Army, it is to be supposed that he is authorized to submit to the Pasha's conditions, and Mehemet Ali will prefer closing at once with the Sultan in a moment of defeat, rather  
20 than await the interposition of the 5 Powers ... Prince Metternich ... purposes sending a courier in a few days to London, by whom he will enter into a full consideration of the actual posture of affairs ... da der death of the Sultan Mahmoud, the accession of a successor, the destruction of the army, the defection of the fleet, and the rivalry of the leading  
25 persons of the empire, have totally changed the state of things ... [192]

*Viscount Palmerston to Lord Beauvale* F. O. July 26, 1839. ... These Beauvale's) despatches prove that there exists perfect identity between the views of Austria and those England, upon the Turco-Egyptian Affair: and that full reliance may be placed upon the complete co-operation of  
30 Russia with the other Powers etc [193]

*id. to id. July 26, 1839* ... the result of the battle of the 24<sup>th</sup> cannot entitle Mehemet Ali to any greater favour from the 5 Powers, but rather the contrary; because the battle was fought in defiance of the remonstrances and warnings of the 5 Powers, his army being the assailant, and the field  
35 of action having been beyond the frontier of Syria. But neither can the results of that battle diminish the force of those political considerations which have led the Powers to think that the evacuation of Syria by Mehemet Ali is essential for the maintenance of the Turk. Empire, and consequently for the preservation of the peace of Europe. [193,194]

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 30) Berlin, July 24, 1839.* ... Baron Werther assured me, that the King would derive much satisfaction from a knowledge of your Lordship's language to Russia on the occasion ... His Exc. (Baron Werther) concurred entirely in your opinion as to the attitude that should be assumed by Great Britain 5 and Russia in the present state of things ... Prussia (sagt derselbe Werther) would entirely agree in the line of conduct which your Lordship proposed to adopt, in conjunction with the view of the Austrian Cabinet ... [202]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 27) Alexandria, July 6, 10 1839.* ... Capt. Caillier will have reached the camp of Ibrahim Pasha on the 27<sup>th</sup> ult. ... the Sultan refused to allow the officer sent by Marsh. Soult to Constantinople, to proceed with any mission to Hafiz Pasha to suspend his operations; and this is the more to be lamented, as the officer might possibly have reached in time to prevent the late battle. [204] 15

*Inclos. The Austrian Consul-Gen. at Aleppo, June 26, 1839, Evening ...* Not one of them (the Turks.) could have reached the Euphrates had Ibrahim Pasha wished seriously to prevent it ... To-morrow or next day the Egyptian advanced guard, commanded by Osman Pasha, will commence passing the Euphrates. Everything indicates that such is the in- 20 tention of the Egyptian Seraskier.

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 27), July 6, 1839.* ... 3 regiments of Infantry and 3 of Cavalry had been sent by Ibrahim Pasha to take possession of Orfa and Diarbekir, and he was going to send on troops to Malatia ... [205] 25

*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquess of Clanricarde. F. O., July 30, 1839.* those events (von Nezib etc.) ... do not appear to Her M's Gov. to afford to the 5 Powers any reason for altering in any degree the course which they had *previously* intended to pursue. [206]

*Mr. Pro-Consul Werry to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 31, 1839) 30 Aleppo, July 1, 1839.* ... This morning ... Ibrahim Pasha has reached Aintab with all the forces, from whence it is said he has started for Marash, darin:

*Inclosure 3* ... On the 27<sup>th</sup> inst., in the evening, M. Caillier, one of Marsh. Soult's Aides-de-Camp, reached this (Aleppo) coming from Alex- 35, andria in 6 days ... he left this yesterday (June 28,) afternoon, accompanied by his Highness Mehemet Ali's interpreter, repairing with

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all speed in quest of his Exc. Ibrahim Pasha, whom ... I dare say he will find between Aintab and Marash ... [206, 209]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 31) Alexandria, July 11, 1839.* ... On the evening of the 8 inst. ... positive intelligence of the death  
5 of the Sultan; and the Pasha despatched immediate orders to Ibrahim Pasha to suspend all hostilities ... On the 9<sup>e</sup> (evening) we heard ... that Achmet Pasha was coming to place his fleet at the disposition of Mehemet Ali ... On the 10<sup>e</sup>, Mehemet Ali erklärte: "If Achmet Pasha wishes to deliver over to me the fleet of the Sultan, 11|211 will not accept it, and I  
10 will send it back to the Sultan" ... At the reception of Hosrew Pasha's letter (on the 10<sup>e</sup>, im Namen des Sultans) Mehemet Ali caused an order to be prepared for Ibrahim Pasha, by which he enjoins him to withdraw his troops to this side of the Euphrates, and as far as Marash, looking on the war as now at an end. Mehemet Ali says he wishes to have possession  
15 of Marash, which is only *about 3 hours beyond his present* frontier, because it gives him the means of keeping in order the moun- taineers of Giaour Dagh, who have always, although in his present territory, been very troublesome; and that he will pay the Sultan for the accession of that territory twice the tribute which that district pays at present. The  
20 Pasha says, that he is confident that all differences will now be firmly settled without the intervention of the Great Powers ... he professes great respect for, and submission to, the young Sultan ... he himself will proceed to Constantinople, in order to pay his personal homage to his Sovereign ... not only has Mehemet Ali strong friends in the Divan, but  
25 he is regarded by all parties as the only person who can help the Sultan to sustain the Ottoman Empire ... [219, 220]

*id. to id. (Ree. July 31) Alexandria, July 13, 1839.*

... In the letter of the to Viscount Ponsonby, inclosed in des leztern despatch of May 1, the Sultan gives as a reason for his military prep-  
30 arations and fortifications, the levies of troops by Mehemet Ali, and the redoubts etc., erected by him on the frontier. But surely the Sultan must have been aware that Mehemet Ali could not, and dared not to, attack the Sultan, as in such case he would have had arrayed against him the Great Powers, The Sultan had consequently nothing to fear from Mehe-  
35 met Ali, and it was his interest clearly to allow Mehemet Ali to exhaust his resources ...*It was, however, clearly the object of Russia to urge the Sultan to weaken himself by useless preparations and expences* ... the Sultan played the game of Russia. "In regard to the desire of the Sultan for Mehemet Ali to give up Adana, Damascus, Aleppo, Seyda, Jerusa-  
40 lem, and Naplous ... he (Mehemet Ali) would not have consented to do

so, and at present he will be still less disposed to listen to such a proposal." [221]

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. July 31) Paris, July 29, 1839.*

*Viscount Palmerston to Lord Beauvale, F. O., August 1, 1839.*

All things considered, the death of the Sultan, and the defeat of the Turk. Army rather increase than diminish the force of the reasons which had previously led the Five Powers to think it necessary that Syria should be restored to the direct rule of the Sultan ... end is the maintenance of the Turk. Empire; the *danger* by which that Empire is threatened is the usurped Power of Mehemet Ali and if the possession of Syria was to thought to render Mehemet Ali dangerously strong with relation to the Sultan during the life of Mahmoud, a vigorous and experienced Sovereign, still more must the possession of Syria render Mehemet Ali too strong etc ... when that Sovereign is a minor, and has been enfeebled by the defeat and dispersion of his army, and by the defection of his fleet... *The Five Powers* therefore ... should look to permanent interests and not to temporary accidents; and as they possess the means of effectually supporting Turkey, *they ought to employ those means to accomplish* that purpose ... [224]

*Id. to Id. F. O. Dasselbe Datum.*

20

The *Five Powers* appear to be all equally of opinion, that Syria, Candia and Arabia, *ought to be immediately restored* to the direct rule of the Sultan ... but some of the *Five Powers* appear to *doubt* whether the alliance would have the means of inducing Mehemet Ali to acquiesce in such an arrangement if he could strongly object to it. ... such doubts have no sufficient foundation ... *Sezt nun auseinander die simple means of coercion the Five Powers possess* ... [225]

*Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby. F. O. Aug. 1, 1839.* ... I have ... to instruct Your Exc. to carry into execution any measure which you may be informed by Lord Beauvale has been agreed to by him on behalf of the Brit. Gov., and has also been concurred in by the Austrian Gov., and by the Representatives of the other 3 Powers at Vienna ... [226]

*Marshal Soult to the Consul-Gen. of France at Alexandria. (Communicated Aug. 1) Paris, July 27, 1839.* ... Ruffelt bedeutend den Mehemet ... fell him, that if on this occasion, as on many others, France is the first to make him hear counsels, which he may at first deem harsh, it is precisely

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because the goodwill which we feel towards him causes us to view with deep regret these dangerous courses upon which he is about to enter ... the propositions for [22] accomodation ... contained in the letter addressed to him by the new Grand Vizier ... appear to me perfectly adapted  
5 for forming, at any rate, the basis of a serious negotiation. [231]

*Viscount Palmerston to Baron de Bourqueney, Aug. 3, 1839. Inclosure I Sketch of proposed Instructions to the 2 Admirals in the Mediterranean,* wie sie die Aegyptische Flotte abfassen sollen u. nach Constantinopel senden ... the capture of the Egyptian fleet ought not however to induce  
10 the Admirals to desist from exacting from the Pasha the surrender of the Turk, ships; and they should continue to use measures of coercion to produce that result, and would be authorized to detain all merchant ships sailing under the Egyptian flag. *Inclosure II. Supplementary Instruction to the Admirals.* Dieß höchst sonderbare Supplement lautet:

15 "If, when the Admirals receive these instructions, circumstances should have arisen to render the presence of the combined fleet immediately necessary at the Dardanelles, in the Sea of Marmora, or in the Bosphorus, the Admirals will of course postpone acting upon the other instruction of this day, until after the more pressing service shall have been  
20 accomplished; and if while they are carrying the other instruction of this date into execution, they should find that *the occupation of Constantinople by a Russian force*, or any other circumstances, would render it inexpedient to send to Constantinople the Egyptian or Turk, ships which they may obtain possession of at Alexandria, the Admirals in such  
25 case should be authorized to send such ships to be held in safe deposit in any other Turk. Port." ... [233, 234]

*The ConsuGeneral an Sout, Alexandria, July 16 ...* The Turk, fleet, under the command of the Capudan Pasha, arrived on the 14<sup>th</sup>, in order to place itself at the Disposal of Mehemet Ali. The Viceroy has said that he  
30 would not restore it to the Porte, until the Grand Vizier Hosrew Pasha should be removed from office, and the *hereditary* Gov. of the countries which he rules should be conferred on him. The Egypt. Army has received orders to retire behind the Euphrates. [234]

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (ree. Aug. 5) Paris, Aug. 2. 1839.*  
35 ... Admiral Duperré ... doubted the prudence (of a blockade of the Egyptian coasts), unless assured that the Russ. fleet from the Black Sea would not enter the Bosphorus of the French and Engl, fleet occupying a



position so distant from the Dardanelles. He was decidedly of opinion, that precautions should be taken by the Admirals to prevent the Egyptian fleet, or the Turk, fleet under the Capudan Pasha, from entering the Straits of the Dardanelles, with intentions hostile to the Sultan's Gov. at Constantinople ... [235]

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston (ree. Aug. 5.) Berlin, July 31, 1839.* ... the Russian Minister called upon me this afternoon ... His Exc. (der Russ) said: "We understand that the Engl, and French Gov. intend to propose that the Five Powers shall make a declaration of their determination to maintain the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire under the present dynasty, and that none of them would seek to profit by the present state of things, for the purpose of gaining any acquisition of territory. As far as the independence of the Turk. Emp. is concerned, and the latter proposition, that Russia, among the rest, should not seek to profit by the present state of things, the Emperor would instantly sign any instrument which would record such a determination on his part; but guaranteeing the integrity of the empire was another thing; that it perhaps might fall upon Russia at a moment most inconvenient to herself to be called upon, as the nearest neighbour, to bring back a rebellious vassal under the dominion of the Sultan, and the Emperor might be exposed to numerous inconveniences by entering into such a compact." [236, 237]

*Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 5.) St. Petersburg, July 27, 1839* ... Russia would not refuse her assent to the Pashalic of Syria being conferred for his life upon Ibrahim Pasha, if the Sultan should consent to such a demand. ||23| Die *vorhin* an Bourqueney u. durch ihn dem Sault mitgetheilten Instruction u. Supplement wörtlich nun definitiv erstattet vom For. Off. an die Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, d.d. August 5, 1839 ... (f. die United French u. Engl, squadrons) schickt sie denselben Tag an Granville, f. communication an Sault. [238-240]

*Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.* F. O. Aug. 6, 1839 ... Baron Werther will, no doubt, have already been informed that the French Gov. is of opinion that the defeat of the Turk. Army, the defection of the fleet, and the timidity of the Divan, ought to make no alteration in the course which the 5 Powers had intended to pursue before those events were known; and you will state to Baron Werther, that in that opinion H. M's Gov. entirely concur. "Those unfortunate events

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cannot in any degree diminish the great interest which Europe has in maintaining the Ottoman Empire in its integrity and independence as an essential element of the balance of power." [240]

*Col Campbell to Viscount Palmerston* (rec. Aug. 6) Alexandria, July 17, 1839, enthält die folgenden inclosures:

1) *Viscount Ponsonby to Col. Campbell Therapia*, July 5, 1839. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> inst., the Representatives of the 5 Great Powers were invited to meet the Ottoman Minister for For. Affairs (Nouri Effendi.), at his House on the Bosphorus ... Er sagte der Sultan habe determined to send one of the eminent men of his Court to offer the Egyptian Pasha pardon for the past, and assurance of favour for the future (of which the Sultan sent a decoration as the mark and evidence), and to promise that H. H. would confer upon the Pasha and his family the hereditary Gov. of Egypt... on the condition that Syria etc. should be immediately restored to the Sultan ... [241]

2) *id. to id. Therapia, July 7, 1839.* ... The statement comes from Admiral Lalande, who was visited by the second in command at the Ottoman fleet, Osman Bey, bearer of a message from Ahmed Pasha ... Ahmed Pasha asserts that the Sultan was murdered by Hosrew, now Grand Vizier, and Halil Pasha. That those persons intend to give up this Country to Russia; that it is necessary to oblige the Sultan to appoint another Ministry. [242]

4) *Col. CampbeU to Viscount Ponsonby Alexandria. July 16, 1839.* ... long conversation with Mehemed Ali (der engl., russ., Osterreich. Consul, der französische (Cochelet krank), the substance of which is detailed in the Résumé inclosed, (den 14. kam die Turk, fleet an.) ... On the 15<sup>th</sup> interview sämtlicher consuls m. Mehemet Ali ... the enmity between Mehemet Ali and Hosrew Pasha is too bitter to admit of any reconciliation; and ... Mehemet appears to feel that there cannot be any security for him, or any good understanding between the Sultan and him, so long as Hosrew Pasha is in power ... *Capudan Pasha* sagt zum Captain of the Sultan's steamer which conveyed Akiff Effendi from Constantinople: "I did not come here as a rebel, but seeing that the true way to save the empire was to come here, I have done so, as all the nation feels that the counsels of Mehemet Ali, and not those of Hosrew Pasha; can restore the Ottoman Empire." [243, 244]

Eingelegt in den Brief an Ponsonby:

2) *Brief summary of 2 interviews which took place between the Pasha of Egypt, and the Consuls-Gen. of the 4 Great Powers*

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, towards 5 o'clock in the evening, the Turkish fleet, with the Capudan Pasha on board, appeared in sight of Alexandria ... The Consul-Gen. of France, being kept at home by indisposition, had requested his Colleagues to speak in his name ... Mehemed Ali replied: "...As to the concession made by the Sultan, I do not consider it as 5 a mark of generosity on his part, but as an act of necessity. As long as Hosrew Pasha shall be at the head of affairs I must mistrust all his assertions ... How could I put faith in Hosrew who is my mortal foe? ..." In time of war, it was permitted to receive deserters ... In 2 days Akiff Effendi will set out again for Constantinople. He will be the bearer of a 10 letter of congratulation and of submission from me, to the new Sultan, Abdul Medjid. I shall also write a letter to Hosrew Pasha, in which I shall represent to him: 1) that the late Sultan Mahmoud made to me at one time, through the medium of Sarim Effendi, much more advantageous proposals than those which H. H. has now addressed to me, since he then 15 proposed to me the hereditary Gov. of Egypt, as well as that of the district of Seyda, and of the Sandjack of Tripoli. 2) that under the present circumstances, I ask for the hereditary Gov. of Egypt, with that of Syria and Candía, i. e. of all that I now possess, as I had previously announced. 3) that on this condition ... I will defend him (the Sultan) whenever and 20 against whomsoever he may wish ... I formally engage to restore the fleet, the moment my proposals shall have been accepted. ... If Hosrew Pasha removed from the direction of the affairs, I shall not hesitate to proceed to Constantinople presenting my homage in person to my Sovereign ... "Finally I declare to you, that if my proposals are not 25 accepted (sagt er zu den Consuls ) I will not make war, but I will maintain myself in my present position, and I will wait ..." In dem 2<sup>ten</sup> Interview, on the 15, sagt er wieder: Hosrew Pasha ... is detested by the whole nation ... I have just written a private letter to the Grand Vizier, in | [24] which I advise him to retire from affairs, and to tender his resigna- 30 tion ... [246-249]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 6) Alexandria, July 17, 1839.*

Captain Caillier, the aide-de-camp of Marshal Soult, reached Ibrahim Pasha on July 1, near Aintab, and delivered to him the order from 35 Mehemet Ali to suspend the advance of his army. Ibrahim Pasha then represented, that his actual position was not at all a military one, and moreover, that he could not there procure forage for his horses, on which Captain Caillier consented to his taking a position at Marash ... since then Ibrahim has received the order to evacuate the country to the east 40, of the Euphrates, and he has in consequence withdrawn all his troops f

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from Orfa and Bir, and has not now a single soldier beyond the Euphrates ... [250] *Inclosure. Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali* (1 Juillet 1839) ... (setzt seinem Alten auseinander, warum er nicht stehn bleiben konnte an dem Platz wo Caillier ihn traf.) [251, 252]

5 *Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 6) Alexandria, July 17, 1839.* ... The only army now in the Turk. Empire is that of Mehemet Ali, and the Porte is also without a fleet... Such is the influence of Mehemet Ali in the Turk. Empire, that he could raise up in his favour not only Constantinople, but every part of Turkey; and, if he desired it, he could,  
10 by those means, overthrow Hosrew Pasha at his will. [252]

*Inclosure 1). Viscount Ponsonby to Col. Campbell. July 5, 1839.* ... I never believed that Mehemet Ali would act otherwise than he has done. He must advance or he must fall. The Eur op. Powers will betray their own interests if they suffer him to advance. The conclusion seems to me clear.  
15 His power is a house of cards, and any of the Gov's can destroy it with a breath ...

*inclosure 2) Col. Campbell to Viscount Ponsonby, Alexandria, July 16, 1839.* ... the feeling of revenge towards Mehemet Ali that predominated in all his (the late Sultan's) actions, has, I fear, inflicted more evils on the  
20 Turkish Empire than many years of wise gov. can remedy. It was scarcely to be expected that a man of strong feelings like Sultan Mahmoud, could be brought to forget the humiliation to which he had been exposed in his former contest with the Pasha of Egypt ... Er (der alte Sultan) declared selbst "he would sooner become a vassal of Russia than relinquish the  
25 hope of revenge".... A reconciliation with Mehemet Ali... in my humble opinion, is almost all that is required for the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire. Mehemet Ali gave the first impulse to reform in Turkey. Under his administration, rapid progress has been made in civilisation, in education, and in the formation of an efficient army and navy. The recovery of  
30 the Holy Cities from the Wahabees, and the heavy expense he has incurred to keep Arabia in subjection, all these circumstances, which had rendered his name conspicuous among Mahomedans, contribute a claim to some consideration for himself and family ... His ambition has always been to restore his nation to its former power, and to place it in a situa-  
35 tion to resist encroachments ... [253, 254]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (ree. Aug. 6), Alexandria, July 17, 1839.* Mehmet Ali sagt. "Capudan Pasha would have been a traitor if he had given up his fleet to Russia, but that it was to avoid that, that he had

come to Alexandria, as a faithful subject of the Sultan, and to unite with him for the service of the Sultan, and for the good of the Ottoman Empire." [255]

*Viscount Palmerston to the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty. Aug. 7, 1839.* further instruction addressed to Admiral Sir Robert Stopford ... Sir Robert Stopford will not only call upon Mehemet Ali to deliver up the Turkish fleet, if it should be in any way under his control, but also enter into communication with the officers of the Turkish ships ... Sir Robert Stopford will not use force, unless he is so superior in strength as to put resistance out of the question ... not to employ force against the Turkish fleet, unless it should proceed to acts of hostility against its sovereign ... If Sir Robert Stopford should upon arriving at Alexandria, find the Turk, ships outside the harbour, and at the disposal of their own officers, and not dependent upon the will of Mehemet Ali... there would be no valid reason why Sir Robert Stopford should commit any act of hostility against the Egyptian ships ... (sandte diese Scheisse dem Granville zur communication an Soult.) | [255, 256]

[25] *Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (ree. Aug. 7) Paris, Aug. 5, 1839.* ... Ibrahim Pasha had determined, after his victory over Hafiz Pasha, to send a part of his army as far as Koniah, and that he had directed Solyman Bey to proceed with another corps to Malatia. ... Captain Caillier's representations induced him to order the corps which was to have marched upon Koniah, not to go beyond the district of Marash, and to recall Solyman Bey, leaving only a small force in Orfa and in Bir ... It was evident from the tone of Marshal Soult's conversation, that his first impression is not in favour of the adoption of the (v. Palmerston) proposed instructions. [257]

*Count Nesselrode to M. de Kisseleff (communicated Aug. 8 by M. de Kisseleff) St. Petersburg, 27 July, 1839.* ... Three possible contingencies occur to us: 1) Mehemet Ali may wholly and simply accede to the offers that have been made to him: in that case all difficulties will of themselves be removed. 2) Mehemet Ali may, without absolutely rejecting the terms of the proposed arrangement, endeavour to obtain more favourable conditions from the Porte. In this case, a negotiation between the 2 parties will be opened at Constantinople; and it will then be for the Representatives of the Allied Cabinets to lend their good offices whenever the Divan shall see occasion for them.

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3) Mehemet Ali may obstinately refuse all reconciliation with the Porte. If, contrary to our expectation, this latter supposition should turn out true, the Divan may consider itself justified in having recourse to the Allied Representatives for support in order to overcome the resistance of  
5 the Pasha; in such case we should think it right and necessary that the Great Powers should unite their efforts to compel the Pasha of Egypt to agree to an equitable arrangement, which shall have obtained at once the sanction of the Porte as well as the concurrence of all the Powers of Europe. [261]

10 *Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (rec. Aug. 9.) Vienna, July 30, 1839.* ... M. de Bouténeff had received a fresh instruction for transmission to Count Medem, directing him to address himself again to Mehemet Ali, and renew to him, in the Emperor's name, the menace, that if he overstepped the districts of Orfa and Diabekir, a Russian Army  
15 would enter Asia minor to oppose him ...

*Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (rec. August 9) Vienna, July 30, 1839.* A letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> inst. from Lord Ponsonby, informs me that Nouri Effendi and his colleagues say, that it is fit the Porte should settle the affairs of their country like Mussulmans, amongst each other, and  
20 avoid the interference of the Europeans, for which reason, terms of a more agreeable nature should be offered to Mehemet Ali. [262]

*Lord Beauvale schreibt an Viscount Palmerston (receiv. Aug. 9) d. d. July 30, 1839* er habe seine declaration dem Metternich geschickt, worin der Brit. Governor seinen Entschluss erklärt "to maintain the integrity  
25 and independence of the Turk. Empire under the present dynasty", keine "acquisition" od. "exclusive influence" gewinnen zu wollen etc. Beauvale schreibt: "*There is but one word in my declaration which is not authorized* by your Lordship's despatch: it is that of reciprocity of declarations between all the Powers. *Being in the french note*, and highly valuable in  
30 itself, I did not hesitate to adopt it." Diese bezügliche Stelle heißt: "The Brit. Gov. confidently anticipates, that this *declaration will be reciprocated* by the *other* Europ. Courts etc." (An selbem 23 July stellt Count St. Aulaire (fzs. Gesandter) ähnliches Schreiben dem Metternich zu. *Soult an Aulaire, d. d. Paris July 17, 1839* ... the Cabinets would effect  
35 something important towards the settlement of peace, by recording, in written documents, to be reciprocally communicated to each other, and which necessarily would not be long before they acquired a publicity more or less complete, the declaration of the intentions just mentioned ...  
[262-266]

*Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (ree. Aug. 9) Vienna, July 30, 1839.*  
Count St. Aulaire informs me, that Prince Metternich has declined to make common cause with France under certain circumstances in her demand for the passage of the Dardanelles saying, that it would destroy his position of the *juste milieu*, and consequently his means of usefulness. 5  
Count St. Aulaire is apprehensive, that this will create much irritation in the French Gov. It will be desirable to calm this as much as possible. The demand, if not made in concert with England, ought not to have been made at all; but they committed the additional error of announcing that I should be instructed to concur in it; *they obtained a sort of promise under this expectation, and when it was falsified*, it of course turned against themselves ... In consequence of this incident, the orders to the Austrian squadron to place itself under the command of Sir Robert Stopford will be modified, and it will preserve an independent position, leaning in doubtful cases more to the Brit. Admiral than the French one. | 15

[26] (*Inclos.*: Queries addressed by Count St. Aulaire to Metternich ... darin heißt's u. a. Syria left for life to Mehemet durch das arrangement of Kutayah ...) In der Antwort v. Metternich auf die Anfrage des St. Aulaire, d. d. *Vienna, July 24, 1839*: darin nichts v. Wichtigkeit. [266-270]

*Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (ree. Aug. 9) Vienna, Aug. 1, 1839* 20  
... disposition of the Turk. Ministers to get rid of our assistance ... [271]

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 10) Paris, Aug. 8, 1839.*  
... Soult sagt, da hostilities ceased, Egyptian troops withdrawn from the left side of the Euphrates etc ... "it would be rash and dangerous to have recourse to the extreme measure of firing upon the Egyptian fleet to obtain the immediate restoration of the Turk, fleet. Mehemet Ali pressed etc würde push further his victories by land, and exciting insurrection in Asia Minor as well as in the Europ. dominions of the Sultan ... This is the substance of the grounds on which Marshal Soult objected to adopt the instructions of H. M's Gov. proposed to give to the Admirals in the Levant ... the decision der french Gov. strengthened by the *wellfounded* apprehension, that the destruction of the Egyptian fleet by France would raise a clamour in this country, fatal to the existence of a Ministry under whose orders it had been effected." [272, 273]

*Id. to id. (ree. Aug. 12) Paris Aug. 9, 1839.* ... I have since received from the Marshal a copy of a telegraphic despatch from M. de Bourqueney, « stating that the Engl. Cabinet withdraws its first project of instructions, and will concert with the French Gov. fresh instructions to be drawn up

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within the limits traced in Marshal Soult's despatch to M. de Bourqueney  
... [273]

*Id. to id. (ree. Aug. 14) Paris, Aug. 12, 1839.* ... Soult sagt: "if we insist  
upon the restitution of more than Mehemet Ali will concede, we risk  
5 accelerating the crisis which we apprehend." [274]

*The Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 12)  
St. Petersburg, Aug. 3, 1839.* On Wednesday der French Ambassador  
called upon Nesselrode, to communicate die despatch of Soult on the  
affairs of Turkey; similar to that of which your Lordship received a copy  
10 from M. de Bourqueney. M. de Barante had a long conversation mit dem  
Vicechancellor upon the subject of the despatch; but he did not gather  
any intimation of what would be the formal reply of the Russ. Gov. ...  
M. de Barante did not conceal from the Russ. minister, that his Gov. had  
instructed the French Ambassador at Constantinople to make a demand  
15 for leave to pass the Dardanelles, and an offer of the services of the  
French squadron, to the Sultan, in case h. H. should require the as-  
sistance of any Europ. Power. [274, 275]

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 12) July 22, 1839*  
Darin:

20 *Inclos. M. Frederic Pisani to Viscount Ponsonby Pera, July 22, 1839.*  
The Porte is disposed to treat with Mehemet Ali on the following bases,  
proposed, as it says, by Prince Metternich ... 1) the Gov. of Egypt given  
hereditary to Mehemet Ali 2) the Gov. of the whole of Syria given to  
Ibrahim Pasha. 3) At the death of Mehemet Ali, Ibrahim Pasha shall  
25 have the Gov. of Egypt, and Syria shall again come under the immediate  
authority of the Porte, as was the case in former times. [280]

*Soult to Bourqueney. (communicated by Bourqueney) Paris, Aug. 6, 1839.*  
... Gegen die original instructions des Lord Palmerston, in London too  
much stress seems to be laid on the aggrandisement of Mehemet Ali, in  
30 consequence of always choosing to view that side of the question in light  
in which it would be if a European State were concerned ... (Mehemet  
could excite in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Albania, some revolt of a nature  
to bring on again the question of the *Russian* intervention ... sagt Soult  
vorher) ... but we must not exaggerate the evil; the Ottoman empire  
35 itself, divided administratively by stipulations to which the question of  
succession, however precise it might be, cannot give a character of real  
permanence; the Ottoman Empire, united, notwithstanding the more or



less durable distribution, by the powerful tie of manners and religion, will continue nevertheless to form, with regard to the European Powers, that great body ... overthrowing the Pasha of Egypt would effectually work the destruction of the Ottoman Empire ... ||27| ... Our policy at the present time, as from the commencement of this crisis, should take care 5 above all things, that Constantinople receives *no foreign protection but with our common concurrence*. Such are the objections to the proposition of the Cabinet of London. (*Palmerston's Ordre du Jour* an Stopford) obgleich umgemodelt nach Soult der weiter nichts will als requiring afresh the restitution of the Ottoman fleet, and in case Mehemet Ali should 10 refuse, in declaring to him that he must thenceforth consider the allied squadrons as solely and specially charged to repel every attempt made against the territory or the authority of the Porte. [285, 286]

*Soult to Baron Roussin* (Communicated by Baron de Bourqueney.) *Paris, Aug. 7, 1839.* 15

... neither France nor the other powers can approve of such exactions, (wie den v. Mehemet Ali an die Pforte jetzt gestellten) ... the answer of Great Britain ... u. Austria (to our declaration in favour of the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire) ... equally satisfactory ... The 3 Courts are unanimous in proclaiming the necessity of a *European* 20 *concert* for settling the affairs of the East. *Russia alone*, who had at first appeared to admit the expediency of such a concert, now *endeavours*, upon pretexts more or less specious, *to elude the consequences of a principle* she dare not openly contest. A status quo, destitute of sanction, and on that account exposed to fresh and sudden vicissitude, is incontestably 25 that which best suits the purposes of Russia in the Levant. It might therefore so happen, that a direct arrangement between the Porte and Mehemet Ali would be in conformity with her views ... Nouri Effendi seems to have come round to the policy of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg ... Do not for a moment lose sight of the military and naval attitude of 30 Russia in the Black Sea. In case of any movements on their part, appearing to you as indicating an intention to advance upon Constantinople, you will instantly communicate the intelligence to Admiral Lalande, who will take up a position with his squadron at Tenedos, to be ready to pass through the Straits of the Dardanelles, should the Russians enter the 35 Bosphorus ... [287, 288]

*Soult to Admiral Duperré.* (Communicated by Baron de Bourqueney) *Paris, Aug. 13, 1839.*

... execution of the plan agreed upon between the 2 Courts (Engl. - u. Fr.) ... the principle which the Admirals should never lose sight of is, 40

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that the object of the Allied Gov. being to restore the Ottoman fleet to the Sultan, and not to destroy it... I have already stated to you, M. l'Admiral, that the Commanders of the squadron should cause sufficient forces, for the successful execution of the service, to follow them to the  
5 coast of Egypt. It appears to me, indeed, evident, that while they unite in this point a number of vessels amply sufficient to provide for every contingency, they will be able to leave a sufficient number of vessels on the coast of Asia minor to observe with proper efficiency what may pass on that coast, and to obtain, *in the case anticipated*, i. e., if the *Russians*  
10 should appear at Constantinople, or if the Allied squadrons should be summoned by the Sultan, *the free entrance into the Sea of Marmora*. It must not be forgotten *that this*, after all, *is the principal question*, and that, consequently, watchfulness on this point should be incessant.  
[289, 290]

15 *Viscount Palmerston to Earl Granville*. F. O. Aug. 16, 1839. ... the confidential communications ... between the French and Brit. Cabinets, upon the subject of the orders to be given to the 2 squadrons in the Mediterranean, in consequence of the defection of the Turk, fleet etc ... by some means or other, been made known to the French newspapers ... the  
20 communication ... converted into a handle ... for hostile and unfounded attacks against Great Britain ... serious inconveniences must arise from such breaches of official confidence, and ... such premature disclosures of negotiations between the 2 Gov., must tend to render difficult any combined and concerted action between them. [291]

25 *Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston* (Rec. Aug. 17) *Therapia*, July 26, 1839. I expect that, long before this arrives in London, the settlement between Mehemet Ali and the Porte will have been made ... [292]

*Id. to id.* (Rec. Aug. 17) *Therapia*, July 29, 1839. I inclose copy of a Collective Note signed by the Representatives of Austria, France, Prussia,  
30 Russia, and myself, on the 27<sup>th</sup>. The Note was yesterday presented by the Dragomans of the 5 Powers to the Sublime Porte, and cheerfully and gratefully received by the Grand Vizier, on the 28<sup>th</sup> ... Baron Stürmer receiv. Prince Metternich's instructions on the morning of the 27<sup>th</sup>, and the Note, signed, was ready in the evening ... It was most fortunately  
35 welltimed, for the Ottoman Ministers had actually resolved upon concessions to the Egypt. Pasha, which would have been at this moment on their way to Alexandria ... Darin:

*Inclosure I. Collective Note of the 5 Powers, d. d. Constantinople 27 July, 1839* ... "agreement among the Five Great Powers on the question of the East is secured, and (die Undersigned) ... invite it (the Porte) to suspend any definitive resolution without their concurrence, waiting for the *effect* of the interest which those Powers feel for it." | 5

[28] *Inclosure 3. Mehemet Ali to the Grand Vizier, July 16, 1839.* [292-297]

*The Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. Aug. 19) St. Petersburg, Aug. 10, 1839.* ... Count Nesselrode expressed his surprise and regret that Achmet Pasha should not have 10 been met, and stopped by our Admiral before he reached Alexandria, and that the French Admiral Lalande had allowed him to pass with the Turk, fleet unopposed ... He expressed his regret that the French and English combined fleet had repaired to Tenedos instead of remaining off Alexandria ... the whole of the Turkish affairs would be settled quietly 15 and satisfactorily, *provided the French fleet was kept out of the Dardanelles.* He said the demand (viz. on the French Ambassador at Constantinople to *pass* the Dardanelles) was *illimed* and *illadvised*, and that he was sorry it had been made. ... Repeated ... that the Russ. Gov. ... most desirous of avoiding any military demonstration, or any neces- 20 sity for carrying into execution the main clause of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi ... [300]

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. Aug. 18) Paris, Aug. 16, 1839.*

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. Aug. 19) Berlin, 25 August 14, 1839.* ... those who take an interest in the affairs of the East, and who are acquainted with their present state, as to the cause fürchten die consequences ... für den peace of Europe, should Mehemet Ali be driven to desperation by the adoption of coercive measures against him, before all means of conciliation had been resorted to. It is considered 30 that, as long as he is on amicable terms with the 5 Powers, he is comparatively harmless, and unable to light the flames of war; but, if reduced to extremity, he has it instantly in his power, by advancing his troops on Constantinople, to create a complication of evils throughout Europe, either by still further *destroying the power of the Sultan and exciting a* 3¼ *revolution at Constantinople, or by bringing down the intervention of a Russian armed force.* [302]

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*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston* (Rec. Aug. 21) *Paris, Aug. 19, 1839*. ••• Aus einer despatch v. M. de Bourqueney. Sout sieht die proposition made by Palmerston ... that, in the event of Mehemet Ali's *refusal to restore the Turk, fleet to the Sultan, the Brit, and French Consuls should*  
5 *withdraw from Alexandria* ... Marsh. Sout decidedly objected; he said, that the departure of the French and Brit. Consuls, *while those of Austria and Russia remained*, could not fail to inspire in the mind of Mehemet Ali the hope, that *Russia and Austria no longer acted in concert with Great Brit, and France*, and might encourage the Pasha to persevere in insisting  
10 upon conditions of peace with his Sovereign, which the appearance of a continued union between the Great Powers of Europe might induce him to give up ... Count Medem put this morning into the hands of Sout a copy of a despatch from Nesselrode, in which the Russian minister adverts to the communication made to him by M. de Barante, with  
15 respect to the entrance of the combined French and Engl. Fleet into the Sea of Marmora; he answers that communication *as if* the Ambassador had announced as positive the intention of the combined fleet to pass the Dardanelles, and not as contingent upon the Russ. Fleet entering the Bosphorus; and proceeding upon this hypothesis, Count Nesselrode  
20 *dwells upon the necessity of the Russ. Gov. adopting measures for the independence of Turkey*, and on the danger arising therefrom to the peace of Europe ... Sout antwortet dem Medem ... that he was perfectly willing that both ends of the canal of Constantinople should be closed against the entrance of for. ships of war. [303]

25 *Count Nesselrode to Count Medem* (Communicated by M. de Kisseleff, Aug. 19, 1839) *St. Petersburg Aug. 6, 1839*. ... It is necessary that all their (der cabinets of Europe) efforts should be concentrated at Alexandria. To direct their action towards Constantinople, would be to direct their efforts to the side from *which the danger* does not come. There, neither  
30 diplomatic agitation is necessary, nor the display of military force ... If the appearance of a foreign fleet in the Sea of Marmora should come to aggravate the state of affairs at Constantinople ... the Emperor's minister would formally protest against the flagrant violation of the principle of the closing the Dardanelles ... rule ... which it has *engaged itself* to us  
35 invariably to maintain; he would declare that he regarded this *violation* as contrary to the independence of the Porte; he would immediately suspend his functions, and quit Constantinople ... the Emperor dann take *such measures as he might consider necessary to re-establish the Porte in its entire independence*, and to *enable it* to fulfil its engagements towards us,  
40 free from all foreign constraint ... when a Russian squadron anchored

in the Bosphorus in 1833, its presence could neither be considered as a threat directed against the French Navy, nor as a blow struck ||29| at the commercial prosperity of Marseilles. But if, at the present moment, a French squadron should make its appearance at Constantinople, its presence would react directly upon Odessa and Sevastopol. The French Ministry is too enlightened and too just not to acknowledge the difference of position ... just pointed out. In 1833 we protected the Porte without offering any affront to the Western Powers. In 1839, the foreign squadrons, without protecting the Porte, would come to insult Russia. [308]

10

*Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Bulwer. Aug. 20, 1839.* ... As the 5 Powers have now, by the note of the 27<sup>ult.</sup>, placed themselves *collectively* in the situation of mediators between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, it is the opinion of H. M's Gov., that all further steps in this matter ought to be taken, if possible, collectively by the Five; and that the decision as to such steps should emanate from *Vienna ... the central point of the negotiation*, instead of from London or Paris ... [309, 310] (Nun seine Instructions an Stopford etc, worin es heißt: The 5 Powers having agreed to concert together upon the affairs of the Levant... Vienna being the place where the communications and negotiations on these affairs will centre ... u. wodurch die ersten instructions etc. cancelled) [312, 313]

*Viscount Palmerston to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Aug. 24, 1839.* ... Admiral Sir Robert Stopford should not be precluded from executing any instructions given to him by Lord Beauvale, and arising out of the negotiations of Vienna, provided the measures to be taken shall be such as Sir Robert Stopford may think himself to have adequate means to execute, even *though the French Admiral should not receive corresponding instructions from his own Gov., or from the French Ambassador at Vienna.* [314]

*Viscount Palmerston to Lord Beauvale. Aug. 25, 1839* ... the Five Powers are bound by honour and good faith towards the Sultan, to recover for him his fleet before any further negotiation takes place with Mehemet Ali for a final arrangement, because the possession of the Turk, fleet gives to Mehemet Ali an advantage in any such negotiation which he ought not to be permitted to retain ... [315, 316]

35

*id. to id. d. id. d.* ... The Brit. Gov. is still of opinion, that there can be no security for the peace of Europe, as far as that peace depends upon the

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affairs of the Levant, until Syria shall have been restored to the direct rule of the Sultan ... [317]

*Bulwer to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 29) Paris, Aug. 26, 1839.* From a conversation I had this morning with Marshal Soult, I am induced to  
5 apprehend, that the French Gov. will now throw obstacles in the way of the selection of Vienna as the place for settling and agreeing upon the affairs of the East; nor will it allow its Ambassador the power to give instructions to the French Admiral in the Mediterranean ... [321]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (ree. Aug. 29) Alexandria,*  
10 *July 28, 1839 ...* A corvette of the Viceroy has been sent to Salónica, with 5 of Mehemet Ali's confidential officers, who are charged with those letters for the Pashas of Salónica, Roumelia, Silistria, Albania, Monastir, and other places ... Mehemet Ali must be well aware of the co-operation of those Pashas in his views and feelings, when he openly sends a corvette  
15 and confidential officers to them ... Mehemet Ali told me 3 days ago ... he hoped still to see Turkey sufficiently strong to support itself against any efforts of Russia ... Wird bestehn auf seiner demand for the removal of Hosrew Pasha, nor will he accept of less than the hereditary succession in his family, of Egypt, all Syria, and Candia, for which he would pay  
20 tribute. ... If the Porte were now to obtain possession of Syria, on the same footing as before its occupation by Mehemet Ali, that country, would for many years be the scene of the direst anarchy and misery, and all European commerce would be destroyed and rendered impossible. ...  
Darin:

25 *Incls. I.) Mehemet Ali to Hosrew Pasha.* ... It is not Mehemet Ali only who mistrusts you, but I may say the whole nation ... By retiring from office, consent to free the higher classes, and the nation in general, from a painful state of mistrust ... [322-325]

*Incls. II. Circulation addressed by Mehemet Ali to the chief Pashas of*  
30 *the Porte.*

*Mr. Consul Werry to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 29) Damascus,*  
*August 2, 1839 ...* the malcontents of the lower ranges of the Taurus, extending from and above Marash to Byass, and northward along the Adana province, as well as south to Beylan and Alexandretta, never can  
35 be kept in check without Marash is placed in the hands of whatever Power is called on to govern the Aleppo Pashalic: and unless this post is put in the hands of the Egyptian Gov., a warfare will always exist on those mountains. Bir and Orfa, considered in the same sense, are essential, though not to a parallel extent as the occupation of Marash is, to

control the mountaineers, ||30j to constrain, control, and govern the Arab tribes east of the Euphrates, and prevent them from passing that river on the line to Dair; the occupation of the 2 former places by the Sultan's troops rendered the southern desert frontier of the Aleppo Pashalic a continual field for the incursions and depredations of the Arab tribes, 5 and prevented the Egypt. Gov., with all the irregular Bedouin Cavalry force employed on that service, from protecting it effectually. ... Marash is immediately requisite to the Egyptian Gov. for the proper governing and protection of the lower ranges of the Taurus; while allowed to remain in the hands of the Sultan, it offers the means of immediate aggression on 10 the Egypt, territory, both in a military and insurrectionary point of view. ... [337]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 29) Alexandria, Aug. 7, 1839, Darin eingeschlossen:*

*Inclosure 4.) (Minute of Interview of the Consuls-General with Mehemet 15 Ali... on Aug. 6 ... to represent him the Collective note addressed to the Sublime Porte on July 27 by die Representatives der 5 Powers) ... Mehmed sagt: I have but 2 words to say—the hereditary gov. of Syria, and the removal of Hosrew Pasha. With respect to the first, it had been already granted to me; and Saib Effendi was on the point of being sent to 20 Alexandria with this news, when the mediation of the Great Powers caused his departure to be stopped. It is Hosrew Pasha himself who gives me this intelligence, (inclos. 6 Briefe des Hosrew Pasha an Mehmet) and Moufid Bey has received a verbal assurance of it from His Highness in ; person ... [341-344] 25*

*id. to id.; Alexandria, Aug. 7, 1839 (ree. Aug. 29) ... Were Syria to be yielded in hereditary succession to Mehemet Ali, the case would be very different from that of Wallachia, Moldavia etc., as not only do the Princes of those provinces profess the Greek religion, but they are also, from their geographical position, exposed to the powerful and immediate 30 action of Russia;... Syria ... in quite a different position in those respects ... the cession of Syria, in succession to Mehemet Ali, would not only be much to the advantage of Syria and of European commerce, but would also tend to strengthen the Ottoman Empire itself ... [345]*

*Inclosure. Col. Campbell to Viscount Ponsonby. Alexandria, Aug. 6, 35 1839.*

*... The interference of the European Powers in the ultimate settlement , of Eastern Affairs, which the Pasha was the first to invoke, will now ": furnish a satisfactory guarantee against any views of aggrandizement he t.*

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may have been supposed to entertain; and the army he possesses is in such a state of efficiency as to supply a sufficient force for the immediate protection of the Empire, and ample materials for the reorganization of the Turkish army on a more improved system. But unless Hosrew Pasha  
5 be removed, it will be in vain to look for any improvement in the management of affairs at Constantinople. He has inherited all the inveterate enmity of Sultan Mahmoud against Mehemet Ali, without any of his virtues, and would not hesitate to plunge the country into all the horrors of civil war, in order to gratify his ambition and revenge. On the other  
10 hand, Mehemet Ali and his son Ibrahim Pasha are now looked up to by the nation as the only individuals possessing the means of regenerating the Ottoman Empire. [346]

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Receiv. Aug. 29) Alexandria Aug. 8, 1839.* Inclosed ... a letter from Mehmet Ali to Hosrew Pasha. ...  
15 This letter appears to me of great importance, inasmuch as it proves that the Sultan had already accorded to Mehemet Ali all his demands, when the mediation of the Great Powers put a stop to any further proceedings. |  
13 X f *Inclosure. Mehemet AH to Hosrew Pasha. (Aug. 6, 1839)*

... I entreated His Highness ... that... he would of his generosity grant  
20 2 wishes.... When my Chargé d'affaires received directions to join me, he obtained the favour of being admitted to kiss the feet of H. H., our Magnanimous Lord, who said to him "Moufid Bey, make my compliments to the Pasha; I grant the prayer which he has addressed to the throne, that he may obtain the inheritance of Egypt with its depend-  
25 encies, and I have given orders that this affair may be arranged" ... Afterwards, when the Dignitaries of the Sublime Porte were assembled in council, they repeated dasselbe to Moufid Bey ... One of my two wishes is granted ... I hope ... that the second (Hosrew Pasha's Absetzung) will also be granted ... In that case I do not think that it will be  
30 necessary to have recourse to the mediation of the Five Great Powers. [347, 348]

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Aug. 30) Therapia. Aug. 6. 1839* Schreibt mit Bezug auf den obigen Brief v. Mehemet Ali: "It  
35 „ would seem that Mehemet Ali has so long duped and deceived people, that he has no apprehension of their discovering the grossest fallacies ... To dictate the *dismissal* of the Grand Vizier is no great evidence of his submission to the Sultan." [348] (Wie oft haben die Whigs dictirt the "Dismissal" des englischen "Grand Visier" Peel etc Derby etc)



*Id. to id.* (Ree. Aug. 31) *Therapia* Aug. 8, 1839. The Representatives of the 5 Powers were invited to meet his Excellency Nouri Effendi this day at Kalender, where we all attended in consequence. The business was to communicate to the representatives the letter from Mehemet Ali to the Grand Vizier, in which ... calls for dessen retreat ... from his post ... 5 The representatives all expressed the hope that the Sultan would treat the demand with contempt; they all spoke of the Grand Vizier as the man best fitted etc [352, 353]

[*Mr. Frederic Pisani to Viscount Ponsonby* Pera, July 31, 1839 ... It is the opinion of the Porte, that as soon as the letters which it intends to send to 10 Alexandria shall have arrived there, and Mehemet Ali shall have seen the answer of the Grand Vizier, he will infallibly send orders to Ibrahim to march upon Constantinople to strike a great blow. The Porte is convinced that neither letters, nor language, nor even menaces are capable of arresting the intention of Mehemet Ali. That being the case, the Porte 15 thinks proper to delay the departure of the steamboat; for it is certain, it says, that Mehemet Ali, greatly enraged at the answer which it is proposed to give to him, would march his land forces against Constantinople, a measure of which the results are incalculable.) [351]

*Viscount Ponsonby to Admiral Sir Robert Stopford.* *Therapia*, Aug. 7, : 1839 ... I fear Ibrahim will have the advantage if he acts with promptitude ... [354]

*Mr. Bulwer to Viscount Palmerston* (Ree. Sept. 2) *Paris*, Aug. 30, 1839. ... If the French Gov. does not oppose the (Vienna) Conference, it will ... endeavour so to limit its object as to strip it of all dignity ... The french 25 ministry will say ... "though we ourselves do not say that... ;321 we will not in the end adopt coercive measures, we do not pledge ourselves to do so, nor indeed can we do so, until the whole question,—that portion of it relative to the Dardanelles and Russia, as well as that portion which relates to Egypt and Mehemet Ali,—is decided" ... I should improperly 30. convey my meaning if I left it to be imagined that there is so powerful a disposition in the French Cabinet; to take part with Mehemet Ali, that nothing would be attempted to obtain, even by peaceable means, the ; restitution of the Sultan's vessels, and the abandonment of a portion of the Viceroy's demands, more especially that portion which relates to 3| Hosrew Pasha's dismissal. On the contrary, I believe that such concessions, as a means of arranging the remaining question of Syria, would be willingly obtained, and will be seriously and sincerely tried for by the French Cabinet, through representations to Mehemet Ali; but through representations only. [355, 356]

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*Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby. Foreign Office. Sept. 4, 1839.*  
... H. M's Gov. approve the language which you etc. held to the Turk.  
Minister at the 8 of August, respecting the demand made by Mehemet  
Ali that the Grand Vizier shall be dismissed from his office. [357]

5 *Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (ree. Sept. 5) Therapia,*  
*Aug. 13, 1839.* Last night I had a message from the Grand Vizier ...  
desiring me to request the Brit. Admiral to free Salónica from a brig of  
war sent there by Mehemet Ali, and from which 5 or 6 emissaries had  
been disembarked, sent by the Pasha of Egypt to excite the People to re-  
10 volt against the Ottom.Gov. ... the 5 Powers were under obligation  
to protect the Subl. Porte against the Pasha of Egypt, sagt Ponsonby to  
Baron Stürmer, now that the Great Powers had, as it were, prohibited  
the Porte from making peace with Mehemet Ali... , and thereby had left  
the Sublime Porte exposed defenceless to the attempts of the Pasha?  
15 The Internuncio replied in the affirmative, and agreed with my proposi-  
tion to recommend to the Commanders of the Brit, and French Naval  
Forces to free Salónica from the presence of the Egyptian ship of war. ...  
The French Ambassador ... *approved* etc. and would write to Admiral  
Lalande ... I wrote instantly a letter to the Commander of H. M's  
20 squadron. ... In my letter to the Grand Vizier, I recommended that he  
should seize and confine the emissaries of Mehemet Ali at Salónica, but  
that he should not take any severer measures ...

*P. S. Aug. 14* I inclose a report just arrived from H. M's Consul at  
Salónica ...

25 *Inclosure 2 Baron Roussin to Viscount Ponsonby. Therapia, 13 Aug.,*  
*1839* ... *I had* already sent my letter to Rear-Admiral Lalande, that he  
may act exactly like Admiral Stopford, in order to turn back the Egyp-  
tian vessel from its mission to Albania ... |

j331 *Inclos. 5) Mr. Consul Blunt to Viscount Ponsonby Salónica, Aug. 9,*  
30 *1839.* ... Yesterday, a brig-of-war ... entered the Gulf ... was Egyptian,  
and sent by Mehemet Ali ... the brig from Egypt has on board persons  
from Mehemet Ali, for Mustapha Pasha, the Roumeli Valisi, Adrianople,  
Scodra, and other places ... [357-360]

••• *Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston. (Ree. Sept. 6) Alexandria, Aug. 15,*  
35 *1839* M. Cochelet observed, that it was mentioned in his private letters  
received that morning from Paris, that official instructions were to be  
sent to the Brit, and French Admirals in the Mediterranean, to proceed  
with their squadrons to Alexandria, to demand that the Turk, fleet be sent  
back to Constantinople. Mehemet Ali replied, that the moment that

the 2 squadrons should appear in sight of this place, he would send immediate orders to his son Ibrahim Pasha to move forward with his army, and he requested M. Cochelet to write that such was his determination; and the Pasha, then addressing himself to Capt. Wakefield, requested him to say the same thing to Admiral Sir Robert Stopford. The Pasha then added, that if Hosrew Pasha was dismissed, he would immediately send the Turk, fleet to Constantinople, and that he would send his son Said Bey in his corvette along with the fleet. The Pasha repeated what he had already said, and requested us to consider it as his positive determination. [360]

10

*Col. Campbell to Viscount Palmerston (Rec. Sept. 6) Alexandria, Aug. 16, 1839.* ... The intention expressed by Mehemet Ali to occupy Orfa and Diarbekir as a security against future aggression on the part of the Sultan, was communicated to the Consuls-General of all the 4 Great Powers ... but your Lordship will have learnt from my subsequent reports, that after the death of Sultan Mahmoud, Mehemet Ali no longer looked upon the occupation of Orfa and Diarbekir as a necessary guarantee, and had instructed Ibrahim Pasha not to send any troops in that direction. ... With respect to the event contemplated in your Lordship's despatch of the 9<sup>th</sup> of July, to Lord William Russell, of a Coalition between Russia and Mehemet Ali against the Sultan, in which case a Russian force from Gumri might unite with the troops of Mehemet Ali at Diarbekir, and invade Asia Minor, I feel myself justified in assuring your Lordship, from the knowledge I have acquired of Mehemet Ali's character and views, that such a combination could never be anticipated with any degree of satisfaction or tranquillity by a man whose constant ambition has been to relieve his country from the yoke of Russia, and who has too much experience of the friendship of that Power, not to feel that, by having the Russians, instead of the Turks, for neighbours, he would have no security for the possession of Syria or even of Egypt ... Mehemet Ali thinks that the deference he has shown for the opinion of the Great Powers of Europe, in avoiding a conflict with Sultan Mahmoud, as long as his personal safety would allow him to do so, and the moderation he has evinced in not taking advantage of the successes he has lately obtained etc. would entitle him to the favourable consideration der Great Powers ... no arguments will induce him to recede from the assertion of those claims etc. ... [361]

Aus den "Instructions given by the Sultan to Hafiz Pasha, found at the Turkish Head-Quarters after the battle of Nezib" geht hervor, daß der Sultan ihn nicht nur aus Syrien u. Arabien vertreiben, sondern auch Egypten erobern wollte. [364, 365]

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yir. *Bulwer to Viscount Palmerston* (Ree. Sept. 9) Paris, Sept. 6, 1839. ... communication ... Count Appony recently made to Marshal Soult, expressive of the regret of the Cabinet of Vienna, at Admiral Roussin's having suggested the arrival of a combined squadron at Constantinople, 5 and strongly deprecating such a measure. ... Prince Metternich would see with great pleasure the withdrawal of the French and English Fleets from the entry of the Dardanelles ... the Austrian Commander, at all events, would have orders to retire to Rhodes. Marshal Soult ... replied ... that he was not at this moment disposed to change the present position of the 10 French fleet, which occupied that position with the view of bringing France as near Constantinople as Russia was at Sevastopol; the intentions of the French Gov. being those which he had frankly stated at St. Petersburg, viz., to enter the Sea of Marmora on the one side, if the Russians entered the Bosphorus on the other. ... let me ask Count (sagt 15 Soult zu Appony), what your Gov. would do in 2 cases etc: 1) If the Russians, our fleets being withdrawn as you desire, arrive at Constantinople, or if Mehemet Ali, advancing, threatens that capital, how will your Cabinet view these things, and what course would it take respecting them? 2) If we enter into coercive measures, as you seem to desire, 20 against the Viceroy of Egypt, will the Gov. of Austria join and bear a proportionate part in such measures? Count Appony sagte he was unable to answer, Soult fragt to apply to his Gov. respecting these questions; until they were answered ... the Cab. of France could make no etc explanations. [365, 366]

25 *Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Bulwer. F. Off. Sept. 10, 1839.* ... On the 4 inst... long conversation with Count Sebastiani upon the Affairs of the Levant ... As Count Sebastiani and I have always spoken and acted towards each other with unreserved confidence, we did not attempt to disguise, in this conversation, that the feelings of the Brit, and French 30 Gov's, with regard to the course to be pursued by Mehemet Ali, are somewhat different, and that the Fr. Gov. leans much more towards the Pasha than the Brit. Gov. does; but Count Sebastiani did not seem to be prepared for the statement made in the last passage of my despatch to Lord Beauvale, of Aug. 25, that H. M's Gov., although most anxious 35 to continue to act in these matters in concert with the other 4 Powers, is yet ready, if such unanimity cannot be obtained, to act in concert with a less number than the four, if any reasonable and effectual course of proceeding should be assented to by such a proportion of the Five as may give to that course adequate moral weight, and sufficient physical 40 means. Count Sebastiani observed that this was a very important deci-

sion, and implied a separation from France, and a dissolution of the alliance of the 5 Powers. I said that it did not appear to me to go to that extent; that the Five Powers might continue agreed as to their general policy and ultimate views, but might not be all equally willing to take an *active part in each* of the particular and successive measures by which the result was to be arrived at: ... the unwillingness of France ought not to prevent the other Powers from moving on towards the attainment of an object deeply important to the general interests of Europe; and I said, that although England is most anxious to continue to act in concert with France, yet England is by no means bound to stand still in concert with France, if France should decline to move forward, while other Powers are willing to advance ... the objects ... the restitution of the Turk, fleet, and the limitation of the authority of Mehemet Ali to the hereditary gov. of Egypt ... Count Sebastiani said that the Fr. Gov. entirely concur in thinking these 2 objects desirable ... aber with respect to the fleet, the Fr. Gov. would prefer suspending the demand ... and leaving it in the hand of Mehemet Ali, until the 5 Powers should have come to an agreement, both as to the nature of the final arrangement to be proposed to Mehemet Ali and as to the means of obtaining his assent to that arrangement ... he seemed to imply, that France is disinclined to be a party to any active measures of coercion against Mehemet Ali ... I stated ... that the 5 Powers are bound in honour not to delay, and to omit no effort to restore that fleet to the Sultan. ... With regard to the means of coercion which could be employed to obtain restitution of the fleet, I said it is true that we could only employ for that purpose the same means which we might have to employ afterwards for enforcing a final arrangement; but that did not strike me as constituting an objection. ... H. M's Gov. ... of opinion, that the Five Powers ought to demand the restoration of the fleet in the first instance, and without further delay, and not to postpone that demand till the Five shall have come to an agreement as to the nature of the final arrangement ... the demand should be made by the Consuls-General of the 5 Powers at Alexandria, and by a Collective Note ... If "not" fully ... and unconditionally complied within 24 or 48 hours, ... the Five Con.-Gen. ought immediately to leave Alexandria, and to embark on board the Fleet ... dann a certain time, perhaps 4 or 5 days... to be given to the Pasha ... to meditate upon the full import of this first demonstration of the displeasure of the Five Powers. ... Wenn dies ohne Effect, then the allied squadron should prevent any vessel under Egyptian flag, either of war or of commerce, from entering or leaving any Egyptian or Syrian port ... If it was thought necessary to render the pressure of this measure more stringent, the allied

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squadron might seize and detain all merchant-ships under the Egyptian flag ... If after a certain time, perhaps a month or 6 weeks, this pressure should prove inadequate, the next step of coercion might be the occupation of the Island of Candia by a Turkish force, protected by the allied  
5 squadron ... Count Sebastiani did not seem to think that his Gov. would altogether like to join in such a course; and he treated the measures as being some of them insufficient, and others as likely to overshoot their mark ... But Count Sebastiani said, he thought, his Gov. would feel the most serious objections to an attempt upon Candia, because any endeav-  
10 our to overthrow the Pasha's authority there, and to establish that of the Sultan, would lead to an outbreak among the Greek population of the island, for the purpose of uniting themselves to the Kingdom of Greece. For, he said, the Greeks form a majority in Candia, and the Turk, minority are all for Mehemet Ali, so that nobody would be for the Sultan ...  
15 supposing, that Ibrahim should make a dash at Constantinople, and march at once and rapidly by Koniah upon Broussa, a small detachment of the allied squadron placed in the Bosphorus, would make it impossible for him to cross over, and would *probably*, by its presence, maintain tranquillity in Constantinople ... [366-370]

20 *Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Sept. 13) Therapia, Aug. 20. 1839.* ... Mehemet Ali is inclined to adjourn his demand for the deposition of Hosrew. It will appear ... there is a strong desire to settle the question without the intervention of the Great Powers. [371]

*Inclosure 2 Therapia. Aug. 21, 1839. Viscount Ponsonby to Nouri Effendi*  
25 ... the Sublime Porte is bound by positive engagement to the Five Great Powers, not to enter into negotiation, nor to make any arrangement with the Pasha Mehemet Ali, without the knowledge and consent of the Great Powers. [372]

*The Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Sept. 13)*  
30 *St. Petersburg, Aug. 22, 1839.* ... Count Nesselrode told me yesterday, that he had that morning received a courier from London; that the Engl. Gov. took the same view of the affairs of Turkey as that of Russia; that the French Gov., in reply to a proposition made by your Lordship, had refused to be a party to coerce Mehemet Ali ... Count Nesselrode  
35 says, there is nothing to impede Ibrahim Pasha's victorious career, and no reason why Mehemet Ali might not be, at this moment, master of Constantinople ...

*Id. to id.* (Ree. Sept. 13) *St. Petersburg. Aug. 27, 1839.* ... At Count Nesselröden desire, I called upon his Excellency this morning, when he informed me that the Emperor, having *reason* to believe that the Brit. Gov. was ||36| better disposed towards Russia, and entertained a more favourable and just opinion of his views and policy than heretofore, was desirous of improving this disposition to the utmost, and of strengthening the good understanding, which so happily existed; and therefore, as the Russ. Ambassador was absent from London, His Imperial Majesty had directed Baron Brunnow to visit London, previously to repairing to his post at Stutgardt, to communicate fully with your Lordship, and to offer the most unreserved explanations of the views and policy of this country upon any point upon which your Lordship might wish to have them, or which you might desire to discuss. Count Nesselrode said, that unless he were himself to proceed to London, it would not be possible for the Emperor to send thither any person more thoroughly acquainted *with the foreign affairs and policy of Russia than Baron Brunnow.* [375]

*Id. to id (Ree. Sept. 13) St. Petersburg, Aug. 28, 1839.* ... Count Nesselrode said, ... "You (England) may be sure that we shall not desert you in such a case." (nämlich gegen Egypt.) (Zeigt ihm Count Medem's despatch, daß Soult direct gegen armed intervention etc.) ... At the whole, I found Count Nesselrode yesterday more at his ease upon the state of the Turco-Egyptian Question, than he had been, because, *although it appeared more difficult than ever to settle without some act or demonstration of armed intervention*, there appeared a chance of Russia and England acting in concert. Count Nesselrode showed me M. de Kisseleff's report of your Lordship's *assent to changing from Vienna the seat of communications, and negotiations that the Turk, affairs may require.* *Darin*

*Inclosure. Extract of a Despatch from the Count P. Medem to Count Nesselrode, reporting a conversation with Marshal Soult.* ... The Marshal communicated to me the purport of the instructions which he had just forwarded to the Consul-General of France at Alexandria. He is to begin , by declaring to Mehemet Ali, that his demand respecting the dismissal of Hosrew can in no wise be taken into consideration, and that France , advised him to abandon pretensions of this sort, as well as to restore the , Ottoman Fleet ... Soult: I do not hesitate to declare to you, that we will ? never lend ourselves to such an act of aggression, for this reason that ' we are unwilling to run the risk of irritating the Viceroy to the degree, - perhaps, of driving him to renew offensive operations against Turkey, - which would bring on complications too serious for us not to wish to -

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avoid every thing of a nature to bring them about. Moreover, a blockade would be of no use, and would be entirely to the disadvantage of our commerce. In order to wrest Syria from the Viceroy, it would be necessary to send a considerable army thither, which it is neither our intention  
5 nor in our power to do. Russia alone would be in a situation to undertake such an entreprise ... At the time when Count Nesselrode signed the despatches which you have just communicated to me, ... he was still ignorant of the result of the battle of Nezib, of the destruction of the Ottoman Army, and of the defection of the Fleet. No doubt he has since  
10 modified his opinions as to the extent of concessions to be made to the Viceroy of Egypt... [376-378]

*Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Sept. 13) Vienna, Sept. 3, 1839.* ... differences between the terms demanded by the Porte in its official Note (addressed to the Représentatives of the 5 Powers) of the  
15 22<sup>d</sup> of August, and those dwelt upon in your Lordship's despatch of - the 25<sup>th</sup> of August. The Official Note *makes no objection to granting Syria for life* to Mehemet Ali, provided it is not given hereditarily. ... [379]

*Mr. Bulwer to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Sept. 15) Paris, Sept. 13, 1839.* ... I should conclude, that the French Gov. were most desirous to come  
20 to some arrangement with us in respect to the position of the Viceroy of Egypt, to which that personage might be prevailed upon, through a representation that it was for his own interests, to consent ... [381]

*Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Sept. 16) Vienna, Sept. 8, 1839.* ... One great difficulty of engaging Russia to make common cause  
25 with us, arises, in his (Count Ficquelmont's) opinion, from the aspect of menace towards her assumed by England and France; and he (Ficquelmont) went into long reasonings to show the expediency of removing the fleets from the mouth of the Dardanelles, j [382]



|37| Martens. (Continuatio)

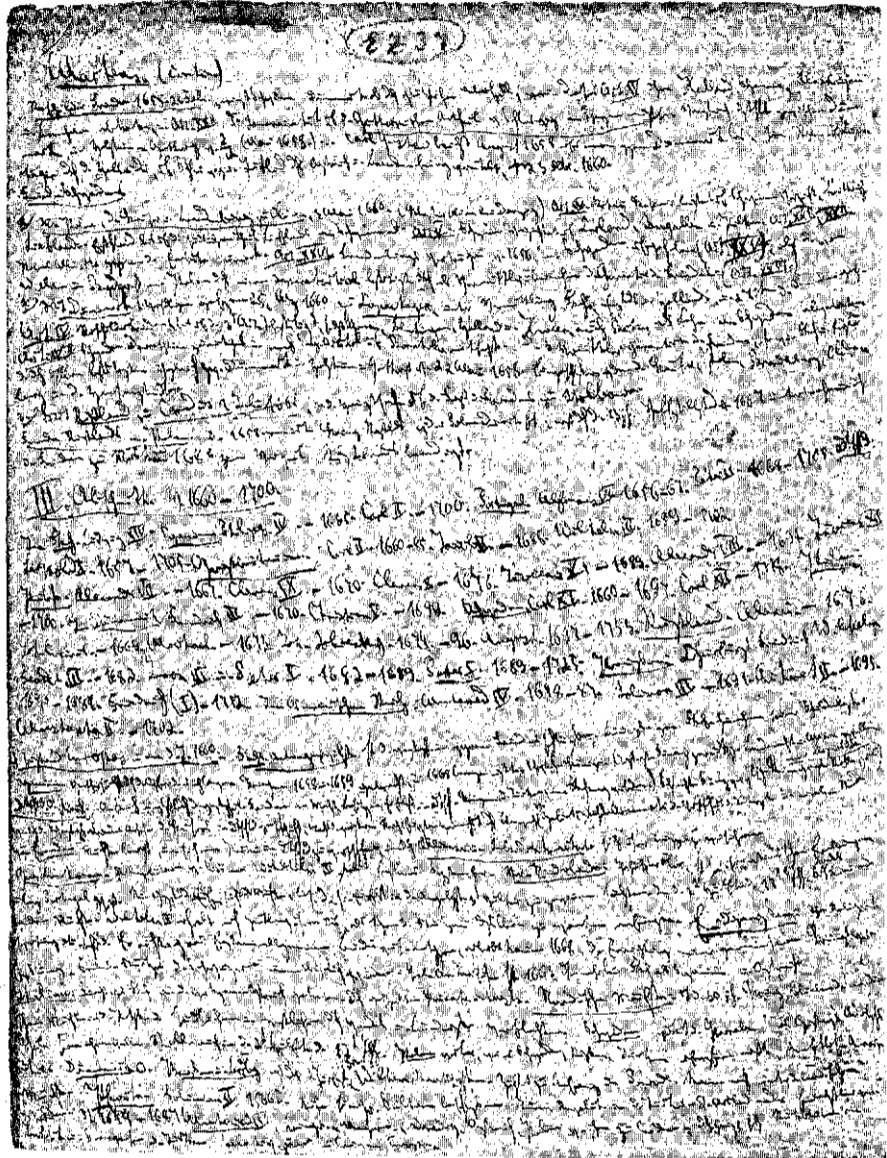
*Roschilder Friede 1658.* 26 Febr. zwingt Schweden Dänemark ab durch plötzlichen Ueberfall, worin dieses *Art. IV* ihm Halland, Schonen, Bleckingen u. Bornholm abtreten, u. *Art. XXII* der Souverainetät auf den *Gottorpischen Antheil v. Schleswig entsagen mußte.* (Vergleich deßhalb 5 zwischen Dänemark u. Holstein-Gottorp v. <sup>2</sup>/<sub>11</sub>Mai 1658.) ... Carl Gustav bricht August 1658 aufs neue gegen Dänemark los, seine Plane auf Copenhagen durch die Holländer, auf Schleswig u. Jutland durch Oestreich u. Brandenburg vereitelt, f 23 Febr. 1660.

*Friede Schwedens*

10

1) *Mit Polen, dem Kaiser u. Brandenburg zu Oliva,* 3. Mai 1660. (Kloster Oliva bei Danzig) *Art. IV.* Johann Kasimir leistet auf Schweden Verzicht, tritt auch Liefland u. Esthland bis auf den südlichen Theil Lieflands an Schweden ab. *Art. V.* Schweden verzichtet auf Curland, Semgallen u. Pilten. *Art. XXI, XXII.* Polens Allirte geben das Eroberte 15 zurück. *Art. XXVI* Brandenburgs Verträge v. 1656 m. Schweden aufgehoben (*Art. XXV*), aber die von Welau u. Bydgost m. Polen durch einen Separatartichel bestätigt. *Frankreich* als Vermittler übernahm die Garantie des Friedens. (*Art. XXVI*)

2) *Mit Dänemark:* Verhandlungen angefangen 25. März 1660 zu *Copen-* 20 *hagen,* unter Vermittlung Frankreichs, Englands u. Hollands u. 27<sup>ter</sup> [Mai] der Frieden gez. *Art. IV.* Roschilder Frieden (bis auf den 3<sup>ten</sup> Art.) bestätigt, so daß Schonen, Bleckingen, Halland u. Hween, auch Bohus als Lehn an Schweden abgetreten. *Art. XVII.* Schweden Drontheim zurückgab u. nach Sep. Artikel auf Bornholm entsagte. Die 3 Vermittler garan- 25 tiren den Frieden, so wie Frankreich u. England den durch denselben .. bestätigten Vergleich zw. Dänemark u. Holstein-Gottorp v. 22 Mai 1658. *f* Eingeschlossen wurden der Kaiser, Polen, Brandenburg, Oldenburg u. .. die Hansestädte.



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3.) Mit *Rußland* zu *Cordis 1 Juli 1661*, in der Hauptsache auf den Fuß des Friedens zu Stolbowa.

*Friede Rußlands m. Polen.* Der 1658 erneuerte Krieg Rußlands wider Polen dauerte fort: erst durch den 13jährigen Waffenstillstand v. 1667 5 unterbrochen u. durch den Frieden zu Moskau 1686 zum Vortheil Rußlands beendet. [72-75]

### ///. Abschnitt. Von 1660-1700.

In *Frankreich.* Ludwig XIV. *Spanien.* Philipp IV. -1665. *Carili.* -1700. *Portugal.* Alfonsus VI 1656-67. Peter II. 1668-1705. *Deutschland.* Leopold I. 1657-1705. *Großbritannien.* Carili. 1660-85. Jacob II. -1688. Wilhelm III. 1689-1702.

*Päbste.* Alexander VII. -1667. Clemens IX. -1670. Clemens X -1676. Innocenz XI -1689. Alexander VIII. -1691. Innocenz XII -1700. In *Dänemark* Friedrich III -1670. Christian V. -1699. *Schweden.* Carl XL 15 1660-1697. Carl XII -1718. *Polen:* Joh. Casimir. -1669. Michael. -1673. Joh. Sobiesky. 1674-96. August. 1697-1733. *Rußland.* Alexei. -1676. Feodor III. -1682. Iwan III u. Peter I. 1682-1689. *Peter I.* 1689-1725. *Preussen:* Churfürst Friedrich Wilhelm 1640-1688. Friedrich (I) -1712. Im *Osmanischen Reich:* Muhamed IV. 1648-87. Soliman III. -1691. Ahmet II. -1695. Mustapha II. -1702.

#### a) Zustand Europas um das J. 1660:

*Frankreichs Uebergewicht* seit den westphälischen u. pyrenäischen Friedensschlüssen. Bündnisse gen Frankreich. Zunahme seiner Schuldenlast. *Spanien.* Geschwächt durch die Opfer die es nach langen Kriegen 1648 25 u. 1659 gebracht, u. 1668 bringen mußte. Schwache Könige. Äusserste Finanzzerrüttung. Landmacht u. Marine verfallen. *Deutschland.* *Oestreich.* Oestreich eingebüßt durch den westphälischen Frieden an Macht, Besitzungen, Einfluß in Deutschland. Kriege m. den Türken (m. Frankreich eng verbunden.) Schlechte Finanzverwaltung. Keine grosse Rolle spielt 30 unter Leopold I. Wie durch den Westphälischen Frieden Ansehn des Kaisers in Deutschland geschwächt, Macht der größten Reichsfürsten vermehrt durch Anwachs v. Gebiet, stehende Armee etc. Die Verschiedenheit des Interesse der einzelnen Stände v. *fremden* Mächten benutz, um sich eine Parthei in Deutschland zu verschaffen, um durch *Allianzen* 35 u. *Subsidentractate* sich ihrer Truppen zu versichern.

*Großbritannien.* Die Revolution v. 1688 m. Wilhelm III stellt festes System her. *Vereinigte Niederlande:* Ihr höchster Flor, seit sie ihrer ostindischen Erobrungen über Portugal gewiß. Nun Gegenstand der Eifersucht der Mächte, bes. da sie Einfluß in die Angelegenheiten 3' Völker zu gewinnen suchten. In der 2' Hälfte des 17' Jhh. Aufkommen des Handels 5  
anderer Mächte. Wilhelm III erhielt noch Zeitlang ihren Ruf, als schon die Stützen desselben zu wanken anfangen. *Eidgenossen:* Ihre Religionspaltung etc. steht der Errichtung einer festen allgemeinen Bundesverfassung entgegen, erlaubt kaum 1668 die Errichtung einer gemeinsamen Kriegsverfassung. Fremde Stütze den Schweizern unentbehrlich geworden. Viele Cantone suchen seit 1663 diese mehr bei Frankreich als Spanien u. Oestreich. 10

*Italien.* Furcht vor Frankreich an die vor Spanien u. Oestreich getreten. Durch gespaltne Private intrests. *Nordische Mächte:* Seit dem 30jährigen Krieg blieben die nordischen Mächte in das Interesse der süd- 15  
lichen u. westlichen durch Handel u. Bündnisse verflochten. *Schweden* verdankt den Generalen aus Gustav's Adolphs Schule seine ehrenvolle Rolle auch in der 2' Hälfte des 17'Jhh. *Polen* verlor, was es Schweden, Russen, Türken aufopfern mußte, kraftlose Anarchie. *Dänemark* Ditto. *Preussen u. Brandenburg* erst durch Churfürst Friedrich Wilhelm Staats- 20  
system. Zählt zu Anfang der Periode kaum noch unter die nordischen Mächte. *Pforte.* Soliman II 1566 die Reihe siegreicher Sultane beschloßen. Innre Revolutionen in der Türkei. Dem Ausland minder furchtbar geworden. Seit 1648-1687 *MuhamedyV,* kriegerisch, Ungarn, Venedig, Oestreich, Polen v. ihm zu leiden; doch zeigt sich Rückbleiben in Taktik 25  
u. Seewesen der Türken relativ zum übrigen Europa. |

[38] Da seit Ende des 16'Jhh. die Seekriege in Handelskriege ausgeartet, wurden Caperrüstungen häufiger u. dem Handel der Neutralen verderblicher. Diesen zu schützen, wuchs, nach wenigen schon vor dem westphälischen Frieden vorhandnen Beispielen, die Zahl der Handels- 30  
verträge, worin, m. Abweichung vom Consolato del mare, der Grundsatz aufgestellt, daß freies Schiff freies Gut mache. ... Veränderte Kriegsverfassung machte den Abstand der immer zum Kampf bereiten Mächte der 1' Grösse v. denen noch merklicher, die nur als Allirte einer großen Macht od. Bundes auftreten, od. sich unter dem Schutz anderer Staaten 35  
passiv zu halten suchen mußten. ... Das vorzüglich in dem Haag zahlreich versammelte Corps diplomatique bildete hier gleichsam einen permanenten Congress: überhaupt mehrten sich die ständigen Gesandtschaften an jedem der grössren Höfe. [76-85]

b.) Von 1660-79.

*Brieven van de Witt.* Amst. 1725. *Le Comte d'Estrades, Lettres, mémoires, et negotiations de,* beste Ausg. Londres 1743. *comte Henry Bennet d'Arlington lettres du,* (Utrecht 1701, 1706); *The works of Sir William Temple.* (London 1740) *M. de Gain-Montagnac. Mémoires de Louis XIV* etc. Paris 1806. (t. I-IV)

*Fortsetzung des Kriegs Spaniens gegen Portugal;* muß m. Peter II Frieden zu Lissabon zeichnen, 1668, 13 Febr., worin Portugal als freier Staat behandelt, alle Erobrungen bis auf Ceuta in Africa herausgegeben. *Portugáls Friede m. den Niederländern erst 1669 völlig, so daß jeder im Besitz des Eroberten blieb.*

*Krieg Englands wider Holland.* Carl II 1665 bricht m. Holland, läßt sie auch [durch] den Bischof v. Münster bekriegen. Holländer schliessen *Frieden zu Breda 1667, 31 Juli* auf Fuß des *uti possidetis.* Holland erlangte einige Befreiung v. der Navigationsakte u. wichtige Vortheile hinsichtlich des neutralen Handels, versprach aber, in den britt. Gewässern vor der britt. Flagge die Segel zu streichen. *Frankreich* schloß 31 Juli 1667 seinen besondern Frieden, worin ihm Acadien zurückgegeben. Auch *Dänemark* v. selben Datum besondern Frieden m. England.

*Einfall Frankreichs* in die span. Niederlande, Mai 1667. 23 Jan. 1668 Triple-Allianz gen Frankreich zwischen *Großbritannien, Schweden u. Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande.* Dadurch bewirkt *Aachner Frieden* v. 2' Mai 1668. Fzs. Einfall in die *Vereinigten Niederlande* 1672, v. England unterstützt u. vermochte Schweden durch einen Traktat neutral zu bleiben. Reichskrieg u. Allianz wider Frankreich, dann auch wider Schweden. (Juni) ... Auf dem, unter Vermittlung des Pabsts u. Englands, seit 1676 zu Nimwegen versammelten zahlreichen Congreß, nutzten die franz. Gesandten die Verschiedenheit der Zwecke der Mitglieder der grossen Allianz so schlaue, daß sie den allgem. Frieden hinderten u. mit jedem Feinde bes. schlossen. *Saint-Didier: hist, de la paix de Nimegue.* 1676-9. Paris. 1680 ... [86-92]

*Holland 1678 26 Juli* zeichnet zu *Nymwegen Separatfrieden* m. Frankreich. Großbrit. übernahm die Garantie; 17 Sept. 1678 m. Spanien, worin die ganze Franchecomté, nebst verschiednen Plätzen in den Niederlanden an Frankreich abgetreten, m. Kaiser u. Reich 1679, 5 Febr., wodurch Frankreich entsagt auf Philippsburg u. behält Freiburg, verspricht dem Herzog v. Lothringen sein Herzogthum zurückzugeben wie es vor 1670 bestand, tritt auch die Stadt Toul m. Bann u. Hoheit ab, sollte dagegen Nancy m. seinem Bann u. einen Kreuzweg durch Lothringen,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Meile

breit, m. voller Souverainetät erlangen; Uebrigens der Münsterische Friede bestätigt u. England als Vermittler mit eingeschlossen. Die bedungne Genehmigung des Friedens durch Reichsschluß erfolgte 23 März 1679. Aber Herzog v. Lothringen weigerte sich, die f. ihn verabredeten harten Bedingungen einzugehn, daher Frankreich noch vorerst in dem Besitz seines Herzogthums blieb. 5

*Reichsfrieden mit Schweden zu Nymwegen* 1679 5 Febr. Der Osnabrückische Friede zur Grundlage genommen u. als Grundgesetz bestätigt. Beide Theile entsagten allen diesem Frieden entgegen laufenden Bündnissen, u. Kaiser u. Reich versprachen den übrigen Feinden Schwedens keinen Beistand zu leisten, auch dessen Fortsetzung des Kriegs nicht zu hindern. Dem Herzog v. Holstein-Gottorp versprach der Kaiser f. s. Reichslande die kaiserliche Protection. Spanien in diesen Frieden mit einbegriffen. 10

*Frankreichs u. Schwedens Friede m. Braunschweig-Celle u. Wolfenbüttel* zu Nymwegen, 5 Feb. 1679: Die Herzoge v. Celle u. Wolfenbüttel versprachen das Bremische gleich nach geschloßnem Generalfrieden zurückzugeben, bis dahin aber es zu schützen u. neutral zu bleiben. Schweden überließ an Braunschweig-Lüneburg die Probstei u. Vogtei Dorwern, das Amt Thedinghausen u. alle Rechte u. Einkünfte die ehemals den Stiftern Bremen u. Verden in den Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Ländern zustanden. Frankreich versprach bei Räumung des Bremischen den Herzogen Rthlr. 300,000 zu zahlen. Osnabrück u. alle Stände des Niedersächsischen Kreises in den Frieden m. einbegriffen. 20

*Frankreichs Friede m. Münster zu Nymwegen* 1679, 29 März. Bischof entsagt allen Verbindungen gen Frankreich u. Schweden, verspricht Neutralität, dagegen v. Frankreich 100,000 Rthlr. 25

*Schwedens Friede m. Münster ditto ditto* Bischof giebt, was er im Bremischen besitzt, an König, sobald verlangt, einstweilen schützt es, dagegen v. Schweden 100,000 Rthlr. *Frankreichs u. Schwedens Friede m. Churbrandenburg zu St. Germain en Laye*, 1679, 29 Juni. Art. V Churbrandenburg giebt an Schweden alles ihm Genommne zurück, Art. VI entsagt allem fernem Beistand an Dänemark in diesem Krieg. Art. VII Schweden cedirt an Brandenburg den Theil v. Schwedisch-Pommern jenseits der Oder m. Ausnahme v. Damm u. Golnow. Art. XII Schweden behält die Souveränität über die Oder. Art. IX Schweden entsagt s. beseßnen halben Antheil an den Zölln zu Colberg u. andren Orten des brandenburgischen Pommerns. 30

*Friede Dänemarks m. Frankreich zu Fontainebleau* 2 Sept. 1679. Art. V Dänemark soll alle v. Schweden eroberten Orte, bes. Landskron, Heisingburg, Marstrand u. die Inseln Rügen u. Gothland zurückgeben; dem Herzog v. Holstein-Gottorp seine Länder u. Souveränität herstellen. | 40

[39] *Friede Dänemarks m. Schweden zu Landen.* 1679. 26 Sept. Beide Theile geben einander alle abgenommenen Orte zurück. Wegen Beschwerden über Mißbrauch der Zollfreiheit im Sund soll Vergleich geschlossen werden, (geschah unter fzs. Vermittlung 8 May 1680.) Nach Art. XVII soll  
5 zwischen beiden genaue Vereinigung geschlossen werden. An eben dem Tag Heirathscontract Königs Carl XI m. der dänischen Prinzeß Ulrica Eleanora unterzeichnet, am 7 Oct. zu Lunden Defensivallianz zwischen den 2 Kronen.

*Friede Schwedens m. den Vereinigten Niederlanden zu Nymwegen*  
10 *1679, 12 Oct.* Die vorigen Bündnisse v. 1640, 1656, 1667 bestätigt, doch wegen des Handels besondere Punkte verglichen. (Art. IV) England in diesen Traktat begriffen u. um seine Garantie ersucht.

*1679 Aug.* Zwischen Schweden u. Spanien kein förmliches Friedensinstrument, sondern eine v. Great Britain als Vermittler vorgeschlagene  
15 Friedenserklärung v. beiden Kronen acceptirt, worüber der Vermittler ein Certificat ausstellte. [93-100]

c.) *Von 1679-1697.*

*Comte d'Avaux:* *Negotiations en Hollande depuis 1679-1688.* Paris. 1752. T. I-VI. *Jo. Ch. Lunig* *sylloge pub. negotiorum.* Frankfurt 1694.  
20 (1674-93) *Jo. Vine. Lucchesini* *historiarum sui temporis.* Romae 1725-38. T. I-III. (1678-1700)

*Neuer Krieg Frankreichs wider Spanien u. das Reich.* Auf Wilhelm's III v. Oranien Betrieb bahnten mehre einzelne Bündnisse den Weg zu dem grossen Defensivbündnisse, das *den 6 Februar 1683* zwischen dem Kaiser,  
25 Spanien, den Vereinigten Niederlanden u. Schweden im Haag. - Veranlaßt durch Frankreichs Unterjochung der Reichsritterschaft u. Reichsstädte im Elsaß, durch (1680) Anlegung v. Reunionskammern zu Breisach, Metz, Besançon, durch (1681) mitten im Frieden erfolgte Ueberrumpelung v. Straßburg u. durch neue Ansprüche auf angebliche  
30 Dependenz der ihm v. Spanien abgetretenen Orte in Flandern, Hennegau u. Namur. - Nachdem Frankreich Luxemburg bombardirt hatte, ihm 11 December 1683 v. Spanien der Krieg erklärt, indeß noch am Reichstag über die Maßregeln wider Frankreich deliberirt ward. Frankreich zieht Dänemark zu sich über u. Churbrandenburg. Großbritannien noch f. es,  
35 Kaiser in Ungarn u. 1683 wider die Türken beschäftigt, Spanien im Krieg in Catalonien u. den Niederlanden unglücklich, das mit ihm alliirte Genua Mai 1684 bombardirt, muß die Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande sich m. Frankreich über den Plan eines 20j. Waffenstillstands vergleichen

(1684, 29 Juni), den Reich u. Spanien annehmen am *15 August 1684*. Während desselben, gab Reich zu, sollte Frankreich Straßburg, Kehl, u. alles bis den 1. Aug. 1681 Reunirte behalten, u. nur keine weitren Ansprüche machen. Mit Spanien verabredet, daß Frankreich Luxemburg, Beaumont, Bovines, Chimay behalten, doch was es seit dem 20 August eingenommen, zurückzugeben. Italien eingeschlossen, m. Ausnahme v. Genua, das *1685, 12 Feb.* harten Frieden eingehn u. sich demüthigen mußte. ... Nach scharfer Züchtigung durch Ludwig XIV 1682-5, müssen die afrik. Raubstaaten Friedensschlüsse mit ihm machen.

*Neue Händel m. Frankreich.* Ludwig XIV verletzt bald den 20j. Waffenstillstand, unterstützt die Herzogin v. Orleans gegen Pfalz-Neuburg 1685, durch Widerruf des Edicts v. Nantes (1685 22 Oct.) die protestantischen Mächte gegen ihn ... auf Wilhelm's III Betrieb geschlossenen Bündnisse Hollands m. Brandenburg (23. Aug. 1685), Brandenburgs m. Schweden (10 Feb. 1686) u. m. Oestreich (7 Mai), grosse Association der Kreise u. Stände zu Augsburg (1686, 9 Juli). ... Ludwig XIV will dem Erzstift Köln 1688 m. Gewalt einen Churfürsten aufdringen, Landung v. Wilhelm III in England (1688, 6 Nov.) - neuer Krieg wider Frankreich, der sich über Deutschland, Niederlande, Irland, Spanien, Italien, auch ausserhalb Europa ausbreitete, Frankreich zugleich Land- u. Seekrieg zu führen.

*Grosse Allianz wider Frankreich.* Im Sept. 1688 bricht Ludwig XIV gegen das Reich los, besetzt mehre Reichslande, läßt nach am 25 Januar 1689 erfolgter Kriegserklärung des Reichs die Pfalz u. das Trierische schrecklich verheeren; erklärt den Krieg wider die Holländer 26 Nov. 1688, wider Spanien 15 April 1689, worauf England, im April, eng verbündet m. Holland, ihm den Krieg ankündigt. 12 May Bayern, Chursachsen u. Holland m. Oestreich durch eine grosse Allianz verbündet (wobei sie im Separatartikel Oestreichs Rechte in Hinsicht der künftigen span. Succession aufrecht zu erhalten versprachen); am 23 Oct. treten Großbritannien, Savoyen, Spanien der grossen Allianz bei (doch nicht dem Separatartikel). Frankreich sucht vergebens die nordischen Mächte zu sich überzuziehn.

*Seekrieg.* Die 1689 in Irland angelandeten fzs. Truppen mußten nach 2 Siegen Wilhelms 1690 capituliren. Grosser Sieg der Engländer u. Holländer bei la Hogue 29 Mai 1692, entschied ihre Uebermacht zur See. Frankreich büßt auch ein in Ostindien u. Amerika.

*Landkrieg in Deutschland, den Niederlanden, Spanien.* Seit der Bataille bei Fleurus (1690, 16 Juli) fast jeder Feldzug in den Niederlanden Franzosen siegen unter Luxembourg (bis dieser 1695 |) Gen Spanien seit 1691 an den Grenzen, u. 1694 durch Noailles in Catalonien mehre Plätze erobert; 1697 plündert Frankreich (gegen Span.) Carthagen in Amerika:



*Krieg in Italien.* Catinai. Siege v. 1690<sup>4</sup>. Frankreich in Besitz v. fast ganz Savoyen. Der geheime Tractat wegen Casal 1695 eröffnet ||40| hier den Weg zum *Privatfrieden mit Savoyen*, 1696, 29 Aug. zu Turin geschlossen, worin Herzog alle s. Länder u. selbst Pignerol zurückerhielt, 5 dafür in Frankreich sollte er Neutralität f. Italien auch m. dem Kaiser u. Spanien verschaffen, die in dem *Traktat zu Vigevano* 1696, 29 Aug. zu Stande.

*Friedenscongress zu Ryswick.* (Seit 1693 fruchtlose Friedensversuche.) unter Schwedens Vermittlung 1697. Kaiser bewilligt ihn nur aus Furcht 10 vor dem Abfall der Seemächte. *Congress 9 Mai 1697* eröffnet. Mit den Seemächten das meiste schon insgeheim durch Portland u. Büfflers bei Hull im Hennegau verglichen. Nach erfolgter Einwilligung Spaniens, zeichnet Frankreich 20 Sept. 1697 m. *Holland, England, Spanien* 3 bes. Friedensinstrumente. Kaiser u. Reich mußten nun unter Schwedens Ver- 15 mittlung den Frieden auf die ihnen zuletzt noch angebotnen Bedingungen am 30 Oct. annehmen ... Die deutschen Reichsstände schickten zum Congress eine Reichsdeputation v. 32 Mitgliedern aus den 3 Reichscollegien ex paritate religionis, die jedoch zu den Conferenzen nicht unmittelbaren Zugang erhielt.

20 *Friede Frankreichs m. den Vereinigten Niederlanden.* (1697, Sept. 20) Unter Schwedens Garantie. Alle alten u. neuen Ansprüche v. beiden Seiten gegen einander aufgehoben. Pondichery zurückgegeben. Zugleich Marinetractat, worin einige Handelsvortheile f. die Engländer.

*Friede Frankreichs m. England.* (1697, Sept. 20.) *Art. IV.* Ludwig XIV 25 verspricht Wilhelm III im Besitz seiner Staaten nicht zu beunruhigen, noch seinen Feinden zu helfen. *Art. XIII* Alles Abgenommne, selbst Oranien, zurückgegeben. *Art. VIII* die Streitigkeiten an der Hudsonbay Commissarien zu übertragen Schweden in den Frieden eingeschlossen.

*Friede Frankreichs m. Spanien.* (1697, Sept. 20) Garantirt v. Schweden. 30 Spanien erhielt alles Eroberte in Catalonien zurück, u. gegen Abtretung einiger Dependenz v. Tournay, Charlemont u.s.f. auch alles seit 1681, in den Niederlanden Reunirte od. Eroberte m. Cassation der Reunionsurtheile. (Art. IV-XIV.)

Alle 3 Mächte bedingen Friedensherstellung Frankreichs m. Branden- 35 burg v. 1679, bestätigen Turiner Frieden, *kein* Beistand an Kaiser u. Reich, wenn diese die fzs. Friedensvorschläge nicht annehmen. [101-109]

*Frieden Frankreichs m. Kaiser u. Reich.* (30 Oct., 1697) Frankreich, *ausser Elsaß* alles im Reich durch Krieg od. Reunionen occupirte zurück; kraft der nach dem 4<sup>1</sup> Artikel eingeschobnen Klausel sollte in dem 40 Zurückgegebenen die katholische Religion in statu quo bleiben. *Art. VIII* Anspruch des Herzogs v. Orleans durch Schiedsrichter entschieden, (ge-

schah 1702 durch den Pabst als Obmann; Churfürst gegen 300,000 Scudi v. allen Ansprüchen der Herzogin v. Orleans frei.) *Art. XLIV.* Fürstenberg auf Cöln zu entsagen. *Art. XVIII-XX.* Straß bürg abgetreten an Frankreich. *Art. XVI* dagegen Kehl, Freiburg, Breisach, Philippsburg dem Reich u. Ständen zurück, Rheinfluß beiden Theilen zum Gebrauch 5 frei bleiben, dieser durch keine neuen Zölle od. sonst zu hemmen. *Art. XXVIII, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV.* Herzog v. Lothringen in alle Länder, die sein Vetter 1670 besessen, m. Vorbehalt v. Saarlouis, Longwic, u. eines unschädlichen Heereszug wieder eingesetzt. - Wegen der Clausel des IV Articiel weigerten die meisten protestantischen Reichsfürsten die 10 Unterschrift; auch am Reichstag erfolgte 1697, Nov. 26, Ratification der Protestanten nur m. Vorbehalt.

## 2.) Händel der Pforte mit den christlichen Mächten Europens. 1660-1700.

(*Ricaut* histoire des 3 derniers empereurs Turcs depuis 1623-1677, traduit 15 par M. Briot. à la Hay. 1709. T. I-VI.)

a) *Kriege wider Ungarn, Venedig u. Polen bis 1676.*

Sultan Muhamed IV fing 1661 Krieg wider Ungarn u. Georg Ragozci, wider Polen u. Venedig an, in dem 1664 geschloßnen 20j. Waffenstillstand m. Oestreich blieben Großwardein u. Neuhäusel in türki- 20 sehen Händen u. Siebenbürgen dependent v. der Pforte. Mit Venedig endigte der Krieg durch dessen Verlust v. Candien 1669, m. Polen 1676, das Caminieck, die Ukraine u. Podolien aufopferte.

b) *Neue Kriege der Pforte seit 1683 (De la Croix* guerre des Turks avec la Pologne, la Moscovie et la Hongrie, la Hay. 1689. 8.) 25

Bald nach dem Nimweger Frieden verleitete Frankreich die Pforte zu einem neuen Krieg. Trotz des 1681 auf 20 J. erneuerten Waffenstillstand m. dem Kaiser, verband sie sich m. Töckely wider Ungarn. Krieg bricht 1683 los: 2 Sept. Sobiesky vor Wien; Venedig verband sich 1684, Polen nach bestätigtem Frieden m. Rußland 1686, näher m. Oestreich, 4 f. die 30 Pforte höchst unglückliche Campagnen u. gehäufte innre Insurrectionen: nun tritt auch Peter I 1690 als Feind der Pforte auf. Prinz Eugen Kommando der Oestreich. Armee u. bei Zentha gesiegt (1697, 11 Sept.) auch v. Persien hart ||411 die Pforte bedroht: Vermittlung der Seemächte u. Oestreichs Absichten auf Spanien vermögen den Kaiser nach dem Ryswicker 35 Frieden, m. der Pforte Waffenstillstand.

γ.) *Carlowitzer Friedensschlüsse 1699.26 Jan.* Zwischen Oestreich u. der Pforte auf 25 J. auf die Bedingung daß während desselben der

Aus Georg Friedrich von Martens: Grundriß ... (Fortsetzung)

Kaiser Siebenbürgen, Slavonien, u. die Landschaft Batschka, die Pforte aber Temeswar behalten solle. An demselben Tag zu Carlowitz Friedensschluß der Pforte m. Venedig u. Polen. Dieses erhielt Caminieck, Podolien u. die Ukraine zurück, jenes behielt das eroberte Morea, Rußland, 5 das schon 1698 (25 Dec.) 2j. Waffenstillstand eingegangen, schloß 1700 (13 July) Frieden auf 30 J., kraft dessen es das eroberte Asof behalten sollte.

"Stato Militare dell Imperio Ottomano incremento e decremento del medesimo del Sgr. Conte de *Marsigli* in Haga. 1732. fol." [111-113]

#### IV. Abschnitt. Von 1700-1740.

*M. de Lamberty* Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du 18<sup>me</sup> siècle contenant les negotiations etc. T. I-XTV. la Haye. 1724. (1700-1718) *Roussel*: Recueil historique d'actes etc depuis la paix d'Utrecht. Amsterdam. 1728-52. (t. I-XXI.) *Mercure* historique et politique de la Haye. (1686 15 Apr.-1782) Die Europäische Fama. (1702-34) *A. Faber*. Europ. Staatskanzlei. (1697-1760) [114]

#### Zustand Europa's um das J. 1700.

*Spanien*: Auf den Hund, bes. nach dem erschöpfenden Krieg v. 1697. *Frankreich*: Absicht auf Spanien. Edict v. Nantes 1685. decline. *Oestreich*: *Deutschland*: Oestreich allein Frankreich längst nicht mehr gewachsen. Handelte sich bei dem Kampf um den Antritt der span. Monarchie um Spanien, Niederlande, Italien, aussereurop. Besitzungen. Deutsches Reich schlechter Alliirter. [116] *Großbritannien*: Nun Hauptnebenbuhler Frankreichs. *Vereinigte Niederlande*: Nur noch 2<sup>e</sup> Stelle unter den 25 Seemächten. Behauptet ihr einmal erworbenes Ansehn, solange in enger Vereinigung mit Großbritannien. *Portugal*: Peter II durch seine Vermählung m. einer Neuburgschen Prinzessin sich Oestreich genähert, knüpfte m. diesem u. England 1703 Verbindungen an, die Portugal v. Frankreich immer mehr entfernten. *Italien*. *Savoyen*: Nur Savoyen konnte auf den 30 Krieg in Italien Einfluß. Viktor Amadeus antifranzösisch. *Eidgenossen*: Aufgehört in den Kriegen der übergrossen Mächte Rolle zu spielen. Bund durch Religionsverschiedenheit fast in 2 Theile, so die polit. Gesinnungen. Protest. Cantons hingen mehr an Oestreich, die kathol. an Frankreich. *Nordischen Mächte*: Nicht in den Streit der südl. u. westl. 35 Mächte über die span. Erbfolge hineingezogen. Aber gleichzeitig der

grosse nordische Krieg, an dem später einige der westlichen Mächte theilnahmen. (1697 Churfürst *Friedrich August v. Sachsen* polnischer, Carl XII schwedischer, 1699 *Friedrich IV dim. König, Peter I* seit 1689.) Preussen seit 1701 zum Königreich erhoben, wird in beide Kriege durch Vergrößerungsabsichten verflochten. *Türkei*: Unter Mustapha III alles beim Alten. Vegetirend. *Völkerrecht*: Zahl u. Abstufungen der Gesandtschaften mehren sich. Fzs. Sprache verdrängt die latein. in den Staatsverhandlungen u. Verträgen. Langjährige Waffenstillstandsverträge finden nach 1684 sich nur noch im Norden u. m. den Türken: im Süden u. Westen immer ewige Friedensschlüsse. ... Sorge f. die Erhaltung des Gleichgewichts zur Zeit wo die Erlöschung des span.-östr. Mannsstamms bevorstand. [115-122]

### 1.) Von 1700-1721.

*In Frankreich*: Ludewig XIV -1715. Ludewig XV -1774. *Spanien*. Philipp V. 1700-1746, doch bis 1725 m. Widerspruch Carls v. Oestreich. *Portugal*: Peter II. 1668-1706. Johann V -1750. *Deutschland* Leopold -1705. Joseph I. 1705-1711. Carl VI. 1711-1740. *England*: Wilhelm III. -1702. Anna. -1714. Georgi. -1727. *Dänemark*. Friedrich IV. 1700-1730. *Schweden*. Carl XII 1697-1718. Ulrike Eleanora. 1719: nach der Cession ihr Gemahl Friedriehl, 1720-1751. *Rußland*. Peter I. 1689-1725. *Polen*. August I. 1697-1733. *Preussen*. Friedrich I. 1701-1713. Friedrich Wilhelm I -1740. *Päbste*: Clemens XI. 1700-1721. *Turks*: Mustapha II -1702. Achmet III. -1730.

#### a.) *Im Süden u. Westen Streit über die spanische Erbfolge*

*bis zum Beitritt Spaniens zur Quadrupleallianz. 1720.*

25

*M. de la Torre* Mémoires et negotiations secrètes de F. Bonavent, comte de Harrach. la Haye. 1720. T. I. II. *Mémoires de Mr. de Torcy* pour servir à l'Hist. des négoc. etc la Hay. 1756. *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwic* etc Par. 1778. (écrits par lui-même)!

[42] *Prätendentenf. die span. Erbfolge*. Carl II v. Spanien kinderlos. Mit ihm Erlöschen des Mannsstamms v. Carl I. Ansprüche auf die Erbfolge: 1) *Louis XIV* wegen seiner Gemahlin Maria Theresia, die ältre Schwester Carl's II, f. seinen Dauphin. 2) der Churprinz v. Bayern, als Enkel v. Margaretha Theresia, die jüngre Schwester v. Carl II. 3) Kaiser Leopold f. einen seiner Prinzen, theils als männlicher Abkömmling Philipp's, theils als Abkömmling v. Catharine, der Schwester v. Philipp IV.

*Unterhandlungen zu Madrid.* Frankreich hatte sich schon 1668 heimlich m. Oestr. wegen Theilung der span. Erbschaft verglichen; doch seit 1689 u. bes. seit 1697, wollte jedes v. beiden allein erben. Oestreich bewirkte 1696 auch in Madrid die Vernichtung des Anfangs v. Carl II zum Vortheil des bairischen Churprinzen errichteten Testaments, verzögerte aber die geforderte Ueberkunft des Herzogs Karl.

*V u. 2' Partagetractat.* Auf Wilhelm's III Betrieb schlossen die beiden Seemächte m. Frankreich geheim am 11 Oct. 1698 einen ersten Partagetractat, wonach der bairische Churprinz Haupterbe, Dauphin Neapel u. Sicilien, die Toskanischen Seehäfen, das Marquisat Finale u. die Provinz Guipuscoa, der Erzherzog Carl aber Mailand haben sollte. Der bair. Churprinz f 6 Februar 1699; nun 1700 (3. 25 März) 2< Partagetractat, wonach: 1) Erzherzog Carl, od. wenn er vorher stürbe, ein andrer östr. Prinz, nur m. Ausschluß Josephs, als röm. Königs, allgem. Erbe sein. 2) Dauphin ausser dem vorhin Bedungen Lothringen od. Savoyen od. Navarra od. Luxemburg erhalten u. 3) im ersten Fall Lothringen, im 2' Savoyen Mailand dagegen eintauschen, sonst aber der Churfürst v. Baiern Mailand erhalten sollte.

*Testament Carl's II.* Carl II verwarf auch diesen 2' Tractat, den auch Oestreich ausschlug. Er - (Carl II) ernannte, auf Anrathen des Cardinais Portocarrero u. m. Zustimmung des Pabsts (2 Oct. 1700) in einem Testament v. 2' Oct. u. Codicill v. 5' Philipp v. Anjou, 2' Enkel v. Ludewig XIV, zum Universalerben u. t 1 Nov. (1700) [122-126]

*Anerkennung Philipp's Vu. Bündnisse Frankreichs.*

Ludewig XIV nahm das Testament an (11 Nov. 1700) u. Philipp ergriff zu Madrid Besitz v. der Gesammtten Monarchie. (14 April, 1701) Bald nachher schloß Spanien (27 Aug. 1701) den Assientotractat m. Frankreich auf 10 J., den Portugal seit 1696 gehabt, u. dessen Wichtigkeit während des Kriegs, nachmals die Uebertragung auf England zur wesentl. Friedensbedingung machte. Anfangs durch grosse Versprechungen auch gewonnen Savoyen, Churfürst v. Bayern, (Statthalter der span. Niederlande); die Vereinigten Niederlande erkannte den 22 Febr. (1700) u. Großbritannien, die Staaten Italiens, auch die Schweiz bald nachher Philipp an: sogar verbanden sich 1701 Köln den 13'Febr., Mantua den 24\* Febr., Bayern 9' März, selbst Portugal den 18'Juni m. Frankreich u. Spanien, indeß Frankreich dem Haus Oestreich sowohl in Ungarn durch Rakotzy, als in Deutschland beschwerliche Händel zuzog.

*Grosse Allianz u. Ausbruch des Kriegs wider Frankreich u. Spanien.*

Ludewig XIV beleidigt die 2 Seemächte. Oestreich, um Mailand als eröffnetes Reichslehn, faßt durch Prinz Eugen v. Savoyen festen Fuß in Italien (wobei Herzog v. Mantua in die Reichsacht gethan 30 Juni 1701),

schlossen beide Seemächte m. dem Kaiser im Haag 7 Sept. 1701 Offensivbündnis, die *Grosse Allianz* genannt. Nachdem Frankreich nach Absterben v. Jacob II (16 Sept. 1701) dessen angebl. Sohn als Jacob III als König v. Großbrit. anerkannt, auch nach Absterben v. Wilhelm III, 8 März (1702) im April (1702) den Krieg wider Holland erklärt, kündigten alle 3 Mächte Frankreich u. Spanien den Krieg. (15 Mai 1702) Preussen schon 1700 durch den Krontraktat v. Oestreich gewonnen u. die Seemächte m. Dänemark den 20 Jan. u. 15 Juni 1701, m. Churbrandenburg den 30 Dec. 1701 u. den 20 Jan. 1702, sodann m. Hessen-Cassel den 13 Febr. 1702, m. Churbraunschweig-Lüneburg den 21 Juni u. 10 Juli 1702, Subsidientractate geschlossen, so traten auch die 5 associirten Kreise, verschiedene andre Reichsstände, u. den 28 Sept. 1702 das ganze Reich der grossen Allianz bei, nur daß der Churfürst v. Baiern u. der v. Cöln, Bischof v. Lüttich, fzs. Parthei ergriffen, worauf Novemb. 1702 die Kriegserklärung des Reichs wider Frankreich erfolgte. 15 1703 (16 Mai) trat auch Portugal zur grossen Allianz über. Doch mußten Leopold u. Joseph, auf Betrieb der Alliirten, ihren Anspruch auf den Erzherz. Karl übertragen, der nun als König v. Spanien zu Wien proclamirt. (12 Sept.)

*Feldzug v. 1702.* In Italien anfangs v. Eugen Catinai bei Chiari geschlagen u. Marschall Villeroi bei Cremona gefangen. Seit Vendome erscheint (1 Feb.) wandt sich das Glück auf fzs. Seite. In Oberdeutschland anfangs Landau erobert v. dem röm. König Joseph in Begleitung v. Ludwig v. Baden. Von Churbaiern unterstützt dann die fzs. Waffen unter Villars siegreich, am Niederrhein erlangte selbst Tallard im Trierschen u. [43] im Lothringschen Vortheile. Nur in den Niederlanden, wo Anfangs Herzog v. Burgund u. Bouffleurs die engl. u. holländ. Armee bis Nimwegen zurückgedrängt, die Alliirten bald die Oberhand unter Marlborough. Auch zur See richtete die Flotte der Seemächte (October) die span. Silbergallionen u. die fzs. Bedeckungsflotte bei Vigos zu Grunde. 20 25 30

*In Deutschland u. Italien. 1703 u. 4:* Bald Krieg entscheidendre Wendung. Frankreichs Plan auf die kaiserlichen Erblande in Italien mißlang: Churfürst v. Bayern mußte m. grossem Verlust Tyrol verlassen; Savoyen ging durch den Tractat v. Oct. 25 (1703) zur Oestreich. Parthei über. 13 Aug. 1704 Sieg v. Marlborough u. Eugen über Fzs. u. Baiern bei 35 *Höchstädt*, in dessen Folge ganz Oberdeutschland v. dem Feind befreit, Baiern dem Kaiser geräumt, Churfürst v. Baiern u. sein Bruder, der v. Köln, 1706 v. Kaiser in die Reichsacht erklärt. Durch den Vertrag v. 25 Oct. 1703 trat Oestreich an Savoyen ab: a) Das Herzogthum Montferrat, so wie Mantua damit belehnt gewesen (*Art. V.*) b) Einige Stücke 40 des Mailändischen: Alessandria, Valenza nebst dem Gebiet zwischen Po u. Tanaro, Lumelino u. Val di Sessia nebst Zubehör.

*In Spanien, Italien u. den Niederlanden v. 1704-1706.*

1704 Carl über England, in Portugal gelandet, wider das nun der Krieg erklärt v. Philipp V. Gibraltar v. den Alliierten erobert, die fzs. Flotte bei Malaga geschlagen; schon Oct. 1705 Carl Meister v. Barcellona, v. fast 5 ganz Catalonien u. Valencia. 1706: In Italien siegt Eugen bei Turin, rettet Savoyen, zwingt Mailand zur Huldigung u. entriß andre Plätze den Franzosen. In den Niederlanden 23 Mai (1706) siegt Marlborough bei Ramillies über Villeroy, trieb die Franzosen aus Brabant u. Flandern: in Spanien Barcellona m. grossem Verlust des fliehenden Philipp entsetzt, die 10 ganze Küste bis Gibraltar, u. m. Galloway's Hülfe, (26 Juni 1706) Madrid f. Karl erobert.

*Feldzüge v. 1707 u. 1708.* In Italien (3 März 1707) mußten die Franzosen durch Capitulation m. dem Kaiser die ganze Lombardey räumen; Neapel (Juli bis December) unter Daun den Oestreichern unterworfen. 15 Villars in Deutschland u. Berwick in Spanien glücklicher, wo nach der Schlacht bei Almanza den 25 April Valencia u. Arragonien wieder f. Philipp bezwungen. Dagegen 11 Juli 1708 in den Niederlanden Sieg v. Marlborough u. Eugen bei Oudenarde, u. Ryßel (22 Oct.), Gent (30 December) u. Brügge wurden eingenommen. Landung des Prätendenten unter Forbin 20 in Schottland mißlang. Herzog v. Savoyen eroberte die Alpenpässe (Aug.), England Sardinien (Aug.) u. Minorca (Sept.) Selbst den Pabst zwang der Kaiser Karin anzuerkennen.

*Vergebliche Unterhandlungen zu Mordyk u. Gertruydenberg. (1709 u. 1710.*

25 Durch Hungersnoth zu Haus, u. Verlust im Feld Ludewig XIV gebeugt; 1705, 6, 7 vergebens gethane, 1708 durch Chamillard abgewiesne Vorschläge 1709 Rouillé nach Mordyck (Mai) u. bald nachher sein Staatssekretär Torcy nach dem Haag geschickt, um Frieden zu suchen. In Gemäßheit der v. den 3 Alliierten vorgeschriebnen (28 Mai) 40 Prälimi- 30 narartikel erbot sich Ludewig XIV Carl als Erben der Gesammten span. Monarchie anzuerkennen, auch alle sonst gemachten Hauptbedingungen einzugehn. Verwarf die Nebenbedingungen: 1) Die Alliierten helfen seinen Enkel aus Spanien zu treiben: 2) schon vorläufig einige Festungen den Niederländern zur Sicherheit der Négociation abzutreten. Unterhand- 35 lung daher, zerschlagen. Eugen u. Marlborough im September 1709 Tournai erobert, den Villars bei Malplaquet besiegt, Möns eroberten, u. 1710 auf abermaliges Nachsuchen Ludewigs neue Conferenzen (9 März 1710) zu Mordyck u. Gertruydenberg eröffneten, scheiterten auch diese an der noch unleidlichen Bedingung, daß Ludwig allein sei- 40 nen Enkel aus Spanien zu vertreiben.

*Wendung des Kriegsglücks u. des britt. Staatssystems.*

Noch neue Fortschritte der Allirten in den Niederlanden, v. Carl in Spanien, der nach gehaltenem Einzug in Madrid, nach Altcastilien vordrang u. Philipp verfolgte. Nun Vendome in Spanien. Wendung. Carl, v. den Portugiesen verlassen, muß nach Catalonien flüchten. Geheime Unterhandlungen zwischen dem Herzog v. Savoyen u. Spanien. Ungnade der Herzogin v. Marlborough bei Queen Anna, Marlborough verliert s. Einfluß, sein Feind Harley (19 August) wird an Godolphin's Stelle Schatzmeister, Whigs v. den Torys am Hof u. im Parlament verdrängt; Kaiser Joseph's unerwarteter Tod (1711, April), der die Erhebung Carls zur Kaiserwürde voraussehen ließ, das neu angenommene brit. System noch mehr befestigt. Bereits im Jan. 1711 v. Großbrit. angebotne Unterhandlungen geheim erst zu Paris, dann London durch Gaultier, Prior u. Menager fortgesetzt. 8 October 1711 zu London zw. Frankreich u. England 3 *Präliminaracten* gezeichnet, wovon die 1<sup>e</sup> die Friedensbedingungen f. England, die 2<sup>e</sup> die Grundlage des allgem. Friedens, die 3<sup>e</sup> Savoyen betraf. Eröffnung des Friedenscongresses zu Utrecht, indeß der Krieg fort dauert. *Mémoires secretes de Mylord Bolingbroke sur les affaires d'Angleterre depuis 1710-16 etc Londres. 1754.*

*Friedenscongress zu Utrecht.* Eröffnet 29 Jan. 1712. Aber zwischen Frankreich u. England, durch fortgesetzte geh. Verhandlungen, die Punkte der Verzichtleistungen, des Assiento, der Vortheile f. Savoyen regulirt u. die Hauptpunkte des allgem. Friedens [44] zu Fontainebleau im August nebst dem Waffenstillstand m. England (19 August) festgesetzt, verzögert Frankreich die *Négociation*, etc so daß die Allirten unter britischer Direction ihren Frieden, *ein jeder einzeln*, zu Utrecht m. Frankreich u. Spanien schliessen mußte. [127-135]

11 April 1713 Friedensbeschlüsse Frankreichs m. Großbrit., Portugal, Savoyen, Preussen, den Vereinigten Niederlanden: 13 Juli die Großbritan. u. Savoyens m. Spanien: Kaiser muß 14 März 1713 *Evacuations- u. Neutralitätstractat*; (Erstens Evacuation über Catalonien u. Neutralität über Italien, zwischen dem Kaiser, Großbrit., Savoyen u. Frankreich verabredet: 1) alle kaiserl. u. alliirte Truppen so schleunig wie möglich aus Catalonien, Majorka u. Iviza abgeführt. Art. I. II. 2) Die Unterthanen in Catalonien sollen allgem. Amnestie gemessen. (Art. VII.) 3.) Waffenstillstand in ganz Italien u. allen Inseln des mittelländischen Meers, auch in den Savoyschen u. dran grenzenden fzs. Landen bis zum Generalfriedensbeschluß. Art. X. 4.) Während desselben der Kaiser nicht über 20,000 Mann in Italien halten, auch daselbst weder Kriegssteuern noch Einquartirungen fordern soll. Art. X.) vergebens fortgesetzte Feindseligkeiten am Rhein, Friede des Kaisers zu *Rastatt* (6 März 1714) der zu



Baden in Reichsfrieden verwandelt. (7 Sept.) 26 Juni 1714 die Vereinigten Niederlande zu Utrecht m. Spanien Friede; auch Portugal daselbst (6 Feb. 1715). - Aber die beiden Hauptprätendenten, Carl VI u. Philipp V blieben unverglichen.

5 *Friede zwischen Frankreich u. Großbritannien. (11 April 1713):*

1) König v. Frankreich erkennt die protestantische Nachfolge in Großbritannien, keinen andren König, versagt dem Prätendenten den Aufenthalt in seinem Land, noch ihm etc durch Rath od. That beizustehn (Art. IV, V.) 2) Spanien u. Frankreich sollen auf ewig getrennt bleiben, 10 u. die Reunziationen der Häuser Anjou, Berry, Orleans v. den Contractanten aufrecht erhalten werden. (Art. VI.) 3) Frankreich nicht mehr Handelsvortheile m. Spanien u. dem span. Westindien als zur Zeit Carl's II od. andren Handelsvölkern gestattet. (Art. VI) 4.) Alle Festungswerke, Hafen, Dämme, Schleusen v. Dünkirchen auf Frankreichs 15 Kosten geschleift, nie wieder aufgeführt. (Art. IX) 5) Frankreich tritt ab: a) Die Bay u. Meerenge v. Hudson nebst allen daran liegenden festen Landen u. Forts. (Art. X) b) Seine Hälfte an der Insel St. Christoph, c) ganz *Neuschottland* od. *Acadien* nach seinen alten Grenzen, auch Portroyal m. allem Zubehör. Die Franzosen sollen an der Küste v. 20 Neuschottland gegen Morgen v. der Insel Sablé an bis 30 Meilen gegen Südwesten keine Fischerei treiben (Art. XII.) d.) Auch sein Recht an Terre neuve nebst den anliegenden Inseln. Doch sollen die Franzosen an einem Theil der Küste ihre Fische trocknen können, u. Capbreton nebst den Inseln am Munde u. der Bay des St. Lorenzflusses verbleibt Frankreich. (Art. XIII.) 25

6) Der heutige Friede m. Portugal u. Savoyen in dem jetzigen eingeschlossen u. v. Großbritannien garantirt. (Art. XXIV, XXV.)

7.) Schweden, Florenz, Genua u. Parma in diesen Frieden eingeschlossen, Art. XXVI; auch die 4 Hansestädte. (Art. XXVI.) Dem Frieden 30 ward ein *Handelstraktat* beigefügt, worin *Handelstarif* v. 1664 hergestellt, m. Vorbehalt wichtiger Ausnahmen, über die im Mai noch eine bes. Convention geschlossen, doch britt. Seits nicht ratificirt.

*Friede zwischen Frankreich u. Portugal 1713, 11 April:* 1) Mit Vernichtung der Convention v. 1700 tritt Frankreich ab allen Anspruch an 35 die Länder des Nordcap zwischen dem Amazonenfluß u. dem Fluß Yapoc od. Vincent-Pinson, m. dem Recht Portugals, hier Festungen zu bauen. (Art. Vili, IX) 2) Frankreich erkennt die Souverainetät Portugals über den Amazonenfluß u. dessen 2 Ufer. (Art. X.) 3) Kein Theil soll nach den Südamerik. Ländern des andren handeln. (Art. XII.)

40 *Friede zwischen Frankreich u. Preussen 11 Apr. 1713.* 1) Mit Vollmacht v. Spanien tritt Frankreich dem König v. Preussen das Oberquartier Gel-

dern, so viel er davon besitzt, ab, nebst der Landschaft Kessel u. dem Amt Kriechenberg. (Art. VII, VIII.) 2) Frankreich erkennt Pr. als Souverain v. Neufchatel u. Valengin. (Art. IX.) 3) Preussen überläßt alle seine Rechte auf das Fürstth. Oranien u. die burgundischen Güter aus der Oranischen Erbschaft, übernimmt die Befriedigung der Erben des verstorbenen Statthalters v. Friebland, behält Titel u. Wappen v. Oranien. (Art. X.) 4) Die Eidgenossenschaft in diesen Frieden eingeschlossen. (Art. XII.) In einem Separatart. erkennt Frankreich f. sich u. im Namen Spaniens den Churfürsten als König v. Preussen u. legt ihm den Majestätstitel bei. Spanien ratificirte in eignen Urkunden den VII, VIII. u. Separatartikel dieses Friedens. 5 10

*Friede zwisch. Frankreich u. Savoyen. 11 Apr. 1713.:* 1) Zwischen beiden Staaten die Gipfel der Alpen die Grenzen, die Ebenen auf selbigen zu theilen. Frankreich tritt an Savoyen ab das Thal Pragelas nebst den Forts Exilies u. Fenestrelles, die Thäler Oux, Sezane, Bardonache nebst Chateau-Dauphin, erlangt dagegen das Thal Barcelonetta m. seinen Zugehörungen. (Art. IV) 2) Savoyen erhält die Insel u. das Königreich Sicilien m. völliger Souverainetät. (Art. V) 3) Frankreich erkennt dessen Erbrecht auf Spanien, falls Philipp's V Stamm ausstirbt. (Art. VI) 4) Genehmigt u. garantirt die v. Oestreich an Savoyen kraft des Tractats v. Oct. 25 1703 geschenehen Cessionen. (Art. VII) 5) Savoyen darf in allen seinen Ländern nach Gutfinden Festungen anlegen. (Art. VIII) | 15 20

[45] *Friede zwischen Frankreich u. den Vereinigten Niederlanden. 11 April 1713.:*

(Die v. Frankreich u. Spanien dem Churfürsten v. Baiern durch Tractat v. 7 Nov. 1702 u. 2 Jan. 1712 versprochenen span. Niederlande sollten nun an Oestreich abgetreten werden.) 25

1) Frankreich räumt den Vereinigten Niederlanden die gesammten span. Niederlande, mit versprochner Entsamgung des Churfürsten v. Baiern auf seine Ansprüche (Art. IX) auch Menin, Tournai, Furnes. Fort Knocke. Loo, Dixmuyden, Ypres, Warneton, Commines u. Warwick m. Zubehör ein, um solche an Oestreich zu überliefern, wenn sie sich mit diesem wegen einer Barriere verglichen. (Art. XI, XII.) 2) Frankreich erhält alles ihm Abgenommne in den Niederlanden zurück. (Art. XV) 3.) Sonst die m. England wegen Absondrung der beiden Kronen, des Handels m. Spanien u. dem span. Westindien Bedingungen wiederholt. (Art. XXXI u. XXXII). Die Eidgenossen u. die Städte Bremen u. Embden in diesen Frieden eingeschlossen. Diesem Frieden ein ausführlicher Handelstractat beigefügt, m. Vortheilen f. den Levantischen u. Heringshandel der Holländer. [136-142] 30 35 40

*Friede zwischen Spanien u. Großbritannien.*

7 November 1712 Renunciation Philipp's u. seiner Erben auf die Erbfolge in Frankreich ausgefertigt.

29 März 1713 Assientovertrag, so daß: a) eine britt. Compagnie auf 5 30 J. (v. 1 Mai 1713) die jährliche Lieferung v. 4800 Negern nach dem span. America, b.) Die Assientisten jährlich ein Schiff v. 500 Tonnen m. Waren zum Verkauf in das span. Westindien einführen, m. einigem Antheil des Königs v. Spanien an dem Gewinn. - Später Cessionsakte wegen Sicilien, u. erörterte Forderung der Prinzessin Ursini nun

10 13 Juli 1713 der Friede: 1) Bestätigung der Renunciation (Art. II) u. des Assienttractats. (Art. XII.) 2) Philipp erkennt f. sich u. Nachfolger die protestantische Erbfolge in Großbrit. (Art. V), keinem Prätendent beizustehn. (Art. VI.) 3) Schiffahrt nach dem span. Westindien bleibt mit Ausschluß Frankreichs u. anderer Nationen: auch will Spanien kein Stück 15 seiner Besitzungen in America an Frankreich od. andre Nation verkaufen, abtreten, od. sonst veräußern. (Art. VIII.) 4) Die gegenseitigen Unterthanen alle Handelsvortheile die Frankreich od. die am meisten begünstigten Nationen geniessen od. geniessen werden. 5.) Spanien tritt Gibraltar, doch ohne öffentliche Communication landwärts, (Art. X), 20 auch die ganze Insel Minorka ab (Art. XI), doch beide m. dem Recht des Vorkaufs. 6) Großbrit. garantirt den künftigen Frieden m. Portugal (Art. XX) u. den heutigen m. Savoyen. (Art. XXI) 7.) Schweden, Florenz, Parma, Venice, Genua in diesem Frieden begriffen (Art. XXII, XXIV,) auch Danzig. (Art. XXV)

25 In einem Separatartikel versprach Spanien v. den Ländern seiner Monarchie nichts weiter zu veräußern u. Großbr. sich solchen Zumuthungen v. Seiten der kriegführenden Mächte zu widersetzen. In einem 2' Separatartikel verabredet, daß die Prinzeß Ursini Limburg od. ein andres Etablissement haben sollte. Der in diesem Frieden ver- 30 sprochen Handelstraktat geschlossen 9 Dec. 1713, jedoch nur m. Abänderung mehrer Artikel nachmals ratificirt: 14 Dec. 1715 folgte ein andrer Handelsvertrag.

*Friede zwischen Spanien u. Savoyen: 13 Juli. 1713.* 1) Bestätigung der Renunciation des Königs v. Spanien auf Frankreich u. seiner am 35 8 Mai 1713 in Gesetz verwandelten Declaration, daß in Ermanglung seiner Nachkommenschaft die Thronfolge v. Spanien u. Indien auf den Herzog v. Savoyen u. dessen männliche Nachkommen fallen solle. (Art. III) 2.) Span, tritt Sicilien an Savoyen ab m. Vorbehalt des Rückfalls nach erloschnem Mannsstamm. (Art. IV) 3) Spanien garantirt die 40 1703 erfolgte kaiserl. Cession eines Stücks v. Mailand u. Montferrat an Savoyen. (Art. XI)

6 März 1714 hatten Villars u. Eugen den Frieden zw. Frankreich u. Kaiser, m. Ausschluß Spaniens, in 37 Artikeln gezeichnet: nachdem der Kaiser v. Reich durch Reichsgutachten vom 23 April Vollmacht erhalten, dieser auf einem am 10 Juni zu *Baden* eröffneten Congress, ohne Zulassung v. Gesandten anderer Mächte zu den Conferenzen, am 7 Sept. 1714 in einen Reichsfrieden, in 38 Artikeln in latein. Sprache verwandelt.

*Reichsfrieden zu Baden. 7 Sept. 1714:* 1) Mit Bestätigung der Westphälischen, Nymweger u. Ryswicker Friedensbeschlüsse (ohne der Clausel des 4' Art. des letzteren zu erwähnen) gibt Frankreich alles dem Reich Abgenommene zurück, schleift die auf dem Reichsboden erbauten Festungen u. Forts. (Art. IV-XII.) 2.) Frankreich erkennt die Churwürde des Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg. (Art. XIII) 3.) Die Churfürsten v. Baiern u. Köln in alle Würden hergestellt. \\46\ Erster erhält die Oberpfalz wieder, aber weder die Niederlande noch das v. Frankreich f. ihn stipulirte Sardinien. 4.) Frankreich willigt ein, daß der Kaiser die span. Niederlande nebst den fzs. Cessionen nach Maßgabe des Utrechter Friedens m. den Vereinigten Niederl. erhalte. (Art. XIX-XXII) 5) Kaiser bleibt im Besitz aller in Italien innehabenden Plätze, wogegen er den Neutralitätstractat vom 14 März 1713 beobachtet. (Art. XXX) Spaniens auch in diesem Frieden nicht erwähnt.

*Friede Spaniens m. den Vereinigten Niederlanden. 26 Juni 1714.:* 1) Der Münsterische Friede u. der Marinetractat v. 1650 mehrtheils erneuert. 2) In Hinsicht der Handelsfreiheiten sollen beiderseits Unterthanen der gentes amicissimae, in Ansehung der Zölle u. Auflagen, den Unterthanen gleich gehalten werden. (Art. XII-XIV.) 3.) Wegen der Renunciationen Philipp's auf Frankreich u. wegen Beschränkung des Handels m. dem span. America, save the Assiento, die v. beiden Kronen an England ertheilten Versicherungen wiederholt.

*Verändertes Staatssystem in Großbritannien:* 1714, 11 Aug. besteigt Georg I, Churfürst v. Braunschweig-Lüneburg den Thron. Walpole's Friedenspolitik. Beförderte den Frieden Spaniens m. Portugal (1715, 6 Febr.), verschaffte der Regierung der Vereinigten Niederlande annehmbaren Barrieretractat m. Oestreich, (15 Nov.), erneuerte die alte Allianz Brit. m. den Vereinigten Niederlanden (1716, 16 Feb.) u. schloß neues Defensivbündniß m. bestreich (25 Mai.) [142-148]

*Friede Spaniens m. Portugal. 1715, 6Feb.:* In Europa die Grenzen wie vorher. In America bekam Portugal St Sacramento wieder, (Art. VI), sonst der Friede v. 1668 erneuert, auch die Forderungen der portug. Assiento-Compagnie regulirt. (Art. XV, XVI) Großbrit. übernahm die Garantie dieses Friedens. (Art. XXII, XXIII.)

*Barrieretractat zw. der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande, Oestreich u. Großbrit.* Die Erlangung einer Barriere wider Frankreich war Bedingung des Beitritts der Republik zur Grossen Allianz v. 1702. Demgemäß v. ihr m. Großb. 1709, 29 Oct. vortheilhafter Barrieretractat geschlossen; 5 verändert - nachtheilig - im Tractat der beiden Seemächte v. 29 Jan., 1713. Nach diesem sollte Carl VI der Republik das Besatzungsrecht in gewissen Festungen der ihm abzutretenden span. Niederlande gestatten, Großbrit. diese Barriere, die Republik dagegen die protestantische Thronfolge in Großb., beide erforderlichen Falls m. 10 namhafter Hülfleistung garantiren. Diesem gemäß, kraft der Utrechter Friedensbeschlüsse, den beiden Seemächten so lang der Besitz der Niederlande eingeräumt, bis sie sich m. Oestr. wegen einer Barriere verglichen. Nun nach dem Badner Frieden ein Congress zwischen den 2 Seemächten u. Oestr. zu *Antwerpen* eröffnet. (1714 October) u. auf eifrigen 15 Betrieb Britanniens, am 15'Nov. 1715, der Barrieretractat dahin geschlossen, daß:

1) die Republik dem Kaiser die span. Niederlande abtritt (nebst den fzs. Cessionen) um sie so zu besitzen, wie sie Carl II besessen (Art. I); kein Stück davon soll er je veräußern. 2) Die Republik soll in Dendre- 20 monde eine gemeinschaftliche, in Namur, Dornik, Menin, Furnes, Warnton, Ypern u. Fort Knocke eine privative Besatzung unverdächtiger Truppen halten können, (Art. IV, V), die dem Kaiser zugleich schwören sollen. (Art. VII.) 3) Wegen der zollfreien Einfuhr ihrer Bedürfnisse, des Unterhalts der Truppen mittelst kaiserl. Subsidien, Reparatur der 25 Festungen nur unvollkommne Bestimmungen, Art. X, XIII, XIV, getroffen. 4) Die Flandrischen Grenzen, ohne des Tractats v. 1664 zu erwähnen, neu regulirt, u. zum Besten der Holländer erweitert. Art. XVII. XVIII. 5.) Die Zölle v. den Großbritannischen u. holländischen Waaren sollten auf dem jetzigen Fuß, u. der Handel zwischen Oestreich u. der 30 Republik auf dem Fuß des Münstrischen Friedens bleiben. (Art. XXVI.) 6) Großbrit. als Mitcontrahent bestätigt u. garantirt diesen Tractat. (Art. XXVIII) Nun erfolgte die Uebergabe der span. Niederlande: doch wegen der flandrischen Grenzen u. einiger andren Punkte bald neue Händel, selbst durch die Convention v. 1718 (22 December) nicht dauerhaft 35 beendigt.

*Verändertes Staatssystem in Frankreich.* Ludewig XIV t 1 Sept. 1715. Herzog v. Orleans Regent. Dieser wider den span. Hof. Bündnisse m. den 2 Seemächten. (4 Jan. 1717.)

*Neue Plane Spaniens auf Italien:* Philipp V geleitet v. seiner 2' Frau, 40 Elisabeth v. Parma, u. Alberoni. Will wieder die vormals span. Besitzungen in Italy. Griff 14 März 1713 Sardinien unvermuthet an, ließ auch

durch die am 19 Sept. 1716 zu Hamptoncourt entworfne, u. 4 Jan. 1717 vollzogne Tripleallianz Frankreichs u. der 2 Seemächte sich nicht abhalten, diese Insel dem Kaiser zu entreissen, (Aug. 1717) u., nach vergebnem Versuch den Herzog v. Savoyen zu gewinnen, Sicilien anzufallen u. Palermo zu erobern. (1718, 13 Juli.) | 5

[47] *Friedensproject Frankreichs u. Englands.*

Frankreich u. England als Garants der Neutralität Italiens entwarfen noch im Spätjahr 1717 ein Project zum Frieden Spaniens m. dem Kaiser u. Savoyen; nach diesem sollte:

1) Der Kaiser f. sich u. s. Nachkommen, zum Vortheil des Hauses 10 Anjou, auf Spanien verzichten: 2) die span. Provinzen in den Niederlanden u. Ital. behalten: 3) Sicilien m. Savoyen gegen Sardinien austauschen; 4) Philipp auf die Niederlande u. Ital. Staaten verzichten: 5) Sardinien nach Abgang des Savoyischen Mannstamms an Spanien zurückfallen; 6) Toscana, Parma, Piacenza als Reichsmannlehn aner- 15 kannt, u. Philipp's ältestem Sohn 2' Ehe, D. Carlos, f. sich u. s. Mannstamm, nach dessen Abgang seinen jüngren Brüdern u. deren Mannstamm v. Kaiser m. Genehmigung des Reichs die Anwartschaft darauf ertheilt, die Länder bis zum Eröffnungsfall m. neutralen Truppen besezt, Livorno Freihafen bleiben: keines dieser Länder aber je von einem rex v. 20 Spanien beherrscht od. verwaltet werden. 7) Zum Vortheil Savoyens sollte dessen Erbfolge in Spanien vom Kaiser anerkannt u. der Cessionstractat v. 1703 bestätigt werden.

Spanien schlug dieses, kraft der Convention der 2 Mächte vom 18 Juli 1718, ihm mitgetheilte Project aus, worauf seine Flotte v. Admiral 25 Bing angegriffen u. bei Passaro besiegt. (22 Aug. 1718) Der Kaiser, nachdem er unter britt. Vermittlung s. Frieden m. den Türken zu Passarowitz gezeichnet (21 Jul. 1718), entschloß sich zur Annahme jenes Friedensprojects, u. schloß darüber am 2 Aug. m. den beiden Mächten eine Allianz, wegen des gehofften Beitritts der *Vereinigten Niederl.* genannt: 30

*Quadruple-Allianz.* (2 Aug. 1718) 1) Der Kaiser nimmt das obige Friedensprojekt an. (Art. I.) 2) Die 3 Mächte garantiren einander ihre Besitzungen u. Rechte nach Inhalt der Utrechter, Badener Friedensschlüsse u. des jetzigen Tractat. (Art. II-V) 3) Versprechen einander jeder eine Hülfe v. 12,000 Mann, nöthigenfalls deren Vermehrung u. direkten Krieg gegen 35 den Aggressor. (Art. VII) 4) Wenn Spanien u. Savoyen das Friedensprojekt nicht in 3 Monaten annehmen, soll die versprochne Hülfe dem Kaiser unverzüglich geleistet werden. (Art. sep. II, III, VI). Savoyen die Abtretungen aus dem Tractat v. 1703, Spanien die Anwartschaft auf Parma u. Toscana verliren u. diese Staaten einem 3' Fürsten ertheilt wer- 40 den.

Der Kaiser stellte seine Verzichturkunde auf Spanien aus. (16 Sept., 1718) Savoyen trat durch eine acte d'adhésion diesem Friedensprojekt u. der Quadrupleallianz bei. (18 Nov.) Spanien verweigerte, setz seine Kriegsunternehmungen in Sicilien fort, entrüstet den Orleans durch die  
5 Verschwörung des Cellamare, England durch Unterstützung des Präten-  
denten: gerieth, 1719, Jan. 6, in offenen Krieg m. Frankreich u. England. Philipps Truppen in Italien geschlagen, aus Palermo wieder vertrieben, die beabsichtigte Landung des Prätendenten m. span. Hilfsflotte durch Wind u. Wetter vereitelt, in Spanien grosse Fortschritte gemacht durch Fran-  
10 zosen u. Engländer, Holland droht m. Beitritt zur Quadrupleallianz, Phi-  
lipp verjagt Cardinal Alberoni, erwirkt durch die Holländer neue Frist zum Beitritt (18 Nov., 1719); tritt am 26 Jan. 1720 den in der Quadru-  
pleallianz enthaltenen Bedingungen zu Madrid bei, diese im Haag förmlich unterzeichnet (1720, Febr. 17), u. die noch übrigen Streitigkeiten zwisch.  
15 dem Kaiser u. Spanien auf den künftigen Congress zu Cambrai ausgesetzt. Savoyen ward span. Seits in dessen Beitrittsurkunde mit aufgenommen. (1720, März 18.) Philipp stellt Verzichturkunde aus auf alle dem Kaiser kraft des Utrechter Friedens u. der Quadrupleallianz zugefallnen Länder; (1720, 22 Jan.) Frankreich schließt Defensivallianz m. Spanien. (1721,  
20 27 März): an demselben Tag Defensivallianz zw. Frankreich, Großbr., Spanien. Großbritt. söhnte sich völlig m. Spanien durch den Tractat zu Madrid aus (13 Juni 1721), der f. Theil der neuen Defensivallianz erklärt.  
[149-156]

b.) *Nordischer Krieg bis zum Niestädter Frieden. 1721.*

25 *Nordbergs* Leben Carl XII. Hamb. 1745. (deutsch v. Murray.) Hist. mil. de Charles XII. p. *Gustave Adlerfeld*. Amst. 1740. (IV ts) *Bacmeister* (H.L.C.j Tagebuch Peter d. Gr.: v. 1698 b. z. Nyst. Friedensschluß. Riga. 1776. (3 Thle.), *l'abbé de Parthenay*. Hist. de Pologne sous le regne d'Auguste II. la Haye. 1733. IV ts. *Lengnich*: Geschichte v. Polen.  
30 *GL.F. v. Z. (Zschackwitz) Historische Nachricht v. dem nordischen Krieg*. (VI Thle) Freystadt. 1716-19. j

[48] *Ausbruch des nordischen Kriegs: Friede zu Travendahl.*

Bald nach dem Vergleich, den über die Schleswigschen Händel Christian V m. Herzog Christian Albrecht v. Holstein, unter des Kaisers,  
35 Chursachsens u. Brandenburgs Vermittlung, 1689 zu Altona geschlossen, war es, seit 1694 Herzog Friedrich IV v. Holstein-Gottorp die Regierung angetreten, zwischen beiden Theilen zu neuen Händeln gekommen, zu deren Beilegung v. den Vermittlern jenes Vertrags 1696 ein Congress

zu Hamburg veranlaßt. Friedrich August 1697 den poln. Thron bestiegen; Friedrich IV 1699 den dänischen; Friedrich August (11 Nov. 1699) sich insgeheim m. Peter I u. Dänemark wider den 1697 auf den Thron gekommenen Carl XII v. Schweden, den Schwager des Herzogs v. Holstein-Gottorp, in Erobrungsabsichten verbündet; König Friedrich IV 5 ruft seinen Gesandten v. Congress v. Hamburg u. fällt in das herzogliche Schleswig, u. März 1700 in das herzogliche Holstein; indeß August v. Polen, v. Patkul geleitet, im Febr. 1700 in Liefland eindrang u. Riga berennen ließ. Durch Hülfe Schwedens u. der Seemächte, Dänemark schnell zu Frieden m. dem Herzog v. Holstein gezwungen, der zu Traven- 10 dahl (28 Aug. 1700) auf den Fuß des Altonaer Vergleichs u. m. der Bedingung geschlossen, daß Dänemark den Feinden Schwedens keine Hülfe leisten sollte; dieser Friede durch die dänische Allianz m. den Seemächten (1701, 20 Jan.), durch die der Seemächte m. dem Kaiser, u. durch den neuen Vergleich m. Holstein-Gottorp zu Hamburg (1701, Juli 12) noch 15 befestigt. Allein August setzte den angefangnen Krieg fort, u. Peter I kündigte, gleich nach geschloßnem Frieden m. der Pforte, Schweden am 1 Sept. 1700, den Krieg an.

*Krieg Schwedens gegen Polen u. Rußland; Friede zu Altranstädt. (1706, Sept.)* 20

Karl XII im Nov. 1700 den grossen Sieg bei Narva gegen die Russen: vertrieb 1701 Polen u. Sachsen aus Liefland, drang in Polen ein, u. bewirkte 3 Febr. 1704, Augusts Absetzung durch die Warschauer Confédération, wider die eine 2\* zu Sendomir sich umsonst m. dem Czar verband (1705), die vielmehr 1705 ebenfalls Stanislaus Lescinsky als König aner- 25 kennen mußte, der sich nun m. Schweden verband. (18 Nov. 1705) Carl drang 1706 nach der Schlacht bei Fraustadt in Sachsen ein, besetzte Leipzig; nun ließ August, durch Imhof u. Pflingsten, die ihm v. Carl vorgeschriebnen Friedenspunkte insgeheim zu Altranstädt unterzeichnen, kraft deren August 1) sich der poln. Krone begiebt, Stanislaus als König 30 anerkennt. (Art. III, IV.) 2) den gefangnen Prinz Sobiesky in Freiheit setzt. (Art. VIII.) 3) Patkul ausliefert. (Art. XI.) 4) das Bündniß m. Rußland aufhebt (Art. XX.) August ratificirte diesen Frieden u. ließ, selbst nach am 29 Oct. v. s. Truppen mitbewirkten Sieg bei Kaiisch, (9 Jan. 1707) ihn zu Dresden publiciren. 35

*Schwedischer Krieg gegen Rußland bis zur Schlacht v. Poltawa.*

Carl s. ganze Macht gegen Rußland, verfolgte Peter nach den Grenzen, schlug die angetragnen guten Bedingungen aus. Seine Armee 8 Juli 1709 bei Poltawa gänzlich geschlagen. Carl floh in Begleitung Mazeppa's zu den Türken nach Bender; auch Löwenhaupt mußte sich zum Kriegsge- 40 fangnen ergeben.



## Aus Georg Friedrich von Martens: Grundriß ... (Fortsetzung)

*Neuer Bruch August's u. Friedrich's IV* August sagt sich vom Altranstädter Frieden los, rückt in Polen ein, das ihn bald wieder als König anerkennt; Peter I half ihm 1710 die Schweden vollends aus Polen vertreiben, bemächtigte sich des ganzen Lieflands u. eines Theils v. Finnland. 28 Oct. 1709 kündigt auch König Friedrich IV den Schweden den Krieg an, wo aber v. Steenbock (1710, 28 Febr.) geschlagen.

*Haager Concert:* geschlossen 31 März, 1710, v. Kaiser, Großb., Holland, wegen Erhaltung der Neutralität in Deutschland, dem der schwed. Senat, August v. Polen, Czar, Dänemark, Preussen, Braunschweig-Lüneburg, viele andre Reichsstände u. (2. 26 April) das Reich beitraten, worauf es im August in eine Allianz verwandelt; Carl XII, gestützt auf die Hilfe der Türken u. Tartaren, protestirt v. Bender wider diese Neutralität u. verwarf sie völlig. (30 Nov.)

*Erobrung der schwedischen Reichslande* Friedrich IV geht daher auf 15 Wismar; u. nebst August, auf Schwedisch-Pommern los, erobert 1712 Bremen u. Verden. Steenbock mußte sich bei Tönningen m. dem ganzen Rest seines Heers zu Kriegsgefangnen erklären, (1713, 6 Mai), indeß der König v. Dänemark, unter dem Vorwand der v. Herzog v. Holstein-Gottorp verletzten Neutralität dessen Lande u. selbst Lübeck besetzte. 20 Nun schlossen der Administrator v. Holstein-Gottorp u. der schwedische Gouverneur v. Pommern, 491 Graf v. Welling, unter sich u. m. Preussen Vergleich wegen Besetzung v. Stettin u. Wismar m. neutralen Truppen. (22 Juni) Als aber Stettin die Preussen nicht einließ, ward diese Festung v. Preussen, Polen u. Russen belagert, den 29 Sept. genommen, 25 u. zwischen Preussen u. den 2 nordischen Alliirten Vergleich wegen Sequestration Stettins (6 Oct. 1713) u. andrer schwedisch-pommerscher Plätze bis zum Frieden geschlossen. [157-163]

*Kriege der Türken wider Rußland zum Vortheil Carl's XII.* Türken erklären Russen den Krieg Nov. 1710. Frieden am Pruth. (1711, 30 22 Juli). 17 Dec. (1711) wieder Krieg erklärt. Auf Vermittlung der Seemächte 5 April 1712 Friede 31 März 1713 3<sup>te</sup> Kriegserklärung. 24 Juni (1713) Friede zu Adrianopel auf 25 J., worauf sich auch König August m. den Türken verglich. (22 April 1714)

*Schwedens Conflict m. Preussen.* 11 Nov. 1714 trifft Carl XII in Stralsund ein. Verlangt Stettin, inzwischen v. Dänemark besezt, v. Preussen zurück, daß verbündet sich m. Dänemark u. Chursachsen gegen ihn (1715 Febr.), greifen ihn in Stralsund an, erobern Rügen (Nov. 4), er zur Flucht nach Schonen gezwungen (11 Dec), wo dann Stralsund capitulirt. (12 Dec.) Dänemark trat an rex George I - als Churfürst v. Braunschweig-Lüneburg - (1715 Feb.) sein Erobrungsrecht auf Bremen u. Verden durch den Tractat v. Wismar f. 6 Tonnen Goldes, u. (1715, 26 Juni)

mit der Bedingung der direkten Theilnahme am Krieg wider Schweden, diese Theilnahme beförderte die Erobrung Wismars (8 April 1716) womit Schweden vom deutschen Boden verdrängt; auch ausserdem allierte sich Großbrit. (1715, 28 Oct.) näher m. Rußland: auch Preußen schloß neuen Traktat m. Rußland. (1715, 30 Oct.) 5

*Veränderung des Staatssystems im Norden.*

Nach vollendeter Erobrung v. Finnland (1716) entwickeln sich des Cza- ren Entwürfe auf Ostsee u. Erwerbungen in Deutschland. Auch Groß- britannien ihm entgegen.

*Conferenzen auf Aaland. Tod Carl's XII,* (Mai bis August.) 1718 ge- 10  
heime Verhandlungen auf Aaland zwischen General Bruce u. Canzleirath Ostermann - russischen Gesandten - u. Graf Gyllenborg u. Baron Görz - schwed. Gesandten. Nicht blos über die Friedensbedingungen beider Mächte, sondern auch über Allianztractat gegen Dänemark, Polen, Großbritt., Braunschweig-Lüneburg unterhandelt: beide Verträge der 15  
Unterzeichnung [nahe], als Carl XII in seiner v. dem Czar begünstigten Expedition gegen Norwegen erschossen, vor Friedrichshall. 11 Dec. 1718.

*Verändertes Staatssystem Schwedens im Innern u. Äussern.*

1719 neuerwählte regina Ulrika Eleanore u. Friedriehl, ihr Mann, dem sie ihre Rechte abtrat, 1720, 2 Mai. Neue, sehr beschränkte Regierungs- 20  
form. Görz enthauptet. Unterhandlungen m. Großbrit. unter fzs. Ver- mittlung (1719, Juli), die schon im Juli brittische Observationsflotte im Sunde zur Folge, wodurch Stockholm vor den russ. Küstenverheerungen geschützt, auch die Friedensschlüsse m. den einzelnen Feinden, befördert. [164-168] 25

*Friede Schwedens:*

a.) *Mit Churbraunschweig-Lüneburg.* (1719 9/20 Nov.) Schweden tritt an das Churbraunschweig-Lüneburg Herzogthümer Verden u. Bremen ab, m. dem Pfandrecht auf das Amt Wildeshausen, den Rechten an dem Domkapitel zu Hamburg u. Bremen, u. m. allen Lohngerechtsamen in 30  
bezug auf das Reich. (Art. III.) die frühern Allianzen Schwedens m. Eng- land u. Braunschweig-Lüneburg erneuert. Braunschweig-Lüneburg zahlt an Schweden 1 Million Thlr. in Drittel-Stücken. (Art. VIII.)

b.) *Mit Preussen zu Stockholm.*  $\left. \begin{array}{l} / \\ 1720, \text{---} \frac{21 \text{ Jan.}}{1 \text{ Febr.}} \text{---} \\ \backslash \end{array} \right\} \text{(durch Frankreich$

u. Großbrit. vermittelter Frieden): Schweden tritt an Preussen ab Stettin 35  
m. dem ganzen Distrikt zwischen der Oder u. dem Peene-Strom, Inseln Wollin, Usedom sammt den Ausflüssen der Swine u. Diepenau, dem fri- schen Haf u. der Oder, bis wo sie in die Peene fließt. (Art. III) Peene- strom beiden gemein, kein Theil die Zölle vermehren od. erhöh.

(Art. III. XII. u. Erläuterung Art. II.) Preussen zahlt 2 Mill. Reichsth. in 3 Terminen. (Art. XVIII) Schweden tritt jenseits der Oder Damm u. Geilnau m. Zubehör ab; wogegen Preussen sich verwenden will, Schweden billigen Frieden v. s. jetzigen Feinden zu verschaffen, (Art. XIX), bes. die Rückgabe dessen, was Dänemark in Pommern besezt hat, bewirken, u. Wismar räumen will. (Art. XX.) |

[50] c) *Mit Dänemark zu Stockholm 3 Juni, Friedrichsburg 3 Juli 1720.* Frankreich u. Großbrit. garantiren Dänemark den Besitz v. Schleswig. Dann Friede: Dänemark giebt alles eroberte zurück, Stralsund, Rügen, 10 Marstrand. (Art. VII.) Wismar. (Art. VIII.) Leztres soll nie wieder befestigt werden. (Elucidat.-Acte vom 30 Juni) Schweden dem Herzog v. Schleswig keine thätige Hülfe zu leisten. (Art. VI.) [171] Schweden entsagt seiner Zollfreiheit im Sund u. den beiden Belten. (Art. IX) Zahlt an Dänemark 600,000 Thlr. nach dem Leipziger Fuß. - Die Grenzen 15 v. Lappland u. Finnmarken sollen durch Commissarien regulirt werden. (Dieß ist erst durch den Tractat zu Strömstadt vom 2 Oct. 1751 erfolgt.)

d.) *Mit Rußland zu Nystadt.* Auf dem zu Nystadt im Mai 1721 eröffneten Congress.  $\frac{30 \text{ Aug.}}{10 \text{ Sept.}}$  1721. Mußte nach dem Willen des Czaren

seinen Frieden zeichnen.

Schweden tritt an Rußland ab: Liefland, Esthland, Ingermannland u. Carelen, Theil v. Wiborglehn, nebst den Inseln Oesel, Dagoe u. Moen, u. allen andren Inseln v. der Grenze v. Curland bis Wiborg. (Art. III.) 25 Czar gibt Finnland zurück u. zahlt 2 Mill. Thlr. - Schweden soll freistehn, jährlich in Liefland f. 50,000 Rubel Getreide aufzukaufen u. zollfrei auszuführen ausser in schlechten Jahren - Czar sich nicht in die v. den Ständen eingeführte Regierungsform einzumischen. (Art. VIII.) Wegen des Schiffgrusses, (Art. XIX), wegen Einstellung der Freihaltung 30 der Gesandten (Art. XX) Wegen dieses Friedens ertheilten Senat u. Synode Peter'n I den Titel des Grossen u., den Kaisertitel, den er am Friedensfest annahm.

e.) *Mit Polen.* Im obigen (Nystädter) Frieden einbegriffen ... doch erst 1729 die förmliche Erklärung im gegenseitigen Schreiben beider Monarchen, v. beiderseitigen Reichsständen zu Stockholm 1731, zu Warschau 1732 genehmigt. [169-174]

C) *Händel m. der Pforte.*

*Krieg der Pforte gegen Venedig u. Kaiser.* 7 Dec. 1714 Krieg gegen Venedig erklärt. Nun Kaiser Karl VI. m. den Venetianern verbündet. (13 April 1716)

*Congress zu Passarowitz.* Seemächte Vermittler. Congress 1718 Mai. 5  
Auf den Fuß des *uti possidetis* der Friede m. dem Kaiser u. Venedig am 21 Juli 1718.

α) *Friede der Pforte m. dem Kaiser zu Passarowitz auf 20 J.:* Belgrad, grosser Theil v. Servien, Bannat, Theil der Wallachei in Oestreichs Händen. Die Aluta, weiterhin die Donau, u. sodann eine in dem Frieden 10 selbst gezeichnete Grenzlinie die Grenze der gegenseitigen Besitzungen (Art. I-VI) u. durch Commissarien beider Theile vollzogen werden. (Art. VII.) Handel gegenseitig offen, allen Unterthanen des Kaisers frei ihn zu Land u. See in allen Staaten des türk. Kaisers zu treiben. (Art. XIII) (wenige Tage nach dem Frieden, 27 Juli, ausführlicher Handelstraktat zu Passarowitz unterzeichnet.) Wegen der Religion wurden Art. XI, wegen der Gesandtschaften Art. XVII, XVIII, die Dispositionen des Carlowitzer Friedens wiederholt. Dieser Frieden soll 24 Mondenjahre dauern u. kann dann verlängert werden. (Art. XX)

β) *Mit Venedig zu Passarowitz ohne Zeitbestimmung.* Morea in den 20 Händen der Pforte, ohne es in dem Frieden zu benennen; den Venetianern ausdrücklich die v. ihnen eroberten Plätze in der Herzegovina, Dalmatien, Albanien gesichert. (Art. I, IV) Grenzen durch Commissarien zu regeln. (Art. V) Wegen des Bailo u. der Consuln Art. XIV, wegen der Kaufleute, Handel, Schifffahrt, selbst nach Aegypten u. Syrien, in Art. XL 25 XIII, XV-XXI, XXII-V ausführliche Bestimmungen.

γ) *Ewiger Frieden m. Rußland zu Constantinopel* 1720. Nov. u.a. das Versprechen des Czaren, sich nichts in Polen zuzueignen, u. nicht in dessen Verfassung zu mischen, aber auch die gegenseitige Garantie der Rechte, Privilegien u. Integrität Polens wider alle Versuche dieses in 30 absolute od. erbliche Monarchie zu verwandeln. (Art. XII)

Dieser Frieden v. Rußland nur geschlossen um sich v. Seite der Pforte in Verfolgung seiner Pläne wider Schweden sicher zu stellen. |

Aus Georg Friedrich von Marlen: Grundriß ... (Fortsetzung)

[51|2) Von 1721-1740.

In *Frankreich* Ludewig XV (seit 1723 volljährig.) In *Spanien*. Philipp V (1700-1746, bis 1725 m. Widerspruch Carl's v. Oestreich) In *Portugal*. Johann V. (1706-1750) *Reich*. Carl VI (1711-1740). *Preussen*. Friedrich Wilhelm I. (1713-1740) *England*. Georgi 1714-27. *Georg II* 1727-1760. *Dänemark*. Friedrich IV. (1700-1730) Christian VI. (1730-46) *Schweden*. Friedrich I. 1720-50. *Rußland*. Peter I. 1689-1725. *Camarina I.* -1727. Peter II. -1730. Anna. -1740. *Polen*. August II. 1697-1733. August iii. 1733-1763. *Päbste*: Innocenz XIII. (1721-24) Benedict XIII. 10 (1724-30) Clemens XII. (1730-40) *Sultane*: Achmet III 1703-30. Mahomed V. 1730-54. [174-179]

a.) Von 1721-1731.

*Congress zu Cambrai*. Schon 1720 belebt. 1722 eröffnet. Regelmässige Conferenzen erst 1724, April, worauf Oestreich, Spanien, Sardinien, 15 u. Parma ihre Forderungen übergaben. Ging fruchtlos auseinander, da Spanien direkt m. Oestreich u. Reich contrahirt, ohne die Vermittler Frankreich u. England.

*Wiener Frieden, Allianz u. Handelstraktat zwischen Spanien u. Oestreich*: (1725, 30 April.) Die Quadrupleallianz zur Grundlage genommen. 20 (Art. II) Von dem Kaiser die span. Successionsordnung, v. Spanien die pragmatische Sanction Carl's VI garantirt. (Art. XII). In der Defensivallianz verspricht der Kaiser dem Spanier seine bona officia in Wiedererlangung v. Gibraltar u. Minorka (Art. II) Spanien den kaiserl. Unterthanen alle Handelsfreiheiten, deren amicissimi praesentes geniessen. 25 (Art. III); beide Theile einander nachdrücklichen Schutz zur See (Art. IV), im Fall eines Angriffs dem Kaiser Hülfe v. 20,000 Mann u. 51 Kriegsschiffen, dem König v. Spanien Hülfe v. 30,000 Mann versprochen. (Art. V) Der ostendischen Compagnie allerlei Vortheile zugesagt. (Art. II, XXXVI) In dem v. Kaiser f. das Reich m. Spanien zu Wien geschloßnen 30 Frieden (1725, 7 June) ward die Genehmigung der Exspectanz auf Toskana u. Parma bedungen. Ratification des gesammten Reichs erfolgte 20 Juli.

*Hannoversche Allianz der Wiener entgegengesetzt*. Großbrit., Frankreich, Preussen. zu Herrenhausen auf 15 J. geschloßne Allianz. 35 (1725 2 Sept.)

6 Aug. 1726 trat Katharina I der Oestreich.-span. Allianz bei; ebenso Trier, Köln, Baiern, Pfalz; Preussen v. der hannoverschen Allianz abgezogen (10 Aug.), noch näher m. Oestreich verbunden durch den Vertrag v. Wusterhausen (12 Oct.) worin der Kaiser dem König gegen Garantie der pragmatischen Sanction versprach, ihm nach Absterben des Churfürsten v. der Pfalz zur Succession in Jülich u. Berg zu verhelfen. Dagegen die hannoverschen Alliierten verstärkt durch den Beitritt der Vereinigten Niederlande, Schwedens, Dänemarks. Auch schloß Großbrit. Subsidientractate m. Hessen-Cassel (12 März 1726) u. m. Wolfenbüttel (25 November 1727) - Ausbruch des Kriegs. - *Präliminarvergleich* des Karl VI m. England, Frankreich, Holland zu Paris (1727, 3 Mai), kraft dessen er während eines 7jäh. Waffenstillstands die ostendische Compagnie zu suspendiren versprach, u. übrigens alle Streitpunkte auf einem zu Aachen zu versammelnden Congressse ausgemacht sollten. Spanien - durch den Tractat zu Pardo m. Großb. vorerst dahin verglichen 1728, 15 6 März - daß England seine Flotte v. America u. den span. Küsten zurückruft, Spanien die Sperrung v. Gibraltar aufhebt, u. der Südsee-compagnie das in Veracruz aufgehaltne Permissionsschiff zurückgiebt.

1729, 9 Nov. zu *Sevilla* Traktat Spaniens m. Frankreich u. Großb., ohne Vorwissen Carl's VI. Dem Don Carlos die Erbfolge in Toscana u. Parma nochmals garantirt u. Spanien gestattet zu ihrer Sichrung 6000 Mann dahin überzuführen. Die Vereinigten Niederlande traten bei, Bedingung bes., gänzliche Abstellung der ostendischen Compagnie etc ... [179-186]I

[52] März 16, 1731 zu *Wien* Traktat zw. Großb. u. Carl VI, unter vor- 25 ausgesetztem Beitritt der Vereinigten Niederlande:

Erneuerungen der ältren Allianzen, u. Garantie der Besitzungen u. Rechte. (Art. I) Großbrit. u. die Vereinigten Niederlande garantiren die pragmatische Sanction. (Art. II) Kaiser willigt in Spaniens Erbfolge in Parma, Piacenza, auch das 6000 Spanier in die Festungen v. Toscana 30 u. Parma einrücken. (Art. III) Kaiser will for ever allen Handel zwischen den Oestreich. Niederlanden u. Ostindien aufheben, so daß er weder einzeln, noch in Compagnie soll betrieben werden. (Art. V) Wegen der Zölle in den Niederlanden soll ein neues Traktat zwischen Großb. u. den Vereinigten Niederlanden mit Oestreich geschlossen werden. (Art. V) 35 Spanien schließt sich diesem Traktat an (6 Juni) u. schließt deßhalb noch eignen Tractat m. Kaiser u. Großb. zu Wien. (22 Juli) Das Reich trat dem Wiener Tractat durch den Reichsschluß vom 14 Juli 1731, die Vereinigten Niederlande durch die Acte v. 20 Febr. 1732 bei. - Familienvergleich zwischen Spanien u. Toskana (25 Juli 1731), Don Carlos nimmt Besitz 40 > v. Parma, span. Truppen in Livorno aufgenommen, Oct. 1731, Don Carlos nimmt s. Residenz am tosk. Hof, Februar 1732.

Aus Georg Friedrich von Martens: Grundriß ... (Fortsetzung)

β) Von 1731-1740.

1.) Im Norden, Süden u. Westen bis 1739.

*Etat politique de l'Europe.* A la Haye. 1739-50. Mr. P. Massuet, Histoire de la guerre présente contenant tout ce qui s'est passé de plus important en Italie, sur le Rhin, en Pologne etc *Amsterd.* (1733-5) /. K. Fasi Ueber den Krieg, welchen die polnische Thronfolge 1733 veranlaßt hat. *Roussel:* Recueil de mémoires. T. VI-XIII

*Polnische Königswahl u. daraus entstandner Krieg.*

August II v. Polen | 1 Febr. 1733. Ludwig XV betreibt die Wahl seines Schwiegervaters, Stanislaus Lescinsky; Rußland die des Churfürsten August v. Sachsen, der (16 Juli) auch Oestreich durch einen Traktat gewann, worin er sich zur Garantie der pragmatischen Sanction verstand.

*Krieg am Rhein 1733-5.* Franzosen schon im October sich Kehl's bemächtigt u. Lothringen besezt. Krieg im Namen des Reichs an Frankreich erklärt, (1734, 26 Feb.). Coin, Baiern, u. Pfalz protestiren u. ergriffen Neutralität Frankreich erobert Lothringen u. nimmt Philippsburg (1734, 18 Juli.)

*Schicksale des Kriegs in Italien. 1733-5:* Hier Hauptsitz des Kriegs. Den Kaiserlichen blieb jenseits der Alpen keine Festung, als das v. den Feinden eingeschloßne Mantua. (1735 Sept.)

*Unterhandlungen u. Friedenspräliminarien zu Wien.* ... Unvermuthete Unterzeichnung v. Friedenspräliminarien zwischen Frankreich u. Oestreich, (3 Oct. 1735), unter gehofftem Beitritt der übrigen Intressenten: Churfürst August v. Sachsen als König v. Polen anerkannt. Stanislaus lebenslang den Königstitel u. den Besitz v. Lothringen u. Bar, nach seinem Absterben fallen diese Länder an Frankreich m. völliger Souveränität. (Art. I.) Herzog Franz v. Lothringen soll zur Schadloshaltung Toscana erben, Bar sofort gegen ein vom Kaiser zu zahlendes Aequivalent f. die Einkünfte an Stanislaus abtreten. (Art. II) Don Carlos behält Neapel u. Sicilien, m. den Oestreich. Plätzen an der toskanischen Küste, auch Portolongone u. Insel Elva. (Art. III) Sardinien soll v. 3 Landschaften, Novarese, Vigevanasco u. Tortonese, sich 2 wählen können; über die Langhischen Lehn die Landeshoheit, m. Vorbehalt der Reichslehnbarkheit, haben: auch ihm die 4 Herrschaften San Fedele, Torre di Forti, Gravedo u. Campo maggiore überlassen. (Art. IV) Der Kaiser soll zur Vergütung, ausser der Zurückgabe der übrigen Erobrungen, die über ihn in Italien gemacht, Parma u. Piacenza erlangen. (Art. V) Frankreich garantirt die pragmatische Sanction. (Art. VI) In einem Separatartikel ward festgesetzt, daß beim künftigen Frieden Rußland u. König August,

in dem, was die polnischen Händel betrifft, als Hauptcontrahenten angesehen werden sollen. |

[53] *Wiener Definitivfriede.* 8 Nov. 1738 zu Wien auf den Fuß der Präliminarien. - Alter Großherzog v. Toscana, Johann Gastoff 9 Juli 1737. - Beide Theile garantirten einander den Besitz v. Lothringen u. Toscana. 5  
Kaiser ratifizirt denselben 31 Dec. f. sich u. Reich, Frankreich 7 Jan. 1739, Sardinien 3 Febr., (39), Spanien u. Sicilien 21 April (39), Rußland u. König August 26 Mai (39.) der Beitritt des Reichs unterblieb zufällig, als Carl VI kurz nach Erlassung des darauf gerichteten Commissionsdecrets starb. Die Seemächte hatten so wenig an dem Definitivfrieden 10  
Theil als an den Präliminarien. [187-196]

## 2) Händel mit der Pforte.

*Comte de Schmettau:* Mémoires secrets de la guerre de Hongrie durant les campagnes de 1737-1739. etc Francfort. 1771. *Mr. de Keralio:* Hist. de la guerre des Russes et des Impér. contre les Turcs en 1736, 7, 8, et 39. 15  
etc Paris. 1780.

*Général de Manstein:* Mém. histor., polit., et milit. sur la Russ. dep. 1727-^4. Leipzig. 1771.

*l'Abbé Laugier:* Hist. de négoc. pour la paix conclue à Belgrade le 18 Sept. 1739. Paris. 1778. 20

*Ausbruch des Kriegs der Pforte gegen Rußland und Oestreich:* Rußland erklärt den Krieg 1736, 1 Mai; nachdem es vorher in die Krimm eingebrochen u. Asov belagert. 11 Juli 1737 erklärt Oestreich auch der Pforte den Krieg. Feldzug v. 1737. 38 auch f. beide Kaiserhöfe unglücklich. Feldzug v. 1739 25

*Belgrader Friedenscongress.* 1) Präliminarfriede m. Oestreich; unterzeichnet 1739, 1 Sept. zu Belgrad unter fzs. Vermittlung u. Garantie, u. vor erfolgter Ratification Waffenstillstand.

1739, 18 Sept. sowohl Friede m. Rußland als Oestreich unterzeichnet.  
*Definitivfrieden zwischen Oestreich u. der Pforte zu Belgrad auf 27 J.* 30  
1739, 18 Sept. Belgrad sammt den alten Festungswerken der Pforte zurückgegeben. Die neuen Festungswerke sollen demolirt werden. (Art. I) Ebenso die Festung Sabacz auf dem selben Fusse der Pforte zurückgegeben. (Art. II) Der Kaiser tritt Servien der Pforte ab. (Art. III) Ebenso die östreichische Wallachei. (Art. IV) Die Festung Orsowa soll 35 3  
der Pforte, das Temeswarer Bannat dem Hause Oestreich bis an die Wallachei, m. Ausnahme der Ebene Orsowa gegenüber zwischen der Czerna u. Donau gehören. (Art. V) Die Grenzen sollen durch Commissarien berichtet werden. (Art. XIII. XV) Wegen des Handels u. des Verbots der



Aus Georg Friedrich von Martens: Grundriß ... (Fortsetzung)

Capereien der Barbaresken u. Dulcignotten Art. XI, XII mehres bestimmt, doch ohne des Passarowitzer Handelstraktats zu erwähnen. Dauer dieses Waffenstillstands 27 J. (Art. XXIII) (Durch Tractat vom 25 Mai 1747 ist der Waffenstillstand in ewigen Frieden verwandelt.)

5 *Ewiger Friede zwischen Rußland u. der Pforte zu Belgrad.* (1739, 18 September): Die Grenzen sollen bleiben wie nach den vorigen Verträgen u. durch eine eigne Convention berichtigt werden. (Art. II) Asov soll demolirt u. das Gebiet der Festung nach den 1700 festgesetzten Grenzen wüst bleiben, u. zur Grenze dienen. Rußland soll eine Festung in der Nach-  
10 barschaft der Insel Circassien, als der alten Grenze Rußlands, die Pforte eine Festung auf der Grenze des Kuban, nach Asov zu, bauen können, aber Taganrok demolirt bleiben u. Rußland keine Flotte weder auf dem Meer Zabache noch auf dem schwarzen Meer halten. (Art. III) Die beiden Cabarden u. ihre Einwohner sollen frei v. der Oberherrschaft beider  
15 Reiche bleiben. (Art. VI) Der Handel soll beiden Theilen frei sein, doch der russische auf dem schwarzen Meer nur auf türkischen Schiffen stattfinden. (Art. IX) [196-205]

#### V. Abschnitt. Von 1740-1784.

*Frankreich.* Ludwig XV. 1715-1774. Ludwig XVI. *Spanien.* Philipp V. 20 -1746. Ferdinand -1759. Carl III. -1788. *Portugal.* Johann V. 1705-50. Joseph Emanuel -1777. Maria. *Deutschland:* Carl VII. 1742-5. |  
[54] *Franzi.* 1745-1764. Joseph II. 1764-1790. *Großbrit.* George II. 1727-1760. George III. *Dänemark:* Christian VI. 1730-46. Friedrich V -1766. Christian VII. *Schweden.* Friedrich I. 1720-51. Adolph Friedrich  
25 1751-71. *Rußland.* Iwan III. 1740. Oct.-Dec. *Elisabeth.* 1740-62. *Peter III* -9 Juli. Catharina II-1796. *Preussen.* Friedrich II. 1740-1786. *Polen.* August iii. 1733-63. Stanislaus August. 1764-95. *Päbste:* Benedikt XIV. 1740-58. Clemens XIII. 1758-69. Clemens XIV. 1769-74. Pius VI. 1775-1799. *Türk. Kaiser:* Mahmud I. 1730-54. Osman III.  
30 -1757. Mustapha III. -1774. Abdul Hamid. -1789.

#### Zustand Europas um das J. 1740.

*Frankreich.* Wieder Einflußreich. *Spanien:* Vergrößerungspläne, f. die seine Kräfte zu schwach. (Elisabeth v. Parma, f. ihren Prinz Karl Spanien in Italien wieder Fuß zu verschaffen.) *Portugal:* Unter engl. Schutz, Groß-  
35 brit. zieht selbst v. seinem neuentdeckten brasilian. Schatz den Haupt-

vortheil. *Großbrit. Vereinigte Niederlande:* Seit dem Utrechter Friede der Verfall der Staatskräfte u. des Anselms der Republik immer merklicher. Frankreich unterhält sorgfältig die Spaltung zwischen der Oranischen u. patriotischen Partei, zumal in Holland, von welcher Provinz die übrigen bei der Zerüttung der Finanzen immer abhängiger. Schwankt kraftlos 5 zwischen Großb. u. Frankreich. *Deutschland: Oestreich:* Preussen: Neuer Nebenbuhler Oestreichs. *Italien: Savoyen.* Das Uebergewicht, das seit 1713, 1718 Oestreich in Italien gewonnen, merklich geschwächt, seit ein span. Prinz in Neapel u. Sicilien herrschte, wenn gleich dagegen Oestreich Parma erworben u. Toscana durch Vermählung seinen Erbstaaten zuge- 10 fügt: Victor Amadeus, König v. Sardinien, neigt sich seit dem Wiener Frieden auf Oestreich. *Seite. Eidgenossen:* Frankreich zog die protestantischen Cantons immer mehr zu sich über; indeß der Einfluß Oestreichs auf die meisten derselben geschwächt. *Dänemark.* Seit 1720 friedliches System. Seemacht sehr gehoben. *Schweden:* bes. ruinirt durch die seit 15 1720 angenommene Verfassung. Auf dem Reichstag die mit fremdem Geld erkaufte Parteien; die fzs. seit 1738 ein merkliches Uebergewicht. *Polen, Rußland:* Seit Peter I das Uebergewicht im Norden - seit 1726 Allianz m. Oestreich. *Türkei* lange Friedensjahre, die der persische Krieg nur wenig unterbricht. Zerfällt m. Rußland erst 1768 auf Frankreichs Betrieb. *Völ- 20 kerrecht.* Preussen u. Rußland vermehrte Kraft; Holland u. Schweden merklich herab: Portugal, Dänemark, Eidgenossen, Polen merklich *im Verhältniß* an Gewicht abgenommen. Doch *schien* noch um 1740, wo Oestreich u. Reich, Rußland u. Preussen ihre Herrscher verloren, Erhaltung des Gleichgewichts v. der Frage abhängig (dem Verhältnisse zwi- 25 sehen Frankreich u. Oestreich), wer nach dem Tode v. Carl VI *Erbe der Oestreich. Monarchie* u. Oberhaupt des Reichs werde. Oestreichische Erbfrage wie der Streit über die span. Succession. Um dieselbe Zeit Eröffnung der Jülich- u. Bergischen Succession. [207-218]

#### I.) Von 1740-1748.

so

*J. C. Adelungs* pragmat. Staatsgeschichte Europas v. dem Ableben Kaiser Carl's VI an bis auf die gegenw. Zeit. B. 1-6, 1762-5.

(*Freiherr v. Spon*) Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Europe depuis 1740-1748. Amst. 1749. (t. I-III)

*Richard Rolt* an impartial representation of the conduct of the several 35 Powers of Europe engaged in the last general war—from 1739 to the conclusion of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. 1748. Lond. 1754. t. I-IV.

*Haverkamp.* Staatsgeheimen van Europa etc. Amsterdam. (1740-8)

Aus Georg Friedrich von Martens: Grundriß ... (Fortsetzung)

a) Von 1740-2.

*Ausbruch des Kriegs zwischen Großbritannien u. Spanien. Rousset: procès entre la Grande Bret, et l'Espagne à la Haye 1740. Samuel Boy se: An historical review of the transactions of Europe from 1739-45. Lond. 5 1756. Wegen des ||55| Assientovertrags, dem Betragen der span. Küstenbewahrer, u. den Grenzen v. Florida. England schickt 1738 Flotte ins mittelländische Meer. 9 Sept. Vergleich zu London, u. 1739, 14 Jan. zu Pardo zu neuer Convention wegen gütlicher Ausgleichung der Beschwerden in 3 Monaten. Als dieser Termin verstrich, brach England die Con-*  
io *ferenzen ab, übt im Juli Repressalien, Spanien im August Gegenrepressalien, England erklärt 30 Oct. 1739 Krieg, erobert (3 Dec.) Portobello, Carthagera in America bombardirt u. St. Domingo (1740 März); Frankreich, das insgeheim diesen Krieg befördert, schickt Observationsflotte nach America: gleich nach Carl VI Tode zurückgerufen ...*

15 *Streit über die österreichische Succession,*

*J. D. v. Olenschlager. Geschichte des Interregni nach Ableben Carl's VI. Frankfurt. 1742. (4 Bd.) Mauvillon Hist, de la dem. guerre de la Bohème Frankfurt. 1745-7.*

Carl VI f 20 Oct. 1740. Maria Theresia nimmt Besitz v. den östr. Erb-  
20 *landen, kraft der pragmat. Sanction, erklärt Franz Stephan v. Lothringen, ihren Gemahl zum Mitregenten; v. den meisten Mächten, selbst Frankreich anerkannt. Churfürst v. Baiern, nahm, aus dem Ehepakte Alberts v. Baiern m. Anna, Tochter Ferdinands I, v. 1546 die gesammte Erbschaft in Anspruch. Churfürst v. Sachsen, aus seiner Vermählung m.*  
25 *Maria Josepha, der ältesten Tochter Joseph's I, Spanien aus der bedingten Renunciation Philipp's III, dessen Mutter Tochter Maximilian's II gewesen, die ganze Erbschaft; der König v. Sardinien, aus den Ehepakten seines Ur-ur-großvaters, Mailand, Preussen aus 2 verschiednen Gründen, Jägerndorf u. die Fürstenthümer Liegnitz, Brieg u. Wolau in Schlesien.*  
30 [218-221]

α) Von 1740-2.

*Ausbruch des V schlesischen Kriegs. Friedrich II. Setzt sich nach Sturm v. Glogau (1741, 9 März), Sieg bei Mollwitz (10 Apr.), Erobrung v. Brieg (4 Mai) vollends in Schlesien fest.*

35 *Frankreichs Plan der Zertheilung der Oestreich. Monarchie u. Bündniß. Geheimer Vertrag m. Baiern zu Nymphenburg, 1741, 18 Mai, auch Bündnisse m. Cöln, Pfalz, Spanien, Sicilien, Preussen, Kursachsen. Groß-*

brit. durch Traction zu Hannover (1741, 24 Jun.) verband sich Oestreich zur Hilfsleistung.

*Ausbruch des fzs.-bair. Kriegs.* (Nov. 1741) Wahl Carl's VII. der Churfürst v. Baiern. (1742, 24 Jan.)

*Erste Wendung des Kriegsglücks f. Oestreich.* 1741 Dec. 1742. Jan. Febr. 5 Walpole in England verabschiedet Febr. 1742, Carteret an seine Stelle, Maßregeln f. Oestreich.

*Definitivfrieden zw. Oestreich u. Preussen* zu Berlin 28 Juli 1742 u. im Sept. m. Chursachsen.

*Präliminarfrie de zw. Ungarn u. Preussen* zu Breslau (11 Jun.); *Definitivfrie de zu Berlin* (28 Juli 1742.)

Beide Theile versprechen sich in keine Allianz einzulassen, die diesem Frieden entgegen. (Art. II) Die Königin überläßt an Preussen Nieder- u. Oberschlesien nebst Grafschaft Glatz; m. Ausnahme des Fürstenthums Teschen, der Stadt Troppau, u. dessen, was jenseits des Oppaustroms u. 15 in den hohen Gebirgen v. Oberschlesien gelegen ist, wie der Herrschaft Hennersdorf u. der übrigen in Oberschlesien eingeschloßnen zu Mähren gehörigen Distrikte. Preussen entsagt dafür allen alten u. neuen Ansprüchen an die Königin. (Art. V) Katholische Religion in Schlesien in statu quo, Vorbehalt unumschränkter Gewissensfreiheit f. die Protestan- 20 ten u. der dem Souverain des Landes zukommenden Gerechtsame. (Art. VI) Preussen übernimmt das auf Schlesien hypothecirte Darlehn englischer Kaufleute v. 1735 zu zahlen. (Art. VII) In diesen Frieden eingeschlossen Georg II, russische Kaiserin, das Haus Wolfenbüttel, August III als Churfürst v. Sachsen. Großbritannien, das diesen Frieden u. die 25 darin enthaltne Cession garantirte, schloß bes. Defensivbündnis m. Preussen zu Westminster (18 Nov.), Kaiserin v. Rußland (11 Dec), Sachsen (20 Dec. 1743) sich m. Oestreich verband. [221-227]

B) Von 1742-4.

*Fortgang des fzs.-bair. Kriegs. Krieg in Italien; Wormser Traktat.* König v. 30 Neapel, als Alliirter Spains, Truppen gegen die Lombardey vorrücken lassen (1741); Sardinien (1 Febr. 1742) zur östreich.-britt. Parthei übergegangen. König v. Neapel zur Neutralität gezwungen durch die engl. Flotte (19 Aug. 1742). König v. Sardinien (13 Sept. 1743) schloß Worm- 35 ser 1156| Tractat m. England u. Oestreich, worin er gegen versprochne britt. Hilfe u. Subsidien, u. gegen Abtretung v. Vigevanasco, Pavesano u. Stück v. Parma u. Piacenza, u. das Versprechen der Abtretung v. Finale, seinen

Ansprüchen auf Mailand entsagt u. thätige Fortsetzung des Kriegs versprach, der sich nun weiter in Italien ausbreitete.

γ.) Von 1744-5.

*Bruch Frankreichs m. England u. Oestr. 1744.* (15 März gegen Γ u. 5 27 April gegen 2<sup>tes</sup>), worauf sich der Krieg nun auch in die Niederlande zog.

*Ausbruch des 2' schlesischen Kriegs 1744.* Preussen schließt zu Frankfurt Mai 1744 geheime Union m. Carl VII, Churpfalz, Hessen-Cassel, der Frankreich beitrug, u. fällt kraft der bes. Bündnisse v. 4 Juni u. 24 Juli, im 10 Aug. 1744 wieder unvermuthet in Böhmen ein, angeblich als kaiserl. Alliirter.

*Fortgang des fzs.-bair. Kriegs gen Oestreich u. dessen Alliirte.* Auf Georg II Betrieb der Frankfurter Union Quadrupelallianz (1745, 8 Jan.) zw. Großbrit., den Generalstaaten, Ungarn u. Sachsen zu Warschau ent- 15 gegengesetzt. Carl VII | 20 Jan. zu München. [227-232]

*Friede m. Baiern (Churfürst Maximilian Joseph) m. Oestreich zu Füssen 1745 22 April*

Oestreich gibt alles Eroberte zurück. (Art. II.) Entsagt aller Anforderung einer Schadloshaltung. (Art. III) Churfürst nimmt die pragmatische 20 Sanction an u. entsagt allen Ansprüchen auf die östr. Erbfolge. (Art. IV, V) Erkennt die böhmische Wahlstimme der Königin. (Art. VI) Verspricht s. Churstimme dem Großherzog v. Toscana. (Art. VII) Verspricht der vorseienden Association der vordem Kreise beizutreten. (Art. VIII) Nun erklärte sich Hessen-Cassel neutral, u. die Fzs. verliessen 25 Baiern u. die vorderösterreichischen Lande.

*Fortsetzung u. Ende des 2' schlesischen Kriegs. (1745)*

*Friedensschlüsse Preussens m. Sachsen u. Oestreich zu Dresden. 1745.*

1) *Friede zwischen Preussen u. Chursachsen:* Chursachsen bezahlt an Preussen 1 Mill. Rthlr. (Art. III) tritt der hannoverschen Convention 30 (vom 26 Aug.) bei; (Art. V) renuncirt f. sich u. Erben, als Eventualerbe des östr. Hauses, auf Schlesien. (Art. VI); tritt gegen ein auszumittelndes Equivalent die Stadt Fürstenberg u. das Dorf Schildlo m. beiderseitigem Oderzoll ab, so daß beide Ufer der Oder an Preussen gehören. (Art. VII) Die protestantische Religion in beider Theile Land nach Westphälischem 35 Frieden ohne Neurung zu erhalten. (Art. VIII) Dem König v. Polen soll f. ihn, s. Hofu. Fürstengut freie Passage durch Schlesien zustehn. (Art. X)

2) *Friede zwisch. Preussen u. Oestr.:* Breslauer Friede u. Grenzregress v. 1742 erneuert. Die K. K. tritt der hannövrischen Convention bei.

(Art. II) Preussen erkennt Franz I als Kaiser. (Art. VII) Oestreich u. Preussen garantiren sich wechselseitig ihre Staaten. (Art. VIII) Chursachsen, Churbraunschweig-Lüneburg, Hessen-Cassel u. Churpfalz (diese erklärt sich 3 Jan. 1746 zum Beitritt bereit) in den Frieden eingeschlossen.

δ) Von 1745-8.

5

*Fortsetzung des Kriegs in Italien.* Gegen das Wormser Tractat geheimes Bündniß v. Frankreich, Spanien. Neapel, Genua zu Aranjuez I Mai 1745, in Folge dessen sie fast die ganze Lombardei u. die sardinischen Staaten eroberten. Philipp V f 9 Juli 1746. Ferdinand VI zieht s. Truppen aus der Lombardei. Genua v. den Oestreichern besezt, 10 5 Sept. 1746, befreit sich (Dec.) durch Volksempörung, dadurch der östr. Einfall in die Provence vereitelt. Neue Belagerung v. Genua 1747, General Belleisle über die Alpen zurück 19 Juli 1747. *Seekrieg:* Engländer seit dem Treffen v. Toulon (gegen die vereinigte fzs. u. span. Flotte 1744, 24 Febr.) Meister des mittelländischen Meers gegen Spanien u. 15 Frankreich. In America fügte Anson den Spaniern, in Westindien u. an der Küste der Südsee 1741 grossen Schaden zu. den Franzosen 1744 verschiedne Colonien verwüstet. 1745 Cap Breton entrissen. In Ostindien eroberten die Franzosen Madras 1746, konnten aber, nach mißlungnem Angriff auf Bombay (1747) sich kaum bis zum Frieden in Ostindien 20 erhalten. Noch glücklicher die Engländer in offner See, Ansons Erobrung der Manila-Gallion u. Vernichtung einer span. Escadre; Hawke's Erobrung der fzs. Westindienflotte 1747, u. Zernichtung fast der ganzen fzs. Seemacht. Nur eine Landung in Bretagne mißlang im Oct. 1747. |

]57| *Fortsetzung u. Ende des Kriegs in den Niederlanden.* Auch in den 25 Niederlanden der Krieg 1745 eifrig fortgesetzt. *Maréchal de Saxe*, 1745, II Mai Sieg bei Fontenoi u. 1746, den 11 Oct. glänzende Siege. Griff April (Frankreich) 1747 Holland an; hier nun Revolution, wodurch *Wilhelm IV* v. Oranien, Statthalter v. 3 Provinzen, zum Statthalter erst in den übrigen einzelnen Provinzen, dann zum General-Capitain u. Admiral 30 der gesammten Union f. sich, u. bald auch f. seine Erben, ernannt. Sieg der Fzs. bei Lawfeld (2 Juli 1747), erobern Bergen op Zoom, (16 Sept.) - belagern Maastricht. 1748, 16 April.

*Rußland Friede m. Schweden 1743* (Auf Frankreichs Betrieb Krieg gegen Schweden u. Rußland ausgebrochen am 4 Aug. 1741) u. *später* 35 *Theilnahme am Oestreich. Erbfolgekrieg:* Präliminarfriede zw. Schweden u. Rußland. 27 Juni 1743.

Der Friede Schwedens 17 Aug. 1743: Schweden wählt nach dem Willen Elisabeths den holsteinschen Prinzen Adolph Friedrich zum Thronfolger in Schweden. (Art. Präl. II) Tritt in Finnland Kymenegorod u. Nyslot an Rußland ab. (Art. Def. V) Entsaßt allen entgegenstehenden Bündnissen. 5 (Art. Def. I) Sonst die Cessionen des Nystädter Friedens etc bestätigt. ... In Gemäßheit eines m. Großbritannien. u. Oestr. am 30 Nov. 1747 geschloßnen Bundes vor Ende des Jahres ein Corps v. 37,000 Russen in Marsch gesetzt, dessen Annäherung die Schliessung der Präliminarien, sowie s. Vorrücken in Franken die Abschliessung des Definitivfriedens beschleunigten.

*Aachner Friedensunterhandlungen:* Die mehrsten Gesandten trafen ein März 1748. Erste feierliche Conferenz 24 April. Frankreich u. die 2 Seemächte schlossen unter sich 30 April insgeheim Präliminair-Friedenstrat. Oestreich protestirt 4 Mai, nimmt an 25 Mai, Sardinien u. Modena 15 den 31 Mai, Spanien u. Genua den 28 Juni ... Definitivfrieden am 18 October auf den Fuß der Präliminarien zu Aachen, u. v. den 3 Hauptcontrahenten der letzten unterschrieben.

*Definitivfriede zu Aachen vom 18 Oct. 1748:* Zur Endigung des Kriegs zwischen Ludwig XV v. Frankreich auf der einen u. Georg II als König 20 u. Churfürst, u. der K. K. Maria Theresia auf der andren; zwischen Philipp V, dann Ferdinand VI v. Spanien auf der einen, u. dem König Georg II, der K. Königin, u. Carl Emanuel, König v. Sardinien, auf der andren, u. woran die Vereinigten Niederlande als Hülfisleister des Königs v. Großbrit. u. der Maria Theresia, Modena u. Genua als Hülfisleister 25 Spaniens. Theilgenommen, bestimmt:

Erneuerung u. Bestätigung der westphälischen Friedensschlüsse, des Madriter v. 1667 u. 1670 zwischen Spanien u. England, der Nimweger v. 1678 u. 79, Ryswicker v. 1697, Utrechter v. 1713, Badener v. 1714, Tripleallianz v. 1717, Quadrupleallianz v. 1718 u. Wiener Frieden 30 v. 1738, als Grundlagen des jetzigen Traktats. (Pr. Art. I. Def. Art. III) Gegenseitige Zurückgabe aller seit dem Anfange des Kriegs od. seit den Präliminarien gemachten Erobrungen in Europa, Ost- u. Westindien. (Präl. Art. II, Def. Art. V) An Don Philipp Parma, Piacenza u. Guastalla f. ihn v. Maria Theresia u. dem König v. Sardinien abgetreten, doch 35 behält sich Sardinien den Rückfall v. Piacenza u. dann Piazentino, Oestreich den Rückfall des übrigen Landes auf den Fall vor, daß Mannstamm Philipp's erloschen od. er od. s. Nachkommen den sicilianischen od. span. Thron bestiegen; welches Sardinien auch auf den Fall erstreckt, wenn der König beider Sicilien den span. Thron besteigen sollte. (Präl. 40 Art. IV. Def. Art. VII.) Der König v. Sardinien behält s. alten u. neuen Besitzungen, bes. auch die ihm 1743 abgetretnen Stücke. (Präl. Art. VII.

Def. Art. XII) Modena u. Genua werden völlig restituirt. (Präl. Art. VI. Def. Art. XII, XIII) Alle 8 Contrahenten setzen fest, daß zu Erhaltung des Friedens u. Ruhe in Italien alles daselbst in den Stand, worin vor dem Krieg. (Art. XV) Der Assientovertrag v. 1713 f. die 4 J., binnen welcher der Genuß desselben durch den Krieg unterbrochen, bestätigt. 5  
(Art. XVI) Dünkirchen soll v. der Landseite befestigt bleiben (Art. XVII) Zu Ausgleichung einiger noch unerledigter Fragen sollen Commissarien ernannt werden. (Art. XVIII) Art. V der Quadrupleallianz wegen Garantie der brit. Thronfolge u. des Prätendenten namentlich bestätigt. (Art. XIX) König v. Großb., als Churfürst, in diesen Frieden einge- 10  
schlossen u. dessen deutsche Staaten durch denselben garantirt. (Art. XX) Alle Mächte, die an diesem Frieden teilnehmen, erneuern ihre Garantie der pragmatischen Sanction. (Art. XXI.) Garantiren Preussen Schlesien u. die Grafschaft Glatz. (Art. XXII) Garantiren einander gegenseitig die Vollziehung dieses Friedens. (Art. XXIII) Der König bei- 15  
der Sicilien trat auch dem Definitivfrieden nicht bei. | [233-245]



|58| Portfolio. Vol. II.  
N. 5. London 1843.

*Times. Jan. 30 1839.* "It is not for us to understand how Lord Palmerston may feel, but we are sure there is no misapprehending how *any other*  
5 *Person* in the Station of a Gentleman, and in the Position of a Minister, *would feel*, after the Notoriety given to the correspondence between Mr. Urquhart, whom Lord Palmerston dismissed from Office, and Mr. Backhouse, whom the Noble Viscount has retained in Office, by *The Times of Yesterday*. There never was a fact apparently better established through this Correspondence than that the Series of Official Documents contained in the wellknown Publication called the Portfolio were  
10 printed and circulated by Lord Palmerston's authority, and that His Lordship is responsible for the Publication of them, both as a Statesman to the political World here and abroad, and as an Employer, to the  
15 Printers and Publishers, for the pecuniary Charge attending it." [167]

N. VI. 1844.

*Interview of a Deputation from Glasgow with Sir Robert Peel, April 25, 1840* (v. Kaufleuten) direkt den Palmerston der collusion m. Rußland anklagend, (p. 198, sqq.) (Nennen es direkt *treason*, aus deep Anxiety  
20 f. our Commercial Position)

*Memorial of the Operatives of Glasgow for the Dismissal of Ministers.* (Ebenfalls April, 1840) (this Petition presented in the Commons by Sir William Follett, and in the Lords by Lord Lyndhurst. [206, 211])

N. VIII. March 1, 1844.

On *May 13, 1837*, the following Despatch was penned in the Brit. Embassy of St. Petersburg, and presented to the H. o. Commons as the Case of the Gov., when it allowed the Russ. Gov. to confiscate that Brit, vessel: "My Lord, With respect to the military *de facto* occupation of 5 Soudjouk-Kale, I have to state to your Lordship that there is a fortress in the Bay which bears the name of the Empress (Alexandrinsky,) and that *it has been always* occupied by a Russian garrison. I have etc. *Durham.*" (To Viscount Palmerston) The Statement contained in this Despatch was a Falsehood adjusted between the Writer of it and the Russian Gov. on 10 the one hand, and the For. Secretary on the other. (531) there was the Offer of the distinct Testimony, of the Crew of 2 Brit. Vessels who had visited the Bay. (—the one in Sept. 1834, the other, that of the "Vixen" itself—confirmed subsequently by the published Statements of 2 Brit, travellers, who visited the Harbour in 1837-8) that there was no Russian 15 Occupation whatever ... In der "Augsburger Zeitung" Briefe über den Caucasus, schreibt ein Mann der 1843 Sevastopol sah: "After all the Russian ships of the line which I visited no vessel excited my curiosity more than the *Soudjouk-Kaleh*, formerly the Vixen ... Under Russian colours, she has now quite changed her appearance ... this little vessel is 20 now the best sailer in the Russian fleet, and is generally employed as a transport between Sevastopol and the Coast of Circassia ... War with England, as long as their great works at Sevastopol were unfinished, would have been an unwelcome visitor. ... The Circassian people, whose dwellings extend from the Kuban to the River Bug, not far from Gagra, 25 comprise, with the tribes of the Caboods, and of the Abasaks, who speak a dialect of the Adighe, from 400,000 to 500,000 souls. This is the valuation of the Russians ..." Longworth schätzt die Tcherkesses to one million. If the Circassians were, like the Tschetschenkes, united under one head, it would not be difficult for them to collect 10 or 20,000 warriors 30 on one point, and carry some ||59| dreadful excursions into execution. No part of the Tschernomorski country of the Cossacks, from Taman to Urstrebinska, would be strong enough to resist such a body; and even the town of Ikaderinodar, which at present is not garrisoned by more than 800 Cossacks, and 200 Infantry, would find it difficult to escape the 35 attacks of these Mountaineers. Kupffer, who presided over a scientific commission, which, in 1829, accompanied the expedition of General Emmanuel to the Elbrus, says,—"The thought of the dreadful conse-

quences which an union of the hostile Circassians under one head would produce in the South of Russia, fills one with terror."—the Tschetschenges from Scheik Mansur to Schamyl, have always felt the necessity, in their military incursions against Russia, to assemble under the standard  
5 of one chief. ... There are now 3 Circassian Princes, called Pschis: Psthimaf Bey, Prince of Tamez; Selim Bey, Prince of Wana; and Sefir Bey, who, for years past has been living in Turkey ... the real power is in the hands of the *Wooks* (the Russians and Turks called them *Usden*) or Nobles ... the *Tschetschenses*, in Dagestan, under the leader Schamyl, are  
10 decidedly the tribe that are the most formidable to the Russian army ... the bold and graceful warriors of the Caucasus, mixed up with the coarse and heavy Cossacks ... [532-540]

**[Franz Schuselka: Die Orientalische,  
das ist Russische Frage.  
Hamburg 1843]**

Der heilige *Bonifatius* nennt in einem seiner Briefe die Slaven „foedissimum atque deterrimum genus hominum“ u. der Name *Russia* soll daher 5  
entstanden sein, daß der Apostel Andreas bei der schwierigen Belehrung  
u. Bekehrung der Russen sehr häufig ausgerufen hat: ἰδρωσα\ (d.h. ich  
schwitze); daher *Rossia*, *Russia*. (*Die Orientalische Frage, das ist Russische Frage. Hamburg, 1843, p. 50.*)

**[Correspondence relative  
to the affairs of the Levant. (Fortsetzung)]**

*Earl Granville to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Jul. 27) Paris Jul. 25, 1839.*  
... Admiral Roussin writes, that apprehensions are felt of insurrectional  
5 movements in Thessaly, as well as in Albania ... Mehemet Ali, according  
to M. Cochelets reports, is in a state of great exultation at the success of  
Ibrahim Pasha, and talks of the necessity of the Sultan yielding to him  
the hereditary right, not only to the Gov. of Egypt, but also to that of all  
the Pashalics of Arabia, and the whole of Syria; and treats contempt-  
10 tuously all idea of a Russian army being able to thwart his views ...  
6,000 soldiers of the Turk, army had enlisted in the service of the Pasha  
... (enthält zugleich Ansichten Soult's, die den Brief Palmerston's *d. d.*  
*July 30* veranlassen) [194,195]

*Id. to id (Ree. July 29) Paris Jul. 26, 1839.*  
15 *Ind. I. Telegraph. Despatch from Marseilles, July 25.* ... Akiff Effendi  
arrived at Alexandria on 10<sup>th</sup>, sent by the young Sultan to announce to  
Mehemet Ali the death of his father, to confirm him in the Gov. of Egypt  
and of Syria, with hereditary succession in his family; and to propose him  
to forget the past, nominate him Generalissimo and support of the  
20 Turk. Emp., and inviting him to proceed to Constantinople to preside  
over the reorganization of the administration.

*Inclosure II. Tel. D., vom selben Datum Marseilles.* ... The death of the  
Sultan was known at Alexandria on 8<sup>th</sup>. On the 9<sup>th</sup> a Turkish Corvette  
arrived at Alexandria, having on board Negib Bey, Kiaja of the Capudan  
25 Pasha, having orders to inform the Viceroy, that the Capudan Pasha  
was at Stankio, on his way to Rhodes, and to propose to him to place the  
Turk. fleet under his protection, to secure it against the troubles which it  
is feared may follow the death of the Sultan. [196,197]

*Viscount Palmerston to Earl Granville. F. O. July 30, 1839.* H. M's Gov. sincerely rejoice at the complete identity of opinion on these most important matters between France and England ... this perfect union of England and France will confirm Austria in the course which she was herself one of the first to chalk out. With Austria, Prussia will go; and it is impossible that Russia can be unwilling to concur in the same course. [197]

1601 *The Duke of Dalmatie to Baron de Bourqueney.* (commun. July 29) Paris, July 26, 1839.

... The principal, the true object of this concert (der Cabinette), for England as well as for France, as also for Austria, although she does not so openly proclaim it, is to keep Russia within bounds, and to accustom her to treat in common on the affairs of the East. It is enough to say, that, at the present conjuncture there is more reason than ever to strive to restrain her ... the Powers, at the same time that they express entire approbation of the conciliatory disposition manifested by the Porte, should urge it not to precipitate matters, and only to treat with the Viceroy through the medium and with the concurrence of the Allies. ... At Alexandria these same Powers should hold to the Viceroy a language calculated to make him feel that... if he attempted, under whatever form or pretence it might be, to extort from the Sultan terms incompatible with his dignity and with the security of his throne, the whole of Europe would interfere to oppose it ... the Consuls ought to be enabled to use it (diese language) simultaneously and in such terms as would prove their perfect union ... the firmness ... der counsels aber modified by a tone of moderation and goodwill, which, at the same time that it gives a warning to the prudence of Mehemet Ali, should not wound his pride and ambition too deeply. There would certainly be an *affectation* in appearing to think that, after the successes which he has gained through the foolish conduct of the Porte, *he is to expect nothing more* than he was previously entitled to ask. This would be to misapprehend the power of circumstances, the necessity of the situation. If the Viceroy were to acquire the conviction that he had nothing to hope from the justice of the Powers, he would revolt against their imperious representations. [199, 200]

*Viscount Palmerston to Earl Granville. F. O. July 30, 1839.* there is a material difference between the contents of that despatch (Soult's v. July 26) and the language held to your Exc. by Marshal Soult, as reported in your despatch of July 26; because while Marshal Soult, in that conversation declared his opinion, that recent events in the Levant

Aus Correspondence relative to the affairs of the Levant (Fortsetzung)

ought to make no change in the measures of the Allies etc. nun opinion  
that recent events ought to make a change etc. Her M's Gov. ... do not  
agree with the opinions, implied, it is true, rather than distinctly express-  
ed, in the despatch. Mehemet Ali cannot have acquired any fresh claim  
5 upon the favour of the 5 Powers by the results of a battle fought by his  
generals in open defiance of the repeated remonstrances and positive  
declarations of those Powers. The importance which the 5 Powers attach  
to the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Turk. Empire  
cannot in the slightest degree be affected by the late events; while, on the  
10 other hand, those events demonstrate still more strongly, how indispensa-  
bly and urgently necessary it is, that the 5 Powers should interpose, in  
order to maintain the Turk. Empire against the dangers with which it is  
threatened; and, lastly, whatever increase of force the victory of Nezib  
and the defection of the Turkish fleet may have given to Mehemet Ali in  
15 a contest to be waged by him single-handed against the Sultan, those  
events give him no additional means of resisting the will of the 5 Powers.  
[200, 201]

*Marquess of Clanricarde to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. July 30) St. Pe-  
tersburg}}, July 18, 1839.*

20 I waited upon Count Nesselrode this morning, to communicate to him  
your Lordship's despatch of July 9 ... When I had read it, Count Nessel-  
rode said "That which Lord Palmerston desires is already done, I have  
directed our Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna to state to the Austrian Gov.,  
that we prefer the suggestion of your Gov. to that which emanated from  
25 Prince Metternich; and that the Emperor will support *that proposition,*  
*which is most beneficial to the Porte.*" ... he did not disguise from me that  
he had great doubts that we could prevail upon Mehemet Ali to *resign*  
*Syria immediately*; and he asked me, whether France would press, or  
even propose to the Pasha, to make such a sacrifice ... Count Nesselrode  
30 expressed the satisfaction which the Imperial Cabinet felt, that their opin-  
ion, and that of Her M's Gov., as to what was fitting to be done in the  
emergency that had arisen, had been identical. "You", said his Exc.,  
"commenced the intervention which we desired, before our recommenda-  
tion could reach your Gov." (Siehe p. 20) (Contin.) |

35 [61] *Lord Beauvale to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Sept. 16) Vienna,*  
*Sept. 8, 1839.* ... the first plan traced by Austria did not contemplate the  
immediate restitution of Syria to the Sultan ... [382]

*Id. to id. (Ree. Sept. 16) Vienna, Sept. 8, 1839.* ... Your despatch precedes  
upon the idea that the 5 Powers are acting together. ... [383]

*Id. to id.* (Ree. Sept. 16) *Vienna, Sept. 9, 1839.* I last night received an invitation from Count Ficquelmont (schickt aber statt seiner Mr. Crampton), der empfangen despatches v. St. Petersburg ... According to this document, the conditions on which Russia offers her assent are three: 1) The five Powers must agree. 2) the conditions must be fixed by the Porte itself. 3) If they are such as would require coercion toward Mehemet Ali, the means of exerting it must be undeniable. ...

*Inclosure. Report of communication made by Count Ficquelmont to Mr. Crampton. Vienna, 9 Sept., 1839. ... [384,385]*

*Mr. Bulwer to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Sept. 19) Paris, Sept. 16, 1839.* 10  
Darin:

*Inclosure I. Count Nesselrode to Count Medem. St. Petersburg, Aug. 16, 1839. ...* The Allied Representatives having once spontaneously offered their intervention to the Porte, and the latter having once accepted it, it would be impossible to deny, that the Cabinets of Europe have 15 morally bound themselves to the Sultan, to insure to that Sovereign more advantageous conditions than he would have been able to obtain, if he had concluded a direct engagement with the Pasha, as was first contemplated by the Divan; a course which the Porte would long ago have already carried into execution, had not the Allied Representatives, in 20 offering their intervention, prevented it. ...

*Inclosure II. Count Nesselrode to M. de Bouténeff* (russ. Gesandter zu Constantinopel) ... If your colleagues should be in a position to take some fresh steps with respect to the Pasha of Egypt, to which the presence at Alexandria of the Engl, and French squadrons should give a decisive 25 and peremptory character, the Emperor fully authorizes you to give, in the name of Russia, your most frank and cordial sanction thereto. [389-392]

*Mr. Bulwer to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Sept. 19) Paris, Sept. 16, 1839. ... the Marshal confessed that the Pasha of Egypt should neither be allowed 30 to retain the districts of Adana and Marash, nor the island of Candia. "But", said he, "to obtain Syria from him is, I believe, out of the question. "* [392]

*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquess of Clanricarde. For. Off., Sept. 19, 1839. ...* Baron Brunnow will be received with the greatest cordiality, not 35 only from the high character which he bears, but from the knowledge which H. M's Gov. possesses that the Baron enjoys the full confidence of Count Nesselrode. [393]



Aus Correspondence relative to the affairs of the Levant (Fortsetzung)

*Lord William Russell to Viscount Palmerston* (Ree. Sept. 23) *Berlin, Sept. 18, 1839* ... Baron Werther having frequently asked me, with apparent mortification, why the Brit. fleet appeared more disposed to enter the Dardanelles than to assist in coercing Mehemet Ali to comply with  
5 the wishes of the Five Powers ... He was certain the French Gov. would not act with us. In that case, I said, we must act with the Powers, which agree with us; and we have the means of forcing Mehemet Ali to accede to our terms. "Undoubtedly we have," he replied, "if you will cease to be  
10 so very distrustful of Russia ..." I told him your Lordship had no distrust of Russia ... [395]

*Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Bulwer. F. Off., Sept. 23, 1839.* In a conversation which I had with Count Sebastiani a week ago, Count Sebastiani endeavoured to persuade me to consent, on the part of H. M's Gov., to propose to the Sultan and Mehemet Ali an arrangement, by which  
15 Mehemet Ali should become hereditary Governor of Egypt and of Southern Syria, as far north as a line drawn from Damascus to Beyrout, leaving, as I understood him, the former city to the Sultan, and giving the latter place to the Pasha; while, on the other hand, Mehemet should evacuate all the [62] other territories now held by him; and the Count  
20 stated that France would be willing to concur in Coercive measures to enforce the execution of such an arrangement ... all the objections (to this I (Palmerston) replied) which apply to the present state of things, as established by the arrangement of Kutayah, would apply in a proportionate degree to the arrangement thus suggested by Count Sebastiani...  
25 Count Sebastiani said, the decision of the French Gov. turned very much upon domestic considerations; and that his Gov. might be able to justify, towards the Chambers and the public, the employment of coercive measures against the Pasha, if it could be shown that the Pasha had not been driven absolutely to despair, and that France had made for him the best  
30 arrangement which could be obtained. ... If, sagt Palmerston zu Sebastiani, the other Three Powers should agree with us (England), which I thought probable, it would surely be better for France to face all the internal difficulties which keep back its Gov., and to join frankly and freely the other 4 Powers ... [395, 396]

35 *Mr. Bulwer to Viscount Palmerston* (Ree. Sept. 23.) *Paris Sept. 20, 1839*  
Count Medem ... pressed the Marshal strongly ... at last, he learnt that the views of the French Gov. ... were: the abandonment of all pretensions over Hosrew Pasha's employment; the restoration of the Ottoman fleet; the resignation of *Adana, Marash and the Island of Candia*, on the

part of the Viceroy, together with some arrangement in respect to Syria, which would divide that country into Pashalics, of which the sons of Mehemet should have the separate Governments entailed upon their male offspring respectively, with the condition, that these Pashalics, on failure of direct male issue, should fall back, as each such case should occur, to the Porte ... [397] 5

*Mr. Bulwer to Viscount Palmerston (Ree. Sept. 29) Paris, Sept. 27, 1839.*  
...I observed to the Marshal, that I considered, and thought that H. M's Gov. might consider, that there was a good deal of difference, between what Russia might do by herself [handelt sich nämlich um Sendung einer Russian force for the protection of Constantinople.] and for herself, and what she might do with the consent and as the agent of the other Great Powers; and that, in fact, by accepting any such mission, she took no exclusive part in Eastern Affairs. The Marshal did not concur in these observations; but considered, on the contrary, that though the form under which Russia would obtain her object might in this new convention be changed, that the attainment of that object would still be its result; that she would thus acquire the position to which she aspired, of appearing as alone capable of protecting Constantinople; that consequently the Porte would sink into that state of dependence upon the Russian empire from which it had been the object of France to deliver her: while he, the Marshal, had always considered the question of the East as one which was to be settled, and considered rather with the view of limiting the Power of Russia than that of the Pasha of Egypt, the second seeming to him an inferior object to the first....The communication of M. de Brunnow ... have created such a sensation here, and seem to have confounded all previous speculations. ... (Herr Palmerston natürlich geneigt to assign to Russia die protection of Constantinople als ihr Theil of execution in den Gewaltsmaßregeln gegen Aegypten.) [400] 10 15 20 25

*Viscount Palmerston to Col. Campbell. For. Office. Sept. 26, 1839* ... the opinion which ... you have formed of the power and influence of Mehemet Ali ... is believed by H. M's Gov. to be incorrect and exaggerated. 30

*Viscount Palmerston to Col. Hodges. For. Off. Sept. 27, 1839.* ... the Queen pleased ... to appoint you H. M's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, in the place of Col. Campbell, who *retires* from the service on account of his health. ... [401] 35

Dieser Hodges damals Consul-General in Servia.

Aus Correspondence relative to the affairs of the Levant (Fortsetzung)

*Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Bulwer. F. O. Sept. 28, 1839. ... another conversation with Count Sebastiani ...* [404]

*Count Sebastiani to Viscount Palmerston London, 28 Sept. 1839. You will find annexed a despatch which I have just received, and which I am*  
5 *directed to communicate to you, it is the answer to that which I wrote to make known to my Gov. the propositions of Russia, (nämlich des Brunnow.) I* [406]

|64| Martens, (continuado von S. 58)

2.) Von 1749-1763.

*C. de Hertzberg. Recueil. John Campbell: The present state of Europe etc* 2 ed. Lond. 1754. *M. G. Lloyd: the history of the late war in Germany etc* Lond. 1766. *Bourcet: Mém. historiques sur la guerre que les Français ont soutenu en Allemagne.* 1757. Paris. 1782. 8. 5

*Veränderung des polit. Systems nach dem Aachner Frieden:* Maria Theresia Haß gegen Preussen u. England: Freundschaft m. Rußland daher durch Kaunitz Allianz m. Frankreich.

*Amerik. Händel zw. Frankreich u. England:* Bald nach dem Aachner 10  
Frieden über: 1) die Grenzen v. Neuschottland od. Akadien, 2) die Grenzen Canada's u. die im Rücken der britt. Colonien angelegten fzs. Forts am Ohio u. s. f. 3) über die fzs. Besetzung v. 4-5 Caraibischen Inseln, die nach dem Utrechter Frieden neutral bleiben sollten. Im Juli 1754 Thätlichkeiten am Ohio, wobei die Engländer verloren. England ertheilte im 15  
April 1755 allgem. Repressalienbriefe, worauf am 8 Juni 2 fzs. Kriegs- u. bald eine Menge Handelsschiffe aufgebracht, Juli 1755 die Gesandten zurückberufen, förmliche Kriegserklärung v. England den 18 Mai, v. Frankreich den 9 Juni 1756.

*Bündnisse Großbritt. m. Preussen; Frankreichs m. Oest. u. Rußland:* 20  
Georg II zur Deckung seiner deutschen Staaten Bündniß m. Rußland 1755, 30 Sept. ... Preussen verband sich m. dem Hof v. Westminster (1756, 16 Jan.); dabei auch Hessencassel. (18 Juni 1755) dadurch Rußland, unter Bestuscheffs Leitung, v. Großb. abwendig; u. als Oestreich m. Frankreich am 1 Mai 1756 Neutralitäts-, Freundschafts- u. Allianz- 25.  
tractat zu Stande gebracht, trat diesem leztren Rußland am 31 Dee. bei; bald nachher Schweden, kraft eines m. Frankreich am 22 Sept. 1757 geschloßnen Subsidentractats, in diesen Bund gezogen.

*Ausbruch des Kriegs in Deutschland.* Friedrich II fällt Aug. 1756 in Sachsen u. im Sept. in Böhmen ein, Sieg über die Oestreicher bei Lowositz, 15 Oct. streckt das bei Pirna eingeschloßne sächsische Heer das Gewehr durch Capitulation bei Lillienstein. 17 Jan. 1757 auf Oestreichs Betrieb Reichsexecutionskrieg gen Preussen auf dem Reichstag beschloßen. Frankreich u. Oestreich verbanden sich noch näher durch die Verträge vom 25 Febr. u. 1 Mai 1757, u. schloßen den 21 März u. 22 Sept. mit Schweden, wegen Garantie des westphälischen Friedens, Verträge, denen später auch Rußland beiträt. Auch m. Pfalz erneuerte Frankreich am 28 März 1757 s. Garantie v. 1729.

*Feldzug v. 1757.* Convention zu Kloster-Zeven 7 Sept. 1757, zw. Herzog v. Cumberland u. Richelieu, wegen Aufhebung der Feindseligkeiten in den Hannoverschen Landen bis zum gehofften Friede u. Rücksendung der Hülfsstruppen. Während Franzosen vorrücken, auch die Russen, siegen bei Großjägerndorf (30 Aug.); auch die Schweden Theil des preussischn Pommern u. der Uckermark besetzt, Oestreicher Berlin gebrandschazt, Schweidnitz belagert, Breslau bedroht.

Schlacht bei Roßbach 5 Nov. 1757, Reichsarmee u. Franzosen geschlagen ... Sieg bei Leuthen. 5 Dec. 1757.

20 *Feldzüge v. 1758 u. 59. Seekrieg bis 1759:* Engländer 1756 Minorka verloren, auch in Canada eingebüßt, doch 1757 in Ostindien grosse Fortschritte, 1758 in Africa die fzs. Besitzungen am Senegal erobert; (26 Juli 1758) Cap Breton weggenommen u. die Etablissements am Ohio, Sept. 1759 Quebeck, 1 Mai in Westindien Guadaloupe.

25 *1760 Krieg zu See u. Land.* Im Seekrieg England m. Erobrung v. Montreal (8 Sept. 1760) Meister v. ganz Canada; George II | 25 Oct. 1760; März 1761 Frankreich trägt f. sich u. s. Allirten auf Friedensunterhandlungen bei dem Londoner Hof an, so daß zum Behuf des allgem. Friedens ein Congress zu Augsburg gehalten, inzwischen vorläufig über die britt.-fzs. Angelegenheiten unterhandelt werden sollte. Diese Unterhandlungen zerschlagen 20 Sept. 1761. Spanien durch den Familienpakt mit Frankreich (15 Aug.) auch in den Krieg gezogen, der ihm am 2 Jan. 1762 erklärt, worauf Portugal zum Krieg gegen England u. Frankreich genöthigt.

35 *Landkrieg 1761; Tod Elisabeths; Friede m. Rußland u. Schweden 1762.* Elisabeth f 5 Jan. 1762.

*Landkrieg 1762.*

*Seekrieg 1761.* Pondichery u. Mahé erobert, (Jan. 61), Fzs. vollends aus Ostindien vertrieben. In Westindien verloren sie Martinique, Dominique, Grenada, St Vincent, St Lucie u. Tabago. Den Spaniern entrissen die Engländer Havanna am 14 Aug. 1762 u. Manila.

Frankreich u. Spanien suchen Frieden m. England. Präliminarfriede zwischen England, Frankreich, Spanien gezeichnet am 3 Nov. 1762, dem Portugal am 22 Nov. beiträt. Definitivfriede gez. 10 Febr. 1763 zu Paris; am 15 Febr. zu Hubertsburg Friede Preussens m. Oestreich u. Sachsen. [245-259]

5

*Definitivfriede zw. Frankreich u. Spanien m. Großbrit. u. Portugal zu Paris, 10 Febr. 1763.*

*Bedingungen zw. Frankreich u. Großbritannien:*

*In America* entsagt Frankreich allen Ansprüchen auf Akadien u. Dependenz, tritt ganz Canada u. Dependenz ab, Cap Breton nebst allen andren Inseln u. Küsten in dem Meerbusen u. Flusse St. Lorenz. (Art. IV) Frankreich behält das Recht der Fischerei auf einem Theil der Küsten v. Terre-neuve, gemäß Art. XIII des Utrechter Friedens. Großb. tritt an Frankreich die Inseln St. Pierre u. Miquelon ab zum Behuf der Fischerei, doch ohne Recht Festungswerke dort anzulegen u. Kriegsmacht zu unterhalten. (Art. V. VI.) Mississippi Grenze der Besitzungen beider Mächte auf dem festen Land; seine Schiffahrt beiden Theilen frei. (Art. VII) Großb. gibt Guadeloupe, Mariegalante, Desirade, Martinique in Westindien, u. Belleisle in Europa an Frankreich zurück. (Art. VIII) Frankreich tritt an Großb. Grenada u. die Grenadinen ab, u. die sogenannten neutralen Inseln so getheilt, daß St. Vincent, Dominique u. Tabago an Großb., St. Lucie an Frankreich zurückgegeben. (Art. IX)

*In Africa:* Großb. gibt Goree an Frankreich zurück, das ihm aber den Senegal u. alle s. Besitzungen an demselben abtritt. (Art. X)

*In Ostindien:* Großb. gibt an Frankreich auf den Küsten v. Coromandel, Orixia u. Malabar alles zurück, was dieses dort zu Anfang 1749 besessen, Frankreich entsagt allen dort später gemachten Erobrungen. (Art. XI) Frankreich giebt Minorca nebst Fort St. Philipp an Großb. zurück. (Art. XII) Dünkirchen wieder in den dem Aachner Frieden entsprechenden Stand zu setzen, die Festungswerke auch an der Seeseite zu schleifen. (Art. XIII) Frankreich giebt alle hannoverschen, hessischen, braunschweig., lippischen Lande heraus, im vorigen Zustand, u. m. Ersatz f. die fortgeschleppte Artillerie. (Art. XIV) die fzs. Truppen sollen die preuss. u. beider Mächte Truppen die Reichslande baldmöglichst räumen u. beide Mächte ihren Allirten keine weitere Hülfe leisten. (Art. XV)

*Zwischen Spanien u. Großb.* Die Entscheidung über die vor Ausbruch des Kriegs gemachten Prisen soll in den Tribunalen des Staats, der sie gemacht hat, nach dem Völkerrecht gefällt werden. (Art. XVI) Die britt. Unterthanen sollen an dem Fällen u. Fortführen des Campecheholzes in der Hondurasbay, u. andren Orten des span. Gebiets nicht gehindert werden, doch will Großb. alle v. ihm daselbst errichteten

Aus Georg Friedrich von Martens: Grundriß ... (Fortsetzung)

- Festungswerke niederreißen. (Art. XVII) Spanien entsagt allen wegen Guipuscoa an Terreneuve gemachten Ansprüchen. (Art. XVIII) Großb. giebt seine Erobrungen auf Cuba nebst der Havanna zurück. (Art. XIX) Ganz Florida v. Spanien an Großb. abgetreten u. garantirt. (Art. XX)
- 5 *Für Portugal:* Frankreich u. Spanien geben alle in Europa über Portugal gemachte Erobrungen zurück, auch in den Colonien soll alles auf dem Fuß der vorigen Verträge bleiben od. wieder gesetzt werden. (Art. XXI) Portugal unterzeichnet zwar das Friedensinstrument nicht, aber ausdrücklich als Hauptcontrahent anerkannt. (Art. Sep. III), u. fertig an eben dem Tage s. Beitrittsurkunde aus.
- Ueberhaupt:* König v. Großb. auch als Churfürst in diesen Frieden begriffen u. s. deutschen Staaten garantirt (Art. XXV) Alle 4 Mächte garantiren einander gegenseitig alle Bedingungen dieses Friedens. (Art. XXVI) Frankreich trat an Spanien Louisiana, wahrscheinlich f. eine Geldsumme 15 ab, doch bei dem Widerstreben der Unterthanen der Vertrag erst 1769 in Erfüllung gesetzt. Wegen der Schulden die Frankreich an die Canadier f. Lieferungen zu zahlen, eigne declaration dem Frieden beigefügt, u. noch am 29 März u. 24 Juni 1766 die Sache durch eigne Verträge beigelegt.
- 20 *Congress zu Hubertsburg am 31 Dec. 1762 eröffnet. 15 Febr. Definitivfriedensbeschlüsse Preussens m. Oestreich u. Sachsen. [259-265]*
- Frieden zw. Preussen u. Oestreich zu Hubertsburg den 15 Febr. 1763.* Oestreich entsagt allen Ansprüchen auf die Staaten, die es an Preussen 1742 u. 1745 abgetreten. (Art. III) Giebt Stadt u. Grafschaft Glatz, wie 25 auch Wesel u. Geldern, an Preussen zurück. (Art. V) Bestätigung u. Erneuerung der Friedensschlüsse zu Breslau u. Berlin 1742, zu Dresden 1745. (Art. XII) Beide Theile versprechen den Handel ihrer gegenseitigen Unterthanen zu begünstigen, u. wollen sobald als möglich Handelstraktat schliessen. (Art. XIII) Die K. Königin garantirt Preussen alle s. Staaten, dieses ihr ihre Besitzungen in Deutschland. (Art. XVI) Preussen verspricht seinen m. dem Churfürsten v. der Pfalz wegen der Jülich u. Bergischen Erbschaft v. 1741 geschloßnen Vertrag zu erneuern. (Art. XVIII) Westphälische Friede u. alle Reichsgrundgesetze erneuert. (Art. XIX) In geheimen Separatartikeln versprach: 1) König v. Preussen dem Erzherzog 35 Josef seine Churstimme zur römischen Königswahl (die den 27 März 1764 vollzogen.) 2) Die f. das Haus Oestreich nachzusuchende Expectanz auf Modena m. seiner Stimme zu befördern; (die 1771 ertheilt worden.)
- Friede zw. Preussen u. Chursachsen zu Hubertsburg 15 Febr. 1763:* Erneuerung u. Bestätigung des Dresdner Friedens. (Art. V) Der gegenseitige Handel soll durch Commissarien regulirt werden. (Art. VI) Alle 40 preuss. Besitzer sächsischer Steuerscheine sollen auf den v. Sachsen zu

regulirenden Fuß an Zinsen u. Capitalien zu voll befriedigt werden. (Art. VII. Art. sep. II) Stadt Fürstenberg soll bei Sachsen bleiben, die Hoheit über beide Ufer der Oder nach der Mark zu an Preussen gehören. (Art. VIII) Freier Durchzug des Churfürsten durch Schlesien nach Polen, kraft des Art. X des Dresdner Friedens. (Art. IX) | 5

[67] *Einfluß des 7jährigen Kriegs auf das polit. System v. Europa.* Zur See England entschiednes Uebergewicht über Frankreich u. Spanien gewonnen, erste Seemacht in Europa geworden. Schliessung der Defensivallianz Preussens m. Rußland vom 11 April 1764. Uebergewicht Rußlands über Dänemark u. Schweden, das dessen mit Dänemark seit 1765 10 geschloßnen Bündnisse noch vermehrten. [265-270]

*Polnische Händel u. Theilung: Türkenkrieg bis 1774.*

*Joubert: Histoire des revolutions de Pologne (1763-75) Varsovie.* 1.1, II. 8. August iii f 5 Oct. 1763. Stanislaus Poniatowsky (1764) zum König befördert durch Rußland, im Einverständniß m. Preussen. Unter diesem 15 bald Händel zwischen den Katholiken u. den seit 1717 immer mehr in ihren Rechten gekränkten Dissidenten. Letzrer nahmen sich Rußland, auch durch Intercessionen Preussen, Großbrit., Schweden, u. Dänemark an. Als aber Rußland durch s. eingerückten Truppen auf dem Reichstag v. 1767 wider die Häupter der Gegenparthei Gewalt gebraucht u. am 20 24 Febr. 1768 Polen zu einem Vertrag genöthigt, in dessen beiden umständlichen Separatacten die Religions- u. die Staatssachen nach dem Willen der Kaiserin m. Beistimmung der übrigen Höfe regulirt wurden, suchten die Häupter der den dissidentischen Conföderationen zu Thorn u. Schluck entgegengesetzten neuen Catholischen Conföderation zu Bar 25 wider die sie zerstreuenden russischen Truppen Hülfe bei der Pforte; u. diese, v. dem fzs. Gesandten Vergennes bestimmt, erklärt Oct. 1768 den Krieg wider Rußland, dessen Gesandter Obreskow in die 7 Thürme gesperrt.

*Feldzüge v. 1769-1771.* Russische gegen Turkey. Rußland in der Mol- 30 dau u. Wallachei etc. \

Preussen u. Oestreich zogen Sicherheits-Cordons an den Grenzen j v. Polen, die 1771 verstärkt. Oestreich macht in Ungarn grosse Kriegsrüstungen (1771, 6 Juli), unterzeichnete auch Allianz m. der Pforte, als | der König v. Preussen, zu Entfernung eines Kriegs Rußlands, als s. AI- 35 liirten, wider Oestreich, das Projekt auf die Bahn brachte, daß Rußland, ; statt in der Wallachei u. Moldau, sich in Polen entschädigen, u. jede der 3 Mächte, zur Erhaltung eines Gleichgewichts, m. einem Stück v. Polen {



sich vergrößern sollten: verglich sich deßfalls am 17 Febr. 1772 m. Rußland, am 4 März m. Oestreich; nun zwischen Oestreich u. Rußland, wie zwischen Rußland u. Preußen, am 5 Aug. der Theilungsvergleich eingegangen, worauf Rußland, nach geschlossenem Waffenstillstand m. der Pforte, in den Congress zu Focsani, unter Vermittlung Preussens und Oestreichs, willigte, indeß die 3 cours copartageantes im Sept. durch Truppen u. Manifeste sich in Besitz der angesprochenen Theile v. Polen setzten.

*Cessionsverträge Polens m. Oestreich, Rußland, u. Preussen.* 3 Cessionsverträge, am 18 Sept. 1773 zu Warschau unterzeichnet. Durch diese erhielt: *Oestreich* beträchtliche Stücke v. Polen unter der Benennung der Königreiche Galizien u. Lodomerien. *Rußland* alles Land zwischen Dwina, Dnieper u. Drutsch, folglich das polnische Liefland u. einige Palatinate. *Preussen* ganz polnisch- od. Westpreussen ausser Danzig u. Thorn, nebst einem Distrikt v. Großpolen bis an die Netze; auch entsagte Polen den Bedingungen des Velauer Tractats wegen des Rückfalls v. Preussen, u. allen Ansprüchen auf Lauenburg u. Bütow. Uebrigens garantiren alle 3 Mächte einander gegenseitig diese Verträge u. an Polen s. ihm übrig gelaßnen Bel[68]Sitzungen.

20 *Fruchtlose Congresse zwischen Rußland u. der Pforte zu Focsani u. Bucharest.* (21 Sept. 1772 u. März 73)

In Schweden Revolution v. 19 Aug. 1772 zu Gunsten der kgl. Gewalt, v. Frankreich befördert. Rußland m. Dänemark 1767 provisorisch u. 1773 definitiv, m. Widerspruch Schwedens, zu Stand gebrachter Austausch seines holsteinischen Antheils gegen Oldenburg u. Delmenhorst, damit in Verbindung gesezte Convention v. 1769 u. ewige geh. Allianz vom 1 Aug. 1773. (Hier im Fall eines Kriegs zw. Rußland u. seinen Nachbarn, eine direkte Theilnahme Dänemarks versprochen)

30 *Feldzug in der Türkei v. 1773. 74. Friede zu Kutschuk Kainardge den 22 Juli 1774* (in russischer, türkischer u. italienischer Sprache.) | [270-280]

**(Heft 4)**  
**Exzerpte aus Werken**  
**von David Urquhart, William Cargill, César Famin,**  
**Jules de Bréval und William Barnes sowie aus**  
**Reasons for demanding investigation**  
**into the charges against Lord Palmerston**  
**und aus The Portfolio**

**[Literaturliste]**

[[1. Umschlagseite]] Leber: De la fortune privée au moyen âge. |

[[2. Umschlagseite]] *Transactions in Central Asia*. (1839). *Sultan Mahmoud and Mehmet Ali Pasha*. (1835) (Paris 1839 2 ed.). Exposition of the Boundary differences in North America. (1839). Case of MeLeod. (1841).

**[Philologische Notizen aus  
David Urquhart:  
An appeal against faction.  
London 1843.]**

"patched up with"—;—the question has been *shifted* from... to—; 5  
beating round the bush;—strike at the very root;—deal the blow,—  
"castaside";—"the case had been *dropped*"—;—we have *slipped* out  
into;—the House is *discharged from* its functions;—he *starts away* to  
another point—having furnished the means of executing a crime turn  
against its perpetrators.—put the case in a striking shape.—setting at 10  
nought;—the House had *recovered* its wonted complacency—; *screen* the  
delinquents ...;—matter of accommodation between successive Cabi-  
nets.—*he presumes* much *upon* my forbearance;—in the *luxury of Sar-*  
*casm*;—rate at their just worth;—swallowed up ...; ward off from;— |

Aus Reasons for demanding investigation into the charges against Lord Palmerston

| i | 1) Reasons for demanding  
Investigation into the Charges  
against Lord Palmerston.

Glasgow. 1840.

5 (Letter von *Robert Monteith* to *William Brown*.)

Papers have been mutilated, and that with sinister intent, ingeniously  
misarranged, and to all practical purposes falsely dated. Non-existent  
despatches quoted, and fraudulent Money-Accounts presented. (6) the  
guise of negligence and blunder. (7) The Maine Boundary, the Persian  
10 and Affghan Papers, and many more, show an anxiety of precaution, a  
length of foresight, a quiet resolution, an accurate knowledge of the force  
of words and the impulses of action, and in short an earnestness in the  
work of treachery, and a dexterity of fraud awakening at once wonder  
and abhorrence, (p. 7) This the bond, the mask, the disgrace of Russian  
15 alliance, which is ruinous to British Power and influence,—not, as yet at  
least, her open hostility, (p. 13)

2) William Cargill, Esq.:  
Address to the  
South Shields Chamber of Commerce,  
May 4, 1840, on the Foreign Policy  
of England.  
London, 1840.

5

*Until within the last 2 years your shipping had a constant and very eligible employment, in carrying sulphur between this port and Sicily —that trade has been suddenly arrested ... this interruption has been effected by a monopoly of the whole produce of the sulphur mines in Sicily having 10 been granted by the King of Naples to a certain firm of private individuals, named Taix, Aycard, et Co. This was a fiscal measure imposed by the King of Naples for the purpose of raising a certain revenue by taxing the export of Sulphur. It had the effect of restricting the quantity of sulphur produced in Sicily, and raising the price of the article in England 15 from 5 £. 5 s. p. ton to 12 £. 10 sh. p. ton. (7) For many months we hear of no steps being taken by our Government... At length ... Mr. M<sup>c</sup> Gregor ... sent out to Naples to negociate about the monopoly ... Although we had an ambassador, Mr. Temple (Palmerston's Bruder), a secretary of embassy, and other attachés connected with the embassy, all residing at 20 | Naples ... For 18 months we hear nothing of Mr. M<sup>c</sup> Gregor ... At the J beginning of January 1840 the son of the consul at Marseilles, Mr. Richardson, happened to be in Newcastle on business, and one morning came to inform me that he had just received a letter from his father, to say that | he (the consul) has seen Mr. M<sup>c</sup> Gregor, who was passing through Mar- 251 | seilles on his way home—that Mr. M<sup>c</sup> Gregor had informed him that he J*

had in his pocket a treaty duly signed, by which the King of Naples consented to the abolition of the Monopoly after January 1, as well as containing important stipulations for our commerce in other respects—that the monopoly was therefore at an end. (7, 8)

5 The merchants and manufacturers were in daily expectation of a fall in the price of sulphur in consequence of the certainty which most of them felt that Mr. M' Gregor's treaty had put an end to the monopoly, and the replies which were received by many of them to their applications at the office of the board of trade, not disavowing the treaty, but referring  
10 to the foreign office on the subject, where it lay, were of such a nature as actually to cause a diminution in the price from the confidence which they inspired as to the existence of this treaty ... the treaty was never announced as was expected. Petitions were sent in from the manufacturers, and on March 2 (1840), Lord Lyndhurst having presented some of  
15 them, spoke severely against the ministers for permitting what he called a direct infraction of the treaty of 1816, in this sulphur monopoly ... desired to know why M' Gregors' treaty, abolishing the monopoly, was not ratified, and in operation. ... Lord Melbourne: "because he had made that a matter of treaty which ought not to be a matter of treaty, as  
20 it was a violation of the treaty of 1816." (10, 11) Lord Melbourne also stated that Mr. M' Gregor had exceeded his instructions in procuring the abolition of the monopoly—that he was sent out only for the purpose of renewing the treaty of 1816, and entering into fresh stipulations on the subject of the duties—to effect a modification of the tariff. (12) Der  
25 Phillimore u. Sir Frederick Pollock "eminent lawyers" erklären, that the sulphur monopoly cannot be construed into a violation of the treaty of 1816 ... Here, then, we have the Foreign Minister rejecting the treaty granted by the King of Naples, upon a plea which *is* false, viz, that the monopoly is a violation of the treaty of 1816, and, therefore, not a fit  
30 subject to be negociated upon, while in the same breath we have him declaring that an Envoy is sent out to negociate about the duties—a part of the Treaty of 1816, which has been long, openly, and flagrantly violated by the King of Naples.... Palmerston sends out a peremptory message to the Minister at Naples, instructing him to demand an instant  
35 dissolution of that monopoly which he rejects the acceptance ||2| of when offered by treaty, and claims an enormous sum as indemnity to be paid to England for the effects which she has suffered from the high price of sulphur!—the ambassador is instructed to enforce compliance, in case of refusal, by a threat of hostilities. ... The King of Naples indignantly  
40 rejects the insulting message; refuses compliance, on a menace, with terms which he offered by négociation ... universal voice of the French

people denouncing the injustice, and resolving to resist the aggression ... mediation of France offered and accepted—but not till proper precaution has been taken by Lord Palmerston that hostilities had been actually commenced—that outrage and injustice should be actually committed by the British fleet on Neapolitan ships ... Lord Palmerston employed this sulphur question as a means of procuring the hostility of Naples and of France, for the furtherance of the designs of the Russian Gov. against Great Britain ... and accepted the mediation of France, only for the purpose of superinducing complications of a yet more serious description ... the chief object intended... was to excite the alarm, and bring to subserviency, the Cabinet of Vienna, by the fear to be inspired of a revolutionary movement in her Italian provinces. (Sieh Note. p. 14)... (12-14)

blockade of Mexico and Buenos Ayres ... the outrage on the part of France was a measure of hostility to you, established by Lord Palmerston—concerted between him and the French Gov. (p. 15 sqq.) Maine Boundary Question. (18) dispute between Belgium and Holland. (21) Quadruple alliance. (21, 22) Greece (1832) (p. 22, sqq.) Persisch—Affghan Affair. (Dost Mahommed, the Chief of Cabool.) (p. 25) (Sieh p. 26, Note) does peace signify that every body is at liberty to make war on you? (27)

D. Urquhart.  
La Crise.  
(Paris 1840)

La France arme, et se prépare à la guerre avec une hâte et sur une échelle  
5 dont son histoire n'offre pas d'exemple; mais elle ne *dit rien au sujet du*  
*traité* contre lequel elle prépare ses armements ... elle n'en a pas *exigé*  
*d'abord* l'annulation... Ne pas résister au traité comme attentatoire en  
lui-même à ses droits, et ne pas en requérir l'abrogation, c'est abandon-  
ner la position de défense légitime, c'est donner à ses armements le carac-  
10 tère d'agression. (2) la France ne proteste pas contre le traité; par là  
même elle s'y soumet. (3) Comme le traité de Unkiar Skelessi n'avait été  
fait que pour un certain nombre d'années, les Puissances européennes  
s'imaginèrent qu'à l'expiration du terme assigné à sa durée le danger  
cesserait, qu'alors la Turquie pourrait reprendre avec les autres Etats ses  
15 relations libres et indépendantes, et que les droits et l'influence qu'il avait  
donnés à la Russie expireraient ainsi d'eux-mêmes ... Nous approchions  
du terme, lorsque tout à coup il est remis en vigueur par le traité signé à  
Londres le 15 Juillet 1840. (4, 5) |



|5| D. Urquhart.  
An Appeal against Faction.  
London 1843.

1 March 1843. H. o. C: das Select Committee, demanded to investigate the case, (von Roebuck moved. Affghan war.) (3) The Minister of the Crown (Peel) resisted this motion. (1. c.) ... Roebuck the mover ... (Affghan Zug unternommen 1839) (Palmerstons' Krakehl m. Persian 1838, seized upon Insel Karrack im Persian golf without any declaration of war.) 5

the power of the House is used by Ministers to overthrow the prerogative of the Crown, and then the prerogative of the Crown is used by them to exclude knowledge from the House. (13) Sir R. Peel requires the services of his opponents for home measures, and this service he returns by shielding them from inquiry into foreign crimes. (14) the gravamen of the charge against the late Gov. was the fraudulent mutilation of documents. (15) 10

9 März sagt Sir Robert Peel:

"I told the Noble Lord to take care. I tell the Noble Lord to take care. If the noble Lord complains of the injustice of being subjected to suspicion without having the opportunity of vindicating himself, I tell the noble Lord that I will retire from the House, *having already rendered him assistance*, more powerful than even that afforded him by his friend Shah Soojah. I tell the noble Lord that if he is so peremptory in challenging inquiry, he shall not subject me to the imputation of having *compelled him* to submit to an unjust imputation." (20) On June 23, 1842 motion 2 relative to the Affghan war; dafür 9, dagegen 75. 1 March 1843 für das Select Committee of Inquiry 75, dagegen 189.—On March 10, Sir R. Peel 20

Aus David Urquhart: An appeal against faction

defended himself against the imputation of compromise with the authors of the war, and threatened them with withdrawing from them his protection. (22)

Palmerston's "conspiracy even now at work and *working with increased*  
5 *security*, because *apparently dispossessed of power* and preparing soon again to grasp it, using meantime its antagonists for its ends." (24) He (Peel) has had the fortune and the faculty to use the strength of the Conservative party to deprive the Whigs of power, while using those very antagonists to deprive the Conservatives of will. (1. c.) One Ministry is not  
10 to lend the influence of its position to inquire into mal-administration by the preceding Ministry. But guilt not repudiated is accepted, and thus, by a change of men the continuance of the measures which had driven them from office is secured. (19) So machte sich Peel "*the slave of a traitor*". (24) Was Palmerston nun vorlegen wollte "Motion for the  
15 papers originally ordering the war, for which the directors have twice made a demand upon the Gov." (I.e.)

the equivocal acts, whether of Russia or her agents (in dem Persischen Zug gegen Herat etc), had been in progress for months and years, no step is then taken—it is (war) taken after every alleged cause has disappeared  
20 u. nicht gegen Rußland, sondern gegen Affghanistan ... (28, 29) "While the acts are in progress, those explanations, that disavowal and recall of her agents, which she is represented to have been so ready to give, are not required—they are required only after they have failed. The playing upon a distinction between the *intentions* of Russia, and the *acts* of her  
25 agents, and the taking *her* assurances as a ground of remaining friendly with her, while assuming her acts even after failures as a ground for making war upon another people, must surely be sufficient for the comprehension of any reasoning being, and available only for the wilfully blind." (29) Lord Palmerston, following Sir R. Peel, has asserted that  
30 assurances of a satisfactory nature were given to England by Russia, in her note of the 20 Oct. 1838, that Russia disavowed her acts, and recalled her agents ... Vielmehr: Russia, in dieser Note, called England to account for her conduct and threatened her if she continued to persevere in it. Russia's note calling England to account, was the document quoted by  
35 Lord Palmerston as Russia's reply, (to the English note for explanation.) This he represented to the Brit, nation *as a reply*—as a *satisfactory one*. (30)

"Where in the world of romance and fable, did the machinator of such a crime, so perfectly understand the imbecility of his miserable victims,  
40 or so audaciously presume upon it?" (30) By the collusive arrangement of these 2 despatches, the Russian of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the English of the 26<sup>th</sup>

of October, these contradictory results were obtained; an *appearance of disagreement* to serve as a pretext for the invasion of Cabul, and a *pretext of adjustment* to cloak the continuation of harmony between the two Govs all the while. (I.e.)

Was er sich sichert: the advantage of the appearance of hostility to Russia. (I. c.) those acts of duplicity, which we have already shown to be the result of a collision between Lord Palmerston and Russia, are now made use of by Russia as the means of meeting the charges which Lord Palmerston has brought against Russia, to cloak his previous deception, and to further their common ends. (47)

1

Aus The Portfolio (Fortsetzung)

Portfolio.  
Sec. Series.  
London 1843.  
[(Fortsetzung)]

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[Vol. 1.]

N. I. Aug. 1.

*N. I. Aug. 1.* "Your Excellency will have remarked that the Ministry has not dared to answer ... to the speech in which Lord Palmerston, whose name is henceforward associated with those of the first orators of the  
10 Parliament of England has insisted on the preservation of the general peace, and *proved that an Austro-Turkish policy would only serve to disturb it.*" (*Despatch from Prince Lieven, and Count Matussevitch, addressed to Count Nesselrode, London, 13 Juny 1829.*) "*The cry of Peace* has resounded in the Lower House, and has been unanimously repeated there by the  
15 Tories as well as by the Whigs." (I.e.) [24]

[6] Die feuds of parties, and intestine polemics in Great Britain ... It was this, which, in 1835, enabled a few Irish members to dictate, to the Sovereign, the Selection of a new Cabinet... It was this, which for upwards of 6 years, enabled the same men to maintain that Cabinet, against  
20 the often-declared will of the British (35, 36)—Compact of *Lichfield House* (1834) zwischen O'Connell u. den Whigs. ... From 1834-6, the same majority in the Lower House enabled Lord Palmerston to concert, with the Czar, secret measures for regulating—or disturbing—the affairs of *Persia*. These measures took place without the Shah's concurrence or

consent—With the connivance of Lord Palmerston, Russia obliged Persia to attack Herat; and thereupon (1838) England, through Lord Palmerston, declared herself no longer bound by her treaties to protect Persia from Russia,—seized upon *Karrak* without any declaration of war—and then, as suddenly abandoned the felonious acquisition. Parliament 5 was appealed to. But the members for Ireland sanctioned the crime, and screened the guilty minister. About the same time, Aden was piratically seized from the Arabs.—the Irish members gave a support to crime.... In 1839, an *armed force invaded the territories of our Affghan allies*, under secret orders from the Foreign Office. It was piracy. To conceal and to 10 misrepresent the facts of the case, the most barefaced and unblushing forgeries of State Papers were perpetrated in the Foreign Office ... He commanded a majority in the Lower House, so long as the Compact of Lichfield House was kept... In 1839, a quarrel, which Lord Palmerston had for 6 years been preparing, was at length brought about with 15 *China*, a pretext avowedly unjust, was put forward as the cause. 2 armed invasions took place ... One endeavour was made, in the Lower House, to arrest the Chinese crime at the very moment of inception ... Appeal rejected by a bare majority of 10: all the Irish Liberals voting for the war... In 1840, hostile demonstrations were made upon the Coast of 20 Naples ... About the same time, Lord Palmerston recognised the *independence of Texas*... In 1840, England was made to contract a treaty, stipulating military operations against *Syria*,—a portion of the Ottoman dominions, with which she was not at war ... in defiance of the Constitution, the performance of the treaty was stipulated, before its ratifica- 25 tion. Moreover, the immediate effect of the treaty,—as it was the chief end of its author,—was to estrange France, our natural ally, and to attach our fortunes to the detestable policy of Russia ... the support of the Irish members was more powerful than the law ... Infamous *treaty of July 13, 1841*. By it, the conditions of Unkiar Skelessi... were received 30 and established ... [38-41] In return for National Board, Poor-Law, and patronage in magisterial and other appointments, Ireland had undertaken to allow free scope to his policy abroad ... Palmerston's strength was in Lichfield House, his safety in the death-struggle of Faction... the disagreement of those factions was less hurtful to the State than their 35 alliance ... the Empire became a private inheritance... 1843 declared O'Connell that the transaction between him and the Whigs is ended ... It was Ireland that maintained Lord Palmerston in the Foreign Office ... impunity, which apathy, faction, and compromise, combined to afford that man ... Faction fills the hands and the leisure of the nation, and 40 deprives it alike of the means and inclination to know its own affairs.

While long debates are to be had on speculative questions,—or even on practical ones of a subordinate importance,—the national affairs are abandoned to the unfettered management of a Secretary. These assume the name of Foreign Affairs, and acquire, by degrees, a foreign character.

5 The details of intestine faction and intrigue,—always numerous and perplexed,—speedily engross the public mind and the public attention, and attain to dignity and importance, as the Home Affairs of the whole community ... (*The Roman Catholic Church and the Crimes of England.*) [43-48]

10 Anfang 1843 Michael Obrenowitz v. Serbien fortgejagt. Alexander Karageorgewitz elected in his stead. The Ottoman Sovereign was content with the act of the Serbian people, and sanctioned the election of his new vassal. This election (Alexander Georgowitch) by Russia was treated as an infraction of treaties. She required from the Sultan himself the annul-

10 ment of the act. Mit Englands Unterstützung she compelled the Porte to submission, forced it to require from the Serbians the annulment of the election, and from the Prince his resignation: she compelled the Porte to appoint in his room a provisional gov. to be named by agents of her own. Aber die "semibarbarians" elected Prince Alexander again—the

20 2 Russian Commissioners are present to record the legality they could not destroy ... (*Defeat of Russian diplomacy in Servia.*) [62, 63]

*Projet de Memoire of the Serbian Government*, d. d. March 1843, in England addressirt. Verlangt die moral support des Ambassador at Constantinople, when occasion requires, u. nach labour "the presence in Ser-

25 bia of a political (Engl.) agent", (p. 76)

*Alexander Georgevitz* son of *Czerni George*, who first, in 1804, raised in Serbia a national flag, whose brilliant successes gave complete triumph to his country... In September 1842, Alex. Georgevitz a simple Servian officer ... unter den aides de camp des Prince Michael... The Princedom

30 having become vacant by the flight of the then reigning Prince, Alexander became the object of unanimous choice. ... Seine election v. Rußland etc. später als "illegal" traktirt... By a law of the National assembly of Servia passed in 1827, and confirmed in 1830, by the Sultan, the dignity of Prince was rendered hereditary to the family of the Obrenovitz ...

35 this law twice applied ... Prince *Milan* had succeeded to his father, when he abdicated, and Prince Milan dying without issue his brother *Prince Michael* had been called to the throne, although he was a minor out of the country, and they accepted him, although accompanied by his mother, known for her energy, and the restoration of her husband by the

40 exclusion of her son. In 1842 Prince Michael rendered the Princedom vacant by flying from Serbia. The senate elected Alexander, the son of

their first prince and Milosh's predecessor, Czerni George ... [77, 78] the  
 law proscribed election ... two elections had taken place in Serbia, since  
 the Serbians had acquired a practical existence—that of Czerni George  
 and that of Milosh. Both of these occurred in full insurrection against the  
 Porte ... the present election was made in concurrence with the Porte, 5  
 and received its sanction ... The Sultan summoned by Russia to order the  
 Serbians to annul the election, resisted, and declared at once that Russia  
 had no right to dictate such an act to him, and that, on his part, it would  
 be contrary to the rights of the Serbians. But this last motive was pre-  
 cisely that which rendered the thing precious for Russia ... He resisted so 10  
 long as Europe had not *all* concurred to *counsel* him to *submission* ...  
 It was the *English Gov.* that first proposed as a mezzotermine that "a  
*legal* election should be proceeded to".... [79-81] it was the belief that  
 Russia would triumph, that induced them to lend to her their strength to  
 urge the Porte to a more speedy submission, |[7] and thereby to diminish 15  
 the sum of its sacrifices ... (Lord Aberdeen's speech, 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1842)...  
 Russia possessed the faculty of intervening in Serbia *only in so far* as  
 she should be called in by the Serbians, and that only for the purpose of  
*resisting illegal acts on the parts of the Porte.* Aber the throne becoming  
 vacant, (in Serbia) the Pasha of Belgrad reported to Constantinople that 20  
 which had happened, the Sultan ordered an election, which being made,  
 he sanctioned it, and granted to the Prince a diploma of investiture,  
 this was in conformity with the berat of the Sultan d. d. 22nd Novem-  
 ber, 1830, the berat in question was accepted by Russia as the fulfilment  
 of the treaty of Adrianople. [83-85] Another firman of the year 1830. 25  
 "The authorities of my Sublime Porte will not interfere in any manner in  
 the Internal Administration of the Country." Auch dieser firman became  
 an integral portion of the treaty of Adrianople. Now Russia pretends to  
 exercise over Serbia rights of internal gov. which she caused the Porte  
 to renounce, and she pretends to *coerce* the Porte into the violent and 30  
 injurious exercise of that authority. The Austrian gov. knew the Russian  
 intrigues ... the secret connivance of Prince Michael in the Bulgarian  
 insurrection of the preceding year; an insurrection of which the centre  
 was the Russian consulate at Bucharest ... (General Duhamel sieh Note  
 p. 87) and which was terminated by the bloody reaction on the part of 35  
 the Turks ... [86, 87] Russia alone announced at Constantinople, and in  
 all the courts of Europe, her indignation against the Serbians, and  
 against the Porte ... Verlangt erst vom Sultan, er solle die Schritte  
 zurückthun —turned then towards Austria ... she rung in the ears of  
 Prince Metternich the double fear of a Russian army appearing before 40  
 Belgrad, and the wavering dispositions of the subjects of Austria, con-

fining upon the Serbians, and themselves Serbians or Slaavs ... It was felt in Austria that the proximity of a Russian army might suddenly develop these latent dangers ... "Austria", said a statesman of Vienna, "cannot expose herself to allow another Caucasus to be created on her frontier."

5 These words explain how Austria resigned herself to assist Russia diplomatically to take away the pretext for the threatened occupation, fraught with dark peril to herself ... The old Prince Milosh, who had been obliged to abdicate in 1839, had subsequently fixed his residence at Vienna ... had for nearly 13 years governed with success ... shewn himself deaf

10 to the suggestions and seductions of Russia, when she urged him to put to profit for his own aggrandizement, the embarrassment caused to the Porte by the insurrections of the Greeks, and the Russian war of 1828-9. Those refusals had drawn upon him the wrath of Russia, who had avenged herself in fomenting against him those discontents of his subjects

15 which led to his expulsion ... the regiments colonised by Austria on her Turkish frontier, are neither Germans nor Hungarians, but are entirely composed of Slaavs. 50,000 permanent Serbian soldiers were for her, formerly, an admirable defence against the Turks; but against the Serbians, they are no defence; and a question arising of aggression against

20 Serbia these would become a source of the greatest danger to the Austrian empire ... [86-91] The Cabinet of Vienna resigned itself simply to endure the will of the Russ. cabinet, and only sought to mitigate the consequences by labouring to prevent resistance that should augment the triumph, which it deemed inevitable. It applied itself from that moment,

25 both at Constantinople and in London, to impress its views upon these 2 Cabinets. Verbarg seine wirklichen Motive. Had recourse to the old theme of revolutionary propagandism, anarchical tendencies etc... Mr. Guizot vainly represented (dem engl. Cabinet), that, in default even of being able to prevent Russia and Austria from exercising violence

30 against the Ottoman Empire, it would be preferable "to abstain simply from all acts, and from all manifestation, which, under the pretext of maintaining a *Concert* between those powers who were concerted with the avowed object of protecting that Empire in its integrity and independence, would convert that concert into a *common attempt* to do violence to

35 that independence, and to compromise that integrity." The French Gov., cowed by the *events of July 1840*, did not dare to act alone, and being unable to determine England to act for herself, she too yielded her concurrence to the requirements of Russia. ... To assail in their forests and in their mountains more than a 100,000 Serbians, accustomed to carry arms

40 and supported by the sympathies of the Bulgarians and the Bosniacks, it was not a small expedition that would be required but a powerful army.



(Milosh had distributed 140,000 muskets to the people, one for each house, and each house is obliged to furnish one soldier. The Serbians reckon that for the defence of their country they can put in motion 200,000 men, of which 15,000 are cavalry. They have 25 pieces of artillery in good state.)... [92-94] All European Cabinets come to the decision to 5 adopt the proposition of the English Cabinet—to *limit* Russia—to require that the Porte should order the Prince that she herself has given to Serbia, to displace himself, and the Serbian people to proceed to a new election—, according to legal forms... equally insisted, beforehand, upon the expulsion from the country of the two ministers (Voutitch and 10 Petronievitch) ... Porte gezwungen deren Ausweisung zu verordnen ... [96] Senat schrieb an Mohamed, Hafiz Pasha, Imperial Musheer, and Muhafiz of Belgrad, die decrees sollten bekannt gemacht werden in a general assembly of the people u. dann versucht to comply in the best way mit ihnen, so that the privileges of the people may be preserved 15 intact etc ... Russia had required that the Porte should publish a formal act of *déchéance* of Prince Alexander; in lieu of this, this prince, in concert with the Porte, sent to the Sultan his *abdication*, containing the discharge of the functions of gov. ... The 2 Ministers were required to repair to Constantinople. They offered to the Prince to do so. The Prince and 20 the Senate adjourned their departure... Sie called out their militia, armed themselves ... applied themselves to petition *en masse* the Sultan to leave to them the Prince ... The Porte recalled Kiamil Pasha from Belgrade, at the requisition of Russia, but immediately named in his place *Hafiz Pasha*, a *Circassian* ... Sarim Effendi had been succeeded in 25 his post of Reis Effendi, by Riza Pasha, when the Porte resolved to yield to Europe... [96-100] The Porte likewise armed—assembled powerful camps—and placed them so as to cover Serbia... Extraordinary assembly of the people convoked ... Vergebliche Intriguen der russ. Agenten, um Unruhen hervorzubringen etc... In the month of April seizure of 30 17 Russian agents in different parts of the country, by the very persons to whom they had addressed themselves as known partisans, and by whom they were not denounced, but seized and delivered over to the authorities of the Gov.... the popular movement of 1842 was directed only against Michaels ministers, because they had openly sold themselves 35 to Russia ... The Porte again addressed to the Powers of Europe the most urgent representations to obtain their consent to the *re-election of Prince Alexander*. Nun Aberdeen allowed himself || [8] || to be to Russia the channel of the desires of the Porte. Russia, of course, yielded an assent to his pressing solicitation... [103] the extraordinary national assembly 40\* had been convened for the 15<sup>th</sup> June ... Alexander arrived at Belgrade on

the 11<sup>th</sup>- On the 16<sup>th</sup>, the firman of the Porte was read to the assembly. One universal cry was raised against the institution of the provisional Gov. of Caimacans, deputation von mehr als 100 members zu Hafiz Pasha für die maintenance of the present order of things. Pressed, er sagt:  
5 "Go to the Russian consul, perhaps he will tell you the matter." Nun zu diesem. Mehr than 130, bearing arms. They found there M. Wastenko, the Consul, and Baron Lieven, a few days before arrived from Constantinople with the title of Commissioner, to assist at the election. Drohen. The conference closed by his assuring them, that since the tranquillity of  
10 the country depended upon Messrs. Voutitch and Petronievitch, he took upon himself not longer to insist upon their being sent to Constantinople, and that he would be satisfied if they withdrew from Belgrade. Lieven gave himself the air of doubting, if the *Cabinets of Europe* would subscribe to this modification of the ultimatum ... In der Assembly vom  
15 27<sup>th</sup> June Prince Alexander unanimously re-elected, and this ceremony accomplished in presence of Hafiz Pasha as Commissioner of the Porte, and of M. Wastenko and Baron Lieven, as Commissioners of Russia... [104-107] Petronievitch and Voutitch have been able to spread throughout the whole people of Serbia, a desire to escape from the influence of Russia—to rely upon the Porte etc ... (*Narrative of events in Serbia.*) [110]

*(Report of the East India Committee of the Colonial Society on the Causes and Consequences of the Military Operations in China. 1843.)*

All the opium within the Chinese seas was, by the laws of China, good  
25 prize to the captors, and all persons engaged in the traffic, whether natives or foreigners, were liable to capital punishment. There was no seizure made by the Chinese of any articles that were not contraband. No subjects of Great Britain were imprisoned, but those charged with the Crime ... Capt. Elliot possessed no representative character, and the  
30 trading community to which he belonged was, with scarcely an exception, implicated in guilt, and the whole of it liable to suspicion ... the immediate question here was one of smuggling. The owners of the contraband articles were Brit, subjects. The greater part of it was in fact grown by our Anglo-Indian Government... so much smuggled property  
35 was seized ... Warlike measures were, suddenly and in the first instance, undertaken ... Reprisals, the means of reparations, are neglected .. blockade ... likewise neglected ... Expeditionary movements, attacks upon cities and harbours are commenced ... Advantages, gained by the troops, are surrendered, in consequence of instructions sent to diplomatic  
40 agents ... When Palmerston is displaced ... steps are first taken to bring the warfare to a close ... Peel (obgleich Gladstone u. Graham had pro-

tested against Palmerston's war) extorted nun a treaty from the Chinese u. payment of money to England, in the name of compensation. ... What means reprobating an act, and not arresting the actor? ... In the Affghan crime ... of the official documents, some were withheld,—in others passages were suppressed,—in others important alterations were effected ... 5  
(113 sqq. [-121] *Military operations in China.*)

## N.II. Sept. I. 1843.

*Copy of a Despatch from Count Pozzo di Borgo, d. d. Paris 22nd Dec. 1826.* (Geschichte des treaty 6 July 1827) (protocol of the 22nd March 1826.) [127-141] 10

*Irish Catholic Hierarchy and the Empire.*

since 1829, our partial restoration to the rights of citizenship permitted us once more to take our part in public affairs ... we had at length retrieved the losses of 150 years, and wrested from the hands of Faction the advantages she had so unjustly held since the days of Charles II... 15  
We had been the prey of all factions alike ... It was said to be for our interest that we should attach ourselves to the most powerful faction of the day ... that faction (Whigs) happened also to be the same which for some years made Catholic Emancipation its war cry ... In the Lower House, the votes of Catholic Ireland in 1831, turned the scale in favour of 20 Reform. ... In 1835, the Irish brought the Sovereign himself into a conformity of views with their liberal confederates, and compelled him to restore his Melbourne Administration ... from the General election of 1837, down to that of 1841, while there was a Brit, majority in the Lower House, opposed to that administration, the votes of Catholic Ireland 25 were again strong enough to turn the scale, and keep it in office. ... Drove, in 1834, from the Cabinet Sir James Graham, accompanied by that of Lord Stanley. ... The strength which placed Downing-street at their mercy ... Ireland which created and kept in place those that were the Ministers to her mind, had means to keep them honest. ... She rushed 30 into the arms of a faction she despised ... (154 sqq. [-161])

*Serbia and Spain,* "the triumph of the Serbians was obtained with the *quasi* sanction, both of France and England ... Now the two Ministers are to be recalled, otherwise the Emperor refuses to acknowledge the legality of the proceedings ... In the month of September, 1842, Prince 35 Alexander was elected by the Serbian people ... Rede v. Peel 15 Aug. 1842 gegen Serbia. Rede Disraeli's dagegen. Falscher Bericht des englischen Consuls at Belgrad (Appointed by Palmerston)...

Aus The Portfolio (Fortsetzung)

[181-186] *Disraeli*: 'Turkey stabbed in the back through diplomatic action in 1828' ... the question is now the expulsion of the 2 Ministers of Serbia. Lord Palmerston, knowing the question thoroughly, does not warn the Gov. of this danger... he prepares them for surrender while  
5 appearing to denounce them for subserviency, and contemptuously speaks of 'Voutich and *another* who had been instrumental in the proceeding of that *violent election*'. Here is England placed between a villainy, in the leader of one party, that is above its intelligence, and in the other, a baseness that is beneath its comprehension... [190-192] *Lord*  
10 *Sondons speech* ... Lord Sandon voted on the ||[9]|| occasion of the Polish Debates for Lord Palmerston, although he spoke against him. His reason being, not that his vote against his speech would damage his own leaders, but because it would have damaged his antagonists—*his own party not thinking fit to come into office* ... Der v. Palmerston ernannte Consul of  
15 England, is acting in unison with the consul of Russia to foment dissensions in Serbia..." [192, 193]

III.) October I. 1843.

*On the relations of Eastern and Western Churches.*

"We received Canada by the treaty of Versailles of 1763. By that treaty  
20 we bound ourselves to respect the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church and its possessions ..." The Roman Catholics in the Russian states are of 2 kinds—those of the direct communion of Rome, and those of the Ancient Eastern Church, who under the Council of Florence united themselves to the See of Rome, retaining their national liturgy and  
25 some other habits... the partition of Poland followed upon an intervention of England in its affairs. England's pretence was the maintenance of the rights of the Protestants. This interference (at the suggestion of Russia) was protested against by the very party in Poland on whose behoof we interfered. That interference, in which we were supported by the Prot-  
30 estant States, was the death-blow to Poland's independence\_\_\_\_(in 1768)... [230-232] It is not 800,000 bayonets that are to be coped with—but some 40 or 50 men! And these not belonging to her, but sought, selected and purchased from amongst us ... The Pope (in his *Exposition* of the Grievances etc Rome 22nd July 1842) avows that he has assisted  
35 the Emperor of Russia in the subjugation of Poland ... *Auszüge aus dem päpstlichen Circular*: "His Holiness knew that disturbing again the whole hierarchy of the United Greeks, the Ukase of the 22nd April, 1828, suppressed the Bishopric of this rite, erected anciently at Luck, capital of

Volhynia ... every effort employed to separate the United Greeks of the Catholic Unity, and to incorporate them in the Russo-Greek communion ... ancient and solemn engagements taken from the year 1773, by the Russ. Gov., to preserve the *statu quo* of the Catholic religion in the provinces ceded to Russia ... The Holy Father deferring at the same time 5 to a request that was made to him in the name of the august Emperor and King, by his Minister Plenipotentiary Prince Gargarin, thought fit to renew these tender and wise warning to the bishops of the kingdom, (of Poland) with the view of co-operating by their means towards the perpetuity and consolidation of political order in Poland, and to bring back 10 in particular into the road of duty, the members of the clergy that, blinded by misfortune, had strayed from it ... [243-250] the ukase of the 20<sup>th</sup> August 1832, confirmed and explained by that of the 26<sup>th</sup> August, 1833, subjected Poland to the laws in vigour in the Russian Empire, which require for mixed marriages, as an absolute condition, the 15 formal promise to bring up all the children in the Greek religion ... another ukase of 1833 enacts ... that there will be henceforward a Church and a Priest *only where* the Catholics will form an aggregate population of 400 inhabitants ... ukase of the 28<sup>th</sup> March, 1836, by which it is forbidden to the Latin priests either to listen to the sacramental confessions of those 20 persons that are not particularly known to them, or to admit such persons to the communion of the Eucharist... [256, 257] formal prohibition promulgated on the 20<sup>th</sup> January, 1840, never to pronounce again the word 'United Greek Church' ... An Imperial Ukase, dated on Christmas day last (1841), consummated the spoliation so long ago undertaken of 25 the Ecclesiastical properties, ordaining that 'all landed property, inhabited by peasants attached to it, appertaining up to the present time to the clergy of a religion stranger to the occidental provinces, shall pass under the management of the minister of the national domains, excepting solely those properties which, not constituting a portion of the possessions of 30 the high hierarchy, nor furnishing funds or capitals for foundations, are solely in the possession of the clergy administering the parishes.' ... the Julian Calendar is substituted in Poland for the Gregorian Calender." ... [266-269]

*Effect of words on the Character of Men, and the Fate of Nations.* 35

"... A new habit has been introduced amongst the nations of modern Europe, that of converting into a phantom whatever they see, and this they call '*accounting*' for things ... As soon as accounted for it is discarded as worthless. This is done by the simple process of uttering a general proposition ... When the habit of uttering general propositions, 40. including in them the names of fanciful beings, has taken possession of a

man, his thoughts become the mere domain of Chance, his conclusions necessarily erroneous, and his brain is left at the mercy of the accidental movements of his lips ... By such vain words (wie civilisation and barbarism) are facts destroyed, and all living agency effaced in human events, and men and nations, accustomed thus to use their tongues, look on their own acts as changes of the seasons, fixed by laws above their control... endeavour to clamber by words out of the sphere of words ... mist raised by the breath which abuses the mind of its sight... At each period the terms in use are accepted by the child that learns to speak before a conscious mental operation is performed, and after terms have become habitual in him, no further mental operation is in his power, except as flowing from and dependent upon such terms ... It is speech that constitutes a nation—it is the fabric of its corporate existence—it is the stream of its existence, and links together in its change the first and latter days of a race, itself effecting that change, leading them to greatness, or bringing them to death ... In the age of activity and progress, when the causes of their greatness were chiefly in operation, did any one of these people explain what he was or endeavour to interpret the causes of his advancement? No—words are only used after the thing has expired—after the spirit has itself declined. The classical age |[10]| is the age preceding decay, when words come in—the symptom and the aggravation of the disease. Men can know only what He Is, and he observes what he is only by comparison with dissimilar things. The character of a nation is universal, otherwise it would not be that of the nation, and being universal it cannot be observed ... A nation can recover only by removing the cause of decay—General Proposition... in the fictitious representation of a community you have lost man ... The Greek or the Roman could personify as well as the Englishman: but he did not substitute the shadow for the reality. His image was for the imagination only ... It was not an artificial being let loose on his fancy, and poured forth in his language, which he invested with the power of acting on him and for him ... the phantom State ... 'I am a shadow; I am absorbed. I belong to a non-entity, to a principle. I am a whig, or a tory, or a liberal, or a conservative.' He does not say I see or I do—but I *am*—something else than self—that something being a *manner* of seeing, thinking, acting ..." | [281-302]

[[12]] César Famin:  
Histoire de la Rivalité et du Protectorat  
des Églises Chrétiennes en Orient.  
Paris. 1853.

Chap. I. Nature des rapports de la chrétienté 5  
avec la Porte Ottomane.

La loi de Mahomet, code politique autant que religieux ne reconnaît dans le monde entier que *deux nations*: la *nation des fidèles* et la *nation des infidèles*... *sujets* infidèles de la Porte ou *giaours* - sont appelés *raias*. tous les sujets de la Porte qui confessent une religion étrangère... 10  
Tout infidèle est *harby*, ce qui veut dire ennemi... Auch nur *deux pays*, celui des fidèles et celui des infidèles ... L'islamisme a proscrit la nation des infidèles, et constitué un état permanent d'hostilité entre leur pays et celui des fidèles. ... La soumission à la nation des fidèles a pour objet d'obtenir, non la paix, mais une simple trêve: La paix nur possible à la 15 condition d'apostasier et d'embrasser l'islamisme ... la trêve aux peuples qui veulent conserver leurs croyances et se bornent à capituler, à faire des traités et à payer le tribut (*kharatch*), auch unter der mildern Form v. *présents d'usage, cadeaux d'étiquette, offrandes de bonne amitié* ... Die Schiffe der régences barbaresques waren die vaisseaux d'une puis- 20 sance obéissant aux principe fondamental de sa religion. ... Ces mots de paix perpétuelle appartiennent à la langue politique de l'Europe et sont vides de sens pour les sectateurs du Prophète ... la trêve est rompue chaque fois qu'un giaour commet, en terre mahométane, une de ces mille infractions à la loi, inventées par l'ignorance et le fanatisme ... [7-11] 25;

Nach der législation musulmane «Si une ville se rend par *capitulation* et ses habitants consentent à devenir *raias* (sujet du prince mahométan, mais professant une religion étrangère), il n'est pas permis de leur rien prendre de leur pays et de leurs terres, non plus que d'envahir leurs  
5 maisons ... Dans ce cas, les anciennes églises font partie de leurs propriétés» mit der permission d'y célébrer leur culte. Aber sie dürfen keine *union* bauen. Ist eine Stadt gewaltsam genommen, il faut laisser aux habitants leurs anciennes églises, mais seulement comme lieux d'habitation et sans qu'ils puissent y célébrer leur culte.

10 *Omar* prit Jérusalem en 636, wann le catholicisme romain était dans l'empire d'Orient la seule religion de l'Etat. Capitulirte. Hielten daher leurs anciennes églises et leur culte, c.-à.-d. les églises romaines et le culte romain.

1187 nimmt *Salaeddin* den croisés Jerusalem wieder; aber wieder capitulation. ... La possession des lieux saints, disputée entre les Latins, les Grecs et les Arméniens, n'implique pas le droit de *propriété*, mais seulement celui *d'usufruit*. La loi musulmane s'oppose à ce que les infidèles possèdent dans le pays des fidèles ... elle leur accorde l'autorisation *d'entretenir les anciennes églises* c.-à.-d. de les réparer et de relever les parties  
20 tombées, sans pouvoir y ajouter de nouvelles constructions. À des époques déterminées, les commissaires délégués par les gouvernements de provinces vont visiter les sanctuaires et les églises des Chrétiens pour s'assurer qu'il n'y a rien été ajouté, sous prétexte de restauration ...  
[12-15] Cette défense n'est applicable qu'aux *villes*, (in der acceptation  
25 religieuse de l'islamisme, tout endroit habité par des musulmans et où on peut observer les pratiques extérieures de la religion de Mahomet), et non aux *villages* - lieux occupés par les giaours, les *raias*, où les musulmans n'habitent pas, et où ils n'ont élevé aucune mosquée. ... la loi *du prince*, plus sévère que la *loi de l'islamisme*, s'oppose à ce que les infidèles fassent  
30 construire sans son autorisation spéciale, même dans les lieux réputés villages... Il est vrai qu'une église nouvelle du rite grec a été construite à Pera dans le siècle dernier; mais la Russie l'avait exigé (traité de Kainardji) (art. XIV) la Porte a cédé à la force ... La possession des lieux saints daher nicht droit de *propriété*, mais seulement *d'usufruit* garanti  
35 par les traités. Dans les usages de l'Orient et de la terre sainte, la possession exclusive d'une église, sanctuaires, autel, quel qu'il soit par une communion chrétienne, n'exclut pas les autres communions de la faculté d'y célébrer; mais les possesseurs ont seuls le droit d'en garder les clefs, d'y réparer des édifices et de les entretenir à leurs frais, d'y allumer des  
40 lampes et d'y étendre les tapis, signe extérieur du droit de possession ...  
[17,18] Nach den Griechen stiftete St. Helene, Mutter des Constantin die



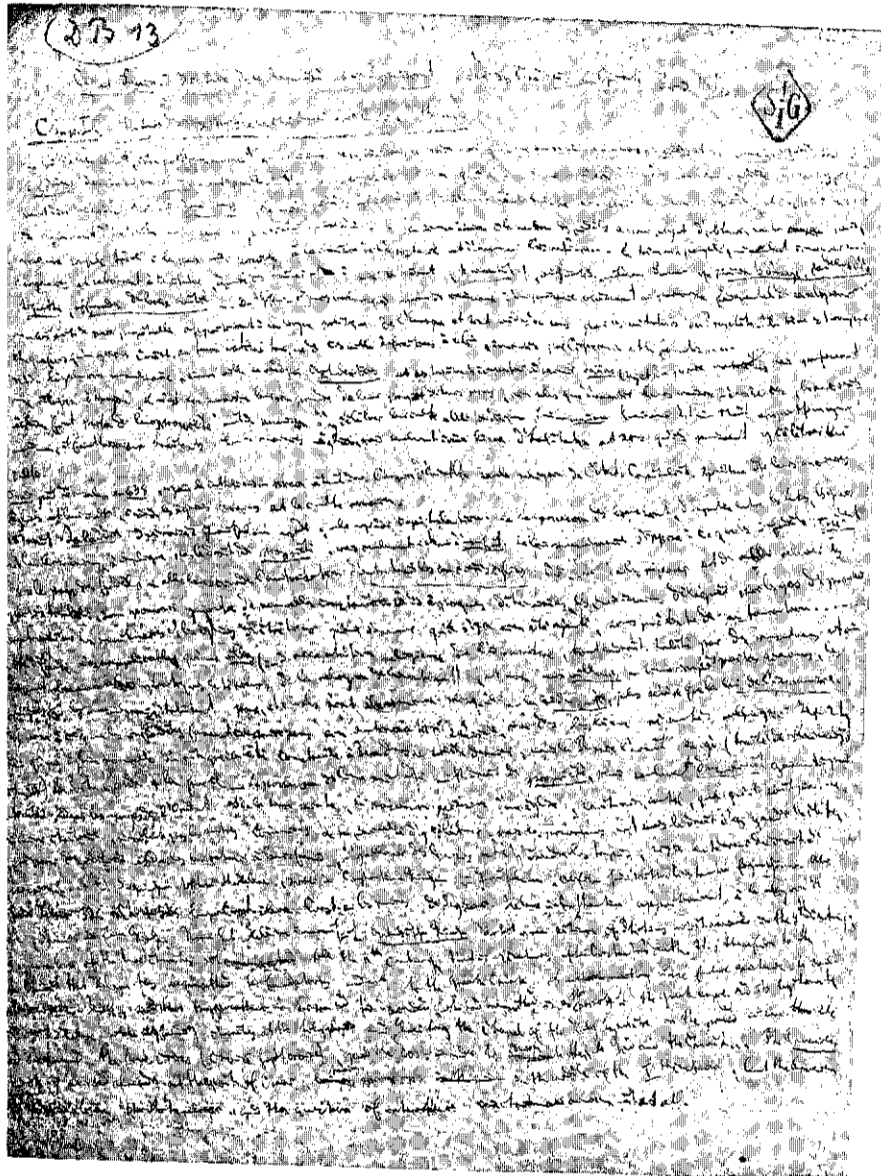
Kirchen zu Jerusalem. Als Erbe seiner Mutter Constantin Eigenthümer. Aber Reise der Helene 326 n. Ch. f 328 bevor Constantin éleva Constantinople sur les ruines de Byzance. Helene u. Constantin appartenaient à la religion de Rome; damals nur Eine Kirche. Rom hat Helene canonisirt. *Griechische Kirche* datirt vom schisme of Photius which arrived in the 9<sup>th</sup> century; the separation of the two churches not consummated till the 11<sup>th</sup> century, that is 7 centuries after Constantin's death. It is therefore to the Latin Church that Helene has bequeathed her foundations and not to the Greek Church, of whose future existence she could not be aware ... But it is said that they gave them to her son and his descended, who had transmitted it as their property to the Greek empire and its legitimate successors. Helene by founding churches at the holy places and erecting the Chapel of the Holy Sépulcre on the ground where she had discovered the true cross (croisé heißt croise), paid the costs in order to devote them to God and the Church... The *Armenian Church* existed already at the epoch of Omar, having sprung up in the middle of the V<sup>th</sup> century; but the Armenian rite has never been the State religion, and this question of interference cannot concern it at all. [20-22] |

[[13]] Ch. II.

Origine et nature des capitulations.

20

With the Mahommedans, a Foreigner is a foe, et nobody will dare to present himself in a hostile country without a safe-conduct, (sauf-conduit). This is the reason why the first European merchants who proposed to try the chances of commerce in countries subjected to the Islamisme felt obliged to cause an exceptional treatment and privileges, originally personal but extended afterwards to the whole nation to be granted to them. Hence the origin of the capitulations. Capitulations are imperial Diplomas, letters of privileges, octroyed by the Ottoman Porte to different European nations, for authorizing their subjects to freely enter mahometan countries, and to tranquilly apply themselves there to their affairs and the practices (usages) of their worship. They differ from *treaties* in this essential point that they are no reciprocal acts, contradictingly debated between the contracting parties, and accepted by them, on the condition of mutual advantages and concessions. The capitulations, on the contrary, are one sided concessions on the part of the Government which grants them; hence they may be recalled at its pleasure. The Porte, therefore, has sometimes nullified the privileges granted to one nation by extending them to others, or it has revoked (repealed) them altogether by refusing to continue their



Aus César Famin: Histoire de la rivalité et du protectorat  
Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Diplomatie. Heft 4. Seite 12\*

application ... This precarious character of the capitulations made them an eternal source of complaints and disputes, of complaints on the parts of ambassadors and of that prodigious exchange of contradictory notes and firmans received at the epoch of every new reign. This state of things  
5 lasted with respect to France during 3 centuries, from 1507, the date of her first known capitulation, to 1802, when Napoleon thought fit to make the existence and the maintainance of the capitulations the object of an article of treaty, and thus to give them the character of obligatory clauses. Russia, although only entering several centuries after France into  
10 international relations with the Porte, preceded her, nevertheless in procuring this essential guarantee to the capitulations of which she had obtained the benefit by the right of assimilation: the capitulations, to the profit of Russian Subjects, being indeed mentioned in the treaty of Kainardji of 1774. (Art. XI) [23-25]

15 After the peace of Belgrad (1739) the marquis of Villeneuve, french ambassador at Constantinople, caused the old capitulations obtained by the French Kings to be renewed and confirmed. This compilation of the capitulations of 1535, 1604 and 1673, augmented by new concessions, is ordinarily but improperly called the treaty of 1740. The capitulations  
20 granted to Foreign Powers not being accompanied by a translation, the comte of Vergennes, Ambassador at Constantinople, succeeded in causing an official translation to be made entitled: "Ancient and recent Capitulations or treaties between the court of France and the Ottoman Porte, renewed and augmented in the year 1740 of J. C. and 1153 of the Hegira:  
25 translated at Constantinople by Mr. Deval, secretary interprète of the King and his first dragoman at the Ottoman court, 1761." [26]

Capitulations of 1535 (Soliman the Great and Francis I); 1604 (Ahmed I and Henry IV); 1673 (Moustapha II and Louis XIV): ... altogether 85 articles of which 10 relate to the Holy Places and the Protec-  
30 torate of France, (art. 29, 32-36, 82-4)

*Art. 1* Grants to the French full liberty to visit Jerusalem and promises not to trouble the monks in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, called *Kamama*.

*Art. 29* extends to the French the benefit of the capitulations granted  
35 to the Venetians.

*Art. 32* allows Foreigners who have no embassies at Constantinople to come and go freely, to trade, and to visit the Holy places, if they do so under the flag of the "French Emperor".

*Art. 35* relates to the French Jesuit at Smyrna, Seyde, Alexandria etc.,  
40 and to the capucins established at Galata.

Art. 82 allows the monks who depend on France to repair the *sanctuaries which they possess and enjoy*; the pachas, cadis, and other officers, are to make them but one visit in the year, to ascertain whether no secret reparations have been effected. The bishops and monks dependent on the Emperor of France will be protected, and nobody shall prevent them 5 from exercising their practices of their *worship at the churches they possess, as well as* at the other places they live in. (inhabit.)

Art. 83 As the friendship of the Court of France with the Ottoman Porte is *older than that with other courts*, we command, in order that it be treated in the most *digne* (worthy) manner, that the privileges and hon- 10 ours practised towards the other franc nations; are also to take place with respect to the subjects of the French Emperor.

Art. 84 Even if there was produced some commandment of an anterior or posterior date, contradictory with the honour of those articles; it shall not be executed but suppressed and cancelled, in conformity. [27-30] 15

By allowing the subjects of hostile nations (harbys), to come and to go freely and to visit the holy places, provided that this be done under the flag of the French Emperor "the Capitulations consecrate the right of that Gov. to protect the subjects of friendly and allied nations who borrow these colours when visiting the holy places. Now, the latin monks 20 who serve the sanctuaries, if they be not Frenchmen, are Spaniards or Italians who pray for the *Emperor of France* and place themselves under his banner—any obstacle put to the free exercise of their worship at the places they dwell in and the sanctuaries they keep, any act of violence perpetrated to their prejudice, are as many infractions of the Protectorat 25 of the *banner of France* (bannière de la France), acknowledges in art. 32 of the capitulations of 1740: "The monks who profess the frank religion, to whatever nation they may belong, shall not be troubled in the exercise of their functions in the places of our empire where they are long time since." ... This constitutes the right of France to a Protectorate of the 30 french 10 monks (religieux) ... art. 33 reproduces the capitulation obtained in 1673 by M. de Nointel. The french monks are maintained in the possession of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the places of visitation they inhabit, within and without the town of Jerusalem, ||[14] and these sanctuaries will remain in their hands as formerly, (in former 35 times.) By these words: "without the town" are to be understood Gethsemani, Bethléem and the other sanctuaries possessed since time immemorial by the catholic monks ... These articles intend preventing the *croisement* of those contradictory finans which the Porte has always abused in the most deplorable manner, now in favour of the catholics, then in 40 favour of the Greeks, and another while in that of the Armenians, accor-

ding to the Patriarchs giving to the Visiers and Pashas more or less great sums of money, or as the political circumstances made prevail the influence of this or that sovereign ... The capitulations of 1740, then, contain the right of Protectorate, on the part of France, of the subjects of catholic  
5 nations visiting the holy places and the monks there established, to whatever nation they may belong, they contain besides the consecration of the right of the Latins to conserve, under the protection of France, the sanctuaries situated within and without the town of Jerusalem, "*which are long time since in their hands*". When Russia made her treaty of 1774,  
10 France possessed already by article 83 the right to enjoy the treatment of the most favoured nation ... As to a right of Protectorate over *the Catholic subjects of the Porte*, France has never pretended to it... by art. 7 of the treaty of Kainardji Russia stipulates "that the Ottoman Gov. *should protect the Christian religion and its churches*". At that time  
15 Russia restored to the Porte some Christian Provinces she had taken from it during the last war, such as Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia; it was, then, natural that she stipulated a condition of good treatment to the inhabitants of those provinces compromised by their submission to the Russ. gov.... At all instances, if the ott. gov. has engaged itself  
20 to protect its christian subjects and their churches, it has stipulated that it would protect them itself, and has not alienated its right of sovereignty to the profit of a Foreign Power... As to the right of making representations it is, in the same article, only granted to Russia in favour of the new church at Constantinople and its desservants. [30-35]  
25 *Besides these capitulations, the Mussulmans have connected themselves with the Europ. powers by synallagmatic treaties. France is the most ancient ally of Turkey ...* [35, 36]

### Ch. III. The Holy places and Jerusalem.

To complete the capitulations of 1740, it was yet necessary to make more  
30 precise the dispositions of Art. 33 (ancient capitulation of 1673), by indicating the sanctuaries possessed by the catholics. Such was the object of the firman obtained in 1757 by the Comte of Vergennes. This date is most important, as France has constantly, since that epoch, asked for the possession being replaced into the state where they had been after the capi-  
35 tulations of 1740 and the firman explicatif of 1757 ... Enumeration of the principal sanctuaries possessed by the Latins in 1757 (p. 40, 41, 42) Enumeration of the places possessed at that time by the Greeks, Armenians, Abyssinians, Syrians, Koptes ... all the changes effected in that

state of things since 1757, constitute so many encroachments and usurpations which France insists upon being redressed ... This point of depart, in the eyes of the Latins, is the year 1757 ... [43] The churches, chapels, sanctuaries erected at the places to which tradition calls more particularly the veneration of the Chretiens, become objects of covetousness for the 5  
dissentent sects, every communion vindicating the right of their possession, maintainance, repairs, and of keeping the keys. The usurpations, the encroachments, the scandalous disputes have led to deplorable *rixes* between the Latins and Greeks. Other prétendants have come in, and confiscated to their profit, some *débris* (ruins, wrecks, rubbish) which 10  
had escaped the combat of the great communions: these are the Armenians, Koptes, Syrians, and Abyssinians. The sovereigns of Europe, interfering in the quarrel, had pressed themselves to the masters of the ground (soil), to fanatic and greedy Pachas who abused their position; the Ottoman Porte and its agents, adopting the most troublesome (saddest) 15  
*système de bascule*, have given judgement, one after another, (by turns) in favour of the Latins, Greeks, or Armenians, asking and receiving gold from all hands, and laughing indistinctly at all of them whom they were ransoming. ... Hardly had the Turks granted a firman acknowledging the rights of the Latins to the possession of a contested place, when the 20  
Armenians presented themselves with a purse in their hands, heavier than that of the Latins, and instantly obtained a contradictory firman. The same tactics was followed with respect to the Greeks who, besides, as officially recorded in different firmans of the Porte, and *houdjets* (judgments) of its agents, knew how to procure *false* and apocryphe titles. ... 25  
In other occasions, the decisions of the Sultan's government were stift off and frustrated by the cupidity and ill will (malevolence) of the Pashas of Syria and their subaltern agents. Then it was necessary to resume negotiations, to appaint commissaries, and make new sacrifices. At last, what the Porte, in other times, had the wrong to grant in exchange for a 30  
pecuniary renumeration, it has done in our days, from fear, in order to secure some protection and favour. Having done justice to the reclamations of France and the Latins, it hastened to make contradictorily the same conditions to Russia and the Greeks continuing thus to escape, between two waters, the storm it felt not the power of encountering ... 35  
There is no sanctuary, no chapel, no stone of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, that had not been the object of quarrel between the different christian communions, quarrels often of a bloody character ... the protectorate of the holy places is one of the phases of the */[15]/* Oriental question, incessantly reproduced, constantly stifled, (*assoupi*) but never 40  
solved, (regulated.) appears ridiculous to the Occidentals, and all impor-

tant to the Orientals. Jerusalem and the Holy places are inhabited by nations professing 8 religions: the Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Koptes, Abyssinians, Syrians, Jews, and Musulmans. [45-48] Since 1840 the protestants must be added... All this rubbish of different nations live at  
5 Jerusalem separated from each other, hostile and jealous. A nomade population incessantly renewed by pilgrimages or decimated by the pest and oppressions. "At the end of some years, says a recent traveller, the European dies or returns to Europe; the pachas and their *gardes* go to Damascus or Constantinople and the Arab to the desert. Jerusalem is  
10 but a place where everyone arrives to erect his tent; but the town of David has no people of its own." The sedentary population of Jerusalem numbers about 15,500 souls:

•*Jews*,... 8,000; *Musulmans*, ... 4,000; *Christians*, 3,490. *Total*: 15,490.

The particular enumeration of the Christians gives the following  
15 chiffres:

*Greeks*, 2,000; *Latins*, 1,000; *Armenians*, 350; *Koptes*, 100; *Syrians*, 20; *Abyssinians*, 20; *Total*: 3,490. (*Schultz*, Jerusalem). [49]

The Mussulmans, forming about (a quarter) the fourth part of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, are here the masters in every respect—population  
20 composed of Turks, Arabs and Maures ... Everybody in the holy city gets a life by his religion (lives upon his religion) and the 12, or 13,000 greek or armenian pèlerins who visit Jerusalem yearly, furnish the main nourishment (aliment) (element) of the commercial transactions of the sedentary population. The Latins gain a living from the subsidies and alms of their  
25 correligionists of France and Austria.

Ecclesiastic dignitaries resident at Jerusalem etc. (p. 50, 51)

Beside the monasteries and sanctuaries, the Christian nations possess at Jerusalem little monasteries or habitations annexed to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for the monks who have to watch, by day and night,  
30 the holy sepulchre. At determined epochs these monks are relieved from their guard. These little monasteries have but one porte (door) which opens into the interior: but the monks' guardians receive their food from without, through the instrumentality of a wicket (cupboard, guichet.) The door (porte) of the Church is closed and guarded by the Turks,  
35 who don't open it but at the price of money, and close it according to their caprice or cupidity; but of all the Foreign nations who visit the holy places there is none more wronged and ransomed than the Jews. "The Jews form almost the half [of] the population of the Holy city ... they inhabit the most filthy quarter" (quartier), called Harêth-el-Yahoud,  
40 between the Sion and the Moriah, where their synagogues are situated ... Nothing equals (comes up to; is to [be] compared with) the misery and

the sufferings of the Jews of Jerusalem, forming the incessant object of Musulman oppressions and intolerance, insulted by the Greeks, in hostility with the Latins, and getting a livelihood only from the parsimonious alms transmitted by their European brothers. The Jews however belong to different distant countries, and are only attracted to Jerusalem by the desire to choose their places in the valley of Josaphat, and to die on the very places where the resurrection is to find them again (back.) While attending their death, they suffer and pray; they shed tears about the misfortunes of Sion, their dispersion throughout the world, their regards turned to that "mountain of Moriah where once rose the temple of Salomon, and which they dare not to approach". ] [51-55]

#### [[16]] Chap. IV. Schismes et Divisions des Églises chrétiennes.

A. 320 *heresy of Arius*: Christus was before Maria, but had had a commencement, and had, by the good use made of its his free arbiter, deserved (merited) to pass from the state of men into that of God's son. Immediately condemned by a council held at Alexandria, but continued to spread. Therefore:

A. 325. *Concile oecuménique of Nicea* (assembled by Constantin the Great.) 300 évêques. Constantin *Symbol of Nicea*: "There are in Jesus Christ two *natures, the divine and the human nature*; but there is in him but *one single person* (individed), which is the person of the son of God." [58]

A. 381. *Second concile oecuménique à Constantinople*. Divinity of the Holy Ghost, proclaimed to proceed from the *Son* as well as from the father. 25

A. 428. *Nestorius*, bishop at Constantinople, *duality of persons* in Jesus. *Nestorianism*. Condemned by the third *concile oecuménique* at Ephese. One of his most ardent antagonists, *Eutyches*, proclaims

A. 448 the *unity of natures*. *Dioscorus*, patriarch of Alexandria, maintains the same doctrine, spreads it through the Egyptian Church, and thus the *Koptes* did receive it. *Monophysites* ou *Eutychéen*. Eutyches and Dioscore condemned 30

A. 451 by the 4<sup>th</sup> oecumenic council, *that of Chalcedoine*. Greek Church verwirft daß Spiritus procedit a patre *Filioque*; hence the separation. ;

Amongst the minor cases of division: the worship of images (pictures), the ecclesiastic supremacy, the national diversity of the liturgy, the language, and the garments of the priest, his *celibacy* or legitimate union with a wife, the manner of administering the eucharist, etc. The *Greek* 351



*and Russo Greek Church* reject the "filioque", refuset to believe in the purgatory, and do not proclaim in an absolute manner the eternity of punishments. [59-62]

The *Armenian Church* believes only in *one nature* in Christ, but condemns, nevertheless, Eutyches.

The Abyssinians, the Church of Alexandria, the Syrians, and Jacobites, are all of them monophysites ... [62]

The *Latin Church* has found its adherents within the latin and german races; the *latin* elements prevail.

10 The *Greek Church* has found its adherents with the slave, turco-slave, and hellénic races; the main element is the *slave* one.

The *Protestants* have found their adherents with the German, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian races; the *German* element predominates.

The other Churches belong to asiatic and african races.

15 Four groups on the holy places. (Sich unten). *Nestorians or Chaldeens* do not figure amongst them, their patriarch residing at Mossoul. There are also *Nestorians-Catholiques*, the bishop of whom resides at Bagdad. [66]

1) *Latins, United Greeks, Maronites.*

*Latins.* Until the 11<sup>th</sup> century *latin Church* and *Greek Church*, or Oriental and Occidental Church, were denominations not expressing a schisme, but only a distinction of geography and of the 2 main languages used in Christian society ... [67]

In the Ottoman Empire more than 13 millions of Greeks and hardly one million of Latins ... The greeks more numerous in Rumely than Anatoli, while for the Latins the proportion is inverse ... the French language, once spoken at Jerusalem as at Paris, is now hardly known in the monastery of the Latin fathers (Romans, Sardinians, Neapolitans, Austrians, Spaniards, Germans) ... almost all of them are jealous of the *French* protectorate and would like to substitute that of Austria, or Sardinia, or Naples, the two latter assuming both the title of King of Jerusalem ... stealing of stones from a grotte of Bethléem, a tapestry, or keys of a sanctuary ... French consul at Jerusalem ... a chair, a cushion, (pillow), any ridiculous precedency ... the Latins have each year only to oppose 60-80 Foreign visitors to 10-12,000 Greeks ... [68-71]

35 *United Greeks.* Descendants from the Christians of the Bas-Empire, Syria, and the provinces of the Levant, who, refusing to accept the heresies of Nestorians and Eutyches, subjected themselves to the council of Chalcedoine and the edict of the Emperor Marcianus. [72] Acknowledge

the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome ... The communion of the United Greeks masters at present hardly more than 4 millions, who to the greater part have taken refuge to the Austrian dominions (Gallicia and the military frontiers). In Poland there remain hardly 240,000. [77]

*Maronites*. At all times protected by France; population of 140,000 souls in the Libanon, and principally in Kesrouan, pashalic of Tripoli. Syrian Christians, who fled before their enemies to these wild mountains. Inhabited the Libanon at the times of the 1<sup>st</sup> crusade. (1095). | [78,79]

I [17] I 2. *Greeks, Gréco-Russes, Hellènes.*

891 *i Photius*. [83-86] 10

The *Greeks*, (subjects of Turkey-Raias). (*Moldo-Wallqchia, Austria*), acknowledging the supremacy of the patriarch of Constantinople.

The *Gréco-Russians*, whose chief spiritual authority is the Csar. [94]

the *Hellenes*, of whom the king and the synode of Greece are the chief authorities. [95] 15

a) <i>Gréco-Russian Church</i>	49,000,000	
b) <i>Church of Constantinople:</i>		
<i>Empire Ottoman</i>	13,730,000	i
<i>Danubian provinces</i>	3,500,000	> 20,390,000
<i>Austria</i>	3,160,000	j
c) <i>Church of Athens:</i>	900,000	20^
Total:	70,290,000	[101]

*Population of the Ottom. Empire*, (abstraction faite de Γ Egypte, Tunis, et des Provinces Danubiennes.)

<i>Religions</i>	<i>In Europe.</i>	<i>In Asia.</i>	<i>Totals.</i>	j
<i>Mussulman</i>	3,800,000	12,950,000	16,750,000	25 :
<i>Greek</i>	11,370,000	2,360,000	13,730,000	{
<i>Armenian</i>	400,000	2,000,000	2,400,000	
<i>Latin</i>	260,000	640,000	900,000	
<i>Jew</i>	70,000	100,000	900,000	30 J
	15,900,000	18,050,000	33,950,000	[120]

a) *Church of Constantinople*. The Patriarch of Constantinople is the political representative of his nations and his chief justice. Anywhere, in the Ottoman empire, where there is an agglomeration of greek subjects, the Archibishops and bishops are by law members of the municipal

councils, and preside, under the direction of the patriarchs, to the repartition of the taxes raised upon the Greeks. The Patriarch is responsible to the Porte of the conduct of his correligionists. Invested of the right of judging the Raïas of his Church, he delegates this right to the metropolitans and bishops over the faithful of their dioceses; the cadis and officers of the Porte are bound to cause their sentences to be executed. The punishments they have the right of pronouncing are fines, imprisonment, the bastonnade, and the exil. The Church gives them, besides, the right of excommunication. Independent of the produce of the fines they raise a varying right in the civil and commercial law-suits. Every hierarchic place, amongst this clergy, has its monied price, is sold at the price of money. The Patriarch pays the Divan a heavy tribute in order to obtain his investiture; but himself sells the *archevêchés* et les bishoprics to the clergy of his cult. These, on their part, indemnify themselves on the sale of subaltern dignities and the tribute imposed upon the popes. Finally, the latter sell in retail the powers they have bought from their superiors, and traffick (trade) in all acts of their ministry, such as baptism, marriage, divorces and testaments. At Jerusalem the Greek pilgrims are pitilessly ransomed by their clergy. Beside the Patriarch of Constantinople there exist 3 at Jerusalem, Antiocha, and Alexandria ... [98-100]

3. *Armenians, Koptes, Abyssinians, Syrians, and Jacobites.*

a) *Armenians.*

<i>En Russie</i>	Gregorian Armenians	1,000,000	
<i>In Turkey</i>	Gregorian Armenians	2,325,000	
	<i>Latin Armenians</i>	<u>75,000</u>	2,400,000
	Total.	<u>3,400,000</u>	[1091]

I[18]I b) *Koptes or Koptes*, Egyptians, depending upon the Church of Alexandria, about 165,000, from whom 12,000 dwell in Kaire. In Egypt 5-6,000 United Koptes (Latins). [115,116]

c) *Abyssinians.* The poor nation of the Abyssinians humbly vegetates at Jerusalem under the protection and at the costs of the Armenians, the doctrines of whom they confess by calculation and necessity. 3 millions the christians of Abyssinia, (their religion a mixture of Orthodoxy and Judaism, depend on the Church of Alexandria, [117,118] Monophysites). (altar, lamps, shrines, etc possessed by the different nations, besides the chapels and sanctuaries).

e) *Syrians*, livelihood dependent on the Armenians, whose doctrines they confess upon the whole. [120]

f) *Jacobites.*

4. *The Protestants.*

In 1840, Prussia and England despatched an anglican bishop to Jerusalem ... The avowed object of their mission the conversion of the jews ... their first bishop, *Alexander*, a converted jew ... second M. *Gobat*, ancient missionary in the Orient ... (from the Canton of Basel), french his maternal language ... anglican ... fanatic principal against the Latins ... Protestantism detested by all, Jews, Christians, Turks ... [121-124]

So much must be evident, that privileges of the Greek theocratic and the ... I

[[19]] *Liv. II. Rivalty and protectorate of the Churches.*

Ch. I. Christianity at Jerusalem and the firman of Omar.

Christianism made its first conquests at Antiocha among the Jew Population, and it was there that the believers began to call themselves Christians ... At the time of Constantin the Great the first Christian monasteries were established in Syria; Helene, his mother, undertook the pilgrimage to the Holy places, and founded there the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, different churches and other holy establishments ... At the beginning of the V<sup>th</sup> century, Eudoxie, the wife of the Emperor Theodosius the younger, visited the holy places. The number of the pilgrims went on rapidly augmenting from year to year till the VI<sup>th</sup> century. In 614,

614) Chosroes or Kosrou II, King of Persia, then in a state of war with the Roman Empire, invaded Palestine at the head of a powerful army which 26,000 jews had joined. Jerusalem was taken and sacked (614), 90,000 Christians slaughtered, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the other Christian sanctuaries beset, and the city of Salomon once more destroyed. A palace revolution cost the life to Chosroes, the Persians, beaten in different encounters by the troops of Heraclius, the then Emperor of Constantinople, retired from Jerusalem, and Siróes, their new king, accepted a little honourable peace and restituted the whole Cross. [143-146]

622. In 622 Mahomed founded his new religion and in  
632 he died without having designed (appointed) his successor.  
Mahommed was followed by Abou-Bekr. (khalif)  
634 Abou-Bekr; followed by *Omar*, who in  
5 636 conquered Jerusalem, and whose reign is celebrated by his con-  
quests in Egypt and Syria. The yearly caravans of pilgrims, from all  
the countries of Christianity, continued, encouraged by the tolerance  
of the Mussulmans, which was determined by the allurements of the trib-  
ute raised upon the Foreigners ... (from France, Germany, England, Swe-  
10 den, Spain and Italy)... Jerusalem had surrendered to Mussulman troops  
by capitulation and were treated with the utmost moderation by the vic-  
tor. The Patriarch of Jerusalem directly treated with the khalif, and obtain-  
ed, for the Christians, the permission, of freely exercising their worship  
in the interior of the churches, and bringing up their children in the reli-  
15 gion of Christ; but there exists besides a so-called *firman of Omar*, still in  
the hands of the Greek monks at the Holy Sepulchre, presenting it as their  
most precious title, which document has been judicially proved to be  
forged and apocryphe ... *Ramane* is called the church of the Holy  
Sepulchre ... This firman pretends to be a compact with Zephirinus, the  
20 patriarch of Jerusalem, on the Olive mountain. This convention comprises  
the subjects, clergy, monks and nuns; and grants them security at the  
places where they dwell in. All security to be equally granted to their  
churches and the places they visit, within and without, viz., Church  
*Kamane* (Holy Sepulchre), the grotte of the nativity at Bethlehem, the  
25 great church at the cavern (den) with its 3 ports at the south, the north,  
and the occident. The same protection is accorded to the other Chris-  
tians,—Georgians, Abyssinians, Nestorians, Jacobites, and other ones  
... the masters of the soil belonged to the romano-syrian race, having  
nothing in common with the Greeks of the Lower Empire ... Photius,  
30 whom the Greek Church considers as its first founder came into the world  
only 2 centuries later. If, therefore, the sedentary population of Jerusalem,  
at the time of its conquest by Omar, was composed by Greeks, one part of  
them were such by birth, the others by subjects, but none by religion.  
There not yet existed a Greek Church in contradistinction to the Latin one  
35 ... the Characters themselves in which the pretended firman is written  
prove it to be apocryphe and to belong to a much later period than that of  
Omar. In 1630, the Porte sent a commissary to Jerusalem to inquire into  
the authenticity of the document. This commissary, called Hassan-Aga  
made, on this occasion, a long report conserved in all the archives of the  
40 monasteries of Jerusalem and the European legations at Constantinople,  
where it is declared that the firman attributed to Omar is but an *odious*

*falsification.* Two other inquiries successively made arrived at the same conclusion, and finally a judgement was given by the imperial divan, the 20<sup>th</sup> aprii 1690, declaring, for the forth time and definitely, that this piece was false, vain, and constituted the crime of imposture. [146-155]

## Ch. II. The crusades.

5

810 *Charlemagne* issued a regulation as to the alms to be sent to Jerusalem, propter ecclesias Dei restaurandas. [157]

1010 the Khalife *Al-Hakem*, of the Fatimite dynasty, caused the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to be destroyed from top to bottom and struck the caravans of Christian pilgrims by the most cruel and impli- 10 cable persecution, (he is still adored by the Druzes as an incarnation of God).

1048 the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was rebuilt under the Khalifat of Al-Mostanser-Billah. Catholic monks established themselves, some years after Al-Hakem's persecution, in the sanctuaries. ... With respect to 15 them exist firmans, d. d. 1023 and 1059 proving the establishment of *Frank* monks at Jerusalem before the times of the crusades. ... [159]

1045 troops of 700 men led by the Abbot of St. Victor;

1050 a still more numerous reunion, commanded by Liethbert, bishop of Cambray; and in 20

1064 *the army of the Seignior*, 7,000 pilgrims, under the Orders of Sigfried, Archibishop of Maynz, and of three bishops protected by the barons and cavaliers of France and Germany. The populations ||[20]|| of Pannonie and the Danubian Provinces, the degenerated Greeks, the greedy Sarrassins began to ransack and wrong these numerous troop, 25 who no longer showed themselves, as formerly, under the aspects of poor and devoted pilgrims, but professed such an arrogance and luxury, that the priest wore clothes embroidered in gold and the laics coats glistening from silver. At the staple places, the ill treatment decimated these caravans; in Syria and Palestina bloody combats took place terminating of 30 course with the destruction of the Christians. ... Other caravans, stopped and robbed, were dispersed on the road, and some few pilgrims only reached Jerusalem. On their return to Europe, these wretched people, covered with rags, bearing in their hands the staff (*le bourdon*) and *la gourde*, went from town to town, soliciting the public charity, while, at 35 the same time, they excited compassion by the recital of their suffrances ... Cries of vengeance soon called to arms to peoples of the Occident... [162,163]

1093 separation of the Greek from the Latin Church consummated: the patriarch of Constantinople calls himself the universal bishop, hurls (flings) (lancer) anathemas against the Holy siège, and from hence forth the Greek Church follows its own destinies, first under the domination of  
5 the Greek Emperors, and then under the protection (tutelage) of the chief of the Mussulman...

the crusades contributed to found the protectorate of France in the Orient. They made the French name great and honoured in the eyes of the Mussulman peoples ... to treat with the *Emperor of France*, was in  
10 the eyes of Islamismi to treat with the whole Christianity ... [164]

the Crusaders who founded the kingdom of Jerusalem were almost exclusively Frenchmen ...

1099, 15<sup>e</sup> July Jerusalem taken by force from the Mussulmans by latin princes: Godfried de Bouillon, Baudouin, Raymond, Robert and Tan-  
15 kred, and to the latin clergy Godefroy committed (trusted) the Patriar- chat and the sanctuaries of Jerusalem. Gérard de Provence founded in the holy city the illustrious order of the *Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem*, which, afterward, successively accepted the denomination of the order of Rhodes and that of Malta. ... One of the most notorious orders  
20 founded by the Latins at Jerusalem is that of the *militia of Salomon*, afterwards known as the *Templiers* (templars, knight-templars)... the knight-templar had the mission of defending the sanctuaries against the Mussulman. ... In 1114 was established the *order of St. Jerusalem* by Arnould, Patriarch latin of Jerusalem, and that of *the German cavaliers*  
25 (*knights*), instituted for those German knights who had combatted at Palestina. ... [165, 166]

1147 2d crusade under *Louis le Jeune*, at the instigation of Bernard, and the German emperor Conrad III. Unfortunate. The remainders of the two orders returned to Europe in 1149.

30 Meanwhile the Christian principalities established at Palestine had fallen into degradation and misery. ... [167]

1187 Salaeddin lays siege to Jerusalem. Conquers it. at this epoch the Greeks and their monks remained entirely strangers to the events that arrived at Palestine, as well as to the possession of the Holy places and  
35 the guardianship of the sanctuaries. ... As Jerusalem had capitulated, Salaeddin allows those of the inhabitants who choose to accept the condition of Rajahs to conserve their ancient churches and to exercise their worship therein. Besides, he gives the knights of St. Jean de Jerusalem the authorisation to continue their sojourn in the town in order to take care  
40 of (attend) the sick ... [168, 169]

1189 III<sup>e</sup> crusade directed against Salaeddin. Only result the capture of Ptolemais. (Philippe-Auguste, Richard coeur de lion, Frederic Barbarossa.)

1209 t Salaeddin ... Some years ago the latin crusaders had made themselves masters of Constantinople, and founded a latin empire in the Orient. Baudouin, comte de Flandre, was elected Emperor of the Greeks in 1204 ... this empire ended in the year 1261. 5

At this epoch the *Franciscains* established themselves on the holy ground ... [170]

1227. *Frederic II* (emperor) was voluntarily appealed to the throne of Jerusalem by the soudan of Egypt, Malek-Khamel... Excommunicated by Gregorius IX ... 10

In 1229 Frederic II concluded a peace of 10 years with the Mussulman prince. He let surrender to himself Bethléem and Jerusalem, and entered Bethlehem ... [171, 172] 15

2 expeditions von Louis IX ... f 1270 (zu Tunis) His successor

*Philippe le Hardi* imposes to the king a treaty in 1270, which permitted to the crusaders to return from Africa ... contains conditions of mutual security for merchants in the states of the 2 sovereigns, and authorises Christian monks and priests to remain in the states of the emir, who shall give them places for erecting churches and burial ground and allow them publicly to exercise their worship ... duration of this treaty limited to 15 years ... the treaty of Philippe le Hardi concludes the epoch of the crusades. ... [173-176] 20

[[21]] Ch. III. The Sanctuaries and the firmans. 25

1212. *Franciscains* had obtained the authorisation to keep the places possessed by them from ancient times.

1213 to repair the Church of Bethléem. [177]

1277 a. document authentic, carefully preserved by the latin fathers of the Holy places, states that the sultan Akmed-Acheref declares and acknowledges the Holy Sepulchre and its monasteries, half the Calvary, the monastery of the mount Sion, the church of Bethlehem and the grotto of the nativity are the property of the frank monks ... 30

1342 Robert le Sage, of the House of Anjou, king of Naples, obtains from the Sultan of Syria that the *Franciscains* are to remain continually at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre etc. etc. (p. 178). 35

1453. Constantinople falls into the Hands of the Osmans ...



This epoch made famous by the discovery of the new world and the cape of good hope. Thus the ancient roads of commerce deplaced ... The Venetians proceeded to Constantinople, whose new masters were known to them (they were familiar with) long time since; here they obtained imperial diplomas importing concessions and privileges in their favour, and attempted to bring back the commerce of the Occident with Asia into its ancient channels of the Mediterranean and Syria. Such is the origin of the first capitulation which the Ottoman porte conceded to a European nation. As long as lasted the republic of Venice, it is mixed up with the affairs of the Orient... the inheritance of Venice has passed over to the Austrians ... the czar Boris establishes an independent patriarchat at Kiew, thus laying the first foundations of the Russo-Greek church ...

The greek clergy enters the sanctuaries, and obtains, from the tolerant piety of the Latin monks, the permission to celebrate their worship at certain days and hours.

"The christian nations", says a firman d. d. 1033, "have, all of them, in the church of the sepulchre of the Vierge, sanctuaries, which have been assigned to them by the interposition and permission of the Frank monks" ...

Hardly the permission of celebrating in the holy places is obtained, when commence the series of encroachments and spoliating; at first it is a nail which it is necessary to fit, then a picture is suspended at it, afterwards a carpet is put, lamps are kindled and the sanctuary is swept with a broom, which is the symbol of property. Then the act of occupation is consummated; then efforts are made of no longer tolerating the community of the Latin monks; then is showed up the zeal of the pilgrims of the greek rite, of fanatic and ignorant Arabs, and the ancient possessors of the usurped terrain are driven out with stones and sometimes with knives. Then arrived the reclamations: but the business is to be done with a greedy and ignorant Pasha, won over by money and easily caught by the presentation of the pretended firman of Omar, or an other piece of the same valour. If the character of that document be found out and verified, the Greeks withdraw it and bide their time; a new pacha will at last be persuaded to accept it. Such are the tactics. Constantly pursued and this system of encroachments would long ago have terminated with the expulsion of the last Latin monks, if France had not opposed it in the interest of her religion and her politics.

1515. When *Selim I* made the conquest of Palestina, then possessed by the soudan of Egypt, he found the Latian monks in possession of the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy places, but troubled by the Greek monks who attempted to dispossess them, making use, by turns, of tricks and menaces. *Selim* pronounced himself in favour of the Latins who appealed to the contract of King Robert of Naples etc. etc. [184-188]

Selim subjected the whole of Egypt, where, in

1517 he became acquainted with French establishments, and granted to the French Consuls at Alexandria the first *capitulation* recorded by the French annals. Francis I gave his relations with the Mussulmans that character of alliance they had not possessed formerly. [189] 5

The relations between Francis I and Soliman the Great (1520-66)... führen

1535 to the *capitulations* which became the base of the relations now existing between the Porte and the Christian Powers. ... In order to conjure the danger of France being absorbed in Karl V's universal monarchy, Francis, from his prison at Madrid, entered direct and constant relations with Suleiman. The alliance of France with the Porte, by creating a permanent danger to the house of Austria in all points where the imperial empire was vulnerable, prepared, a long while since, that fractionment of nationalities which was to constitute one day the system of 15 european equilibre under the powerful action of diplomacy. ... Soliman, the glorious victor at Belgrad and Peterwardein, after having swept the Hungarians on the banks of the Danube, seemed to menace Italy, | I[22]I the crumbling principalities of which were prepared to bow under the yoke of Charles V; he penetrated into the heart of Austria, and près- 20 ented himself under the walls of Vienna. It was this powerful diversion that saved France ... The Envoys of Ferdinand, king of Hungary, having presented themselves at the Porte, Soliman declared that, having only undertaken this campaign at the solicitations of the king of France, he would not give again back (restore) his conquests till after Ferdinand had 25 renounced the crown of Hungary, and Charles V retired from Germany into the Peninsula ... | [190-192]

Aus Jules de Bréval: Mazzini jugé par lui même et par les siens

Insu Jules de Bréval:  
Mazzini Jugé par lui même  
et par les siens.  
Paris 1853.

5 *Autoritäten*: l'abbé *Gioberti* (*Operette politiche*) *Guerazzi* dictateur de la  
Toscane révolutionnaire (*Apologia*) (ex-incendiaire essayant de se faire  
populaire.) *Massimo d'Azeglio*, récemment encore ministre en Piémont,  
nun verbannt (*Scritti Politici*) Geschichtschreiber. *F. Gualterio* (gli ultimi  
rivolgimenti italiani) u. *Farini* (Lo Stato Romano). *Bianchi-Giovmi* direc-  
10 teur de *l'Opinione* (*Mazzini e le sue utopie*) *Dandolo*, un des chefs de  
l'insurrection de Milan en 1848 u. des combattants du siège de Rome.  
«Quest' uomo guasta tutto ciò che tocca.» (*Garibaldi*) [10-14]...  
*ribombo* des genre Mazzini... Un Masaniello de rhétorique ...  
*Gioberti* (*Rinnovamento*) [21,22] Plagiat v. Mahomet: «Dio è Dio e  
15 l'umanità è suo profeta.»/[58]

### [The Austro-Turkish Treaty (Draft)]

I[23]I The Turks have as little the right to surrender the principalities to Austrian occupation, as they could declare them Russian provinces. The only claims of the Porte to the sovereignty of Moldo-Wallachia originates from the treaties concluded in 1393, in 1460, and in 1513. 5

The first treaty, concluded in 1393, between Wallachia and Turkey, states:

The second treaty concluded in 1460, between Vlad V, Prince of Wallachia and Mahomet II, as it has neither been changed nor replaced by any subsequent treaty, is still in vigour between the Turks and Wallachians, and the Porte would disavow it, it will forfeit her suzeraineté over that Country. Now it will be seen from Art. 7 of the treaty of 1460 that the Porte is bound to "protect Wallachia and to defend it against every enemy" and that according to Art. 2 the Turks themselves, so far from being entitled to cede Wallachia to foreign occupation, are not 15 "allowed to come into Wallachia without an ostensible motive". It is known, that it was the constant policy of Russia to encourage, and even oblige, the Turks to violate the rights of the Wallachians, so as to produce hostilities between them, and create to herself a pretext for intervention. ... The third treaty is that of 1513, in which Moldavia acknowledges 20 the sovereignty of the Porte but even on better conditions than those of Wallachia. The treaties between Russia and the Turkey could invalidate the treaties which the Wallachians themselves concluded with the Porte, r as they have never treated with the Russians, and never gave the Porte a mandate to treat for them. But it may be stated that Russia herself recog- 25 nizes the above-mentioned capitulations, as the treaty of Adrianople expressly states: Art. 5.: "the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, having placed themselves by a capitulation under the *suzeraineté* of the

The Austro-Turkish treaty (Draft)

Sublime Porte, and Russia having warranted their prosperity, it is understood that they continue to enjoy all those privileges and immunities which have been granted to them in virtue of their capitulation."

It follows that Turkey in consequence of its treaty with Austria has  
5 forfeited its suzeraineté over the principalities, and, on the other hand, that Russia, by virtue of the treaty of Kainardji and Adrianople ... might be appealed to protect them from the Austrian intervention. So radically the situations changed in consequence of the ... |

**[William Barnes:  
A philological grammar,  
grounded upon English,  
and formed from a comparison  
of more than sixty languages.                      5  
London 1854.]**

*I [24] I Division I. Lip Division.*

*Class I. Lip settings.*

*Weak breathing.*                      *nosebreathed*  
B.    P.    10

*Class II. Lip-teeth settings.*

*Weak breathing.*                      *Strong breathing.*  
V.    F.

*Class III. Lipsettings, nosebreathed.*                      B. P.    15  
M.    V. F.    M P. (as in pump)                      M. M P.

*Division II. Tongue Division.*

*Class IV. Tongue Palate close settings.*

D. (English)                      T. (Engl.)    20-  
δ. (broad Irish)                      τ (broad Irish)  
j. (English.)                      eh. (Engl.)                      H. (RUSS.)

*Class V. Tongue-palate open settings.*

z. s.  
 J. (French) (ja Russ.) (zha. Persian) sh. (Engl.) sha (Russ.)  
 3. hr.

5 *Class VI. Tongue-palate, nose-breathed.*

l. (Engl.) hl. (l. l.) (Welsh)  
 k. (slender Irish) l (broad Irish)  
 n. (nasal) (Fr.) (Portug.) (ng)  
 n. (Irish) (—) Hindostanee.

10 *Class VII. (Tongue-teeth settings.)*

th. (in thee) th. (in thin.)  
 dd. (Welsh.) z) (Span.)  $8 \frac{(8-1)}{2} = \frac{8 \times 7}{2} = \frac{56}{2} = 28$

*Division III. Throat Settings.*

*Class VIII. Throat Settings.*

15 g. (hard) k.  
 gh. (Irish) g. (Span. and Germ.) x (Greek u. Russ.)  
 j. (Span.)  
 ch. (Germ. u. Welsh.)  
 ghain. (Arab.)

20

[[25]] xxx

D. (Engl.) T. Engl. ) 5) ( z. s.  
 δ. (Ir.) τ (broad Ir.) ) ( j. (Fr.) sh. (Engl.)  
 j. Engl. ch (Engl.) ч (Russ.) ) ( r. hr.

25 6) ( l (hl. ll Welsh) th. ((thee) d. (Icelandic. - th. (thin.)  
 n. l (broad Ir.) ) 7) dd. ((Welsh.) Z (span.)  
 (ng)  
 (—) Hindost.

30 8) ( g. (hard.) k  
 gh. (Ir.) g. (Sp. u. Germ.) x (Greek u. Russ.)  
 j. (Span.)  
 ch. (Germ. u. Welsh)  
 ghain Arab

[xxx] = "^^^~· Daher die 8 classes v. clippings can meet in 8-----

= 28 pairs of clippings of different classes.

[xxx]get a Synopsis of the Commutations and omissions of clippings, and  
[The Latin P has become] B in some of the Roman dialects. "Opera"  
"super" I

5

I[26]I *Combinations of Class II (f. v.f ... sch u. die andren.)*

IX. (2. 2.) (v.f.)

(2. 2. f.v.) In *Icelandic*: f at the end of words v. Das *Lat. f* wird an  
aspirate in *Spain*: *fabuiart*, *Aablar*, */erire*, */zerir*.

*divus*, *clavis*, *ovum*, *vesper*, *video*

10

δῖος. κλέος. ὄον. ἔσπερος, εἰδέω.

X.) (2. 3) (v.f. u. m)

(2. 2.) In *Icelandic* manchmal *f* vor *η* wird *m*. In some *Welsh* adjectives *m*  
in der masculine form becomes *f* in the feminine, as *mwill*, *foil*.]

XI)

[xxx]

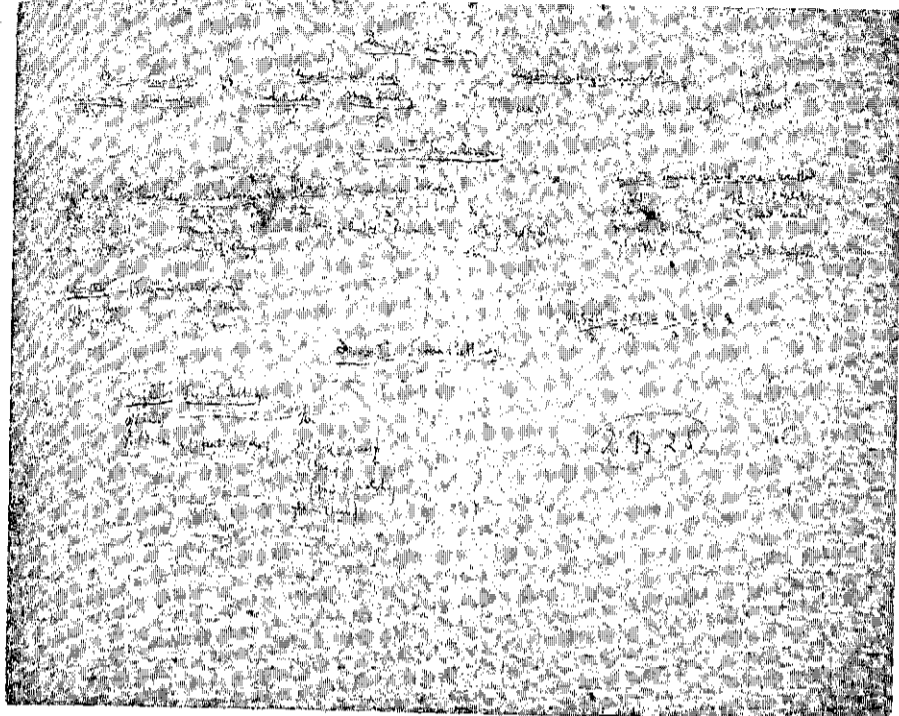
15

It.

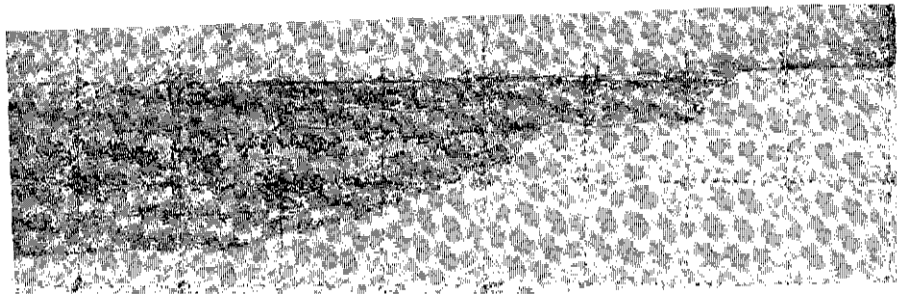
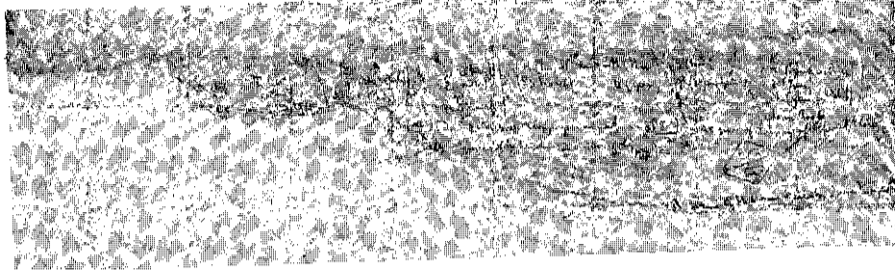
[xxx]

[14,15, 31,34]





Aus William Barnes: A philological grammar.  
Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Diplomatie. Heft 4. Seite 24



Aus William Barnes: A philological grammar.  
Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Diplomatie. Heft 4. Seite 25 und 26

**Karl Marx**  
**Exzerpte zur Geschichte Spaniens**  
**(Heft 1-5)**

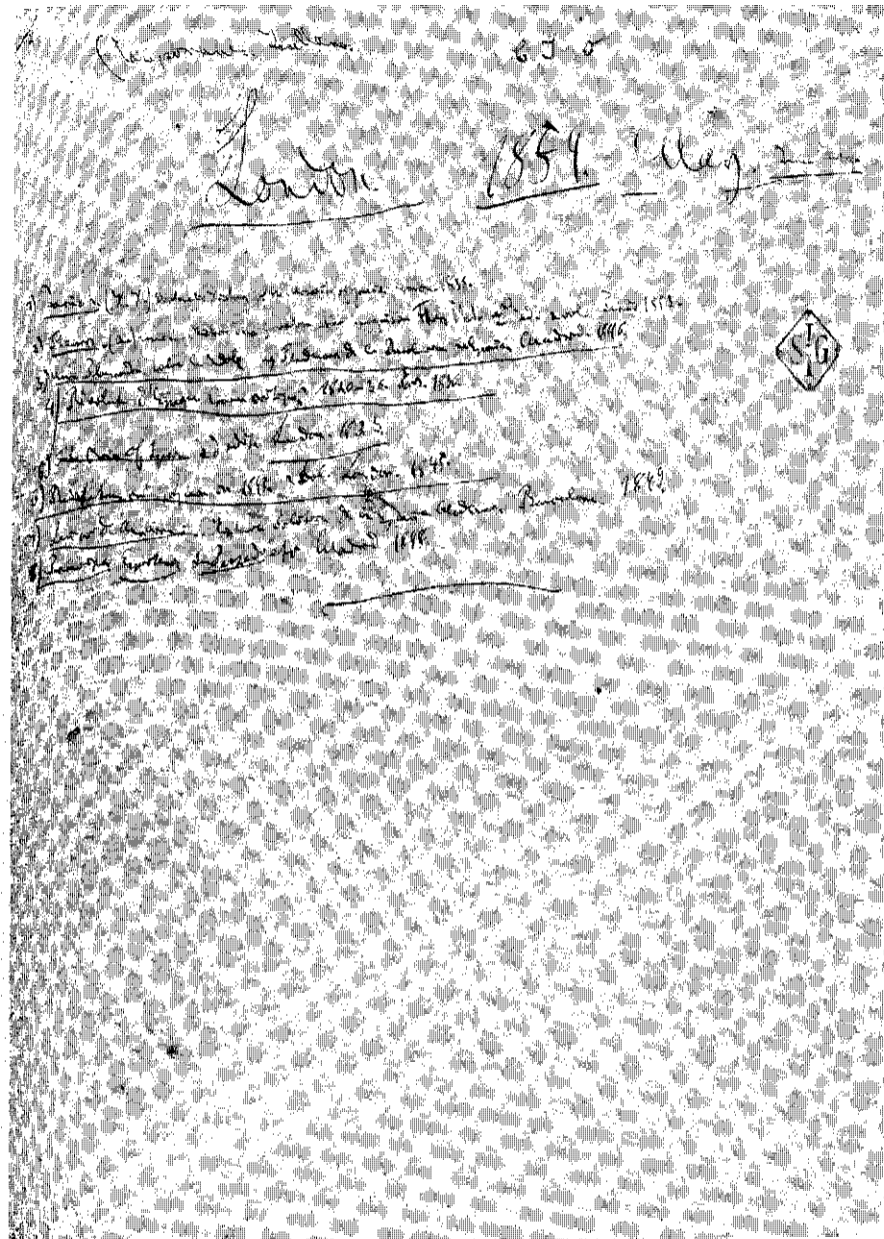
**(Heft 1)**  
**Exzerpte zur Geschichte Griechenlands,**  
**Frankreichs und Spaniens**

(Campomanes. Jovellanos)

London. 1854. May. June. July.

**[Inhaltsverzeichnis]**

- 1) *Parish.* (H. H.) *Diplomatie History of the Monarchy of Greece.* London. 1838.
- 5 2) *Thierry.* (A.) *Essai sur l'histoire de la formation et du progrès du Tiers Etat.* 2<sup>te</sup> ed. 2 vol. Paris 1853.
- 3) *Una Plumada sobre la índole y Tendencia de la Revolución en España.* Madrid. 1846.
- 10 4) *Révolution d'Espagne. Examen critique. 1820-36.* Paris. 1836.
- 5) *The Crisis of Spain.* 2d edit. London. 1823.
- 6) *Revelations of Spain in 1845.* 2 vol. London. 1845.
- 7) *Señor de Marliani.* *Historia Política de la España Moderna.* Barcelona. 1849.
- 15 8) *Principe. Espartero, Su Pasado etc.* Madrid. 1848. |



Exzerpte zur Geschichte Griechenlands, Frankreichs und Spaniens.  
Heft 1. Inhaltsverzeichnis



Aus Henry Headley Parish: The diplomatic history of the monarchy of Greece. Exzerpte zur Geschichte Griechenlands, Frankreichs und Spaniens. Heftl. Seite 1

|i| Henry Headley Parish  
Late Secretary of Legation to Greece:  
The Diplomatic History of the Monarchy  
of Greece from the year 1830.

5

London. 1838.

Introduction:

From the hour the Greeks became a nation, all sympathy ceased between them and Russia; all influence on the part of Russia over them was at an end; the commanding position she has regained in that country, has been  
10 achieved through England and France, who have been made ... the dupes of her policy and the instruments of her aggrandizement. (3)

*Frederic Thiersch: L'état actuel de la Grèce etc. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1833.*

*Georg Ludwig v. Maurer: Das griechische Volk etc Heidelberg. 1835.*

there exists an unbroken chain of history in state papers and public  
15 records. (10) Blue Books laid before Parliament in 1832 and 1836. (11) the statute history of Greece is in diametrical opposition to the diplomatic history drawn up in Downing Street. (14) the négociations respecting the affairs of Greece commenced at Verona; they were reduced to positive stipulation at St. Petersburg, and to a formal and obligatory  
20 treaty on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, 1827, in London. (15)

"Almost at the very commencement of the measures adopted in execution of the Treaty of London, an unforeseen and unexpected collision occasioned the destruction of the Turkish fleet; subsequently the ports of the Morea have been strictly blockaded, and still more recently, that

province has been occupied by a French force. All this has been done with the assurance of neutrality, and in the execution of the treaty having for its object the pacification of Greece. These measures have been accompanied by repeated professions of friendship towards the Porte: and although it may not be easy for the Turk. Government to appreciate 5 justly the conduct of the Allies, which, it must be confessed, however necessary, carried with it the appearance of hostility; there can be no hope, under such circumstances, of meeting with any degree of credit, if other promises and declarations, made and repeated, be not religiously observed." *Lord Aberdeen to Prince Lieven, Sept. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1828*. The object of 10 the Protocol of the 4<sup>th</sup> of April and of the Treaty of July was attained by the declaration of the Sublime Porte of *Sept. the 9<sup>th</sup> 1829*: "the Sublime Porte declares that, having already adhered to the Treaty of London, it now further promises and pledges itself to the Representatives of the Powers who signed the said treaty, to subscribe entirely to all the deci- 15 sions which the Conference of London shall adopt with respect to its execution." ... Five days afterwards Russia forced upon Turkey the treaty of Adrianople of the 15<sup>th</sup> of Sept. by which she claimed "an augmentation of territory, an exclusive influence, and commercial advantages." [33,34] 20

## Chapter I.

Aus dem *Sauveur* (Greek journal), published at Nauplia, in 1834, under the eyes of the Royal Regency:

"the municipal rights of Greece have existed from the remotest period ... transmitted from age to age, modified by each successive conquest, 25 was acknowledged and respected by the Turks ... 1) the *Peloponnesus* 2) the *islands*, and 3) *continental Greece*, lived under different municipal systems. The principle was everywhere the same, the forms varied infinitely ... [37-39]

1) *The Municipal System of the Peloponnesus*: Each town, burgh, or 30 village, named, by the majority of votes, the Demogerontes (Mayors), who, by order of the Voyvode, repaired to the residence of the Cadi. Each province had a particular judge, before whom were brought all the civil or commercial causes, but he could not take cognizance of criminal causes until he had been expressly authorised to do so by the Pasha. 35 The deputies, united in the capital of the province where the Cadi resided, proceeded, in presence of the judge, of the Voyvode, etc, to the nomination of a Codja Bachi (Greek Primate), of an Ayan (Turkish Pri-



mate), and of a treasurer. On the termination of the election, the judge notified in writing their nomination to the deputies who had been elected, and exhorted them as representatives of the people to defend their interests etc. ... The newly elected officers immediately commenced their functions, which lasted a year, and opened the provincial council. The members of that council, all of them elected in a popular assembly, formed the administration of the Province. The Voyvode alone was directly named by the Pasha. *The Codja Bachi* and the treasurer resided always near the Voyvode. They deliberated with him on the measures to be taken in order to execute the orders of the Pasha, to secure the public tranquillity, the levying of the taxes, etc, in a word, they discussed in council all the affairs concerning the administration of the province. When grave questions produced a difference of opinion between the Voyvode and the *Codja Bachi*, the latter had the power of summoning to a general assembly the Demogerontes of the towns, the burghs, and the villages. He laid before them the differences which had arisen between the Voyvode and himself. If the assembly did not succeed in convincing the Voyvode, it appealed to the Pasha through the channel of the Cadi. If wellfounded complaints arose against the exactions committed by the Voyvode (Turk. Gov.), the *Codja Bachi*, in concert with the Cadi, suspended him from his functions, and appealed to the competent authority. Each province had a *Buluc Bachi*, or chief of the gendarmerie under the orders of the Voyvode and the provincial council. The council might displace him whenever it thought proper without referring to the Turkish authority. No tax, of any kind, which was called for by the wants of the Gov., or of the country, could be levied without the express consent of the provincial council, as well as that of the mayors of the towns, burghs, and villages. The mayors assessed this tax proportionally amongst the families. At the end of each year, the treasurer-general presented his accounts to the provincial council. A commission was named in order to verify them, and, when the verification was finished, these accounts were submitted to the examination of the mayors of the province, convoked in a general assembly. If the treasurer was convicted of malversation, the Assembly addressed a petition to the Cadi, and, on the report of the latter, the Pasha punished the guilty. Every criminal process instituted against a Greek was drawn up before the Cadi and the Primate. If the process was grave, the Primate, the Voyvode, and the Ayan, were bound to be present. The bishop took no part in civil matters; but all religious affairs subjected to his control ... had even the right to know the differences which arose amongst the Greeks ... He filled the functions of a justice of the peace (without being able to judge definitively)... The bishop was the

intermediary authority between the people and the Voyvode, between the people and the provincial council ... At the end of each year, the members of the provincial council gave an account of their acts to their constituents; if their conduct was approved of, the Pasha might confirm them in their employment for another year. ... The *Pasha* had associated 5 with him a Greek assessor named by the Turk, gov., on the proposal of the first Dragoman of the Sublime Porte. This assessor was bound to be the natural protector of his countrymen. It was he who presented all the business to the Pasha. Each province sent to the residence of the Pasha, as deputies, one or two primates, who, with the Turkish Ayans, formed 10 his council. These primates, united in assembly with the assessor, examined all affairs, deliberated on the measures to be taken, and on the proportional assessment of the taxes demanded by the Pasha. The Peloponnesus sent to Constantinople 2 or 3 primates to represent there the general interests of the Peninsula; the connexions formed by these dep- 15 uties with the important personages of the Court gave them a great influence in all the affairs relating to the administration of their country. Their residence in the capital set limits to the oppression and cupidity of the Pashas, many of whom had been recalled on the representations of the Moreote representatives. *Maina* was governed by a communal system 20 peculiar to itself ... [39-42]

2) *Communal system of continental Greece*: the towns, burghs, and villages, elected representatives, who named the provincial primates by a majority of votes. The primates composed the assembly, or provincial council, and their functions were either for life, or hereditary, or tempo- 25 rary, according to the provinces. No administrative or judicial authority, either Turkish or Greek, could interfere in the election of these primates. The provincial council could alone authorize the levying of taxes. Ali Pasha deprived continental Greece of all these prerogatives, which she enjoyed before his time ... Continental Greece had not, like the Morea, 30 its representatives at Constantinople, to support its interest. [42, 43]

3) *Communal system of the islands*: still more extensive privileges perhaps than the Peloponnesus ... not in general subjected to permanent Pashas ... At the commencement of each year, the primates of the islands assembled at a fixed spot, and named, by a majority of votes, their Demogerontes, who bore the title of Archontes: their functions were annual. As soon as the new Archons commenced their functions, they were obliged, before all things, to demand of their predecessors the account of the expenses of the preceding year, and to make a budget of the sums necessary for the service of the current year. At the conclusion 4p of this work, they sent to Constantinople commissioners to convey the

regular tribute to the Sultan. On their return, the budget of the year was settled, and the taxes assessed by the Archons proportionally amongst the families. If the ordinary taxes were insufficient, the Archons fixed extraordinary taxes to make up the deficit. The revenues of the islands were the tenths and the customs' duties, which the Communes raised on their own account ... not administered by the Turks ... only paid tribute ... in time of war they furnished the Capitan Pasha with sailors and transports ... The Turks never sent a governor to them excepting at their express request. This Governor, nominally designated by the islands, named by the Capitan Pasha, shared his judicial authority with the Archons and conformed in every thing to the usages and customs of the country. In the islands there was no Turk, governor, the Archons were the civil and criminal judges. Still an appeal might be made against their sentence before the interpreter of the islands attached to the Capitan Pasha." (*Sauveur.*) Such the system of administration the Greeks enjoyed until 1820 ... Under the Venetian rule, the population ||3| of the Morea was 190,653; under the Turks, in 1820, it was 458,000. In 1820, their merchant vessels covered the Mediterranean. When the revolution broke out, the merchant navy of Greece consisted of 600 vessels, mounting, in all, 6000 guns. The cities of Hydra, Spezia, Ipsara, Scio, and others, were rapidly rising to the fame of the Hanseatic, Venetian and Genoese republics, when it suited the purpose of the cabinet of St. Petersburg for the third time to revolutionize Greece. (44, 45) It was only a year after the battle of Navarino, when the ambassadors were ordered to inquire into the state of the country, that Sir Stratford Canning first spoke of *municipal institutions* as connected with Greece, and—was marked to the conference of London as a visionary and a revolutionist! (48) The Empress Catherine had called Greece and Egypt the two horns of the Turkish crescent. (I.e.) The first ground alleged for the interference of England in the Greek struggle was the intention of Ibrahim Pasha to convert Greece into a Barbary state, and to transport the Christian population of the Morea as slaves into Egypt. The Russian ambassador in London communicated the plan of Ibrahim to England, and thus succeeded in incensing England against Turkey. (49) The whole struggle of Russia for power, internal and external, has been against the municipal system; from the overthrow of the commercial municipality of Novogorod to the annihilation of the military municipalities of the Don. Throughout the whole of her empire still exists the mould of that ancient system, which it was the great conquest of Peter to overthrow, and the destruction of which has laid the foundation of the centralizing despotism of Russia, the conquests of her arms, the splendour of her power, and the

degradation of her people. (1. c.) Scarcely had the French war ceased, and the pacific labours of the Congress of Vienna commenced, when ... Russia ... formed the secret society of the *Hetaeria*, for the purpose of instigating the Greeks to shake off their Turk, rulers. Several crowned heads ... entered into the association. The Greek merchants and literati, and all those Greeks who, having been incited to acts of treason against the Sultan, either at Const., in the principalities, or in the Morea, had fled to different parts of Europe, became members of it; and, when the fitting hour had arrived, the explosion took place simultaneously at both extremities of the Turk, empire. Count Capodistrias had fanned the revolutionary flame amongst the Ionian Greeks under the protection of England, in an address drawn up at Corfu in 1819; and in 1820, Ypsilanti invaded Moldavia from the Russian frontier. (52) The spiritual chief of the Greeks, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was answerable for the good conduct of his flock, was compromised by the Russian embassy at Const, in the treason of his countrymen, betrayed by them to the Divan, and executed. Thus were the Greeks exasperated against the Sultan for the apparent persecution of their faith, and taught to look to the Emperor not only as their temporal protector, but as the head of their religion. (I.e.) The revolution breaks out. The Emperor denounces it to Europe, and offers to the Sultan to suppress it ... Greek revolution discountenanced by England, under the administration of Lord Londonderry, and hostility of the government of the Ionian Islands to the insurgents ... (53) "The commencement", says Mr. Gordon, "of the year 1822, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of the war, was marked in Greece by the acts of the national assembly of Piada, which promulgated a declaration of independence, and sanctioned the outlines of a constitution, entitled the *Organic Law of Epidaurus*. Anxious to overthrow Ypsilanti and the Russian party, the Peloponnesian primates lent all their weight to Mavrocordato, elected him president of the congress, and readily accepted the new constitution presented under his auspices. Every Greek, without distinction of birth or fortune, was declared eligible to all employments, slavery abolished, and its existence proscribed on the Hellenic soil; and it was moreover decreed, that no citizen should remain in prison above 24 hours without being informed of the causes of his arrest, nor more than 3 days without being brought to trial. *While the Byzantine form of worship was pronounced the national established church, the constitution held forth full toleration to every sect.* Some preliminary dispositions were laid down for instituting courts of justice, and drawing up a new code of laws; for the present, those of the Emperor Basil were declared to be in force, except in commercial disputes, which were to be decided according

to the French Code ... assembly manifested its inclination to depreciate the Hetaerists; instead of black, which they had introduced, light blue and white were fixed upon as national colours and the emblem of the *phoenix* (the Russian emblem, now made current in Greece by the very  
5 designation of the coin) replaced by the *Athenian owl*." Russia ... daher—draws up a memoir, exciting the alarms of the cabinets of Europe, and animating her allies to aid her in crushing the national representatives of Greece as revolutionists and anarchists. The *memoir of Mai 1824*, drawn up by *Count Nesselrode*, states:

10 "According to the declaration of the Emperor, and of the Protocols of Verona, the affairs of Greece concern all the members of the alliance, and it has been agreed that they should collectively interfere in them. Their ministers, and that of his Imperial Majesty, would, therefore, find themselves in the same position. All the powers regard it as a sacred duty  
15 concur in preserving the general peace; now, as long as the misunderstanding between the Porte and the Morea, and the islands of the Archipelago, exists, so long as revolution and anarchy prevail there, that peace, the object of so just an anxiety, is neither real nor complete: it is not so *materially*, for the struggle of which we speak seems far from being  
20 terminated. It is not so *morally*, for this same struggle keeps up, in the minds of all Europe, a restlessness, the existence of which creates a real danger ... Shall we see them (the allied courts) to-day reject one of the natural consequences of their system ...? The well-intentioned would be struck with this change ... On the otherhand, the *revolutionists*, driven  
25 from the countries where they have only known how to unite weakness to treason, would bring back, more than ever, into the heart of Greece, all their fatal activity. They would fortify the ties which ||4| they may have already formed in those countries; they would make their *subversive doctrines* triumph there; they might even succeed in misleading the world, by  
30 accusing the alliance of only seeking to replace Greece under an *anarchical* and *barbarous* power, and of ranging in the same line Mahometanism and the Christian religion."

Letter of the Greek gov. ... to Canning ... against the Russian plan.  
1. Dec. 1824 reply of M. Canning "to the Secretary of the Provisional  
35 Government of Greece", thus recognising the de facto Gov., and the bel-  
: Hgerent rights of Greece. In February 1825 the Greek nation formed a  
contract with Brit, capitalists, for a loan of £. 2,800,000, as a security for  
which they pledged the whole of the national property of Greece ...  
Dann die griech. National Versammlung—"the clergy, the represent-  
to atives, and the naval and military chiefs of the Greek nation .... enacted:  
*Art. 1* In virtue of the present act, the Greek nation places the sacred

deposit of its liberty, independence, and political existence, under the absolute protection of Great Britain. *Art. 2* This act shall be accompanied with two copies of a memorial addressed to the revered gov. of his Britannic Majesty Dated *Nauplia* ^" ^ O (1825)." At the same time, Greece solicited the nomination of a prince connected with the royal 5 family of England ... the Greeks' appeal to England was the origin of the mediation in their favour: first, of England alone; then of England and Russia etc. In the preamble to the treaty of July, 1827, England and France are stated as having been invited by the Greeks to offer their mediation to the Porte, but Russia is omitted in this invitation ... 10 The liberal policy of England, in interposing between the Holy Alliance and the infant republics of South America—had made the Greeks almost forget the name of Hellenes in their attachment to England ... After struggling for more than 6 years single handed, against the legions of Albania, Asia minor, and Egypt, and against the squadrons of the Sul- 15 tan, Mahomet Ali, and the Barbary states, their hopes were raised by the arrival of Sir Richard Church and Lord Cochrane ... the national assemblies of Astros and Troezene had given a further development to the principles laid down at the congress of Epidaurus ... when the executive gov. deposed its authority in April, 1827, it became necessary to elect a 20 new president... On this occasion Count John Capodistrias proposed by the Russian party composed of the Capitani, who had just conferred the highest military command on Sir Richard Church, viz., Colocotroni, Niketas, Coliopulo, and the Metaxas ... Capodistrias' name received by the Moreote primates with dismay, many of the island primates even left 25 the assembly, when *Lord Cochrane and Sir Richard Church insisted on the nomination of Capodistrias*, declaring that to be the sole condition on which they would connect themselves with the cause of the destinies of Greece! In this manner the Greeks were induced to resign their better judgment ... Notwithstanding the support of Capodistrias by the Engl. 30 Philhellenes, the representatives of Greece did not assent to his election without stipulating that he should be required to swear to maintain the constitution ... oath drawn up by the assembly of Troezene ... during the 8 months which elapsed between the nomination of Capodistrias and his arrival in Greece, he enjoyed every opportunity of enlisting European 35 opinion ... from his retirement in Switzerland, where he had become favourably known to the liberals as the associate of Eynard, the enthusiastic advocate of Greece, he proceeded to St. Petersburg, where he was formally absolved from the service of the Czar. Thence repaired to Lon-

don and Paris, and finally embarked in an *English line-of-battle ship* at Ancona, for the shores of Greece ... The fate of the country had been decided by the battle of Navarin ... The Greeks, from the devotional gratitude to the allied powers, to whom they owed their salvation, led to  
5 receive him with confidence and respect, the man who, although elected by themselves, appeared amongst them as the representative, the organ, and the gift, of their protectors ... departure of the ambassadors from Constantinople ... new phasis in the affairs of Greece ... Russia now appeared before the Conference of London as the champion of "*conser-*  
10 *votive*" principles, and urged their application to the internal affairs of Greece. At the Conference held at the Foreign Office, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March, 1828, Prince Lieven annexes to the Protocol a despatch of Count Nesselrode; u. a.: "These observations lead us naturally to the measures which the present situation of affairs requires, with regard to Greece.  
15 *Here is it that we shall find our adversaries, both secret and open.* Here it will be important for the allies to prove that the treaty is a benefit. *Here it is that they have both shameful excesses to restrain and legal order to establish.* Here also, perhaps, will their task be the most delicate. Without doubt, *the choice of Count Capodistrias* to preside over the executive gov.  
20 in that country offers to the allies reasonable expectations. But Count Capodistrias will not be able to fulfil, *without them*, the great task to which he submits with noble devotion. Now that the rupture of all relation between the 3 courts and the Porte dissipates the scruples arising from the neutrality which they persisted in observing between the bel-  
25 ligerent parties, *the first necessity*, and we will say *almost the first duty*, of the triple alliance, *is the foundation of a regular order of things in Greece.* That order of things will not be organised without pecuniary assistance; it is therefore urgent: 1) that the allies should consider of the means, either of furnishing subsidies to the Greek Gov., or of favouring and  
30 hastening the conclusion of the loan of 2 mill, st., which *Count Capodistrias proposed* in his memorandum of the month of September. We are prepared to guarantee the third part of it; *and with respect to immediate subsidies, we have already placed them in the hands of Count Heyden.*" ... those who were particularly friendly to England, were precisely those  
35 who dreaded Russia. ... The national assembly at Epidaurus had appreciated Russia in 1822. The congress of Verona, in 1822, \5\ stigmatizes the Greeks as revolutionists and anarchs ... The protocol of January, 1828, denounces the Greeks as the enemies of England. ... Bei der geringsten Opposition hatte der Russian plenipotentiary erklärt that alone she  
40 would settle the affairs of Greece, "*selon ses intérêts et ses convenances*". On one occasion, *négociations* between England and Russia were broken

off in consequence of the above-quoted expression falling from the lips of the Russian plenipotentiary, in reply to a very timid remonstrance. (See despatch of Lord Dudley.) ... Russia (nun, wo f. die Greeks der war at an end) had even commenced on this line, and had given subsidies before obtaining the consent of her allies. The advance of money 5 was, therefore, in strict accordance with her views. ... We find, in the despatch of Count Nesselrode to Prince Lieven, d. d. April 29: "finally, that *order of things will not be organized, unless the Greek Gov. be surrounded by the 3 powers with agents who represent them, under whatever denomination, whose personal consideration, talents, and accordance* 10 *among themselves, may assure to it useful assistance.* It is therefore important 3) that the allies should accredit in Greece the consuls mentioned in the acts annexed to the treaty. But the most efficacious measure might perhaps be to send immediately into the Archipelago the 3 plenipotentiaries who carried on the negotiations with the Turks, and 15 to remove thither the conference of Constantinople" ... The Turco-Egyptian forces compelled to evacuate the Morea, and the conferences of London placed that province under the provisional guarantee of the alliance. In the mean time, the ambassadors of the 3 Powers, in their conferences at Poros, had drawn up a report on the institutions which 20 appeared to them suited to the Greeks; this report reached England in the beginning of 1829; their opinion that, "in the establishment of an hereditary Gov. in Greece, it would be both unjust and dangerous to deprive the Greeks of the Representative principle, for even under the Turk, rule they elected their municipal magistrates, and their *Notables* 25 were generally invested with the right of apportioning the taxes imposed by the Porte." With regard to any financial arrangement ... stated to be obligatory on the alliance "to regard as a primary consideration the imprescriptible rights of the capitalists who had taken part in the Loans made in England by the Greeks." ... Capodistrias and the Russian Resi- 30 dent in Greece immediately despatched a Memoir to St. Petersburg which was forthwith sent to London, and appended to a new Protocol. After stating "that the internal organization of Greece was a *vital question for the Emperor,*" Count Nesselrode continues: "With respect to this last point, the Emperor has himself expressed without reserve his wishes 35 and opinions to Lord Heytesbury. He conceives himself imperatively bound not to give to Greece a government too feeble to destroy the secret societies which have been there formed, and the seeds of revolution which are there to be found at every step. The 3 courts will not only be far from accomplishing the object of the treaty of the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, if they 40 leave Greece under the yoke of a ruinous anarchy; but they would fail in



their duty towards themselves and towards Europe; for they would sanction the triumph of the most fatal and the most contagious doctrines. ... According to our opinion, the only way of securing Greece from the dangers of misfortunes, the reaction of which would undoubtedly be felt  
5 beyond its limits, is to adopt one of the plans which Austria has pointed out in her Memoir of March; that is, to place that state under the gov. of a Chief, *invested with a power which would be more beneficial in the same degree in which it should be more extended, and should more nearly approach to the monarchical power.* With respect to the person of the  
10 future Chief, H. M. leaves his nomination and title to his Allies, with the sole reservation that their choice shall not fall on a Russian prince." ... The following is extract from the *memoir of Count Boulgari*: "Greece, such as three ages of slavery and bloody revolution have left her, does not contain, in general, among the most influential class, either the vir-  
15 tues or the knowledge upon which well organized political societies generally depend ... the Primates, who were in habitual contact with the Mussulmans ... who, in arrogating to themselves the right of oppression and of exaction, served as willing instruments to the most savage tyranny etc ... form a list, a caste, of men, whom no advice, or benevolent effort,  
20 will be able to recall into the paths of order, and to whom every regular Gov. becomes a motive for exciting trouble and anarchy ... accustomed, under the rule of the Mussulmans, to change Pashas as often as the pecuniary sacrifices offered by the provinces to the Porte were large enough to procure this result; the *Primates of Greece* only see a principle  
25 of oppression in the wisdom of a Government etc ... pretended theorists to be found in these countries, and who have by turns manifested their incapacity or their bad faith by the 3 democratical Constitutions which have weighed down this country, and had rendered the organization of it impossible, *until the arrival of the President in Greece.* As these 3 Con-  
30 stitutional Charters limited and confined the action of the Executive Power so far as to render it ridiculous, and as this circumstance ... favoured the power and rapacity of the Primates; the result ... that the latter, *looking at liberal principles as a means of perpetuating their influence, have thrown themselves into the constitutional ranks,* and have offer-  
35 ed their support to the national theorists, as to the agents of confusion, who are come from all parts of Europe for the purpose of fomenting and turning to their profit the revolution in Greece ... If we now consider the *difficulties inherent in every elective Government,* (Russia compelled adhesion to the *elective* principle in Poland) ... disorders the result ||6| of it...  
40 the Allied Courts would destroy with one hand the work which they would have founded with the other, if they should consent to establish in

Greece an order of things, the danger and absurdity of which are sufficiently *demonstrated by seven years of anarchy* ... It would be a strange delusion to believe in the possibility of organizing any government whatever in Greece, *on purely constitutional principles*. ... If, notwithstanding ... the three Allied Courts should *not think themselves authorized to interfere* 5 *in the organization of this country*, or should think it their duty to *establish it upon purely constitutional principles* and forms, it would be easy to point out from the present time the new disasters with which Greece would be visited. The sacrifices which the Powers have already made, and those which they continue to make, for Greece, give them 10 incontestably the right *to interfere in an active manner in the form of its Gov.*, and to exclude from it all the principles which should be thought incompatible at the same time with the real social tendency of the Greek people, and with the repose of Europe. *The President*, whose opinion is of a preponderating weight in this important affair, *goes even further*, for 15 he recognizes in the 3 Allied Powers the right, not only to require from Greece guarantees of order and stability, but also that of founding a monarchical government... the abstract principles and the dogmas of the pretended sovereignty of the People, *which have latterly cost Greece a debt of 70 millions of francs, civil war, misery, and anarchy*. It behoves the 20 3 Allied Powers, *to come to an understanding as to the form of Gov., and to the mode of organizing it which they may think fit to establish in that country*. All the other questions, without excepting those respecting the delimitation of Greece, the tribute, the relation of *Suzeraineté*, or other relations to be established between her and the Ottoman Porte, can only 25 be considered *as merely of secondary importance, and essentially subordinate to that question which relates to the form of Gov. which it may be possible and fit to establish in Greece*. ... It is in this manner that the Powers would strike at the heart of the demagogues of all countries, in proving to them that there is no revolution which is not necessarily put an 30 end to by the union of the Allied Sovereigns; and that, even when revolts are encouraged and feasible, they find in the combined action of the Crowns an insurmountable barrier, and an inclination always ready to destroy them, or to turn them to the advantage of social order." ... This memoir was intended to confound the causes of Greece with that of Spain and Italy ... there 35 is a wide difference between the *primates* and the *Capitanis*. The latter were the chiefs of a local militia, not of the Peloponnesus, but of continental Greece, which were spread from Upper Macedonia down to the Isthmus of Corinth; they were termed *Armatolis*. The *Capitani* commanding these *Armatolis*, or *Palikars*, had a seat in the municipal council, 40 and appear formerly to have been of a very pacific disposition; but the

revolts of Greece, from 1770, had struck at the root of the system, rendered the Armatolis objects of suspicion, and their character must necessarily have sunk with the anarchy of the times. Under circumstances so unfavourable, the Capitani often took to the mountains, maintained an  
5 armed neutrality, or levied black mail from the surrounding country. Thus they were alternately the preservers of order and the patrons of anarchy; and Russia, from this singular contradiction in their character, found the means of deluding Europe by representing them as the friends of good government, whilst she made use of them to trample on the  
10 peaceful primates, men who had no prerogative of caste, and no authority save a representative character. The memoir of Count Boulgari was annexed to a new Protocol of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March, 1829, in which it was determined that the ambassadors of England and France to the Ottoman Porte should return to Constantinople, to reopen négociations on the  
15 basis that Greece should enjoy, under the Suzeraineté of the Sultan, "an administration as much as possible approaching to monarchical forms, and should be confided to a Christian Chief or prince, whose authority should be hereditary, by order of primogeniture." The whole of the exertions of Capodistrias were now directed to the destruction of the municipal, representative, financial and judicial independence of Greece. ... On  
20 arriving in Greece, one of his first acts had been to abolish the legislative body, and to institute a consultative Council, under the scholastic epithet of the *Panhellenium*, consisting of 27 members, who were to share with himself the labours and the responsibility of the government, until the  
25 meeting of a national assembly, which he promised to convoke within two months. During more than a year he contrived under various pretexts to postpone this measure, and in the interval he appointed his own partizans as prefects and extraordinary commissioners over the provinces. The municipal organization which the Greeks enjoyed under the  
30 Mussulman administration had undergone only a slight modification | [7] since the expulsion of the Turks. In 1821 the assembly of Epidaurus had removed by Art. XII the distinctions which had been introduced between the primates and the other members of the commune. Every citizen of 35 years of age might be elected. ... Demogerontes ... invested  
35 with the character and duties of a justice of the peace: they kept the registers of the receipts and expenses of the communes, and every month they gave an account of their administration to the Epistates. They were personally responsible for the management of the funds which they received. Besides the Demogerontes, the inhabitants named, by a majority  
40 of votes, two Epistates, to levy the public taxes, one of whom bore the title of Epistates of the expenses, the other, that of Epistates of the receipts.

The law was confirmed by the assembly of Astros in 1823. By its provisions, the state was divided into two departments; the departments into provinces; the provinces into communes. Each province had a central or provincial demogerontie, composed of 3 or 5 members. Besides this general Demogerontie, the towns, burghs, and villages, had also their particular Demogeronties, the number of which was in proportion to the population;—one demogeron to one 100 families. Capodistrias had preserved this organization, and the elections as they had been regulated by the law ... but, by a decree of the 16<sup>th</sup> of April, 1828, he ordered that the electoral colleges should be presided over by the Extraordinary Commissioners or Prefects, or by *persons designated for that purpose by the government*. A few days afterwards, he issued general instructions to the Demogeronties, intimating that they *could only administer the affairs of their communes according to the decisions of the authority*. The action of these bodies being thus paralyzed, he proceeded to modify their constitution. A list was now to be drawn up of the electors, and another of those who were eligible. If objections were made, the Extraordinary Commissioner judged of their validity. *His decisions were without appeal*. Thus the executive interfered, for the first time, in those village rights and duties, from all antiquity held inviolable in every portion of the East; and thus Capodistrias having been rendered by foreign subsidies independent of the financial control which the people formerly exercised over their rulers, wholly vitiated the constitution of the municipalities—the basis of the institutions of Greece. ... Capodistrias received early intimation of the approaching Protocol of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March, placing Greece under the Gov. of a Christian prince. To parry this blow, he had recourse finally to the long-promised National assembly. In the beginning of January, 1829, he communicated with the Panhellenium; respecting the elections. The Panhellenium drew up a detailed memoire ... wherein the following propositions, equally unpalatable to the President:—that those who had quitted the Greek state since the commencement of the war should be ineligible, and that the electoral colleges should choose their own president and secretary. Capodistrias ... took umbrage ... The Panhellenium met no more. The primates no sooner heard of the Protocol, than they freely expressed their joy at the prospect held out to them of a Christ, prince, and a more National form of gov. ... a letter of a Greek Patriot ... Pharmakides, expressive of those sentiments, fell into the hands of Capodistrias. The writer thrown into prison ... the whole private correspondence of Greece placed under the surveillance of a newly-created police. Letters opened in all parts of the country, and especially those which arrived from England and France. The

country now swarmed with spies, to whom were open the suspicious ears of the strangers, to whose hands all power was confided;—95% of the gov. agents were Ionians, and adventurers from the various parts of the Levant... to such an extent this system carried, that the conversation  
5 and views of every Europ. traveller passing through the Morea were noted down and transmitted to the secret police ... Capodistrias undertook a journey into the Morea, whilst his brother, Count Augustin, traversed continental Greece ... inhabitants ... charmed by the caresses, promises, and largesses of the President ... he conceived his game sure,  
10 and the elections commenced. As the conditions of the qualification for elector had been left undefined, all those became electors to whom the governors and their agents thought proper to grant the permission of voting, and the consequence was, that, in several of the provinces, the electors named as their representative the President himself. ... the  
15 returns of the elections ... by no means unanimous: Capod., the moment he ascertained this fact, was obliged generously to refuse the power conferred upon him by some of the provinces. This he did by the circular of the 28<sup>th</sup> of May ... (dieß geschah a month after the event)... Aber früher im *Circular d. d. 3 May, to the Prefects of Arcadia, Argolis, and Lower*  
20 *Messenia* dankt er f. die "confidence" u. authorizes them "to make known to the signers of this act" (der ihm full powers gab f. the 4<sup>th</sup> national congress), "that we shall not delay answering it as soon as, by the deliberations of the other provinces of the state, we shall be enabled to form a resolution etc" ... On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of June 1829, the Electors (of  
25 the province of Carytena) (at Corinth) made a "Declaration", worin sie ihren 4 Deputies auflegen "1) to confine themselves strictly to all things that may contribute essentially to the advantage of the country, conformably to the wishes of etc Capod.; 2) are prohibited from ever taking part, directly or indirectly, in factions or enmities, and from shocking or  
30 thwarting in the last thing the sentiments and the sacred and salutary intentions of his Exc. 3) If the said representatives happen to deviate in any degree whatsoever ]]8| from the conditions above set forth, without any exception, from that moment the mission which we entrust to them for the 4<sup>th</sup> Nat. Congress would be null and void" ... the government  
35 gazette published the document ... In einem *Circular*, Egyna, 9-21 June 1829 of "the General Chancellerie to all the ordinary agents and provincial Governors of the State;" stellt sich der Regent amazed at the mandate of the electors of Corinth, which it had veranstaltet, fragt ob auch in den anderen Provinzen "written regulations as to the manner in  
40 which the deputies ought to fulfil the duties of their mission" u. sollten die Beamten alle dem Präsidenten schicken "an authentic copy of the

same rules, whether already directly given to the deputies, or to be subsequently imposed upon them." Thus all the regulations which restricted the functions of the deputies, which issued from the cabinet of the President himself, were now presented to the electors as the production of their own free will, to a knowledge of which the gov. could not, however, 5 remain a stranger. By this circular it is suggested to the communities to imitate the example of Corinth, while the agents of gov. are furnished with an opportunity of interfering in the resolutions of the electors. With the exception of some few places, where the principal Residents, whom it was impossible for the authority to refuse as electors, determined to exercise 10 freely the right of voting, all the individuals indicated by the gov. were returned. Das gov. designated them als "good Christians"; the people, who, upon the whole, took but little part in the affair, nannte sie "serviles", a name which stuck to them. At Missolonghi, the gov. agents, unable to prevent the return of independent members, obtained the following 15 mandate from the electors:

"the deputies are not allowed to require, from his Exc, our august President, any account either of that which he has taken, or that which he has spent. They are expressly forbidden to make the slightest proposal without the advice and consent of his Exc. the President, the saviour of 20 our country. The deputies will never accept, in any case whatsoever, any other chief for Greece than its well beloved Pres. John Capodistrias. *The deputies will swear to oppose every thing that might lead them to change their religion.*" ... On every part of the continent of Greece, the agents of the gov. represented to the people that a change in the person 25 of the chief of the state would lead to a change of the national religion ... All these means proving insufficient to obtain an assembly devoted to the Pres., an extraordinary expedient was then resorted to; nearly 50 deputies were added to the assembly as representing provinces belonging to Turkey including Scio, Candía, Thessaly, Epirus etc. Nor was this sufficient. 30 The assembly, chosen with so much care, had to undergo a new purification. A commission of 3 members was named to examine the return of each deputy, and to decide, without appeal, on its validity.... "The Loyal Deputies." ... "Revolutionists and disturbers of the existing harmony." 35 (53-99)

## Ch. II. Proceedings of the Assembly of Argos.

While the assembly lasted, the unfortunate inhabitants of Argos (driven from their homes) slept in the streets, without receiving the smallest com-

pensation ... The positions were sketched and the parts distributed, as if under histrionic superintendence, and this grand political comedy was actually represented in the ancient theatre of Argos. ... Count *Viaro*, charged with the secret police, was accurately informed, from hour to 5 hour, of every thing that was said in the private houses and at the different meetings. *Colocotroni* and the Comrades, whom his own influence and gov. money had collected around him, were charged to support by cheers, and, if necessary, by force the resolutions to be proposed and to quell the opposition that might be made ... Agreed that *Colocotroni*, in 10 order to merit the 50,000 piastres, the treasury had paid him, should move the resolutions, and to be supported principally by *Perouca*, *Civeri*, *Rigagno*, *Tazzi*, *Maughina*, *Legli*, *Enian*, *Spiliades*, *Poniropoulo*, *Crisogelos*, *Constantine Metaxa*, all of them more or less powerful by a number of clients, and comprising together almost the whole of the assembly 15 ... these champions determined on passing all the resolutions by acclamation, and of not allowing them to be put to the vote ...

*11-23 July. Opening of the Assembly.* Count *Capodistrias* (on the 11), in full costume, decorated with all his Russ. orders, accompanied by *Colocotroni*, *Miaulis*, and all the deputies, escorted by a squadron of 20 cavalry and 2 battalions of infantry, repaired to the Church of the Virgin at Argos etc ... Dann zu dem Theater, wo die sittings. *Capodistrias* macht im kleinen den Cäsar m. der angebotnen u. abgeschlagenen Krone nach.

*72-24 July.* This the day on which to proceed to the nomination of 25 the president of the assembly. *Sessini* Präs. ernannt, *Crisoghelos* u. *Jakovaki Rizo* secretaries. A deputy having asked who should be elected vice-president, *Colocotroni* hastily replied, without reflecting, "Oh, with regard to him, I received no instructions. Take, therefore, any you please". *Mavrornati* was named. Dankadresse without restriction to 30 *Capodistrias* supplicated not to deprive the deputies of his paternal counsels.

(All the labours of the assembly had been traced out beforehand, and the order of the day of each sitting came from the closet of the President.)

*16-28 July Monarchidi:* "If we are to investigate the private conduct of 35 each of us, it would be exceedingly difficult to find a single man who is free from reproach." The minister *Perouca*, too well known from his acts at Ancona, and for the wealth he acquired during his stay at Cerigo, by furnishing supplies to the Turkish fortresses of Coron, Modon, and Navarin, during the period when they were blockaded by the Greeks ... 40 Amongst the 200 deputies, and more than that number, who composed the assembly, scarcely 20 possessed the first notions necessary for under-

standing even a part of the questions submitted to them. The rest of the assembly was composed of fishermen, mechanics, and shepherds, such as the President had desired them to [be], to do his work more speedily and certainly ...

All the decrees, all the reports of the Commissions, all the acts of the 5 assembly, were drawn up beforehand in the closet, and by the hand, even, of the President ... Capodistrias, who could not write a word of Greek, prepared the documents in French, and Jacovaki Rizo, the Secretary of the Congress, translated them into Greek ... All the documents emanating from the assembly, which the President officially published in 10 the *Courrier d'Orient*, and which have equally appeared in the Smyrna Gazette, ... were evidently the first manufacture, whilst the stamp of a laboured and imperfect translation is impressed on each of the sentences of the Greek [9] documents ...

17-29 July: Count Capodistrias, in a letter which he addressed to the 15 Congress, proposed to the nation *to get rid of the Engl debt by means of a loan of 62 millions of roubles, to be raised in Russia. He endeavoured to prove, at the same time, that in 42 years Greece, with its revenues, would be delivered from all its debts.*

26 July - 7 August. The commission of Seven submitted to the Assem- 20 bly the proposal of a provisional Gov. of Greece, composed of the President and of a Council of 27 members, which should take the name of Gerusia. (Senate.) In order to form this body, the Assembly will present to the President the names of 61 individuals, amongst whom His Excell. will choose 21; the nomination of the 6 others will be entirely at his 25 disposal. The attributes of the Senate will be in a few words, to decide on nothing without the permission of the President.

27 July - 8 Aug. Above-named project hastily adopted, and immediately transcribed on the register.

3-15 August. A member proposed to allow pay to the demogerontes, 30 or municipal councillors, of the different districts. It was left to His Exc. to decide on this point.

5-7 7 August. The Assembly decided that strangers should not be excluded from foreign employments in Greece, and that counsel should be allowed in the tribunals; ... this sitting closed the session, or, as 35 Capodistrias, "it was adjourned to the period when the négociations with the powers should require a new meeting of the representatives of the people." ...

6-18 Aug. Festival of St. Saviour ...

The assembly had entrusted the President with full Powers to negociate 40 with the Allied Courts; on the condition, however, of subsequent ratifi-



cation of the assembly. The judicial system provisionally established in Greece, was to be maintained, with the reserve of the modifications which the President might desire to introduce. All the other branches of the administration were to remain as before, but such modifications  
5 might be made as experience (the President) shall require. The assembly sanctioned the institution of a bank, the fixing of the national domains, and their being mortgaged to the bank. The nation was made responsible for the debts of the municipalities ... one of these insidious processes of disorganization effected through financial means ... by transferring to  
10 the Gov. the debts of the Communes, i. e., by making the Gov. the debtor of the creditors, and itself the creditor of the Communes, the Municipal compact was broken ... its honour wiped away, its credit vanished ... Having been also deprived of the basis of their rights, the initiative, as regarded their own concerns, and having been forced to submit to this  
15 act of outrage, the municipalities were worse than annihilated. They were converted into the passive agents of Power. The President, supported by foreign money, accomplished that which no Pacha had ever dreamt of attempting; because the Pacha, being obliged to remit a tribute, was under the necessity of conciliating popular support. Capodistrias secured,  
20 through this packed assembly, a no less absolute power over the tribunals than that which he obtained over the municipalities. By the 12<sup>th</sup> decree, the National Assembly ordained that all causes between natives, relative to acts qualified as crimes or misdemeanors committed between 1821 and 1828, should be judged without appeal by a board of commissioners  
25 composed of 3 members. According to *Art. 2*, each of the parties was to name one judge, and the third member was to be named directly by the gov. *Art. 3*. If the plaintiff does not present his arbitrator, the gov. will have the right to name him. *Art. 5* The ordinary process will be followed in all the above-mentioned affairs, with the reserve of the modifications  
30 which the Gov. may adopt for all in general, or for each separate case. *Art. 6*. this tribunal will have the power of pronouncing definitively on all the cases with regard to damages and the interest to which the injured party may have proved his claim; but all that relates to the application of the punishment is referred to the gov.—In this manner, Capodistrias  
35 gained a power of investigating all the crimes, dissensions, wrongs, claims, and disputes, which had arisen during the revolution, and acquired the means of persecuting by judicial chicane any single citizen ... the sanction given by the assembly to Capodistrias to continue his negotiations with the Allied Courts to obtain their guarantee to a loan of  
40 60 mill, fcs, by which all these usurpations were to be consolidated, and the Gov. maintained, in defiance of public opinion and on the ruins of national institutions. (100-134)

### Ch. III.

"The Conference was entreated to lend the aid of foreign arms to the President, to punish the signers of the addresses, who, on hearing of the perfidy of the Senate and the Court, in opposing insurmountable difficulties to the acceptance of the crown by Prince Leopold, were only 5 prevented, by the support given to Capodistrias by the Alliance, from breaking out into open revolt, whilst Russia persuaded her 2 allies in the Conference of London, not that their troops were to be employed in overthrowing the decisions of the Conference, as was really the case, but in supporting Capodistrias in giving them effect." (143) Entire concur- 10 rence of the Residents of France, Great Britain, and Russia, in the system of the President. (144 sqq.) Capodistrias surrounded by his faction, the Senate, composed of men sullied by all the vices of the revolution —pirates, forgers, outlaws from Corfu, the most rapacious of the Klephts, and by the 3 Representatives, contrived to paralyze the agri- 15 culture, commerce, and navigation of the whole country, (p. 152) |

Notiz zu José Segundo Florez: Espartero. Historia de su vida militar y política

¡ 10 i (Don Rafael Maro to)

Florez (D. José Segundo)  
Espartero. Historia de Su vida Militar  
y Política y de los grandes Sucesos  
s contemporáneos etc

2<sup>ed</sup>. (4 Bde, die 2 ersten 1844, die 2 letzten 1845. Madrid.)

*2<sup>o</sup> Band. Capí. V.*

Karl Marx · Exzerpte zur Geschichte Griechenlands, Frankreichs und Spaniens · Heft 1

Notes of an attaché in Spain. In 1850.  
London 1851.

*Reiner Kohl über Theater etc.*

Una Plumada sobre la índole  
y Tendencia de [la] Revolución  
en España.  
Madrid. 1846.

5 Denunziantenwisch gegen die Liberals.

Abiertas las Cortes en la Isla de Leon el año de 1810. (3) resultó ... la Const, del año 12. (I.e.) Citirt«*El Huracán*», num. 71, 2 Sept. 1840, worin es heißt: «El Pueblo debe declarar disueltas las Cortes, caducado el Senado, decaída de la regencia del reino á la Reina Cristina, convocar  
10 nuevas Cortes elegidas por el voto universal directo de todos los españoles, y compuestas de una sola Cámara: abolir para siempre el Trono de esa raza depravada, que ni por la gratitud ni por la desgracia es capaz de reprimirse: constituirse en una democracia federativa: juzgar á la Reina Cristina por el tiránico ejercicio de su poder delegado etc.» (4) la completa  
15 destrucción del estado Regular fue un triunfo grande para el partido: los *frailes* tenían mucha influencia en el pueblo, y predicaban la obediencia y sumisión á los Reyes. (13, 14) In der Const, v. 1837 desapareció de la Constitución de 37 art. 12 de la Const, de Cádiz, que decia: «La religion de la nación española es y será perpetuamente la católica,  
20 apostólica, romana. La nación la protege por leyes sabias y justas, y prohíbe el ejercicio de cualquiera otra.» Se suprimieron también en ella los artículos 117, 173, 196 y 212, en que se exigía á los diputados, al Rey, cuando entrase á gobernar el reino, á la Regencia y al Príncipe de Asturias, el juramento de defender y conservar la religion católica, apostólica,  
25 romana, sin permitir otra alguna en el reino. (19) Se inscribieron en ella (la milicia nacional) todos los agentes del partido, muchos de ellos contra

el tenor expreso de la ley de su organización: de este modo armó el partido toda la fuerza de que podía disponer. (24) ¿Qué beneficios han reportado los labradores con la supresión del diezmo? Los colonos ninguno porque se lo exigen los propietarios: si por este regalo que habéis hecho á los terratenientes no han de pagar al estado mas que lo que pagaban anteriormente, ¿qué justicia es esta? (32) el asunto era empobrecer al clero; un clero pobre no tiene amigos. (32) Suprimidos los Regulares, empobrecido el clero Secular, y aniquilada la Grandeza, tenia ya mucho adelantado la revolución. (34) Cristina früher, selbst v. den Liberalen genannt: «la Madre de los españoles». (36) Auch (1837) 10 «restauradora de la libertad». (43) ¿Qué pidió al principio la opinion pública? La separación de *Zea Bermudez*. Zea erraba enormemente según la opinion pública. Zea pensaba que antes de dar instituciones constitucionales á su pais era necesario darle un gobierno, una hacienda, y una población que pudiese comprender y apreciar la libertad. La opinion pública lo exigía, y la Reina separó á Zea. Se pedia una Constitución. *Martinez de la Rosa* ... dio el Estatuto Real. ¿Qué hizo el voto nacional? En lugar de dar al gobierno de la Reina lo que le faltaba, dinero y soldados ... gritó «¡traición! traición!» Para aplacarle la Regenta no dudó separar á *Martinez de la Rosa*; y *Toreno* se encargó de conducir él solo la opinion pública y satisfacerla. Sabido es que á pesar de haber suprimido las órdenes monásticas, el ministerio de *Toreno* se abismó bajo la insurrección de las juntas y en medio de los asesinatos de Barcelona, y del fuego, que se aumentaba de la guerra civil. ¿Y qué hicieron aquellas juntas? ... Asesinatos y nada mas ... El partido exigió en Agosto de 1836 que se proclamase la Const, del año 12, y vino en ello la Reina Gobernadora etc. (51-7) /

Aus Espartero. Su pasado, su presente, su porvenir

j 131 Principe. Espartero, Su Pasado,  
Su Presente, Su Porvenir etc  
Madrid. 2 ed. Madrid 1848.

Espartero ... su padre fué un honrado artesano. (8) Geb. in der Mancha,  
5 in Granátula. (1. c.) Tritt in die Armee gegen Napoleon, als soldado raso,  
sentando plaza en el batallón nominado de Ciudad Real. (9) En 1814 fué  
nombrado teniente del regimiento de infantería provincial de Soria. (10)  
Nach Beendigung des Kriegs nach Madrid, con su regimiento. (1. c.) Alis-  
tado voluntariamente en la expedicion destinada á pacificar las Americas,  
10 á las órdenes del general Morillo, embarcóse para Costa-firme á prin-  
cipios de 1815. (11) Kämpft f. Spanien in den provincias de Charcas,  
Pruno, Paz, Arequipa, Potosí u. Cochabamba. (I.e.) salido de España ais  
subteniente, wird brigadier. (1. c.) Schlacht bei Ayacucho (gegen Bolivar)  
esperanza der Spanier desvanecido para siempre. (I.e.) Espartero nahm  
15 keinen Theil daran; dennoch designado v. da como gefe del *ayaeuchismo*.  
(I.e.) Er kehrte grade v. Spanien zurück, als schon alles perdu; da er  
enviado á la península por el virey Laserna en octubre de 1824. m. Auf-  
trägen an den rex. (12) 1825 nach Spanien zurück. Schlecht bei Hof  
empfangen. 2 Jahre in Pamplona. (13) Espartero fué jugador, tan jugador  
20 como buen guerrero. (I.e.) Temerario nuestro guerrero en las lides, fué  
también temerario en el juego: ... la fortuna favoreció su generosidad  
y su audacia, y Espartero volvió á España rico. Heirathet die Tochter de  
un comerciante, (Jacinta) in 1827. (I.e.) Von Pamplona ging er nach  
*Logroño* u. v. hier nach Barcelona, trasladándose de aqui á *Palma* con el  
25 regimiento infantería de Soria, cuyo mando le fué conferido, siendo su  
coronel-brigadier cuando la muerte de Fernando VII (14) Schifft sich  
nun nach Valencia ein, für Isabella, derrotando y prendiendo á Magraner

en las cercanías de Játiva. Anfang 1834 ernannt comandante general de Vizcaya, dann mariscal de campo, dann gefe de la 5 division. Allerlei Waffenthaten. (I.e.) 1836 general en gefe del ejército del Norte. 1837 «Conde de Luchana» u. capitan general de ejército. (15) 1839 endet de guerra civil. (16) 1840 sucht Cabrera noch einmal die Sache des Prätendenten zu galvanisiren. Wird nun Duque de la Victoria y de Morella. (I.e.) Sein Abschied. Insurrección. Cristina brennt durch, dankt ab. Esp. wird Regent. (18) Conspiracy der Hofparthei unterstützt durch Louis Philippe. In der Nacht v. 7. October 1841 die Milicia Nacional de Madrid salvó la libertad y la Reina. Espartero partió para las provincias Vascongadas con el fin de apagar en ellas la llama de la insurrección, no sin perdonar generoso á los conspiradores secundarios. (20) Die *moderados* - *los falsarios de la Libertad* - verbinden sich m. s. Feinden. (21) Ab Espartero. 4 J. Emigración, el movimiento de 1843 despojó á Espartero de la regencia. (23) la Inglaterra fué para él otro pais natal. (I. c.) Embarcirt sich in den Malabar v. Spanien nach Lisbon, v. da im Formidable (auch engl, navio) nach Bayonne, Havre, London. (26) Löwe v. London. «El conde de Aberdeen, como ministro de relaciones estrangeras, escribió al regente (Esp.) para hacerle saber que S. M. la reina tendría gusto de recibirle en el palacio de Windsor á las tres de la tarde del dia siguiente.» (30) Banquet f. ihn v. der municipalidad de Londres. (31) (im Mansion House) Ausser Empfangen v. Huldigungen cultivirt er Blumen in London. Sabida la ordinaria ocupación del Duque, todas sociedades de Londres que tenían relación con la botánica y la agricultura, se apresuraron á inscribirle como socio. (34) Unterstützt en Londres sus compañeros de emigración. (36) Denkt nicht daran zu reconquistar su perdida posición. (I. c.) (Freund v. Palmerston) Isabel II no era mayor de edad I por la Constitución hasta el dia 10 de Octubre de 1844. (37) Seine Proclamation an die Spanier v. London. 10 Oct. 1844. (38^40) Will nach Bordeaux. Nicht Erlaubniß v. Louis Philippe. (42) Engl. Reg. bietet ihm Pension an; schlägt das ab. (43) Amnestie in Spanien. Décret wodurch Espartero zum Senator ernannt. (I.e.) (3 Sept. 1847 dieß Décret.) Aber das Cabinet v. 31 August (1847) fiel plötzlich, folgte eines v. Narvaez ... span. Gesandter in London zeigt dem Espartero an «que el gobierno le daría una licencia para permanecer en el estrangero». (46) Por conducto del coronel Wilde, ofreció á los duques la Reina Victoria asiento en su mesa el día 27 de diciembre de 1847, siendo estensiva la invitación á pasar la noche en su palacio de Windsor. (47) 29 Dec. 1847 verließ er u. Frau London. (48) 30 Dec. Southampton. (I.e.) 4 Januar (1848) desembarkirt in San Sebastian. (49) Triumphalmarsch nach Madrid; Seine Friedliche «cent jours». (52) Von San Sebastian, wo er enorm empfan-



Aus Espartero. Su pasado, su presente, su porvenir

gen, reist er in der Nacht incognito nach Vitoria. (56) etc 8 Jan. (1848) zog *er in Madrid* ein. (I.e.) Um 6 Uhr desselben Abends empfing ihn die Königin, allein: «*Llámeme V. M., la dijo, cuando necesite un brazo que la defienda, ó un corazón que la ame.*» (58) Sie gab ein paar Tage nachher 5 einen Ball, wozu der Duque nicht eingeladen. Er blieb <sup>14</sup> 27 Tage in Madrid, sehr zahlreiche deputaciones etc (58) 12 Uhr Nachts, 4 Febr. (1848) saliendo de Madrid, verzieht sich nach Logroño. (62) Si se nos pregunta cuál es la significación política de Espartero, diremos que Espartero significa la unidad del gran partido liberal. (72) Espartero es 10 popular, porque ha salido de la clase del pueblo. (I.e.) su popularidad lo es todo para el partido progresista. (75)

## The Crisis of Spain.

2 ed. London. 1823

Congress of Verona, armed interference v. Foreign Nations, to bring about, by force, an alteration in its form of government. (1) hostile interference of France in the affairs of Spain. (3) The French government 5 asserts that military defection has set up in Spain a constitution ... not acceptable to the majority des Span, people, daher Bürgerkrieg, democratical principles, dangerous reaction of a contagion, auf Frankreich etc (4) France seems determined to make war, unless certain modifications of the Span, constitution of 1812 be conceded. (6) The progress of society in 10 Spain was retarded by a succession of numerous and long acting causes. Her advancement from the feudal institutions ... first interrupted by the invasion of the Moors: these nearly 700 y. held footing in the Peninsula, effectually retarded the progress of her political improvement: so that when the Peninsula was emancipated from the African Power, Spain, still 15 retaining the manners and customs of the Vandals and Goths, was much in the same state as at the Moorish conquest ... Many peculiarities favourable to liberty in the laws and constitutions of the provinces emancipated in succession from Moorish dominion, were engendered in these struggles. Small parts of the peninsula were recovered at a time, and 20 formed into kingdoms; and these conquests being principally effected by the nobles, rendered their power extensive, the royal prerogative limited, and the immunities of cities great ... *Aragon*, united m. Castile u. Granada, under Ferdinand u. Isabella, formed the basis of the Span, monarchy ... the Cortes there in their fullest splendour, *Justiza* (office con- 25 trolling the power of the Crown) u. Right of Union, when illegal acts were attempted ... these peculiarities did not prevail in Castile; yet the

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royal power was there also more limited than was common to the feudal institutions, by the great consideration to which cities and towns had been raised from the necessity people found themselves under of residing together in places of strength, as a security against the continual irrup-  
5 tions of the Moors from the provinces they still possessed. Ferdinand strebt nach extension of (royal) power. Erstens curbed die nobles. He deprived them of vast grants of land which had been made in preceding reigns. He withdrew from them the exclusive conduct of state affairs. He annexed to the crown, the mastership of the 3 military orders; and he  
10 took advantage of a peculiar circumstance ... to deprive the nobles of the judicial power they had hitherto usurped, and which rendered their castles more like the courts of monarchs than the residences of subjects; and which power constituted the chief cause of their independence. This circumstance was the *Holy Brotherhood* or *Inquisition*, which was establis-  
15 hed by the inhabitants of Castile to repress and punish irregularities and crimes, abundant in a state of society which, for centuries, had been engaged in war and rapine with their infidel neighbours ... Emp. *Charles V* fomented animosities between the nobles and the commons, to work the destruction of the political power of both. Daher encouragir-  
20 te er die Holy Brotherhood, die an encroachment der commons on the rights claimed by the nobles; daher dieser most decided opposition, led them to assist the Emp. in suppressing the insurrection of the commoners for the recovery of their ancient liberties, who, thus deserted by the upper class, and left without heads to lead and direct them, were soon defeated  
25 and dispersed. Charles V next occupied in circumscribing u. abolishing privileges which former more dependent sovereigns den Städten gegeben. Cities and towns soon declined in population and importance; commerce decayed; and, with these, they soon lost their influence in the Cortes. Popular power thus curbed, royal prerogative extended. Charles then  
30 turned upon the nobles, who had assisted in putting down the liberties of the people, but who still retained considerable political consequence. Mutiny in his army for want of pay obliged him, in 1539, to assemble a Cortes to obtain a grant of money. Enraged at the misapplication of former subsidies to operations foreign to the interests of Spain, the Cor-  
35 tes refused all supplies, Charles entläßt sie m. great indignation, u. die prelates u. nobles having insisted on a privilege of not paying taxes, he ... that those who claimed such a right could have no pretensions to seats in the Cortes, excluded them from that assembly. Thus the Cortes was sub-  
40 verted. Thus liberty ||15| was soon crushed in Spain, from premature rashness, misconduct, disunion, and jealousy ... from that fatal period the nobles of Spain have, in general, been gradually sinking into a state

of utter degradation. The Grandees, forced to reside in the capital and the principal towns, their pride still flattered by some empty privileges of their former grandeur, have lost in luxury, idleness, and ignorance their former character. The discovery of America, and the cultivation of unreal sources of national wealth ... Arts looked upon as a disgrace, 5  
Slaves tilled the soil, Jews were the traders—Moors the manufacturers. The expulsion of these people drove from Spain almost the only industry she possessed; and having but little produce of her own to exchange for the gold of her colonies, the precious metals disappeared, to purchase what she wanted from other nations. Thus ... mines of the new World ... 10  
a spur to the industry of other people, while Spain sunk into sloth. Internal commerce was obstructed by the payment of heavy duties at custom houses erected on the great roads ... these, consequently, became little frequented, fell into decay, and the inhabitants of the different provinces mingled but little with each other. The prejudices of provincialism— 15  
formed first by the detached manner in which Spain was recovered from the Moors—were thus confirmed; and the peculiarities of the original national character preserved. Hence that resurrection of the ancient spirit of Spain which recently roused the people to oppose a usurpation to which her upper classes had submitted; hence that want of union which 20  
was sometimes hurtful, and sometimes beneficial in the war; and hence a very diversified state of society to which it was extremely difficult to adopt any *general system of new laws and mode of gov.* —The Inquisition proved fatal to arts, sciences, and all useful knowledge. ... Charles V protected Popery gegen Protestantism u. Kirchenmacht befestigte dafür 25  
die Weltliche u. die measures taken by Charles's descendants to "correct heresies" contributed to perpetuate the horrible despotism ... 1808 Bonaparte führt Truppen ein, the real purpose being disguised, bis he had gained military occupation des kingdom. Herr Bourbon abgedankt, Ein Bonaparte zum König. The statesmen, nobles, u. authorities throughout 30  
Spain, made neither remonstrance nor opposition to these atrocious acts, and ignominious conditions. When the Massacre of Madrid took place, on the 2<sup>d</sup> of May 1808, under the sanguinary Murat, the insurrection bald became general in den provinces. It broke out first in Asturias, on the 25th, and soon afterwards spread throughout the monarchy. Hatred 35  
of the French, and a desire of vengeance for the military murders committed at Madrid, were the immediate excitements which produced the insurrection ... Sustained durch influence der clergy, durch bigotry u. superstition ... the objects des Span, people in der opposition to the French, were all *against revolution, and not for it* ... In *seaports u. great* 40  
*commercial cities* etwas verschieden ... bei der great bulk des people

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nichts als popular opposition gegen usurpation, *the only motives: independence des country, preservation ihrer religion, institutions u. monarchy* ... *Southey: History of the Peninsular War.* ... Juntas were everywhere formed as the insurrection proceeded. In all of them the priests had seats  
5 ... Ihr war-cry (in ihren proclamations) "For our Holy Religion, our King, and the Independence of our Country". The Central Junta of Seville adopted and confirmed this tone, and in a proclamation to the people: "Spaniards, every consideration calls upon us to unite and to frustrate views so atrocious.—*No revolution exists in Spain;* our sole  
10 object is to defend what we hold most sacred ... our laws, our monarch, and our religion" ... Bishop of Orense the main instrument in producing and directing the resistance of the Galicians, wurde appointed member of the Regency ... The priesthood, well acquainted with the fate of their order in France, had long opposed the dissemination of French principles  
15 and philosophy and had fomented the hatred of the people towards that nation, upon the *principle of selfpreservation*, as well as pure religious zeal ... the more enlightened classes des Span, people took advantage of the favorable moment dieser period to improve their political condition ... the provisional gov. Hauptzweck zu organise the military resources des  
20 country ... the Span, people were fast awakening from their lethargy ... Einströmen v. strangers, Ketzern, long absence des legitimate monarch, public debates on political subjects etc ... The "existing" const, of Spain was formed in 1811 u. 12, at Cadiz, when that city was in a state of siege, and at a time when every province of Spain, excepting Galicia, was occu-  
25 pied by the enemy. (10-26)

In dieser Constit.: "sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, to whom only, therefore, belongs exclusively the right of establishing fundamental laws". "1 deputy f. every 70,000 souls." "The Cortes consists of one house, or estate, viz. the commons, the basis of the election of the  
30 deputies being universal suffrage." Die "elective franchise is enjoyed by | [16] all Spaniards who have any employment, calling, office, or known mode of existence; with the exceptions of menial servants, bankrupts u. Verbrechern. After the year 1830, no citizen can enjoy this right who cannot read and write." Aber gewählt: 1) in der Parish. 2) der partido.  
35 3) der province. Die electors jeder parish nennen 1 parochial elector f. je 200 inhabitants. Diese persons again choose 11 compromisarios u. by these the parochial elector, or representative, of the parish is named. Die representatives der parishes in der partido assemble in der chief town des district u. these appoint the electors who are to meet in the capital of  
40 the province to choose the deputy to Cortes. "There is no defined qualification with respect to property to make a person eligible for a deputy."

"Art. 92 merely states, that he should have a suitable annual income proceeding from actual property." "Cortes meet jedes J. am 1 March, ohne receiving any proclamation of convocation, sit at least 3 months consecutively, können 4 sitzen, if that measure be voted by  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the deputies present. *Nor can the King either prorogue or dissolve the Cortes.* 5  
A gen. election, or new Cortes, is formed every 2<sup>nd</sup> year, and no deputy can sit in 2 Cortes consecutively, d. h. nur to be re-elected after an intervening Cortes of 2 years." "No deputy can ask or accept rewards, pensions, or honors, from the King." "the approval of the Cortes is necessary for the ratification of all offensive alliances, subsidies, and principles 10 of commerce." "The Cortes decree the creation or suppression of all places in the tribunals, and in all public offices." "They form and give regulations to the army, navy, and militia; and (Art. 359) regulate all matters relating to the discipline, order of advancement, pay, administration etc ..." "protect the liberty of the press." "Establish the general 15 system of public education in all the monarchy." "their approbation is required to the plan of education for the Prince of Asturias." "The Secretaries of State and all other public servants are made effectively responsible to the Cortes for their conduct in state affairs." "When a bill is presented to the King he must declare his pleasure upon it in 30 days, 20 sonst die omission construed into assent, u. die bill becomes law. If he refuse the bill, must er state his reasons in writing, within 30 days; wenn nicht, his silence gives existence to the bill as a law. Wenn in der 3\* session das Gesetz die Cortes (zum 3<sup>ten</sup> also) passirt, it becomes law without being submitted to the King's pleasure. Ebenso by the same process, laws 25 may be repealed." "Before the Cortes terminate a session, they appoint a Permanent deputation of the Cortes, consisting of 7 of their members ... 2 supernumeraries are provided ... dieses permanent committee des parliament holds its sittings in the capital until the meeting der next Cortes; is endowed m. den powers to watch over the strict observance der Con- 30 stitution u. administ. der laws; and reports to the next Cortes any infraction it may have observed; kann convoke an *extraordinary* (d. h. extraordinary sitting) *Cortes* in critical times, z. B. wenn der king deemed unfit to govern. Des king's ministers no seats in den Cortes, may present bills, u. m. permission, speak upon them; aber they cannot be present at a 35 division upon any questions ... Die ministers responsible den Cortes f. all orders ... u. no tribunal or public servant is to obey any but a written order countersigned by a secretary of state ... Der einzige council des Königs der Consejo de Estado, in which die ministers no seat, darin 4 ecclesiastics, wovon 2 may be bishops, 4 grandees; the rest from among 40 the most distinguished persons in den principal branches der public

administration. Diese alle 40 gewählt vom King, v. a list of 120 names proposed to him by the Cortes; but no actual deputy can be a counsellor; kein counsellor kann office, employment, or honour, v. dem king annehmen, king will folgen den 'dictamen' dieses council (bezahlt v. den Cortes) bes. in giving or refusing his sanction to bills presented by Cortes, in declaring war, or making treaties. In dem political gov. der provinces, a Provincial deputation is formed in each, by suffrage of the electors of partidos, when assembled for the gen. election of the members for a new Cortes. Diese provincial deputations bestehn aus 7 members, presided over by the polit, chief der province, u. assisted by a secretary dessen salary fixed by the Cortes. Müssen at least 90 Tage im J. sitzen. From the powers and duties assigned to these deputations, and their constitution, they may be considered as permanent committees of Cortes." "Die Constit. v. 1812 nur zu ändern nach 8 J., dann Revision möglich unter erschweren Bedingungen, z. B. approbation der electoral juntas der provinces etc" Nach diesem Art. (383) "it appears that the King's consent is not necessary for the enactment of such new laws." (26-37)

Zur Zeit dieser Extraordinary Cortes nearly the whole of Spain occupied by the troops of Napoleon; few der members duly elected durch die provinces u. towns of old Spain which they were supposed to represent; still fewer of the members who took their seats as deputies f. die colonies, chosen by them; but, as at that period there were many individuals whom the troubles of the war had driven from the provinces, u. also many South American merchants, natives and others, whom the state of affairs had likewise assembled at Cadiz, there was no difficulty in finding persons belonging, in some way or other, to the different kingdoms, cities, towns, and provinces of Spain, in the Old and New World, to become their ostensible representatives. Some of the members who took their seats for provinces occupied by the French, were chosen, however, in a certain manner, by the patriotic juntas, which, throughout the war, continued to exist in some parts of the country. Unmöglich dieß in towns which the French constantly occupied. Their powers, as a provisional gov., would never have been questioned. Aber als Verfasser einer neuen Constituí, greatly resembling the French Const, of 1791, errege opposition, dissatisfaction u. disunion. Opposition 1) v. nobles u. clergy. 2) v. "moderate men", the great limitation, or rather the complete annihilation of the royal prerogative,—the destruction of all feudal tenures, to the severe injury of the fortunes, rights of property, and consequence of the nobles and seniors,—the *destruction of the power of the prelates, and in general of all ecclesiastical courts ... Royalists, nobles, and clergy, were everywhere vociferous against it ...* Der bishop of Orense withdrew

from the Regency when he could no longer stem this tendency to democracy ... *pulpits condemned the acts of the government ... durch die constitution der king sei politically deposed etc ...* Dieß accounts for the fact, that from 1811, the exertions der peasantry were neutralized u. die only desultory *operations die took place die der Guerrillas (composed 5 chiefly of the wrecks of the Span, armies) the greater number of which, and certainly the most active, were commanded by persons who were then, in fact, Liberales, (constitutionalists) as is now proved by the parts which the Empecinado, Mina, Porlier, El Pastor, etc, have since taken ...* The merchants of Cadiz, and other persons connected m. South America, were 10 the chief instruments in getting up the constitution ... One great object was to retain empire over their colonies ... durch das united system of legislature, introduced in the new code ... Equipirten, 1811, sogar a large armament, consisting of several regiments, from Galicia, the only province in Spain unoccupied by the French, um to combine coercion m. ihrer 15 policy ... Bei der Proclamation gut aufgenommen diese Const, in der capital, sea-ports u. great commercial towns, wo betrachtet als conducive to retaining possession of the colonies; aber in a great number der cities, in all the villages, u. universally amongst the peasantry in dem interior des country, it was received m. dissatisfaction, disgust, u., in many places, m. ab- 20 horrence. Aus Furcht daher some of the authorities, acting under the provisional gov., in March 1812, prevented the arming der peasantry v. Galicia, who had applied for arms to defend their own country. So groß ihre apprehensions. Contrerevol. addresses v. allen Seiten. "They have cut in pieces laws, sovereignty, and religion; set one against another; dried the 25 zeal of the defenders of our rights; ruined the cement of that bulwark, hitherto impregnable by the French, which was founded upon the union of our sentiments;—and they have extinguished the obligation to persevere in the contest, by abandoning the objects which the people swore to accomplish ... It (die Const.) threatens to abolish our religion: treason to 30 the King, because it deposes him, politically speaking, from his throne, and deprives him of all sovereign authority." ... For fear of the religious prejudices des people, none of the reforms intended to be introduced in the church establishments, were noticed in the const, u. der only article unter dem head "Religion", ist declaration, "that the Roman Catholic 35 Faith is the only national religion, and that the exercise of none other will ever be permitted" ... the priesthood were not so easily deceived ... And soon after die constit. was promulgated, the measures affecting the clergy were taken into consideration. 16 June, 1812, was published an act for abolishing tithes throughout the monarchy ... Pfaffen nannten dieß "a 40 sacrilegious usurpation der rights der church, u. their rights of property" ...



*those who supported die const, called liberales, die opponirten serviles.* The I  
 constit. dated March the 19<sup>th</sup>, 1812; but its actual promulgation deferred  
 until the expected successes der approaching campaign should recover  
 territories in which to proclaim it ... French army, defeated at Sala-  
 5 manca, retired from all that part of the country, siege of Cadiz raised, u.  
 the Span. gov. caused the new constitution to be proclaimed in every city,  
 town, and village, recovered from the possession of the enemy; it was  
 received m. great apparent satisfaction in Madrid, in certain great cities,  
 in all sea-ports u. commercial towns; but not so elsewhere. Evident to the  
 10 whole army, during the movement of 1812, how lukewarm the Span.  
 people had become. The Spanish regular armies were not recruited by a  
 single man in the provinces they occupied during the campaign; all  
 attempts to organize a popular force were ineffectual; a plan which had  
 been proposed, of trying to incorporate Span. recruits in the allied army,  
 15 under Brit. officers, failed; the advance of the army into the centre des  
 country, undertaken to encourage, and to produce, as it was expected,  
 supporting movements amongst the people, had no such results; and  
 after an arduous campaign, the allied army returned to Portugal, without  
 having accomplished more by the glorious victory at Salamanca, than the  
 20 temporary occupation of Madrid, and the evacuation of Andalusia ...  
 Ferdinand, released from captivity, returned to Spain ... found the clergy  
 disgusted, many of the bishops in exile, ||18| the landholders, nobles, and  
 grandees, dissatisfied. ... Er ging nach Valencia, where, certain of the  
 support of the army, he determined not to acknowledge the constit.  
 25 framed during his captivity— Das Span. people, though disliking the new  
 constit., were nearly as little inclined to see the old administration of the  
 laws re-established. Had lost all confidence in their former statesmen and  
 in many of their nobles, for having deserted and betrayed them, at the  
 beginning of the struggle. Had also become more tolerant of heresy.  
 30 Ferdinand, while refusing to acknowledge the constit. v. 1812, promised  
 to convoke a Cortes, and to propose to them the formation of a mod-  
 erate constitutional system ... did not observe his promise ... introduced  
 the old gov. with all its vices; sent into banishment many enlightened  
 statesmen; ... the state of Spain still showed popular aversion to the late  
 35 code; for some time gar keine movements of any consequence; at a later  
 period insurrections in some der great commercial towns: Porlier headed  
 one ins. at Coruna, put down, as soon as he went forth in das interior des  
 country, by the people, lost his life. In Catalonien mehr insurrections  
 nicht more successful. Opposition was soon crushed. Für 6 years die con-  
 40 stitution was in abeyance ... Considerable corps of troops assembled in u.  
 near Cadiz f. die südäm. Colonies. Insubordination in diesem corps,

benutzt by liberales, the army of the Isla declared for the constit. of 1812. Das example followed by troops elsewhere; the city of Cadiz, u. all the commercial u. sea-port towns, proclaimed adherence to the new code. In some parts it was opposed. King's adherence soon made public. Tranquillity appeared to be restored. ... Bald darauf partial insurrections 5 gegen dieß new order of things ... In proportion as the anticonstitutionalists became stronger, the Cortes increased their force; and to this effect they found it necessary to resort to a conscription. The convulsions proceeded ... a royalist army was formed ... Spain in a state of civil war ... The precedent set by the Span, army was soon followed in Portugal; it 10 spread to Naples; extended to Piedmont; and in all these countries exhibited the dangerous example of armies meddling m. measures of reform, and by force of arms, dictating laws to their country. (37-59) Immediately after the insurrection took place in Piedmont, movements were attempted in France, at Lyons and in other places, to the same end. Nor 15 were there wanting Quirogas and Riegos. Berton's conspiracy was undertaken for the purposes they had effected ... Rochelle conspirators, of whom about belonged to the 45<sup>th</sup> regiment of the line. (60) France actually received applications for support from a very numerous party der React, in Spain. (61) In Naples and Piedmont, the revolutionists adopted 20 purely the Span, constit., and the Span, mode of setting it up by military defection. (64) revolutionary Spain re-transfusing its elements of discord into France; a (hideous!) and both leaguuing their democratical factions against the monarchical system. (70) |

|2i| Revelations of Spain in 1845.  
By an Engl. Resident.

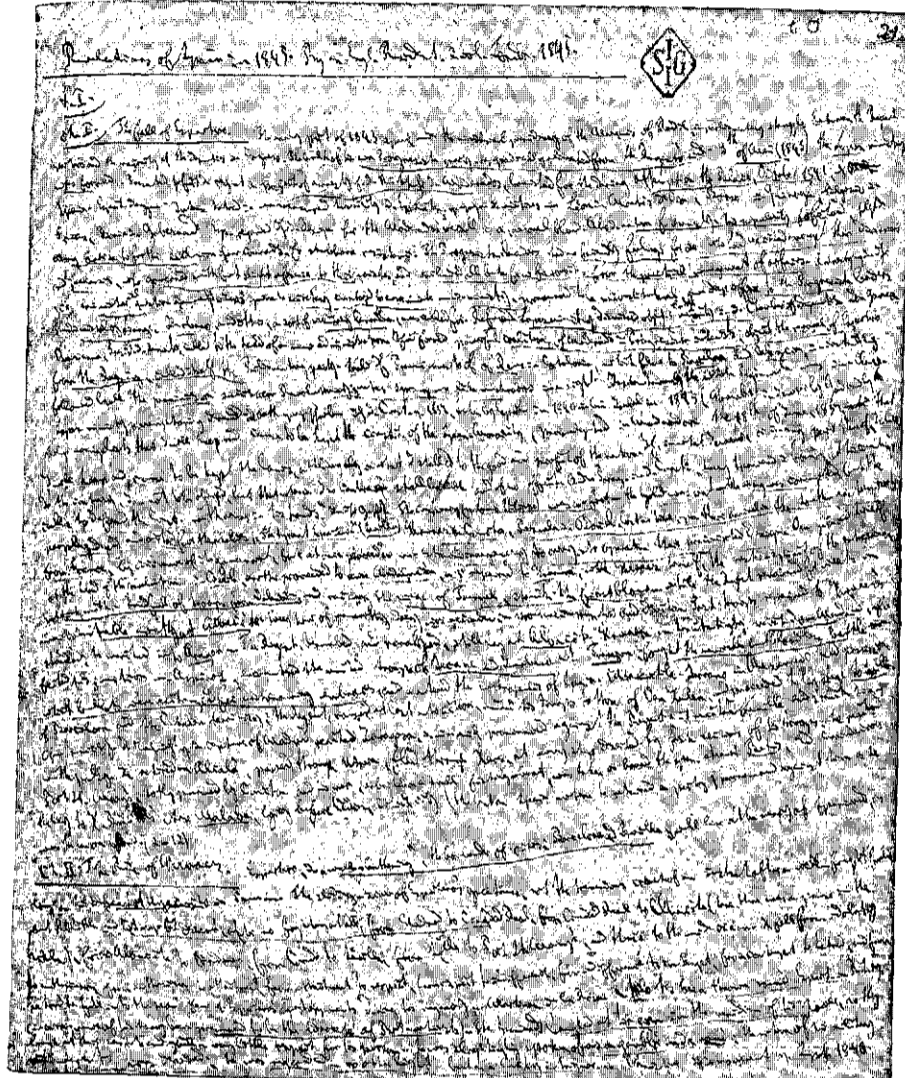
2 vol. London. 1845.

t. I.

5 Ch. I. The fall of Espartero.

The early part of 1843 spent, under the ministerial presidency of the Marquis of Rodil, in parliamentary struggles between the Regent Espartero and the majority of the Deputies in Congress. The bulk of his own *Progresista* party was gradually alienated from the Regent's side. 9<sup>o</sup> of  
10 *Mai* (1843) the Lopez ministry was formed. Presented sofort dem regent a project of amnesty f. die Rückkehr der Moderados, banished for the daring attempt on the Palace, October 1841, nach Spain. Espartero dagegen. Intense hatred u. unmeasured hostility der Exilierten, v. wegen der victims—Léon u. Montés de Oca, Borso u. Quiroga, Fulgosio u. Frias,  
15 Boria u. Gobernado. Espartero regarded daher den design for the Moderados' recall as a personal blow. Aber die nation f amnesty, his popularity forfeited, selbst die army averse to further exclusion ihrer comrades. Er stubborn resistance. The Progresista leaders had no friendly feelings for one who had excited amongst them dissensions and jealousies,  
20 who governed with but slight references to their wishes, and excluded all but a few favourites from the practical management of affairs. Amnesty wurde daher zur ministerial question gemacht. Esparteros private secretary employed to communicate m. dem ministry, pronounced to be unconstitutional, gave deep offence to the Progresista leaders. The dismissal of  
25 Linage, Zurbano, and others, a sort of military Camarilla, was called for. Refused. Lopez ministry dismissed obgleich es large majority in der Cham-

*ber of Deputies.* Don Gomez Becerra, President des Senate, called to the head of a new administration. Sofort formed powerful *coalition of Moderado u. Progresista interests, object the removal of Espartero from the Regency, called itself the Parliamentary party.* Bald darauf Pronunciamento of Reus in Catalonia, which flew to *Barcelona and Valencia,* 5 u. instantly followed by all the *provinces* in succession. *Revolutionary juntas sprung up like mushrooms* in a night. Instantaneously the whole Peninsula was in a blaze. Lopez ministry peremptorily demanded. Der oath vorgeschrieben durch die Const, v. 1837, taken by Espartero in 1840 u. by Isabel in 1843 (November): "I swear by God and by the 10 holy evangelists that I will keep and cause to be kept the constit. of the Span. Monarchy, promulgated in Madrid on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, 1837, that I will keep and cause to be kept the laws, attending only in what I shall do to the good and profit of the nation. If, in what I swear, or in any part thereof, I shall do the contrary, I am not to be obeyed, but that 15 wherein I so contravene shall be null and of no effect." Andrer Paragraph in der Const.: "Every Spaniard is bound, at his country's call, to defend the Const, with arms in his hands." In dieser Geschichte *The Conspiracy (v. Louis Philippe)* was a-foot—the gold was sent—the army was corrupted, but the people judged and acted for themselves. "The tyrant 20 Espartero." (Sevilla) Narvaez u. Concha, Pezuela u. O'Donnei, lost no time, upon their arrival in the South-eastern ports from France, by connivance of its government, but at once proceeded m. extraordinary energy to carry into operation their preconcerted design. One placed himself at the head of the revolution in Castile, another proceeded to raise Andalusia, a 25 3<sup>d</sup> repaired to Navarre, while Narvaez himself, the master-spirit of the enterprise, set out with a handful of troops from Valencia, and raising the siege of Teruel, struck the first blow ... while the Regent remained for weeks in unaccountable apathy at Albacete. Every hour of unworthy delay was recorded in pronunciamentos and desertion. Fresh troops repaired 30 to Narvaez's standard; he marched into Aragon ... the Regent, benumbed and paralysed, still lay at Albacete. Narvaez unhesitatingly marched on Madrid, effected his junction m. Aspiroz, encountered the united troops of Seoane and Zurbano at Torrejon, fought the memorable but bloodless battle in which bullets were exchanged for dishonouring embraces, and 35 entered the metropolis of Spain. Meanwhile Serrano u. Mazaredo held possession of Barcelona and the Catalan territory; the Regent, roused at last into action, united his troops to those of Van Halen, and proceeded to lay siege to Sevilla. Ohne success. Die Nachricht v. der capture of Madrid reached Zaragoza, das nun auch pronounced against the Regent; it reached Seville and struck him as with palsy. He retired on



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Alcalá, passed through Utrera, fled through Xeres, at every step deserted by fresh sections of his troops; he reached Port St. Mary's, hotly pursued by Concha and his men, embarked in a small fishing-boat, was taken on board the Span, steamer *Beis*, and carried across the bay to H. Brit. M.'s ship *Malabar*, lying before Cadiz, which city (the last in Spain where he retained a party) pronounced against him as he was taken on board. (2-12)

## Ch. II. The Rise of Narvaez.

Espartero, der "wall-battering", the bombarder of cities: Barcelona and 10 Seville; will live in the memory of Spaniards, as long as his defeat at Ayacucho in Peru. ... The sliding-scale of Espartero's greatness, not the tremendous crash of an instant after a well-fought field, but the little and bit-by-bit descent, after no fighting at all, from Madrid to Ciudad Real, from Ciudad Real to Albacete (here there was a pause in the scale), from 15 Albacete to Cordova, from Cordova to Seville, from Seville to Port St.-Mary's, and thence to the wide ocean. He fell from idolatry to enthusiasm, from enthusiasm to attachment, from attachment to respect, from respect to indifference, from indifference to contempt, from contempt to hatred, and from hatred he fell into the sea. Einer v. Espartero's Haupt- 20 opponents during his regency ... Martinez de la Rosa. A halo has been thrown round Espartero in Brit. eyes (in consequence of his having been presumed to be the advocate of Brit. interests ) ... The Spaniards laughed at him even in the meridian of his power, as they laugh at their saints and gods ... very little respect for his person ... he was slightly spoken of 25 as a gambler and a roué; the notion of his military achievements was derided; he was regarded in no other light but as a lucky intriguer ... Christina durch das movement v. Sept. 1840 ||22| gestürzt, 1) wegen des project for nominating instead of popularly electing the municipal Alcaldes, 2) a portion of tithes f. die support des clergy was re-voted by the 30 Cortes. Dieß das wichtigste, an attempt to restore the (ecclesiastical) property sold would be followed by another and a bloodier revolution ... Espartero—the question of a triple u. parliam. Regency, or one composed of parliamentary nobilities, having been decided against the wishes of a very large section der Progresistas, u. Espartero die supreme author- 35 ity—excluded all men of high parliamentary standing v. his private circle ... ferner die intrusion of his military secretary, Linage, to a degree irreconcilable m. parliam. gov. ... His favour extended to Moderados rather than to old Progresista friends, entire exclusion of a large section ...

War das victim of his own mismanagement. Maria Christina u. her partisans in Paris materially conduced to this result. Her hôtel in der Rue de Courcelles was a rival Span, court, and her agents were more accredited at the Tuileries than the ambassadors of the lawful Regent ... To win or corrupt the Span, army, Narvaez and his friends were sent by sea, and 5  
1 million of frs by land. A second million of frs, sent likewise across the Pyrenees—from France—completed his destruction. Espartero smuggled into the grand municipal banquet of London the murderer of women, Nogueras (under a false name.) The failure of the triple plot to effect a re-entry into Spain, in which Iriarte, Linage and Nogueras, ri- 10  
vailed the incapacity of their master, caused the illusions of the Brit, public to melt away in indifference, and subside in mute contempt: the atmosphere of London became too cold, and the Duke of Victoria lapsed into suburban life ...

The moment Narvaez' troops obtained possession of Madrid, military 15  
violence became predominant. The convention, signed by Aspiros, by which the rights of the national militia were to be held sacred, shamefully violated; the instant Narvaez had mastery of the city the nationals were disarmed. Senate dissolved, ebenso die provincial deputation, id. the municipality of Madrid. Gov. nominees thrust into these offices. Soldiery 20  
murrte, for the regular treasury was empty u. Christina zahlte nun nicht mehr. For demanding their *licencia absoluta*, or leave to quit the service on the faith of which they had been false to Espartero, and too true to Narvaez, this cruel and heartless adventurer had 8 of his soldiers shot. The nationals and populace were fired on when a few gathered together 25  
... Espartero's generals u. ministers narrowly escaped m. their lives. (15-23)

### Ch. III. The Provisional Government. State of Parties.

23 July (1843) installed at Madrid the provis. gov., presided over by Señor Lopez. Er wollte compromise between den Progresistas u. Mo- 30  
derados. The Progresistas established the constit. of 1837, the Moderados sternly resisted. The Progresistas secularized the relig. orders, the Moderados dagegen. The Progresistas sold the bienes nacionales, or confiscated (chiefly ecclesiastical) properties. They abolished entails, seignories, titles. Die Moderados gegen alles das wüthend. Lopez, to emerge from :  
the difficulties of the case, erklärte prematurely, gegen die Const., the Queen's majority. The Span, legislature is composed of Moderados (our Conservative), Progresistas (our Whig), u. Republicans the extreme left,

thus assimilating m. France. There is a Centre oscillating between the  
2 first named, which was led by Gonzalez Bravo, so called "Young  
Spain". When at Madrid, in 1834, was formed the first Estamento  
(the Aragonese substitute for a States general) Moderado principles in  
5 the ascendant... 1835 a revolution set on foot to overturn the Moderado  
ministry; fell, the revol. successful. In 1836 a fresh revolution, results:  
constituent Cortes u. die actual Const, of 1837; 1840 (1 Sept.) fresh  
revol. Christine expelled, Moderado dominion fell m. ihr; Espartero u. m.  
ihm die Progresistas. Moderados erkennen, die Const, v. 1837 als fait  
10 accompli, aber behaupten daß das Estatuto Real, in force bis 1836,  
all the germs of liberty in sich enthielt, friedlich zu entwickeln ...  
Martinez de la Rosa, Isturiz ... Das Estamento of 1835 war no more  
truly a constit. assembly than the existing States General of Holland, of  
Prussia, of Bavaria ... The Progresista party of Spain has the strong  
15 support of the masses, and whenever its leaders lose their hold of power,  
they are invariably the victims of their own disunion ... Whenever jeal-  
ousies and internal dissensions in the Progresista camp attain to a certain  
pitch, the Moderados dispossess them by a *coup de main* ... Die moneyed  
classes waren f. die Moderados, aber nur unter der Bedingung der  
20 const, v. 1837 ... The Carlist party in Spain ... limited to the more fac-  
tious clergy and to certain antediluvian grandees ... Nicknames: der Ad-  
herents of Espartero "Ayacuchos"; der Progresistas "Exaltados"; der  
Moderados "Devoristas", (eagerness for place and plunder) ... All the  
Ins are assailed by all the Outs ... Within 12 months, v. May 1843 -  
25 May 1844, 7 different administrations have directed the affairs of Spain.  
"Poca ganancia y menos honra por los particulares que venían de toda  
España á servir al rey." (24-37)

#### Ch. IV. Central Junta.

*If one military dictator was got rid of, it was to be succeeded by another*  
30 *more desperately reckless* ... The revolut. Juntas, by which the mov. was  
effected, lösten sich nicht auf, retained their irregular u. lawless existence,  
communicated m. dem Provis. Gov. upon a footing of equality, pretend-  
ed to advise, dictate u. almost command. When ihre suggestions nicht  
attended to, die appointments nicht made in their favour od. ihre services  
35 nicht genug rewarded, they proceeded to re-pronounce against the  
Provis. Gov. and demand a "Central Junta" to control it. Some leading  
towns effected this new mov. quietly, u. others by force of arms. Schien  
ominous dem country daß Cristina's camarilla should be virtually



reproduced at her daughter's court u. der queen-mother's especial confidant, die Marquesa de Santa Cruz, should be despatched hot-foot from Paris to preside over the palace at Madrid ... Der cry of "Central Junta" is dear to the ears of Spaniards. It was the rallying cry of the municipal and popular levies, which struggled so long for liberty in the early part of the reign of Charles V; ebenso during the Peninsular war zu Zaragossa gegen 40 assaults u. enabled Valencia to repulse Marsh. Moncey—. According to the ||23| ancient usages of the country, upon great emergencies each province names a supreme Junta, invested with full power both of internal administration and military defence. 2 members, deputed from each provine. Junta, proceed to the capital, and there sitting together constitute the Central Junta of the Kingd.... Barcelona u. Saragossa die first u. boldest to defy Narvaez u. Lopez, belagert lang, yielded nur upon honourable terms. In many other towns partial attempts at insurrection, meist unsuccessful. So in Sevilla, Granada u. Almeria severe conflicts between the citizens and military. Zu Xeres nehmen die soldiers ihre officers prisoners, joined in the citizens' cry for the Central Junta, fraternised m. den Nationals. The next day the town "dispronounced" itself at the point of the bayonet. Means had been contrived in the interim to pay up the soldiers' arrears. Die majority der Queen proclamirt at the meeting der Cortes, 15 Nov. (1843.) (37-49) (Isabella dann 13 J. alt)

#### Ch. V. The Ousting of Lopez, and the expulsion of Olózaga.

21 Nov. (1843) Lopez out, 28 Nov. (43) Olózaga out. (59)

#### Ch. VI. The Royal Conspiracy.

30 Nov. 1843 Gonzalez Bravo nominated Ministro de Estado u. premier, u. temporarily, Grand Notary of the Kingdom, for the purpose of receiving the Queen's declaration as to the occurrences between her u. Olózaga on the night but one preceding. Summonses were issued to most of the leading and influential persons of Madrid to attend at the palace early in the ensuing evening; at noon on the 1st Dec. Versammlung dieser Notabilities vor Queen Isabel in der Real Cámara, (darunter Narvaez) (Don Domingo Dulce, Gentleman with right of entry as Guard.) Sie erklärt, in der Nacht vom 28<sup>th</sup> Nov. habe Olózaga sie (durch Verschliessen der Thüre, seized her dress, obliged her to sit down, seized her hand, forced her to sign) *gezwungen* to sign the decree of dissolution of the

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Cortes. Dieses Protocol verfaßt v. Bravo (Gonzalez) Vor 24 hours diese Lüge (der Queen) enthüllt: "Scratch the Ultra Moderado, and you will find the rank old Absolutist." "*El rey no cae*", the king falls not, declares an old Spanish law. Olózaga was to be "sacked" "burked" "Bosphorised". Aber die Progresista leaders defend him, prove the falsehood of the Queen's statement. ... Die Moderados u. Progresistas coalition nur basirt auf hatred of Espartero. M. seinem fall das object ihrer union attained. Nun der Krieg zw. den 2 Partheien wieder aus. (60-9)

#### Ch. VII. The seventeen days debate in the Cortes.

10 Bei den debates über die charge against Olózaga so groß die Aufregung in Madrid, wie London crowded towards Westminster at the period of Queen Caroline's trial etc ... It was the trial of the youthful Queen's veracity against that of her Prime Minister—to the case of Olózaga against the Camarilla ... On the 3<sup>d</sup> of December, at the doors of the  
15 Cortes, a man was crushed to death ... In seiner 2<sup>l</sup> Rede sagt Olózaga: "If they come to tell us that the word of the Queen is to be believed without question, I answer 'No!' There is either a charge or there is none. If there be, that word is a testimony like any other, and to that testimony I oppose mine." 17 days lasted die discussion in den Cortes. Schließlich  
20 respectful message to the Queen, assuring her of the sympathy, distress, and loyalty of the Congress. Ulterior Proceedings against Olózaga instantly abandoned. Chambers closed. (70-80) Unterdeß war Olózaga fled from Madrid, den 19 Dec. in Portugal.

#### Ch. VIII. The Royal Charge Confuted.

25 Durch eine List entging Olózaga dem Ruin. Ein Under Secretary of State went to his house immediately after his return from the Palace, on the night of the 29<sup>th</sup>, when he was informed that he would find his dismissal at home, and made a formal demand of the decree which the Queen was alleged to have forcibly signed. Olózaga hielt das document bis dem  
30 following day, nachdem er es at least 100 deputies u. andern gezeigt, zum prove daß die signature im selben regular, unshaken, school-girl hand-writing. (82) Das decree der Camarilla forged with a blotted u. tremulous signature so f. die Katze. (83) The Queen's reputation, not Olózaga's, was damaged. (91)

### Ch. IX. The Force of Calumny.

Attempt to assassinate den Olózaga on the 12<sup>th</sup> Dec. (98) Spain and Portugal are in the precise relation towards each other of France and Belgium. (99) "Son cosas de España." (100)

### Ch. X. Queen Isabel. 5

### Ch. XI. Queen Cristina.

Wenn sie 40' aus Spanien fortmußte, bes. sehr grossen Geldsummen, carried off nearly the whole crown jewels of Spain, even to some of her royal daughter's ornaments. (113)

### Ch. XII. Narvaez. 10

daring, energetic, obstinate, and ironnerved soldier. (120) Naryaez calls himself "El Napoleon de la posición." (122) His energy is physical, not at all intellectual, and he is merely a mad soldier. (123) extreme violence of Naryaez's character. (129) "es muy brutal." (130)

### Ch. XIII. Olózaga. 15

(Don Salustiano de) "the Brougham of Spain." (132) Sonst aber dieser Vergleich nicht. "Hyperion to a satyr." (I.e.) lawyer by profession, wie Lopez. (133)

### Ch. XIV-XVII. The Camarillas of Spain.

*I. great* reigns of Camarillas at the Castilian Courts those of *Alfonso XI*, 20 and his son, *Pedro the cruel*, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Die mistress des Alfonso, Leonor de Guzman, with her favourites, hatten entire control über ihn. Nach s. Tod Opfer seiner legitimen Frau, Maria of Portugal.

*Pedro's*, the captive der *Doña Maria de Padilla*; heirathete sie heimlich; ratified öffentlich seine Ehe m. Blanche v. France. Doch beherrschte ihn 25 die Padilla. Her Camarilla one of the most powerful ever seen in Spain. All her relations raised from comparative obscurity to posts of honour and confidence. ||24| Her brothers were made Grand Masters of the

orders of St. James u. Calatrava. Queen Blanche thrown into prison, divorced, poisoned. Er dann married Doña Juana de Haro, auch bald repudiated. Die Maria Padilla involved the country into civil war. Wegen des murder der Blanche, invasion from France. In einer 2' Invasion v. 5 France, this Nero of Spain was defeated, ensnared, poniarded by his own half-brother, in revenge for the murder of his mother and brother.

*Juan II*, governed v. Don Alvaro de Luna, Grand Constable des Kingdom. Camarilla gebildet durch ihn verletzt den Adel, Rebellionen. Bei der 2' Rebellion, King v. Aragon ergreift m. Parthei gegen ihn, Juan 10 gezwungen ihn to dismiss. Dann errichtet an Arragonese Camarilla. Zweite revolution restored the old position of affairs, Luna not yet recalled; der Prince of Asturias, successor to the throne, läßt seinen favourite Don Juan Pacheco a new Camarilla bilden, fresh battles. Luna recalled, wird Grand Master of the Order of St. James. Aber die Queen a 15 rival Camarilla, of which Don Alfonso de Vivaro at the head. Luna tödtet ihn. Wird selbst geköpft.

*Henry IV*: Don *Juan de Pacheco* continued to govern both him u. the kingdom; errichtet a Camarilla as omnipotent as that of Luna had once been; receives the title of Marquis de Villena. Der king als impotent 20 divorced from Blanche, a princess of Navarra, hieß "The Impotent". Aber "Juana of Portugal" heirathet ihn notwithstanding, and she managed so well, under the protecting mantle of a Camarilla, as to give birth to a daughter 5 years after. Villena verräth his royal master an France u. macht u. executes a private treaty m. Louis XI, wonach der King of 25 Spain abandoned Catalonia, ungefähr 500 J. nachgemacht by the not less infamous Godoy. Nun Villena exilirt vom Court *formed a league of nobles* gegen den king, was joined durch den king of Navarre u. again received into Henry's favour. The remaining leaders setzen Henry ab u. proklamiren seinen Bruder, Don Alfonso, king of Castile u. Léon. Henry 30 took up arms; legt sie gleich wieder nieder auf falschen Rath des Villena. Die leaguers hatten  $\frac{1}{2}$  of his kingdom erobert; forced into the field, civil war terminated durch den Tod Alfonsos. His sister, die famous Isabelle (Ferdinand's Frau später) recognised by the King as heiress presumptive, renouncing the pretensions of Doña Juana u. her child.

35 *Ferdinand I u. Isabelle*. Auch die Camarilla gegen Columbus.

*Charles V* brachte m. sich a Flemish Camarilla; diese sold all the public offices u., in 4 months sent home to the Low Countries 1,100,000 crowns in gold. Holy League of the Cities.

*Philip II* hatte a theological Camarilla—the worst of all. Inquisitorial 40 Camarilla m. ihren 20,000 paid spies.

*Philip III:* the Duke of Lerma's was the most numerous Camarilla ever seen at Madrid. Lerma had made a marquis and a minister of his footman, Rodrigo de Calderone, der wieder hatte a Camarilla of his own.— Dann des Duke's Sohn, der Duke of Uzéda.

*Philip IV* dismissed Uzéda upon his accession, statt seiner *Duke of* 5  
*Count-Olivares*. AU the most lucrative employments accumulated in his family, while Van Tromp and his Duchmen destroyed the Span, fleet, and the forces of Philip were shamefully defeated in the Low Countries and at Turin. Revolt v. Barcelona. Von Portugal, the insolent and intolerable Camarilla of the Duchess of Mantua, Vice-Queen of Portugal, lost that 10  
country to Spain, while her infamous favourite, Vasconcellos, was torn in pieces at Lisbon as San Coloma was at Barcelona.—Philip's next Camarilla presided over by Louis Haro de Gusman ... Caused the revolt of Naples under Massaniello ...

*Carlos II.* Of an infantine character; Long minority: Regentin seine 15  
Mutter, Maria Anna, beherrscht v. dem deutschen Jesuit Everard Nilard. Emeute v. Don Juan of Austria 2<sup>te</sup>. Jesuit muß nach Rom. Maria's Camarilla still chiefly composed of churchmen. *Ferdinand de Valenzuela* ersetzt Nilard, auch as to the Nille. Er hatte married one of the Regent's bedchamber-women. Wurde made Marquis, Master of the Horse, 20  
u. Grandee of Spain. Später fortgejagt, sobald Carlos II majorenn, ebenso der Alte. Dieser wieder nachher zurück. Verschiedne Camarillas. A third Camarilla formed during this miserable reign. Carlos' 2<sup>te</sup> Queen was Maria Anna, daughter des Elector Palatine; composed a Camarilla of the Countess *de Berufs u. den Counts Oropesa u. Melgar, who imposed* 25  
*on all provisions* entering the metropolis an oppressive *octroi*, which they shared amongst themselves. *The people rose in insurrection, and marched straight to the palace.* A courtier seeking to appease them, told them that the king was taking his repose. "He has been too long asleep. It is time that he should awake and relieve his people," was the answer. Carlos 30  
appeared before them pale and trembling, and stammered forth the names of the Camarilla; the people rushed to the palaces of Counts Melgar u. Oropesa, which they plundered as completely as if they were ravaged by fire. The Counts escaped by a miracle from the popular fury, exiled. Don Carlos, the king, had meanwhile a monkish Camarilla of his 35  
own, which first frightened him by persuading him that he was possessed, and going through the ceremony of an exorcism; and next hastened his death still more by opening in his presence the coffins of his mother and his first wife, from the intercession of whose ghosts they assured him that he might obtain the postponement of his death. They likewise, being 40.  
moved by much gold, told him to submit the question of his successor

to the divine voice of his holy father the Pope—dieser entschied f. Louis XIV gegen Oesterreich. So durch die combined influence of superstition u. mortal terror, the House of Bourbon was planted on the throne of Spain. I

5 |25| *Philip V.* Austrian Camarilla at the Court of Madrid, of unexampled perfidy. Count Melgar, (admiral v. Castile) favourite v. Philip V unterhielt secret correspondence m. dem Duke de Moles, Span, ambassador at Vienna, kept the Emperor informed of the discontent der Catalans, u. urged him durch force of arms s. Rechte in Spain geltend zu machen. Ließ  
10 sich als Gesandter nach Paris v. Philip V ernennen. Having previously gained over the Court of Portugal, he proceeded to Lisbon, instead of Paris, as his sovereign supposed, m. 300 partisans u. 150 baggage-mules u. horses. In Lisbon warfer die Maske ab. Erklärt Carlos II Testament forged durch Cardinal Porto Carrero, took the oath of alliance f. den Austrian.  
15 Ebenso thaten 2 other members des Span, diplomatic corps, der Marquis de Corzana u. der Duke de Moles, ambassador at the Court of Vienna ... Die Queen (Louisa, Tochter des Duke of Savoy) hatte auch ihre Camarilla—Princess of Ursins (Frenchwoman) u. deren dear friend, Cardin. Porto Carrero.... Prime Minister, the Duke of Medina Céli, thrown into prison,  
20 wo er das folgende J. starb, condemned to death upon Camarilla evidence ... The Queen + Alberoni (an Italian priest) überredet, die Ursins solle den king persuade to marry the duke of Parma's daughter, Isabella Farneze, die "weak u. simple" sei u. die sie ganz beherrschen werde. Geschah. Die Princess of Ursins sofort v. Isabella exilirt; Alberoni ward Prime  
25 Minister. Bald gestürzt. Philip V dankt ab f. seinen Sohn.

*Louis I.* Camarilla der Queen composed of a number of demireps, whose manners were formed in the profligate court of the Regent Duke of Orleans u. *Philip V* re-ascended the throne. Sein neuer favourite a Dutchman, *Ripperda*. Dieser ruled Spain m. absolute power u. incapacity. Philip selbst gezwungen at last to order him to be arrested. Ripperda  
30 took refuge in the hotel of the Brit. Amb., from whence he was torn by the people, and immured in the tower of Segovia. Er escaped from an impending impeachment nach der coast of Africa, trat in service des Sultan v. Marocco. He left Holland a Protestant envoy, Spain a Catholic  
35 and a grandee, died in Africa a Mohammedan and a Pasha.

*Ferdinand VI.* seine Frau princess of Portugal, whose chief of Camarilla the celebrated Italian singer, Farinelli;

*Carlos III*—monkish Camarilla, trotz der extermination der Jesuits, which appears to have been almost entirely a money transaction.

40 *Carlos IV.* Godoy, the Prince of Peace. The consequence of his policy the conquest of Spain. The indignant Madrileños invested the palace of

Aranjuez, and called for the traitor Godoy ... was found concealed in a garret, the people beat him almost to death, his life was spared ... retired into France with the royal family ... Während 18 Jahre Chief der Camarilla he appropriated to his own use the domains of the Crown, the treasures of private individuals, u. alienated forever to France the islands 5 of Trinidad u. St. Domingo.

*Ferdinand VII.* known his infamous Camarilla, m. der restored Inquisition u. Calomarde's police at its bidding.

*The actual Camarilla.* Narvaez, Marquesas de St. Cruz u. de Valverde, Duke of Ossuna, Juan Donoso Cortés, and a bustling member of the 10 senate, named Calvet—all faithful adherents of Cristina ... The name Camarilla (closet, Kämmerlein, little Chambre) points indirectly to the Camarera Mayor, or principal lady of the palace. ... In Spain there are 2 governments, one ostensible and responsible, the other hidden u. irresponsible; one in front of the Parliament, the other behind the Throne; 15 one preparing laws, the other obstacles and impediments; one submitting measures, the other intriguing for its downfall—the Ministry u. die Camarilla.

### Ch. XVIII. Represent. Chambers. Party Leaders.

Constitution v. 1837; name u. institut, der Cortes abgeschafft; some 20 forms borrowed v. den U. St. of America; Chamber of Peers called "Senate" u. the Chamber of Deputies "a Congress" aus Mißverstand daß in America Congress "the union" of both, nicht either v. den Chambers ... Elective principle applied to both Chambers ... Span, constitution—mongering, in the old and new world has been a long series of "fantastic 25 tricks" ... Const, v. 12: "there is here a smell of burnt flesh" ... In acts of great importance u. solemnity both Chambers amalgamated, combining in one great representation of the national will, and deciding by a joint vote of the majority der 2 Houses ... Der Senate compounded of royal nomination u. popular election  $\frac{1}{3}$  going out by rotation, and being sub- 30 ject to re-election, at every period when the Chamber of Deputies is renewed ... impassioned, bombastic, fluent ... at periods of "pronouncement" every village arrogates to itself unlimited sovereign Power ... Pidal, violent Moderado, President in der Verhandlung des Congress m. Olózaga. Bravo Murillo zur selben Parthei. Cortina (Progresista leader) 35 ... Zahl der deputies 241, der Senators 145 ... the representatives paid... *Don Joaquín Maria Lopez;* (Hauptredner der Kammer, democratic in all his opinions, aber halbwiderwillig Hauptinstrument des Narvaez in der

prov. Reg. nach Espartero's Flucht ... chivalrous loyalty to the crown, the most eminent member of the Span. Foro, brilliant advocate. Sein Styl original. Jetzt wieder Advocat. F. Olózaga, den er zum governor der queen gegen die camarilla gemacht hatte. Hat obgleich 3 χ minister nie office f. sich gefischt od. Land etc Preferred a practising lawyer's independence.) *Don Francisco Martinez de la Rosa*: (personification der Moderado Party; literary reputation; classical tragedies. Correctness his eminent characteristic, in life, deportment, speech. Native of Granada.) *Isturiz*, next in importance as a Moderado leader, native of Cadiz. *Don Manuel Cortina*, (the parliamentary leader of the less "exalted" Progresistas, extremely steady u. consistent as a politician, native v. South.) *Don Manuel Cantero* (auch leader derselben Parthei) *Count de las Navas* (aristocratic radical) *Señor Aiguales de Izco* (leader der *Republ.* party im Congress, a large-bearded, wide-breeched man, tone of voice sepulchral, affected gravity, editor u. proprietor des journal *Guindilla*.) (178-188)

#### Ch. XIX Gonzalez Bravo and His Ministry.

Don Luis Gonzalez Bravo, a person of singular conceit and vanity; endeavours, by his rapid turns of body and remarkable gestures, to impress observers with a notion of his immense vivacity u. quickness. Native of Jaen. 3 J. vorher gab er "El Guirigay" (The Slang) heraus. Art v. Madrid Mephistopheles, wo er beitrug zur expulsion Cristinas. Von Exaltado-Progressista in 3 J. converted into a decided Moderado. Satirical talents, commandirt 50 Mann ||26| in der Kammer, die sich nennt "Joven España". Equivocal character u. statesman. Mittelmässig. Supported by the French Embassy, "boisterous", "rage for office". "He held his portfolio for the squandering of places to himself, his family, and party." "The office hunters of Madrid, epitomised in him, thank their God that they have a country to plunder, and crawl like vermin over the wasted bosom of Spain." Die defence f. seine apostasy: "No es ridiculo estar para siembre el mismo?" a tolerable spouter. Narvaez fand in ihm a pliant tool. Der Spaniard erklärt sein new Ministry enthalte "todos los incapazes", er sei the "mas picaro y pillo" u. Mayans sei Minister of dis-Grace and in-Justice, den letzten Tag (31 Dec.) 1844 Bravo, der seinen Vater wegen Malversation v. untergeordnetem Office beim Exchequer getrieben zum Understaatssekretär in demselben Department machte u. his wife's brother, a hanger-on about the Principe theatre zum post of Staate-groom to the Queen etc ... the Chamber being closed by his mandate issued his decree giving force, without alteration, to that very law



for the restrictive organization der Municipalities, and for suppressing their right of petition on political questions, which Cristina signed at Barcelona on the 14' July 1840, and which caused her to be expelled from the Span, soil, amidst the thunders of a Revolution. (190-8)

Ch. XX. Barcelona.—A Spanish Arms-Bill.—Figueras. 5

Capitulation of Barcelona (an Narvaez) signed u. ratified in November, alle edifices riddled m. cannon-ball, walls struck down by the destructive explosion of shells u. grenades, in den streets barricades were thrown up in every direction, not slight u. flimsy structures but substantial erections, constructed of solid masonry in stone and lime ... Before the final sur- 10 render, 8000 shot and shell were fired into the city (from the citadel), the 3<sup>d</sup> bombardment Barcelona's within 12 months, and in this last attack by the merciful Narvaez, it sustained 8 χ the number of projectiles die Espartero discharged in the previous December. Am 20<sup>th</sup> Nov. der Capt.-Gen. of Catalonia (Sanz) entered Barcelona at the head of his 15 troops. Dieß ein two months bombardment. Die Patulea (gamins v. Barcelona) u. Cuerpos francos leisten den Hauptwiderstand ... Das investment des Castle of Figueras by Prim, in December, marked durch die most shocking barbarities. Wuth über Ametler's holding out with such rugged determination ... *Amener is a Gitano* ... Prim a person of ridiculous 20 vanity, whose head has been turned by fortuitous success, and by being made a count and a lieutenant-general ... Ametler a perfect guerrillero, not in the least indisposed to make allies of robbers ... In January Ametler machte honourable capitulation, aber refugee nach Perpignan, accompanied by Martell, Bellera etc (an 30), escorted to the French frontier by a 25 detachment of Baron de Meer's cavalry. Die Catalaner disgusted at the re-appointment des Baron de Meer to the post of capt.-gen. They remember s. früheren tyrannies dieses noted Cristino commander. (200-212)

Ch. XXI. Aspect of Madrid. The Puerta del Sol.

Madrid has had her bosom torn by domestic strife, and been a seething 30 cauldron of political turmoil, ever since the first unsheathing of swords in the consuming War of Succession. "The Stone of the Constitution" in every town plays a conspicuous part. The stone is placed in the principal square, the name of which has in all cases been altered to that of "Plaza de la Constitución". Es stehn auf diesem "Constitutional Stone" 35

die Worte der Const, v. 1837: "Every Spaniard is bound at the call of his country to defend the throne and constitution with arms in his hands" ... (Lapida Constitucional) ... Sort of Legislature that humble assembly which meets at the *Puerta del Sol*; the laziest loungers in Europe, but  
5 perhaps the most active debaters, the most swayed by prejudice and impelled by rumours, but yet correct in the main as to their estimates of character, and the conclusions to be derived from passing events. Hier no palatial *convenances*, nor social conventionalism, nor parliamentary forms of phraseology. With every Cigarillo a character is puffed away,  
10 and with each fresh demand for *fuego* new light is thrown upon the world of politics. Here is a fellow in rags who wears his tattered cloak with the dignity of a Grandee, for every Castilian deems himself noble; there is a more youthful picaro—a Massaniello ... and around and in the midst of every circle is the due proportion of Madrid Manolas, the viragos of  
15 metropolitan low life, discussing more eagerly and far more fluently than the rest with flashing eyes and dilated nostrils, and each with a formidable knife struck between her right leg and stocking, beneath the garter; some, too, smoking their paper cigars with as much nonchalance as the men. In *this centre of intelligence and focus of popular disturbance*, you  
20 will hear more in one hour of the scandalous secrets of Madrid, and learn more of its patriotic or treasonable designs, than in the choicest *reunions* of its most exalted diplomacy. (214-22)

#### Ch. XXII. The Swing of Despotism.—National Apathy.

Gegen das régime v. Bravo u. Narvaez Alicante u. Cartagena arose,  
25 but finally reduced to submission. Arrest without warrant, shooting without trial, their ordinary means of gov. Gen. *Roncali* shot 31 prisoners in the back at Alicante, upon the mere recognition of their identity, the sign-manual of the virgin Queen of Spain was put to a nefarious document which thanked him for his butcheries. In den other provinces so wo isolated u. insignificant insurrection demonstrated the national feeling aber fell powerless through want of co-operation, obsequious capt-general pursued the same murderous policy. In Galicia gleichzeitig gemordet.

35 "Non por su culpa caja Riego:  
Traición  
D'un vil Borbon!"

Cortina, Cantero, Madoz thrown into dungeons. Lopez must hide himself, journals suppressed.

4 months' saturnalia of despotism. Dann Constit. *nominally* restored, the rights of the people were curiously violated in every minute particular, in taxation, in the municipal franchise, in the return of the provincial deputations, in the composition of the national militia, in the conditions | [27] of military enlistment—depths of infamy. Narvaez jagte dann auch 5 "El Guirigay" (Bravo) weg, hielt v. dem bulk of his colleagues nur Don Louis Mayans, (a mere dragoon.) Never, perhaps, in the history of Peninsular gov. were a set of more indecent and scandalous traffickers than Gonzalez Bravo and his colleagues dismissed from office. U. a. sein Finanzminister, Carrasco, u. sein Minister of Marine, Portillo, scan- 10 dalous stockjobbers From Bravo to his successor, Narvaez, das Volk: "tan buenos uno como otro, y picaronazos todos." the substantial and moneyed classes of Spain u. Portugal... attached in politics to Moderado opinions ... disgust engendered by frequency of revolutions, palpable disappointment arising from successive popular movements ... the posi- 15 tion seems to be generally taken now, that the institutions of the country are not worth fighting for ... the Wealth is Moderado, the Numbers are decidedly progresista. (223-32)

### Ch. XXIII. the Catalan and Valencian Guerrillas.

Alter Viriatus was little more than a guerrillero; ebenso Pelayo u. 20 Ramiro, der v. den Asturian hills went forth to fight against the Moors; the almugavars, die predecessors in den middle ages der modern Spanish infantry ebenso. *Mina* personification of the noblest features of guerrilla warfare. Im Bürgerkrieg: A flag is hoisted, aber pretence, the real pursuit is plunder. Of late years common saying in Catalonien, Valencia u. parts 25 of Aragon: "la guerrilla es el estado normal." The *Catalan u. Valencian guerrillero is a politician, but a sham one.* Ist je nach Bedürfnis Carlist, Centralista, (f. Central Junta), Progresista etc. Der district of *Maztrazgo* (the northern limb of Valencia, extending between Catalonia u. Aragon) is the political pulse of Spain—a refuge for *all* the outlaws of Spain, and 30 for years infested by 3 terrible *faccioso* leaders, Groc, Lacova u. Marsal. (233-6) half bandit, half military partisan. (l. c.) The provinces of Spain are still extremely sensitive and tenacious about their local rights, real or assumed; ..*fueros* in the Vascongadas and Navarre ... The wild and rude Galicians of the same character: when a few years since Señor Mendi- 35 zabal threatened to remove the capital of that province from Coruna to Vigo, there were 20 guerrilleros within a week, for one that there had been previously, throughout its mountain districts. In 1821 the an-

nouncement of a similar measure caused the formation of *facciones*, or lawless and predatory bands, in Cotobad, Caldebergan, Montes, Codeseda, and Tabricos; and the remains of those guerrilleros infest the province to this hour. During the War of Independence the guerrilla levies 5 for the most part patriots, plunder not their object. Under the rule of Narvaez ... acts of robbery u. violence normal condition through all the old boundaries of the kingdom of Aragon ... Lacova u. Marsal entered the town of Cherta at mid-day, seized the municipal authorities, and did not release them without ransom ... die riotous portion of the population 10 in the small Catalan towns u. villages too often acts in concert with the guerrillas on the neighbouring sierras. When the *rotos*, or ragamuffins, endlich fatigue the quiet citizens ... cabezas de familia present themselves of their own accord in hundreds before the Alcaldes, armed with guns or bayonets, or bludgeons, ready at all risks to clear the town, and earnestly 15 soliciting to be led on, in the absence of regular troops, for that purpose. Die "rotos" verschwinden dann ... rifling of "diligencias" in these lawless districts, oft escorted m. detachments of cavalry die mails between Madrid u. Bayonne ... Lieblingswaffe dieser mountain robbers der short *trabuco*, or blunderbuss ... alcaldes, innkeepers, drivers, postilions, 20 National Guards, in fact, the entire official population, frequently in league m. den Robbers ... (237-43)

#### Ch. XXIV. The Human Hunt. Lacova's Facciosos.

Guerrilla fighting—the pastime of the Catalan and Valencian population ... Im Winter 1844 die guerrillas of Lacova u. Groc (in Catalonien) came 25 forth in their old guise of Carlists, verbunden m. den "stragglers" of Marsal, who had likewise been a leader of Carlist irregulars, ravaged the whole coast v. Peniscola to Castellan de la Plana, u. das Country inwardly as far as Caliz ... robbed in the name of "Carlos V" and "Religion". Nun less als 200 men, well armed m. Engl, muskets, schlagen sich 30 m. den regular troops etc ... "*latro-facciosos*", indicating die combination V dieser "characters" of actual brigandage and nominal adhesion to the A standard of some political party, usually Carlist... besonders diese worst species of guerrillero tiefer rooted in Valencia, besonders in dem wild Mastrazgo, than in any other part der Peninsula ... Nach Groc der great- 35 est latro-factious leader of late years in the district: *Lacova*. Sein mastery in Valencia u. Catalonia zulezt so outrageous u. ungestraft, that the Carlist *facciosos* of the Pyrenees, inspired m. fresh confidence, came flocking to his lawless standard. Narvaez wüthend. Rüffelt den General Villa-

longa u. befiehlt ihm on pain of recall to pacify Valencia, sendet ihm additional troops. Villalonga versammelt his army at Uldecona. Von da issued er summons to the inhabitation of all the country round, for a distance of several leagues. 40 different pueblos darauf arose u. armed themselves *en masse*. Villalonga schickt ihnen Stabsofficiere als commanders. Diese volunteer levies der entire male population v. 16 to 50 J. Breitet dieses dann aus. Bildet förmlich grossen Kreis, wie beim Treibjagen. Rallying cry des people. "Mueran los lobos facciosos." When the circle was closed, an alarm was rung from the bells of every church of the district. Dann der circle made closer u. closer, u. den 2' Tag they came on the immediate track der facciosos. Die banditti had fixed themselves in der castellated stronghold of Morella, wo Cabrera sich so lange gehalten, gegen Espartero. Lacova fortified his position artfully, aber Uebermacht u. Hunger—their stronghold carried at last by assault, indiscriminate slaughter. Lacova, El Serrador, u. 17 andre sofort shot. Die andren den next day. 136 fusilados. Ebenso die smaller guerrilla of Marsal seized in a different direction. So Mastrazgo purified by this Warsaw-like measure; its roads nun sicher. Aber sobald wieder civil war diese wild sierras wieder in dem lawless state. (244-50)

#### Ch. XXV. The Pronunciamento, the Asonado, the Alboroto—freemasonry—republicans etc. 20

*Recipe des Spanish Pronunciamento:* Buy over 3 or 4 officers u. a 12 sergeants of a regiment. 20 dollars to each officer, a 4 dollar piece to each of the sergeants, a *peseta* to a blind news-hawker, and a well-invented tale of political rascality of any kind; distribute a score of rusty guns u. pistols among as many mauvais sujets; appoint a particular hour for an explosion ... dispose die mauvais sujets by twos u. threes in den public places or squares; ||28| diese bilden nuclei of groups; let your blackguards and ringleaders fire some blank cartridge in the air, throw in the ringing of a church-bell or 2 u. das breaking of a few obnoxious windows. Das unwonted noise arouses the soldiers in their barracks, die sergeants speedily "insurrectionize" their battalions, die pre-paid officers are on the spot to sanction ... vivas uttered, the streets are paraded, the new system is enthroned u. das Pronunciamento a fait accompli ... The *Asonada*, or tumultuous assemblage des people, chiefly to be dreaded by the authorities as the preliminary to an *émeute*, or overt acts of violence, known as the *Alboroto*. In no parts, even of the South of Europe, are wilder gesticulations, more rapid movements, or a greater vivacity of speech and

glances, met with than in Spain. *All* the Moorish blood that circles in their veins—and the *southern* Spaniards are all still half Moors—then in rapid motion ... the wild "*Algazara*", or uproar of human voices, which rose from their ancestors in war, is witnessed in perfection. ...

5 There is a standing law at Sevilla, requiring all proprietors of cafés u. drinking-houses to shut their doors u. expel all their inmates when an *Asconada* occurs in the streets, to prevent the formation of a *point d'appui* ... the peninsular alborotador or agitator no despicable coward who mouths his big defiance and shrinks from the actual contest, or sets

10 on a crowd of dupes to desert them in need. Er takes the field instantly, in arms at the first scent of an imaginary Grievance. Der alborotador, when caught, sofort shot; and if there be fame in being a leader here, there is likewise danger ... Owing to the imperfect and perilous inland communications, beständiger exchange between the different towns u.

15 cities as between the various European capitals u. premium allowed upon payments in der ordinary silver currency. Zwischen Sevilla u. Madrid at short dates upon silver payments das premium 1%, upon gold viel höher. The further you have to go by land the higher becomes the premium, by *Wasser*, weil sicher, round Spain, to Barcelona, nothing (par.) ... In all

20 the cities of Spain, u. in Madrid to a remarkable extent, a leading occupation der blind is to hawk about newspapers, and still cheaper sheets announcing the latest intelligence—hojas volantes ... Of the 20 or 30 slight émeutes u. unsuccessful pronunciamientos, which intervened at Seville between the siege u. dem meeting der Cortes, at least half were got

25 up by concert m. diesen blind hawkers ... *Freemasonry* flourishes extensively in the Peninsula; bes. bewegt zu secret political machinations, (überhaupt viele secret societies, da nicht public meetings, auch irreconcilable m. dem hot southern temperament). Church against it ... A singular peculiarity of high political circles here, is, that confidence is

30 wholly impossible. Die most recondite secrets of state remorselessly divulged, da die necessity der hour override the most cogent dictates of propriety ... "Trust not, for you will be betrayed" ... The Spaniards are very capital fellows to counteract each other, and this is a pursuit in which they take the greatest delight. If he act, they counteract; if he

35 intrigue, they cross-intrigue ... Every man here minds other people's business, and neglects his own, does nothing himself and will let others succeed in nothing ...

*Republican party* gewachsen durch die scandals of infantine royalty ... intensity of political feeling, and great length of beard ... Der South of

40 Spain has been a considerable focus of Republicanism ever since the Constituent Cortes sat at Cadiz in 1812 ... Sorgt f. Federative Republic

(Portugal eingeschlossen) ... Die pure Republicans form an inconsiderable minority. ... 2 orders of Span. Republicans—the probationary, u. der Republican *firmado*. The former novices, the latter have solemnly signed their detestation of royalty, and all its accessories. Freemasonry mixed up with all these secret societies ...Of all the malcontents u. agitators in Spain der most active u. formidable der *Cesante* or *Jubilado*, an employé out of place. Many 100" of these arrayed against each new ministry. (251-61) 5

Ch. XXVI. Café Life of Spain. Zaragoza. 10  
Sevilla, Cadiz.

Der Spaniard wenig domestic life, so er does all but pass the night in the Café; das café is, in fact, a club, aber open to all the world. The café life of Spain causes an entire admixture of military and civilians in these establishments. Hence, in excited times, political disputes are incessant, and personal quarrels of almost daily occurrence. Private fortunes are 15 exceedingly rare in the Span, army, and the pay is barely equal to sustaining the appearance of a gentleman. The military officer therefore on a level m. den middle classes, and mixes much with them ... *Nevería* (ice-house), the most fashionable description of Café in Southern Spain ... Common saying: "Mientes mas que la Gaceta" ... the sounder portion of 20 the heart of the community is worm-eaten by popular sarcasm. The leaven of intrigue infects the mass.

"Con arte y con engaño  
Se vive el medio año;  
Con engaño y con arte 25  
Se viva la otra parte." (262-275)

Ch. XXVII. The Contrabandists. Ebenso Ch. XXVIII.

Spain is, of all European countries, the most helplessly exposed to contrabandist operations. With an ill-paid and, sometimes, ragged army, and with revenue officers directly exposed to temptation by inadequate sala- 30 ries, she has 500 miles of Portuguese frontier and near 300 of Pyrenean; and with a fleet crumbled into ruins, and no longer of the slightest efficiency, she has 400 miles of Cantabrian and 700 of Mediterranean coast. 400,000 smugglers are constantly engaged in demolishing her absurd fiscal laws, and some 1,600,000 pound weight of cotton goods alone are 35

every year illicitly imported, the tariff of custom-house corruption arranged m. mehr uniform regularity u. far more perfectly understood, than the tariff of customs' duties—the customs' revenues may not be paid, but the customs' officers must. Beständiges smuggling v. Gibraltar  
5 to the neighbouring shores of Andalucía, the contrabandist often becomes a political character. Small Portuguese vessels from the ports of Tavira, Villanova de Portimao, and Lagos, on the neighbouring coast of Algarve, contrive to secure to themselves a good share of the smuggling ... Die ventures dieser small ships meist tobacco ... The Carabinerocorps  
10 are officered from the army, yet they are not the less open to corruption. (276-286) Smuggling in *Andalucía* seems to have attained systematic perfection. It embraces all society. The anti-tariff interest is here omnipotent. Die first constitutional officers der most municipalities leagued m. dem system. Smugglers constitute a standing army and often muster  
15 500 strong. Grausamkeit in ihren encounters m. den carabineers, ebenso in the Catalan u. Basque districts. In *Andalucía*: When business is dull a pronunciamiento of some kind is pretty sure to be got up, and in the consequent series of disturbances an enormous quantity of goods is got in ... There is ||29| no doubt whatever, that the movement against Espar-  
20 tero was greatly accelerated by the fact of his having established some sort of administration in the country, and checked rather more than his predecessors the lawless proceedings of the contrabandists ... Around the whole coast of Spain, it is the contrabandist alone who keeps up the idea of a trade. (287-299)

25 Ch. XXIX. The Spanish Army.  
Ch. XXX. id. Ch. XXXI. Military Life.  
Conscription.

The army of Spain, at the close of 1843, about 50,000 men of all arms, one half of whom was concentrated at Madrid. So limited a force, com-  
30 pared m. dem vast extent of Spain, clearly unable to compete with a well combined system of simultaneous insurrectionary movements, arranged throughout the various provinces ... The National Militia was disarmed by Narvaez in every important town, aber doch noch gefährlich. Narvaez beschließt daher die Armée um 50,000 men zu vermehren. Jetzt (1844) die  
35 Spanish army über 100,000 men. Ferner sucht er das Leben der soldiers comfortable zu machen. To the paramount object of securing the allegiance der army, all other considerations are sacrificed ... money must be



found to clothe and feed the army. For this has Señor Mon broken faith with every contract. 13 July, 1819, the first grand exhibition of the soldier in the unworthy character of a political partisan; when 20,000 soldiers, destined to execute in South America the orders of their sovereign, mutinied and deserted in a fatal hour. The system of perpetual tampering with the army has rendered it necessary for successive governments in Spain, to pet and coax it as if it were composed of women and children. Cigars were their first requisition, granted; extra rations of wine upon holidays the next concession to Cerberus. When a regiment was divided u. hesitating during the progress of the movement against Espartero, the provincial juntas proposed a "gratification" to be conceded to the officers u. troops in the event of their pronouncing; and whenever this was not effectual, their design was accomplished by the guarantee of a permanent accession to pay. Brennus threw his sword into the scale to win the money-bags, and they threw the moneybags into the scale to win the sword. The secret distribution of 5 francs pieces u. napoleons, made good by Narvaez, in the midst of his general faithlessness. The offer of the bribe (temporary gratification) u. permanent extra-pay, made good by Narvaez, in the midst of his general faithlessness. The military intendant-general was directed to communicate to the chief of the army and capt.-gen. of districts, that for gratification and *plus* conjointly the officers were to receive 200 reals per month, and the soldiers two halfreals a day. These payments were made good, but created an appetite for more. The very military authorities themselves do their utmost to corrupt the soldier, and make him a political partisan. Z. B. bei der *Opening der Cortes* October 1843, issued der Commandant v. Cadiz order of the day, worin er dieß der Garnison anzeigt ... the political soldier a modern creation ... Wenn Reaction beim Span, soldier gegen die epauletted leaders, die sie betrayed: "Mueran los traidores que nos venden" ... The limited and too often suppositious pay of the Span, soldier makes him always keen for plunder, and renders even decent discipline impossible ... Too often, lying before a besieged city, the general keeps his force together by holding forth the distant prospect of pillaging the town ... One of the most pernicious instruments in keeping up the demoralisation der Spanish Army is the evil of secret societies, in which political combinations, events and probabilities, are discussed as at meeting of Deputies ... Dieses making a politician of a soldier, crime of Espartero (Sept. 1840) u. noch mehr dann v. Narvaez. Outrages of military bullies, wearing epaulettes, in Dec. last (44) at Madrid, upon the establishments of the *Eco* and *Tarantula* newspapers. ... Ebenso der *Defensor del Pueblo* in Cadiz v. den Officieren verfolgt... unbridled mili-

tary despotism, of which Spain is now the victim ... The sum allotted for the maintenance of the army of Spain, in the estimates f. 1844, is 380,901,050 reals, or near 4 millions *l. st.*... Seit der foundation der Spanish monarchy, the singular peculiarity has been retained of a separate  
5 army for each of the leading provinces; and we hear to this day of the armies as well as the kingdoms of Castile u. Aragon, of Catalonia u. Estremadura, of Léon, Navarre u. Granada ... the various regiments of Spain displayed till yesterday their separate banners, retained from the early history der provinces whose names they bear, and from whence  
10 they were originally draughted, and but few of the soldiers of Spain fought beneath her regal standard: (The national standard of Spain since the junction of the crowns of Castile u. Léon opposite compartments of a pair of lions u. a pair of castles) An interesting relic of chivalrous u. feudal ages, yet undeniably an impolitic system. Formed under the influ-  
15 enee, and retaining the denomination, of the various kingdoms, provinces, or *pueblos*, into which Spain was anciently divided, each corps adopted the colours and emblazonment of the locality from whence it derived its name. *Narvaez accordingly* introduced a change, by which all the banners der various branches der army, navy, national militia have been  
20 reduced to a strict conformity m. dem national banner—the war standard of Spain—the lions u. castles being collocated in the same precise order. Banners in Span, service invariably blessed by a bishop u. their loyal custody in every hazard sworn by the Porta-estandartes. *Narvaez, f. die neuen Fahnen, ließ das ceremonial simultaneously throughout Spain*  
25 *vornehmen, the old banners were deposited in the Museum of Artillery ... The negligence displayed by many Span, officers in their attire, and their frequent departure in detail from the regulation uniform, wirken schädlich upon the men by encouraging their excessive slovenliness, u. have repeatedly been the subject of ineffective royal orders ... Some*  
30 *appear on parades without a sword at all, others on guard m. any thing but the regulation sword, der infantry officer m. a cavalry sabre u. vice versa. Barrack u. foraging caps commonly worn by them, when in garrison service ... Even when they are full dressed, the order of October 1844 charges them with "deviating grossly from the regulation, and*  
35 *permitting themselves to indulge in arbitrary u. ridiculous modifications of the regimental uniform, with a great breach of propriety."* Whole garrisons could not be contemporaneously punished en masse, the nuisance remains unabated. Manchmal [see] an officer of higher rank go about the streets m. a makintosh or paleto of thin white cloth thrown  
40 over his epauletted coat. Upon the sleeves of this upper garment frequently some arabesque embroidery or more commonly a representation

der arms der province to which his regiment belongs ... In der Olózaga affair "Circulars were forwarded from the War Office to all the provincial u. garrison commanders, inclosing the Queen's declaration, and an expression of their opinion was almost invited." Die responses were almost uniformly conceived in the most extravagant terms, Olózaga denounced als traitor, villain etc ... The accomplishment of oratory is as much required by the military ||30| officers v. higher order als by any class in Spain. Upon every emergency, it is a matter of course that the colonels or generals should harangue their men, whose loyalty, for the most part, needs this stimulant. The commanding officer u. die captains of companies must be prepared to address their men when they want them to do anything particular; upon the force or feebleness der harangue it frequently depends whether the seduction of Serjeants u. die corruption of secret emissaries will prove triumphant. In Spain alone in Europe decoration for military service *ofright* obtainable, after wearing uniform for a certain length of time. Lopez u. Narvaez führten ein daß every miliciano nacional who has completed 10 years of good service in the ranks, has the right to receive the *condecoración* of a cross. Dieß with a view to propitiate the ticklish nacionales; and with this special addition, that those who had voluntarily "pronounced" against Espartero were to be entitled to wear a *plaque* or star, in addition to the cross, after completing 12 years of service—the object of this "artful dodge" being to keep them faithful in the meantime to the Provis. Gov. ... The epaulettes of the officers generally in the Span, army are entirely of silver ... In 1840 an ambiguous order was published for the regulation of military uniforms, of which ambiguity the brigadiers availed themselves to make the knobs in question alternately of gold and silver (nämlich den knob at the end of each twist in their epaulettes) The other officers annoyed at the distinction, complaints etc ... Espartero, since his elevation to the Regency, has been frequently known to spend whole days at cards, to the serious neglect of public affairs and of the inveterate intrigues of his opponents; sitting up in bed, when indisposed, with 2 or 3 cushions behind his back, and playing unintermittently at *écarté* with a limited number of friends seated by the side of his bed. Even while he lingered so fatally at Albacete, in the midst of growing treasons u. fresh pronunciamientos, he indulged this dangerous passion to the absorption of his inadequate energies; and, perhaps, were he not a card-player, Espartero might still be regent of Spain. Wenn v. Peru zurückkommend, Espartero u. his military companions "Los Ayacuchos" vowed sich wechselseitig assistance. Dieß nichts politisches. It was simply a convention f. mutual aid through life. In pursuance of the above compact, the Ayacuchos were justly charge-

able with making the army too frequently a tool for their own political advancement. Aber if the Ayacuchos tampered, it was with Span, feelings alone, and for Span, purposes. Dagegen Narvaez etc Co introduced the wholesale corruption by French gold, the infamy of foreign bribes, and  
5 they destroy the discipline. ... "Espartero" signifies a maker of mats or baskets. ... The Span, soldier has long been hovering on the confines of brigandage; and in the Peninsula, campaigning u. highway robbery differ little but in name. Hence the readiness u. ardour womit the guerrilla life so often embraced, when regiments are disbanded. The vice is an old one  
10 here. During the minority of Carlos II, his minister, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Don Juan of Austria, had a memorial addressed to him by the Corregidor of Madrid, entreating him to remove from the metropolis the regiment of Aytona, which assisted the banditi every night in plundering the inhabitants ... state of indiscipline prevails in the Spanish army ... the appearance of the  
15 Span, troops is to the last degree unsoldierly. The sentry strolls to and fro like a corkscrew on his beat; his shako almost falling off the back of his head, his gun slouched on his shoulder, singing outright a lively seguidilla with the most sans-*façon* air in the world ... the soldier not unfrequently destitute of the portions of his uniform, or his regimental coat and con-  
20 tinuations in such hopeless rags, that even in the sultry summer the slate-coloured great-coat is worn as a hide-all and slut-cover ... shoes in 1 case out of 3 are broken in pieces, disclosing to view the naked toes of the men—such in Spain are the glories of the *vida militar*. The rations consist almost entirely of beans, lard-sprinkled, and boiled in a huge  
25 puchero, with bread of the coarsest description ... Narvaez left his soldiers in this miserable condition ... however, indeß, dishonestly the means have been acquired, the Span, soldier is now beginning to be better clothed u. fed ... a tailorless regiment at Mataró, the other day, availed itself of the disbandment of a refractory battalion of national  
30 militia, and jumped into their coats and breeches. ... Heroes, like gift-horses, amidst such scenes, should not be looked too closely in the mouth ... It is probably without parallel in the history of the world, that in the month of October (44) a subscription was set on foot at Cadiz for defraying the expenses of supplying new uniform to the Royal infantry  
35 regiment of Asturias, then doing duty in garrison. ... It is very ludicrous to expect the refinement of chivalrous loyalty u. devotion from men like these—half-starved in disreputable rags. ... Der reward of the loyal soldiers, who at Algeziras u. Tarifa resisted the subtle demoralisation of Noguerras consisted in folgendem: "El brigadier Córdoba ha abierto una  
40 suscripcion, poniéndose á la cabeza de ella, para regalar un par de pantalones de paño á los valientes soldados de Asturias" ... The *Quinta*, or

lottery conscription for the army, is managed by the municipalities under the general superintendence of the provincial deputations. The Cortes having voted the number of troops which constitute the annual levy, the war-office at Madrid apportions the entire through the different cities u. pueblos of Spain. A day is fixed, notice extensively given, u. die authorities jeden districts invariably summon 4 times the number of whom the return is to be composed. By experience it is found that the disqualifications, exemptions u. outlawries through non-attendance, amount to about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the entire. While the general system of enlistment is by lot for all the young men capable of bearing arms, there is likewise a provision for enrolling with the rest all youthful vagrants without physical defects or infirmities ... serve half-starved for 6 years ... large sums are paid by those who can afford it, when the conscription falls upon them, to provide a substitute, and there are even insurance companies formed to avert this evil from the heads of their subscribers ... Every male who has completed his 20<sup>th</sup> year may be called on to serve ... In its original form every 5<sup>th</sup> man was made to serve, whence the name, Quinta ... Viele Spaniards, nicht to serve in an army so miserably paid u. provided as theirs, werden voluntary outlaws u. take the road as bandits, or join troops of guérilleros ... Narvaez attempted to prevent the finding of substitutes u. make every man serve upon whom the lot fell. Konnte dieß nicht durchsetzen, the mandate was generally defied. (299-337)

Ch. XXXII The Church. The Exclaustrados.

Ch. XXXIII. The Secular Clergy.

Ecclesiastical Seminaries.

25

Ch. XXIV. Religious processions etc.

Die ancient u. enormous ecclesiastical revenues of Spain have shrunk down to the dimensions of one single tax irregularly paid, the "*Contribución de Culto y Clero*", leviable at the end of each year, but is for the most part more than a year in arrear. There is, strictly speaking, no levy. Notice is given that the rate-payers must present themselves, within 15 days, in the *Oficina de Contribuciones*, or tax-office der municipality, and deposit the amounts opposite their names respectively. If they won't pay, the alcaldes decline to have recourse to execution u. distraint... the pious zeal of religious women does more for the service of the church than legal taxes ... The *exclaustrados*, or quondam monks and friars, considerably less than half-paid by the state, u. many on the verge of

starvation ... the members of the regular religious orders were uncloustered in 1835 by a Moderado Government, under the sway of Queen Cristine, and the rule of the Estatuto Real. Imperious necessity, and the enormous expenses of the civil war, forced this measure. Damals more  
5 than half the property in the country was conventual or ecclesiastical. Nicht od. schlecht bezahlt, the exclaustrado member of one of the closed religious houses, is the most melancholy character in modern Spain, then pension allotted by gov. inadequately small u. paid m. an irregularity which reduces it to the level of casual alms, the convents of nuns  
10 have, in many instances, been left standing, but their inmates reduced, for the most part, to compulsory poverty. A multitude of small proprietors have been created, as in France, by the confiscation and sale of the lands of the Church, and the extinction of entails and seignories: all since 1837. Numberless comfortable, though limited farmers may be seen in  
15 every part of Spain, upon soils which, 6 years ago, were lying waste ... a large party in Spain, indeed der bulk der Moderado party, well-disposed towards a restitution to the clergy of their confiscated property. Dieß aber impossible ohne a bloody civil war, where the property has already been sold: It is not many years since there was a well-known class in  
20 Spain, called "monjaticos", or men in love with nuns,—tempters of these poor voluntary outcasts ... In Cadiz u. Seville die secularisirten religious houses beliefen sich zu vielen 100 ... 1834 confiscirte Portugal die enormous possession der religious orders f. den state ... Rom erklärte Portugal u. Spain f. "schismatical" ... Pope u. College of Cardinals would ac-  
25 knowledge no lawful sovereigns but Miguel u. Carlos u. refused confirmation to the bishops lawfully nominated by the actual rulers. 9 Jahre have sufficed to prove the inflexibility of Peninsular governments; the Pope has at last perforce acknowledged the popular sovereigns, the schism has ended ... Aber unter Narvaez "prohibition of the sales of that  
30 portion of the ecclesiastical property which remained undisposed of" ... the part remaining unsold is that which belonged to the cathedrals and secular clergy, the convent property having long since been submitted to the pitiless process of *subhasta* ... the intention then is to restore the invested cathedral u. parochial property to the present incumbents in lieu  
35 of the Culto u. Clero tax, die nie ordentlich gezahlt ... the *tribunal of the Rota*, abolished under Espartero, lately re-established at Madrid, (a pontifical court, presided over by papal delegates, which takes cognizance of all cases of marriage dispensations where there is an affinity between the parties, permitted dispensations from vows, canonicial impediments,  
40 irregularities u. cases specially reserved to the papal jurisdiction) ... the Constitutional clergy are meist mere politicians u. place-hunters. ...

Aber v. der alten echten Schule, usually tinged with Carlist views, to be found in all the country pueblos ... Spaniards mock and scoff at everything. It is difficult to know when they are sincere. Most sarcastic of peoples ... the splendid celebration of divine worship in Spain has always been, in a great measure, in the hands of the Hermandads or Religious Brotherhood ... processiones, funciones, pilgrimages, u. rosarios, still witnessed every week throughout Spain ... not  $\frac{1}{10}$  part of the male population, excepting the old men, care seriously for religious matters, aber 1 full  $\frac{1}{3}$  der female population is sincerely devout in its churchgoing u. other religious observances ... the annual subscription paid by each member of the ordinary class of religious confraternities is about 4 or 5 *l. st.*, a large sum for Spain ... (338-377)

#### Ch. XXXV. The Bandits of Andalucía.

Die der Mancha die most cruel u. savage, die v. Andalucía die most cavalier-like. Im Ganzen, these worthies of Spain in allen Theilen gleich cruel, stupid, coarse u. cowardly ... Incorporated robbers are called guerrilleros, when a considerable number of them are military deserters, or have formerly served in the army. (379-388).

#### Ch. XXXVI. The Spanish Abdel Kader.

(Navarro, Andalucían). (his mask is so long worn, that I doubt not it has accidentally grown to his face.) (In Andalucía great numbers of the agricultural labourers are ready to do a bit of "highway business" to make good the deficiency of wages, and the musket often reposes in the fields by the side of the hoe and sickle. Recruits may thus be readily had at the back of every hedge.) [389-393]

#### Ch. XXXVII. The women of Spain.

"Missis" The Spaniards use the word miz! miz! to call a cat. (410)

Aus Terence McMahon Hughes: Revelations of Spain in 1845

Ch. XXXVIII. Native Dances. The Fan.  
Ch. XXXIX. The battle of the Petticoats. I

|32| *t. II.*

### Ch. I. National Manners

5 posada (EBhaus) u. venta (Weinhaus) getrennt meist... Except the representative Chambers and Municipalities, and the Junta of Revolut. times, there are none but secret political bodies in Spain. Intrigues u. plots congenial to the Span, nature. Masonic lodges u. political clubs ... [1-8]

io Ch. II. El Titiritero. Universality of Smoking,  
Mode of Living. The Applier of Leeches.

The Ayuntamientos all smoke while they are met in their corporate capacity; and in the last year's municipal accounts of Cadiz, appears an item of 800 reals vellón, or 8 *l.* St., for cigars, for one member only of the Provincial Deputation during a journey to Madrid ... the consumption  
15 of coffee and chocolate in Spain is enormous ... [15-21]

### Ch. III. Education. Spanish Names.

the name of "José Maria" is so common, that a full *j.* of the Spanish male population have received those names in baptism ... [33]

### Ch. IV. The Roadside Venta.

20 there is no distinction of the classes, or nearly none ... the aristocratic *morgue* has disappeared amid the earthquake tossings of revolution. [44, 45]

### Ch. V. Bullfights.

Of Moorish origin. [46]



## Ch. VI. The Navy of Spain.

even after the defeat of their grand attack on Gibraltar in 1782, still comprised 70 sail of the line and frégates, and 40 vessels of smaller size, now reduced to 1 single ship of the line at sea, 2 more, dismantled and needing extensive repairs, 4 armed frigates, 2 more disarmed, 2 corvettes, 5 9 brigs, 3 very middling war-steamers, 3 of still slighter dimensions, 15 schooners, many of them dismantled, and 9 other vessels of smaller size. The entire of these small craft scarcely merit the name of ships of war, and are only useful as packets, or in the preventive service. The Span, colonies nicht considerable, beschützt by the jealousies of rival 10 powers. Nach dem latest report des Minister of Marine even these few vessels all undermanned, die seamen ill-clad, ill-paid, ill-disciplined, and, "groaning under the weight of misery". Diese selbe authority: "that the matériel is in a very decayed condition, and the forests of valuable timber in the Asturias and elsewhere extremely ill managed; for 9 years past no 15 uniforms made for the service, and to every member of it 86 months' pay is due." The merchant-service has sunk into a handful of generally inferior vessels, and a great part of the passenger and carrying trade is transferred to the ships of England and America ... surprise of Europe, wenn, gegen Espartero, the Spanish fleet emulated the improprieties of the 20 army, and had its own little Pronunciamento ... Hauptgrund der demoralisation: irregularity u. utter failure of payments ... In der balance-sheet f. 1844 das estimate f. "marine, commerce, u. colonies" 83 millions of reals, while that for the army 381. Setting apart the colonial expenditure and that which belongs to commerce, as the lighthouses of the kingdom 25 and the hydrographical department, the item for the support der navy comes down to about 40 millions of reals, or 400,000l., wovon, die *actual* payments amount to little more than  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the sum. Everything is sacrificed to the army, the loyalty of whose steel is indispensable to ministerial existence. Die navy has fallen amongst thieves. Gonzales Bravo's minister 30 of marine—Portillo! ... When the army last summer had "pronounced" in every direction, the fleet was next invited to "pronounce"; ... the juntas made every midshipman a lieutenant, and every lieutenant a captain—they, the rebel juntas, the tinkers and tapemen, and snuff-sellers, who chose to constitute themselves into local supreme governments. The 35 *guardia marina* they promised to make an *alférez*, if he would pronounce, the *alférez* a lieut, etc to the highest rank. The worthies "pronounced" accordingly, blockaded the coast, and completed Espartero's moral discomfiture. All these absurd appointments by the slopsellers of Algeciras

u. Malaga were subsequently recognised by the Gov. of Lopez u. Narvaez ... There is still a portadmiral, who flourishes a grand cocked hat, a fine pair of epaulettes, and an enormous telescope ... Don José Maria Orozco, Knight Cross and Badge of the illustrious order of San Hermenegildo, Brigadier of the Armada Nacional, Commandant of Marine of the Plaza and Province of Cadiz, and Judge of the port-arrivals from all the Indies! The pompous little man, sinks beneath such a weight of dignity ... [59-65]

io Ch. VII. Infante Don Francisco de Paula,  
Grandes u. Hidalgos.  
Chapt. VIII. id. Chapt. IX Universities.  
Los Salamanquinos.  
Ch. X. The Medical Professions. Quacks.  
Ch. XL English u. French in Spain.

15 The Spanish nobility have almost entirely lost ground in modern Spain. Although retaining the forms of a monarchy, this country is perhaps the most perfect realisation of a republic in Europe ... from the enlightened lawyers of Spain almost all her statesmen spring ... Hidalgo (Hijo d'algo "the son of somebody") in the recent abolition of entails in Spain has  
20 done much to complete the ruin of this class ... formerly every member der military orders received a stated annual pension, and the Commanderies of the several orders had attached to them some of the richest domains in Spain. These were confiscated by the Constitutionals ... The Grandes of Spain have seen all the highest offices of the kingdom  
25 slip through their fingers, and the best of them are now no more than hangers-on on the Palace ... Madrid, the centre of letters and civilisation ... [67-88] When Ferdinand VII, then Prince of Asturias, was in appointed residence at Valençay ... he repeatedly wrote the most servile  
30 letters to Fouché, duc d'Otranto, soliciting the high honour of being allowed to ally himself in marriage with some relation, however distant, of the Bonaparte family. This lowly suit was refused ... the lofty-minded Ferdinand used to kiss the policeman Fouché's hand whenever he chanced to see him; and Fouché used to say, "I always washed it after, for the man was très-sale!" ... The Castiles and Andalucía, the Basques and  
35 Estremadura, are as unlike as distinct states in any part of the continent of Europe. Valencia and the Asturias have few points of resemblance; Catalonia and Galicia are wholly dissimilar ... Arragon and Catalonia,

not content with the exploits against the Moors, fitted out expeditions against the Turks, and gave powerful assistance to Andronicus Palaeologus before Byzantium fell ... [107-113]

### Ch. XII. Revolutions.

A leading cause of the frequency of Revolutions of Spain, is the frequent 5  
dissolutions of the Cortes ... It has been said that for 40 L. St. a revolution may be got up in any Span, town ... the mining operations of Andalu-  
cía almost entirely carried on by Engl, capital and enterprise. The resi-  
dent engineers u. superintendents of works are all English, and until late 10  
years there were enactments, both in Spain u. Portugal, making it penal  
to disturb the entrails of the earth ... even now it is popularly held to be  
work only fit for heretics ... the Christian era was not introduced into  
Spain until the latter end of the XIV Jh. The Augustan era prevailed v.  
der time der Roman occupation, except in dem kingdom of Granada,  
and in Gibraltar, to which the Moors were then confined, down to the 15  
year 1383, when by a decision of the Cortes convoked at Segovia by  
Juan I, the Christian era was adopted ... the most fatal taint in modern  
Spain: *Empleomanía*, or the rage for place—Too lazy for commerce, too  
proud to be tradesman, the bulk of the educated or partially-educated  
classes will sell their souls for places under the Government... ¡331 Revo- 20  
lutions here have rarely any other end but a seizure of all the offices of  
the state. A party of desperate gamblers surround a roulette-table, and  
keep it in ceaseless revolution to see who will win. At whatever point it  
may stop, nothing turns up for the people ... [119-124]

### Ch. XIII. Rejoicings for Queen Isabel's Majority. 25

### Ch. XIV. The Campo of Gibraltar. Nogueras' Attempt.

the campo of Gibraltar has been permanently established in its present  
form since 1782. Das Span. gov. has always several regiments distributed  
through the Campo, which embraces Tarifa, Algeciras, San Roque, the  
Barrios, u. lines along the neutral ground. To this quarter Espartero, and 30  
his adherents in London, naturally looked, when they made their unsuccess-  
ful attempt in November (44) to recover their position in Spain.  
Nogueras (the murderer of Cabrera's mother) was despatched to Gibralt-  
tar, to reconnoitre the ground and prepare a revolutionary expedition.  
He was well supplied m. money u., it is said, auch m. arms. Scheiterte in 35

dem Versuch to revolutionise den Campo an general Cordova. At Alge-  
siras on the evening of the 31<sup>st</sup> October the conspiracy exploded.  
[130-145]

#### Ch. XV u. XVI. The slave traders.

5 Since the ports of Spain were closed, her commercial capital is in great  
part invested in the slave trade, in the furnishing of slave vessels, and the  
purchasing and forwarding of cargoes to be bartered for human flesh ...  
[155] Cuba and Puerto-Rico under the patronage of governor O'Donnel,  
who belying the soldier's character, takes a revenue out of human misery  
10 (for slaves can now be imported legally at the Governor's fee of 25 dol-  
lars per head) have not reason to complain that el tráfico fails them. The  
pro-slavery O'Donnel ... [172]

#### Ch. XVII. Aspect of Andalucía. Ch. XVIII u. XIX. Cadiz and its Bay.

15 the peasantry of Andalucía to this day half-Moorish, half-Christian in  
their superstitions. ... A farmer of Ronda told me, that the country-  
people now-a-days respect a dollar more than they used to do a Capitan  
Mayor ... [173,174] the contrabandists and the slave-traders alone are  
men of business ... Irregular pursuits, great risks, great profits (or losses  
20 upon occasion), all that constitutes the gambler's excitement—these are  
the charms of Span, speculation ... [187]

#### Ch. XX u. XXI. Agriculture.

the farmers, large and small, Arrendadores and Labradores, usually  
occupy their holdings in *enfiteusis*, on a long lease of not less than  
25 100 years, paying a moderate rent, or they are tenants from year to year.  
The *enfiteusis* nearly amounts to our freehold, the concession of a renew-  
al, when the term is expired, being almost a matter of course. Relations  
between landlord u. tenant entirely patriarchal, the Erd invariably held  
on easy terms. Simple written agreements—das land, seit die Constitu-  
30 tion die tithes abgeschafft, the farmer's position, where he is possessed of  
the least energy, is unvariably comfortable. The hidalgo class, or nobility  
and gentry, usually hold their possessions *in capite* from the Crown, or,

in more instances, from the few great proprietors; and the amount of *bienes vinculados*, or entail, allotted for the sustainment of the head of the family was comparatively small, and is now suppressed by law. Die English have many of the wine estates in the neighbourhood of Xeres, Port St. Mary's u. Sanlucar. Keine closed parks. You may roam here 5 everywhere, fish everywhere, course and shoot everywhere, without question. All that is required of you is, that you shall not pluck your neighbour's fruits, nor destroy his standing crops. You may enter his *huerta* without asking permission, and enjoy it... The right of commonage, and of reclaiming waste lands, has caused some ferment of late in various 10 parts of Spain. There are pieces of common land (Tierra Valdía) annexed to many of the country towns and villages, as in other countries, where the poor man's ass or mule finds a scanty pasturage: lawless proceedings of unauthorised squatters, have led in 1844 to more than one pitched battle, with firearms, between the villagers. The Gitanos took a particular 15 interest in these contests, that nomad race asserting a prescriptive right to that use of common-lands in every country they have visited. Das waste land of Andalucía of immense extent, the sandy soil being for the most part unproductive without constant irrigation. Certain dieser waste lands at various times ceded by the Direccion-General of National Roads to 20 private individuals, for the purpose of reducing them to productiveness as they please, under certain conditions. Hence endless disputes, remonstrances, u. litigations; certain rural municipalities between Seville u. Granada mustered their *small posses*, and catching up their muskets, of which the use is familiar to every Spaniard, forcibly levelled the gates and 25 enclosures, and expelled the occupying tenants from certain previously waste lands. Rebeccaism was successful in Andalucía. Ministers gave way; the funds derived from this source by the Director-Gen. of Roads, towards the conservation of the roads throughout the kingdom, are no longer available. The same result pervaded the rest of Spain. Keine dichte 30 Bevölkerung, the paucity of mouths accounts for the easy terms on which farmers u. labourers live. There is enough for all, a few hours' work in the day suffices for the exigencies of life, and dance and song and careless relaxation make up the evening time. Daneben allerdings considerable insecurity of property, and some insecurity of life ... The Labradores and 35 peasants bordering on the unascertained limits of the common land, claim for each his portion of the soil, and the squatters ... occupiers under govern, still steadily contend for their exclusive rights ... fanega =  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an Engl. acre ... Nothwendiges agricultural improvement here, is the practice of unvariable stall-feeding, instead of grazing. Pasture lands 40 are of excessive rarity u. most inferior description ... villanous meat

abounds in the Spanish markets ... through extraordinary mismanagement, Andalucía does not produce enough for its own uses. The supplies of most of the southern ports in meat, poultry, eggs, u. variety of other articles, come for the most part from the North of Spain, Portugal u. Barbary ... Nur im Winter die thinly scattered pasture lands of Andalucía to any extent productive, im Summer like die Sahara ... The first requisite of all agricultural labour here is water, and without oxen it cannot be raised ... scandalous desert between Cadiz u. Tarifa ... grazing, properly so called, and the ||34| rearing of fine wools, applicable only to Estremadura, New Castile, u. La Mancha. ... In Andalucía, all that is demanded of them is to sink a few wells, and set a few oxen more in motion ... The interminable quarrels about the right of unappropriated lands led to some efforts at regulation by the Provincial Deputations in 1841, and several distributions of waste lands u. commonage were traced out. Aber, da die strength der Progresistas im mob, it is not to be wondered at, that, in partitioning these lands, the Deputations u. Ayuntamientos leaned towards the class of small farmers u. labourers, aimed at realising upon a limited scale the policy which has transferred the bulk of the soil of France to the hands of small proprietors, and sought in practice to establish an Agrarian law ... The question was not one of *great landed accumulation*, an evil which does not exist here, but of moderate-sized farms, or of very minute subdivisions. They likewise aimed at breaking up extensive pasturages, and in effect destroying the breed of horned cattle, which is here indispensable to all descriptions of agricultural labour ... All the ploughing, all the harrowing, all the carriage in fields or on the roads, all the raising of water, all the heavy transit to fair or market, all the preparations of the grain—for the ox first draws it to the *area*, or barn-floor, open to the sky, then treads out the grain, then carries it to the mill and then to the purchaser—all is the work of the patient ox ... If the race of the ox became extinct here, there would probably be no tillage at all, for the horses are generally too weak f. the work, u. die peasants too lazy to dig ... Der plough not suffered to approach within a rood of the humblest fruit-tree, and the spaces around them were converted again into deserts. Yet there does seem to be a reasonable medium between leaving a couple of 100 fanegas (the quantity of ground requisite to sow a bushel of corn) in the vicinity of every knot of fruit-trees, and ploughing up all the pasture-land of a district ... [206-222]

### Ch. XXII. Farming in Southern Spain.

In this delicious climate, vegetation is never suspended, except by the excessive heats of summer. Am besten v. November-May. Die only drawbacks in winter "excessive rains", der farmer here pays lightly in the shape of direct taxes, u. consuming little but his own produce, is indirectly chargeable to but a trifling extent. His clothes are woven from his own wool; his hempen shoes are grown upon his own soil; his leathern leggings are stripped from his own pig; his sheepskin jacket (in winter) was the jacket of his own carnero; and in summer his jacket is the climate, for he wears no other. He eats his own provisions, drinks his own wine, burns his own oil, and refreshes him with his own fruits ... It is upon the proprietors of estates that payment of the bulk of the praedial taxes falls. The Frutos Civiles are levied from all proprietors or administrators of the rents of rustic and urban houses, mills, and factories of whatever description, as well as from all receivers by contract or otherwise of national or jurisdictional taxes, censos, u. other imposts on capital yielding annual income. This tax always suffered to be a year in arrear, and if then left unpaid the goods are liable to be seized in execution ... The almost total cessation of the export of barilla to England, in consequence of the discovery of a satisfactory chemical substitute, has of late years a good deal embittered the feelings of the South-eastern Span, population against us ... The small Catalan manufacturer hates our gigantic establishments with a sufficient intensity, and has contrived to impart his feelings to a large class of his countrymen ... the fruit of Malaga has an immense reputation throughout Spain ... [223-226] 25

### Ch. XXIII. Mendicancy.—State of the Lower Classes.

Distress almost none ... None starves in this country ... nearly stationary the existing scantiness of population. Hence a general sufficiency, and at some periods an excess of food—there is no such thing as a pawnbroker's shop to be seen here, and pledges are only taken by private usurers and (if they consist of plate or jewellery) by bankers. ... Principle hier der begging community u. der statesmen: "Deja la vergüenza, y todo mundo es suyo" ... "Su olla, su misa, Y su Dona Luisa" ... Der Span. Bettler a sturdy petitioner. [231-240]

Ch. XXIV. The National Militia.—The Gallegos.

Die national militia is imitated from the garde nationale of France—the various corps of Nacionales have been rather foci of turbulence than a source of strength to the state—the recent acts u. manifest tendencies der  
5 Span, troops, make the permanence of a national militia a desirable check u. safeguard ... the most salient topic of contention between the Moderados u. Progresistas is the form into which this militia is to be moulded; the former desire the admixture of more of the principle of Royal nomination; the latter insist that it shall be the creature of a purely  
10 popular election ... A Moderado gov. 10 years back originated the institution of a National militia, then universally popular, gegen die pretensions of Don Carlos. Nach dem fall des Don Carlos disunion seiner Gegner, die Milicianos werfen their weight as an armed force in die scale; a national defensive arm was debased into a party weapon, disorgani-  
15 sation u. revolution were uses with which it became too familiar, u. der character der institution seriously impaired. On the consumation der Revolution v. 1837 erhielt die national militia a new u. more democratic development. Bisher die officers nominated by the Crown. Nun entrusted the *alistamiento* to the municipalities, and at first, under its new organi-  
20 sation, it maintained popularity u. prestige. Gradually its character changed. Political dissensions introduced into the corps; Exaltado opinions. Darin intolerant vorwiegend, the Moderados one after another departed from its ranks. Verfolgten anders gesinnte. Dabei des Miliciano's uniform was a protection f. allerlei Gesindel who would otherwise have  
25 been thrown into a prison, and enabled bands of *picarons* to infringe the laws m. impunity, by introducing contraband, u. by various other offences; forced contributions sometimes levied under false pretences; Moderados u. the quieter class of citizens, preferred paying the monthly forfeit, to entering its ranks for active service. So die respectability der institution  
30 still further impaired. It was likewise converted by many into a means of contingent subsistence. Das produce dieser fines reached nicht immer its legal destination, particular allocations of the fund were made, and pay was given for certain services, while others drove a trade by hiring themselves to mount guard for those who preferred a peaceful home. The  
35 most active, noisy, u. influential class der militia, was composed precisely of the interested parties. They gave the law, and were the disposers u. arbiters of events. Der artisan, labourer, humble shopkeeper, bore all the weight des service, aber die intriguers u. place-hunters bore off its advantages. Alle convoked to the meetings des body, aber took little part in the



deliberations, concurred by a species of constraint in the resolutions adopted, became the ||35| docile instruments of designing u. ambitious men; the opinions of a pertinacious minority for the most part prevailed. Diese militia kostete every province in Spain f. die 3 last years conjointly, mit den sums paid as monthly fines f. non-service, the hire of persons to 5 mount guard, u. die expenses of mobilization (or active service in exterior districts) v. 70,000-100,000 dollars ... Das principle of mobilization introduced into the National Militia falls m. great weight on the Spanish citizen. It extends through all society the inconveniences u. hardships der military conscription ... "Industriosa Galicia". Agricultural pursuits, 10 in the midst of their rude hills, suffice generally for the wants der fixed inhabitants; die migratory portion continue ohne intermission their laborious tasks in the various cities u. towns der Peninsula.  $\frac{1}{3}$  der Galician male population, u.  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the neighbouring Asturias, find employment yearly as water-carriers, porters, farm-labourers, u. die lower description 15 of house-servants, durch Spain u. Portugal. Aehnlichkeit dieser Gallegos m. der Irish peasantry in appearance, dress u. manners. The Esparterist demonstration in Galicia (Oct. 1844) was entirely confined to the Milicianos of Vigo u. Pontevedra, u. die Carabineros de la Hacienda, over which Gen. Iriarte possessed much influence, having formerly been com- 20 mander of the force. [241-248]

#### Ch. XXV. The Ayuntamientos or Municipal Chambers.

1521 Holy League der Cities, (their Leader Padilla. Allgem. Convention derselben zu Avila.) Aber die old municipalities of Spain "most aristocratic u. exclusive", "close monopolies" der Ayuntamientos, vor der 25 introduction der constitutional Alcaldes, entirely composed of noble families u. for the most part *titulados* "sangre azul". Hidalgos were the least who could show themselves there, f. den roturier no chance. These ancestral and historical honours explain the eagerness with which the highest nobles of modern Spain aspire to municipal office, though they 30 can be no longer *regidores* (aldermen) by right of inheritance, nor sell their places when they are tired of them, like the *veinte cuatro* of Seville, whose 24 places in the corporation were worth 1500 *I.* a year each. Unter dem constit. system, each Ayuntamiento has its Alcaldes, Regidores, u. Syndics. The Ayuntamientos are divided into municipalities of the 35, 1<sup>a</sup> u. 2<sup>a</sup> order. Those of the 1<sup>a</sup> have 6 alcaldes, 24 regidores u. 5 syndics; die von 2<sup>a</sup> order: 4 alcaldes, 12 regidores u. 3 syndics. The first alcalde answers to our mayor, the others to our aldermen, the regidores to our

common councilmen, the syndics to our treasurers, town clerks etc. These posts more important than with us, for nearly all the public taxes pass through their hands, the nobility, in the Peninsula, always take municipal office; there is scarcely an Ayuntamiento in Spain that has not 1 or 2 bar-  
5 ons, counts, or marquises, amongst its alcaldes or its regidores. Every pueblo or village containing 100 householders, elects, by household suffrage, its own Ayuntamiento, consisting of 4 alcaldes, besides regidores u. syndics, who have the collection of all the taxes, the management of most matters of civil and criminal jurisdiction, of the quintas or levies  
10 of soldiers of the line, and of the enrolment of national militia, as well as volunteers. They also arrogate to themselves the right of "pronunciamento" for or against any government or dynasty which may chance to turn up, declaring their disobedience to any law which the Cortes may enact, and shouldering their guns upon slight pretence, with the sounding  
15 war-cry of "God defend the Queen and country", the Aldermen of the remote Ayuntamientos in Andalucía ζ. B. men of *mark*, u. as a 100 contrabandist and bandit exploits, in which they have been participators attest, they are capital marksmen as well. Under the régime of Narvaez, most of the municipal powers are in abeyance. Die wichtigste function  
20 dieser Ayuntamientos ist das enrolling the National militia—a business of such moment, that upon it depends in a great measure the character of the gov. which will be tolerated at Madrid. Hence die hostility der Moderados to these popular bodies. Der process of indirect election which prevailed under the constit. of 1812 (the people first electing by house-  
25 hold suffrage a limited number of confidential electors, who afterward elected the municipal body as well as other public bodies) has been retained with regard to the Ayuntamientos alone. Durch the Const, of 1837 dieß System aufgehoben in Bezug auf die Wahl des Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, u. der Provincial Deputations. Directe Wahl, aber in differ-  
30 ent qualifications derived from the payment of taxes ... The division of powers, assignment of political boundary-lines hier nicht begriffen. At every fresh political occurrence die Ayuntamientos senden ein ihre addresses to the Sovereign and Cortes. Z. B. "The municipal body of the city of Pequeñísimo (reckoning some 120 souls) congratulates the Nat.  
35 Congress upon the declaration which it has wisely made of the Queen's majority." language of petitions wholly unknown here u. even memorials superseded by addresses as between equals. 101 householders entitle to a municipality. Wenn Sevilla od. Cadiz ζ. B. das Beispiel geben, gefolgt v. den inhabitants of the meanest little gathering of huts in the remotest  
40 wilds of Andalucía, meeting in solemn conclave upon those affairs of the nation with which, except through the parliam. elections, they have no

legitimate concern. Down to the const, era, there were separate Alcaldes for almost every possible variety of magisterial and municipal functions. Many of the highest judges bore the name; the nobles had their Alcalde to decide questions appertaining to their privileges, and highway robbers had their Alcalde to condemn them. Under the const, régime the 4 Alcal- 5 des divide the municipal, taxing, u. political functions. While die Alcaldes die taxgatherer—at no period have the taxes been regularly levied in Spain. The slightest suspicion of severity in assessing or collecting the revenue would be fatal to the election of any Alcalde or Regidor. When the Pronunciamientos took place in June (1844) the municipal Ayun- 10 tamiéntos were unhesitatingly dissolved wo ihr love of smuggling did not override their political opinions u. ersetzt durch nominees of "the Junta of Gov." od. by the revolted military chief of the district. Von den members der rural municipalities of Andalucía viele sign with the Cruz (their cross or mark). Nachsichtig gegen die robbers, so long they not approach their 15 own manors. | [249-256]

### [36] Ch. XXVI. Composition der Ayuntamientos u. Cortes.

the franchise is invariably annexed to a bona fide household qualification, absolute residence is required, and no man votes out of more than one holding. The Constituency are called Vecinos "neighbours" or "bur- 20 gesses", alle who have a "casa abierta" (an open house) or a "casa puesta" (fixed residence.) Their residence must have been for a year and 1 day before the voting lists are made out. these voting lists die sole registry are made u. published yearly at the municipality. Vor 1843 nur 2 exceptions: those under trial for any criminal offence, or sentenced to 25 any infamous penalty, and the "pobres de solemnidad" who publicly subsist by mendicancy. Die Moderados speak of making the municipal franchise contingent on the payment of taxes ... Das Groundwork des parliamentary franchise ist household, payment of the "mayores cuotas" (chief taxes levied by the state); these must be paid regularly, or the vote 30 is disfranchised, ebenso wenn der voter a defaulter to the common *pueblo* fund, or taxation for local purposes. Aber nur die proprietors of palaces pay considerable taxes. Außerdem müssen sie 25 J. alt sein. Außerdem sind, nach a years residence, entitled to vote: die members der Span, academies of History and the "nobles artes". Doctors u. Licentiates in 35 the 3 faculties of Divinity, Law u. Medicine. Members of ecclesiastical chapters, parochial curates (rectors) u. their assistant clergy. Magistrates, u. advocates of 2 years' standing. Officers of the army of a certain stand-

ing, whether on service or retired. Physicians, surgeons u. apothecaries of  
2 years standing. Architects, painters, sculptors m. dem title of Acade-  
micians in any Academy of the "artes nobles". Professors, u. masters, in  
any educational establishment supported by the public funds. Zu den  
5 disqualifications auch noch bankruptcy, suspended payments, a judicial  
interdict annexed to moral or physical incapacity, u. *surveillance* under  
sentence by the authorities ... The municipality obliged by law to make  
out a complete list of voters at stated periods u., wenn the list is com-  
pleted, to post it at the Ayuntamientos, and the other most public places  
10 der town u. districts. Thus it remains exposed for some 20 days, in order  
that reclamations may be made for the purpose of rectifying mistakes u.  
omissions.... The municipal elections are conducted upon the principle of  
almost universal suffrage ... Oft bei hotly contested elections die electoral  
urn burnt u. die voting papers. When an election is known to be going  
15 against a particular party, die most abandoned ruffians in the town  
employed for a few *pesetas* u. clear all before them with bludgeons. Lat-  
terly it is the military that are for the most part employed, a little money  
being distributed amongst the sergeants and cabos, or corporals. In den  
temples, parish churches, wo die Election f. die Cortes, oft bloodshed u.  
20 murderous shots fired within the sanctuary. [260-266]

#### Ch. XXVII. Parliamentary elections.

Wenn a closely contested election anticipated, the engines of coercion put  
in motion of the most formidable description. The half million of Gov.  
Empleados diffused over the whole face of the country die tools, their  
25 votes or starvation being the alternative. Die Empleados müssen besides  
allen ihren Einfluß aufbieten, the powerful patronage which they admin-  
ister, their employment of tradesmen in the public service etc ... Die  
communities at large bedroht, that unless the returns are favourable,  
special burthens will be imposed upon the district, taxes more rigorously  
30 enforced, military levies, triple detachment of troops permanently billet-  
ed on the inhabitants, that every useful public institutions will be re-  
moved to Madrid, etc etc. The application der Government screw to the  
election f. die Cortes takes place through the Agency der Political Chiefs  
in Provincial Deputations, the electoral law accords to them a wide mar-  
35 gin, containing some 50 articles ... political intrigue u. turpitude extend  
here everywhere, and contaminate every institution ... A Roman  
Emperor once made a consul of his horse, but a successful Span. General  
might to-day make his dog a deputy. [268-274]

Ch. XXVIII. The Political Chiefs.  
The Provincial Deputations. The Judicial Bench.

*Der Gefé Politico* ähnlich dem French préfet of a Department. Is the instrument u. channel of centralization, erhält direkte instructions v. Madrid in reference to the minutest particulars. Zeigt dem Volk die wichtigsten news an, durch printed bandos posted on the walls, or by official announcement in some chosen newspaper. Has, if needful, the entire control u. disposition of the military. Wirken durch die municipalities, wenn sie Progresistas sind, od. durch die Provincial Deputation, wenn sie Moderados. Auch durch die cura-parrocos, or parish clergy. In a semi-anarchical country, it is obvious that the power of this functionary is despotic, wide, immense; he is never a man of property, but one depending on success for his *avenir*, and determined to please the Government ... The Gefé exercises a direct u. powerful influence over the formation der electoral lists u. jury lists. ... Nur ein counterpoise to these intelligent gentlemen. 5 10 15

*The Provincial Deputation*, chosen by a process of election nearly similar to that which returns the Deputies to the Cortes, the franchise being annexed to the payment of a tolerably large amount of taxes. May be likened to our shire grand juries. Ihnen entrusted the distribution aller funds f. die formation u. conservation of roads, f. bettering u. extending communication, u. die general supervision of material improvement. Auch in direct communication m. dem Gov. as to the levy of troops u. their distribution in der province; u. above all, they have the management der elections f. die cortes, a department incessantly stained by the most tremendous abuse, obgleich sie, for the most part "substantial u. respectable men". Those districts which send in a preponderance of votes hostile to the prevailing opinion der Provincial Deputation are pretty sure to be disfranchised for the occasion, upon some frivolous plea of irregularity, while the most audaciously irregular votes in its favour are sure to be acknowledged. The scrutiny is all carried on m. *closed doors*. Obgleich das office to the highest degree *honorary*, the spirit of jobbing appears universally, bescheissen alle, wie die Londoner aldermen. ... Every province has its *captain-general* and its *gefé politico*, the head of the military u. civil establishments. ... 20 25 30 35

*The existing judicature of Spain* copied from France. The magistracy is all paid on a scale too small for much integrity. Juez de primera instancia, Juez de segunda instancia; die Alcaldes likewise magisterial functions ... In den superior Courts at Madrid etc Corruption. ... Daneben Faction

extends even to the judicial bench, wenn nicht ministerial dismissed;  
(bully browbeat); intellectual superiority der advocates v. Madrid. |  
[275-284]

[37] Ch. XXIX. The Newspaper Press,  
s Ch. XXX. Actual State of Spanish Literature and Art.  
Ch. XXXI. The Drama, The Language.

The Peninsula the paradise of newspaper writers ... they are loaded with  
decorations u. high political functions ... The low standard of prevalent  
intelligence u. die obstinate inactivity des people, cause the function of  
10 thinking for them vicariously, to be far more important u. more highly  
regarded here than in other more advanced countries ... their brains'  
carriers. ... There is scarcely a leading politician in Madrid who has not  
been an editor or proprietor of some one der principal journals. ...  
Lopez, Gonzalez Bravo, Caballero, Martinez de la Rosa, Ayllon, Fuente  
15 Andres, Iznardi, Paz Garcia etc. ... *Eco del Comercio* ... the *Posdata*, the  
*Castellano*, *Fray Gerundio*, die *Tarantula*; ... [287-294] Exaggeration in all  
things is the leading vice of Spain ... [311] style of mingled buffoonery  
and bombast ... [315] excrecence of an exuberant growth ... Grandilo-  
quence ... redundance ... [319, 320]

20 Ch. XXXII. Familiarity with Bloodshed.  
Ch. XXXIII u. XXXIV. Wine Commerce of Spain.

The largest source of Andalucian wealth, and the most important branch  
of trade in Southern Spain, is the generous wine of this extensive district:  
Malaga, Xeres, Sanlucar. Englisch. Consum der span, wines in 1840:  
25 2,500,760 gallons, in 1842: 2,261,786 gallons. In 1810 der Export v.  
Sherry nach Brit. Islands was merely in its infancy, u. das great increase  
has occurred since 1830. the true cause of the existing depression  
amongst the Andalucian wine *labradores* ist overproduction ... the wines  
and brandies, the silk and the fruits, (green u. dry) of Malaga, Valencia  
30 u. Murcia; the olives of Seville, Jaen, u. Cordova; the wools of Estre-  
madura u. Castile, the products of the rich and various Andalucian  
mines; the barks, dye-stuffs, preserved fruits, spices, and other products  
of the fertile soil of Spain. ... Spain's deficit is of 5,000,000*l*, yearly ...  
Spain loses, by smuggling, an entire customs revenue ... [336-345]

### Ch. XXXV. Finance and Financiers.

Financiering has long been the most profitable business in Madrid ... the special knowledge which constituted the qualification, was too often acquired in gambling and disreputable speculation in the London Stock Exchange u. in Bourse of Paris to a\_\_\_qualified for their portfolios by 5 bankruptcy, z. B. Don Juan José Garcia Carrasco ... in the last 9 Jahren Bienes Nacionales sold to the extent of 3000 millions of reals, or 30 millions sterling ... Cristina assisted very materially in relieving the pressure at the national treasury. ... The fact is patent—that after dismantling the richest church in Europe, abolishing feudal privileges, confiscating com- 10 manderies, and selling 30 millions' worth sterling of national property, there is now to be provided for a deficit of 40 millions of reals per month, or close upon 5 mill. st. p. annum. Allerdings noch remaining Bienes Nacionales. Amount of *public debt of Spain* at the commencement of 1843: 10,945,850,000 reals, about 110,000,000 L. St. Davon, 15 5,821,954,000 belongs to the consolidated, u. der residue to the non-consolidated debt. Annual interest on this debt 300,954,982 reals, or more than 3 mill. L. St. Zur selben Epoche available f. die reduction dieser debt: the unsold remainder der bienes nacionales, consisting of church and convent property, or property of the clergy, regular u. secular. Nach 20 Señor Calatrava's estimate, das property des regular clergy at the same epoch would realise 1,049,826,000 reals, u. that des secular clergy about 1,500,000,000 of reals; in all 2,549,826,000 od. mehr als 25 millions L. St. Nach Abzug wollte die public debt noch sein: 8,000,000,000 of reals ... "corte de cuentas" (so nennen sie die bankruptcy) ... Nach anderen das 25 jährliche Deficit 7 mil. liv. St., or, the estimated present yearly expenditure being 1,425,596,520 reals, half the entire obligations of the state ... the official career of a finance minister in Spain precisely resembles the ancient military service des country by *mochila*, or length of knapsack ... Span, finance ministers almost invariably dabble in the funds, and in the 30 numerous contracts for monied loans u. other speculations, which are for ever a-foot. This baseness places them in the power of their own clerics, u. incapacitates them for vigorous reforms. ... Spain is at present the most lightly taxed country in Europe. Her estimated income f. 1844: 861,000,000 of reals, u. an European population of 14,000,000. Her 35 colon, possessions very productive. Nach Señor Carrasco's estimate die nett receipts from Havanna in 1845 are 50,000,000 of reals, v. den Filipines 12,000,000, v. Puerto Rico, 3,000,000; adding to which the receipts v. den Canaries u. den small African possessions, she has a clear colonial revenue of nearly 1 mil. st. The quicksilver mines of Almaden u. her other 40

sources of mineral wealth yield  $\frac{1}{2}$  mill. st. [more] p. a. ... Tobacco is the milch-cow of most European treasuries, besonders in Spain, wo die consumption so enormous, that the duties lately sold for more than 1 mil. /. St. p. a. Señor Carrasco set apart the proceeds of this contract 5 f. das payment des interest der 3% bonds; Calatrava that dasselbe previously m. dem quicksilver contract; Aber Mendizabal u. Ayllon, when they succeeded to office, applied diese proceeds f. more pressing financial exigencies. ... Carrasco's successor, Mon, handelte ebenso. The finances of Spain, even when she was mistress of half the world, always in the 10 most detestably embarrassed condition. Her greatest efforts have been made, not through a regular revenue but through a tribute of kind, so f. die "invincible" Armada made up of separate contingents, supplied by all the provinces of the Empire ... There are several capitalists, of professedly neutral politics, and who find their account in this neutrality by | 15 ( 38 J entering into enormous u. lucrative operations with successive governments. (Unter diesen: Señores Salamanca, Carriquiri, O'Shea, Campana, Alvarez, Barcenas, u. Matteo.) ... The provincial intendentes are still worse than the Madrid empleados; and there are at this moment 100 millions of reals, or a million St., of Bienes Nacionales sold and 20 passed into the Hands of the purchasers, though, because they were the intendente's favourites, the money has not yet reached the treasury ... the sub-letting of revenue contracts, which still prevails in Spain, is unhappily destructive of unity u. vigour ... [359-375]

Ch. XXXVI u. [XXX]VII. The Colonies of Spain.

25

Ch. XXXVIII. Colonial Slavery.

The Conspiracy of Matanzas in 1844.

The immense colonial empire of Spain has dwindled to the Canary Islands, 2 of the Antillas (Puerto Rico u. Cuba), the Philippines, the Marianas, u. a speck or 2 on the northern coast of Africa ... it is the 30 remittances from Havana which, for years past, have mainly enabled successive governments to pay the half-yearly dividends to the Engl. bondholder ... Cuba contributes 50,000,000reals, or 500,000 /.st. of clear annual revenue to the Spanish crown ... [379-383] The archipelago of the Philippines was discovered in 1521 by Fernando de Magellanes, 35 u. is now divided into 31 provinces, containing 635 pueblos u. 3,285,848 souls.... [385] An der Spitze der Matanzas insurrection in Cuba Placido, ein Mulatte. [406] "Los dias de la esclavitud son contados." (Placido) [413]



Ch. XXXIX. Party and faction.  
General Deductions. /

/10/ Révolution d'Espagne. Examen critique.  
1820-1836.

Paris. 1836.

Die span. Revol. v. 1820 nicht blos une conspiration militaire; l'esprit  
5 public en Espagne fut en 1820 porté au changement. Wäre sonst die  
Constit. v. 1812, presque sans opposition angenommen? ... L'Espagne de  
1814 reçut avec enthousiasme son roi qui revenait de captivité ... Le roi  
ne voulut point reconnaître la constitution, et déclara nul tout ce que  
avaient fait les Cortes. Le peuple applaudit la résolution du roi .. Cepen-  
10 dant on vit avec peine l'emprisonnement des députés qui s'étaient le plus  
distingués dans les discussions sur la constit. ... ils eussent été les  
plus fermes défenseurs de l'indépendance u. f. den roi Ferdinand VII ...  
Un grand nombre d'individus accourut à Cadix à cette époque; mais ils  
étaient rares ceux que n'y conduisait point le désir d'obtenir un emploi  
15 qui les exemptât de servir activement la patrie. Cadix ne fut pendant les  
années 1810, 11 u. 12, qu'une vaste antichambre ministérielle, où se sol-  
licitaient, où se distribuaient tous les emplois de la monarchie ...  
troupeau de faux *bien méritants*, aussi insatiables dans leurs exigences  
qu'injustes dans leurs prétentions à la reconnaissance royale et nationale.  
20 Ces vampires contribuèrent le plus par l'insolence de leur langage à  
aliéner l'esprit des Espagnols ... le peuple pour résister aux Français avait  
créé lui-même des autorités qui se trouvèrent souvent en opposition les  
unes avec les autres, et qui au milieu de la confusion et du désordre de la  
Péninsule s'accoutumèrent à n'obéir qu'au plus fort; il en était résulté  
25 une espèce d'anarchie. Chaque || III province nomma une junta composée  
d'individus choisis par les différents états: la noblesse, le clergé séculier et  
régulier, le commerce, les propriétaires, de façon que chaque junta pré-

sentait une image en miniature des antiques cortés per *estamentos* ... Les partis qui divisaient les cortes soutenus et propagés par les journaux, les doctrines semées par les Français, avaient produit une grande division dans les esprits. L'Espagne de 1814 n'était point l'Espagne de 1808 ... Der Ministre, der signa das Décret v. 4 Mai 1814, wodurch alles nul 5 erklärt, was die Cortes gethan, *Don Pedro Macanaz*, bald schimpflich fortgejagt, weil er bei sich eine espèce de gouvernante die trafic m. der Distribution des emplois machte ... Beständiger Ministerwechsel v. 1814—20 ... Den ministres, besides, die Hände gebunden durch die *camarilla*. Sie verfügte über die Plätze, worin sie ihre Freunde placirte. 10 dictirte nicht décrets, règlements, plans d'administration etc, sondern son ambition se contentait de disposer des emplois, d'y maintenir ses amis, ses créatures et d'en chasser les hommes de mérite ... On avait proclamé que tout devait redevenir comme en 1808, aber das gouv. selbst bald renovirte in allen branches de l'administration. On annulla le décret des 15 cortes sur les droits seigneuriaux, mais le roi incorpora à la couronne les droits des seigneurs justiciers. On établit une contribution directe, à laquelle furent soumis les biens de la noblesse et du clergé. Un autre décret abolit le privilège de la noblesse de ne point contribuer au recrutement de l'armée. Ces mesures produisirent la désaffection des classes 20 supérieures sans contenter le peuple, weil die Kgl. Richter nicht besser als die seigneuriaux, die contribution directe sich vertheilte m. einer monstrueuse inégalité, weil man aucune donnée statistique hatte, et pour s'en procurer on couvrit les campagnes de commissaires, qui faisaient payer fort chèrement aux localités leurs travaux lents et presque toujours 25 inutiles; endlich weil die soumission de noblesse au tirage de la quinta arrivait pour le peuple en même temps que l'obligation de fournir un contingent annuel de recrutement, tandis qu'avant 1808 le recrutement de l'armée s'opérait à de grands intervalles ... Kein System. Contributions unzulässig eingezogen; services schlecht gezahlt u. m. choquierenden iné- 30 galités. Die employés des finances schwammen im Ueberfluß, die der Administration immer 2-3 Monate nicht bezahlt, die veuves u. retraités mouraient de faim, die armée hatte un arriéré considérable, aber auch m. choquender Ungleichheit as to the situation der different corps, ... pénurie des ressources u. extrême injustice dans la distribution du peu des 35 ressources existantes ... Dans beaucoup de provinces les particuliers et les corps militaires eux-mêmes faisaient publiquement le trafic des créances sur le gouvernement, cédées souvent au rabais à ceux même qui devaient les payer intégralement. Pendant plusieurs années on était sûr de faire acquitter les créances provenant de la solde en faisant le sacrifice de 8% 40, à certains employés usuriers de la trésorerie ... So grand nombre de

mécontents geschaffen ... Les conspirations se succédaient les unes aux autres, ayant toutes pour motif ou pour prétexte le rétablissement de la const, de 1812 ... La conspiration de Porlier (er u. Lacy exécutés) éclata Ende 1815; die Constit. v. 1812 wurde publiée zu Corona, die principales 5 autorités arretirt, Porlier dann arretirt seinerseits avec plusieurs officiers dans leur marche sur Santiago; wenige Tage nachher geköpft; der Procès seiner Mitschuldigen dauerte bis Ende 1819. Die sich so en jugement befunden excitaient la compassion générale. Plusieurs des officiers complices de Porlier jouissaient de leur liberté, bien que la procédure con- io statât leur présence dans les prisons ou dans les châteaux forts; mais les officiers chargés de leur garde leur permettaient une libre sortie, et celui qui leur refusait cette liberté était fort mal vu de ses camarades. Dieß dauerte des années entières. Gov. that nichts ... Die span, armée trop forte à la fin de la guerre; il convenait de la réduire, mais non pas à 15 presque rien. (Die span. Armee, eingerechnet die troupes der grande expédition destinée à Buenos Ayres, se composait au commencement de 1820 de 39,652 hommes infanterie, 2,859 de cavalerie, 6,114 chevaux, dont 2,975 de *trait* 5,459 hommes d'artillerie, 736 sapeurs. La garde royale montait à 5,472 hommes.) Au complet en officiers des corps se réunit 20 le grand nombre des prisonniers en France qui rentraient en Espagne à la paix générale. Denen die es verlangten erlaubt de passer dans la milice avec la demi-solde. Diese mesure loin de produire la réduction nécessaire. Cependant les réformes se succédaient; on supprimait des régiments; ceux d'infanterie ne conservaient que 2 bataillons, et les 5 officiers des com- 25 pagnies furent réduits à 3. So blieben  $\frac{1}{4}$  des officiers en excédant; sie mußten rester dans les corps sous le nom d'agrégés u. de surnuméraires, nur f. monter la garde. On vit alors dans les régiments presque autant d'officiers que de soldats. So in jedem corps Leute ohne Aussicht auf avancement, meist ohne pay zu erhalten, müssig, pépinière d'hommes 30 prêts à se jeter dans le premier parti qui leur offrirait de l'avantage. Quant aux expéditions d'Amérique, le gouv. fournit aux troupes qui devaient en faire partie le premier sujet de mécontentement en offrant un grade de plus à tous les officiers envoyés outre-mer. Daher trotz der misère qui régnait dans l'armée, malgré la nullité des espérances d'avan- 35 cernent, un bien petit nombre d'officiers prenait volontairement le parti d'aller en Amérique. In diesem état de choses le gouv. prépare une expédition considérable, commence par réunir à l'avance les troupes à Cadix et aux environs, sans que les bâtiments de transport soient prêts, sans que les corps soient équipés, organisés; quelques-uns restèrent des années en- 40 tières sur la côte. Etait-il bien difficile d'organiser l'expédition dans plusieurs ports, en évitant ainsi la réunion d'un si grand nombre de mécon-

tents? Schon der soin de la santé du soldat u. der habitants erheischte dieß. ... Erste symptômes apparents de rébellion in der armée expéditionnaire Mitte 1819. Regierung darauf arretirt einige chefs, nimmt dem général das commandement, der Infant Don Carlos (später der Prétendent) zum généralissime gemacht. Weiter keine mesures prises par le 5 gouv. ... Die fièvre jaune se déclara à Cadiz, Herbst 1819 ... les troupes furent cantonnées à quelques lieues de la place ... Nicht atteintes de la contagion ... in quelques-uns dieser cantonnements die Const, von 1812 proclamirt, 1 Januar 1820 ... Le plus grand nombre resta fidèle au roi... Plusieurs généraux ayant refusé le commandement, les révoltés se trou- 10 vèrent dans la nécessité de choisir pour chef un officier peu élevé en grade, qui n'avait point dans l'armée une réputation très avantageuse, le colonel Quiroga. Er marchirt sofort dans l'île de Léon um sich auch Cadix' zu bemächtigen. Ce projet échoua. La garnison de Cadix u. die flotte prirent une attitude imposante contre les rebelles, qui furent forcés 15 de s'enfermer dans l'île. Ihre Zahl nicht 5,000 hommes, worunter viele recrues u. die mécontents. Ende Januar kam heran, sie erhielten no secours, ||12| tentative faite à Cadix den 24 pour leur ouvrir les portes immédiatement réprimée par la garnison ... Den 27 Januar *Riégo* sortit de l'île de Léon m. 1,500 hommes des meilleures troupes, se dirigea sur 20 Algésiras en se mettant en communication mit Gibraltar, d'où il tira quelques secours. Den ganzen Monat, wo die Revoltirten in der Isle de St. Léon, dieser point nicht bloqué, obgleich ausser der beträchtlichen Zahl der troupes de l'expédition, die nicht Theil an der Revolte genommen, viele régiments de ligne u. de milice en Andalousie, et qu'il arrivât 25 de nouvelles troupes des autres provinces. *Riégo* bleibt in Algésiras bis 7 février (1820); à son retour il apprit, le 8 à Bejer, que le blocus de l'île était commencé. Nach einigen Tagen d'indécision il se dirige sur Malaga. Don José O'Donnell, frère du comte del Abisbai, dessen colonne poursuivait *Riégo*, quoique très supérieure en forces, ne l'attaqua que le 30 17 février sans que cette rencontre l'empêchât de continuer sa marche sur Malaga. *Riégo* seinerseits se contenta d'éviter les rencontres, während ses adversaires manoeuvraient avec tiédeur, u. diese conduite des 2 côtés dauerte bis le nombre des révoltés réduit durch fatigue u. désertion, n'offraient plus qu'un triomphe facile au premier qui parviendrait à les at- 35 teindre. Ende février *Riégo* flüchtet sans plan, projet u. sans que la population prît les armes pour se joindre à sa petite troupe; on se contentait de n'exercer contre elle aucune hostilité: le 7 Mars, *Riégo*, his force reduced to 300 men, mécontents u. découragés, entra dans Cordova en traversant le pont de Guadalquivir; blieb in dieser Stadt jusqu'au jour suivant. 40 Damals in Cordova un régiment de Cavalerie, mehre détachements d'in-

fanterie, u. eine Bevölkerung v. mehr als 30,000. Cependant Niemand  
beunruhigte die Rebellen, qui passèrent la nuit dans le couvent de  
St. Paul, reçurent tous les secours dont ils avaient besoin, u. continuèrent  
tranquillement leur marche le lendemain. La ville était de plus tout en-  
5 tourée de troupes royalistes. Daraus kann man juger l'esprit public en  
Espagne à cette époque ... Die auf der Insel Leon Eingeschloßnen noch  
mehr decouragirt. La crainte du supplice les soutenait encore; les chefs,  
les officiers étaient sans cesse dans les rangs pour empêcher la désertion  
des soldats. Attaque par mer u. terre hätte nulle résistance gefunden ...  
10 Der ganze janvier u. <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> v. Februar 1820 so, ohne daß conspiracy éclatât  
dans aucune autre partie de la monarchie. Gouvernement daher accu-  
mulait aile seine forces in der direction v. Andalucía, laissant des provin-  
ces entières totalement dégarnies. Pas une seule mesure vigoureuse, ou  
seulement prudente, prise par le gouv. apathique. Der duc de San Fer-  
15 nando damais ministre des affaires étrangères u. président du cabinet. ...  
Cependant la population u. die troupes se familiarisaient m. dem soulè-  
vement der île de Léon. ... Die révolutionnaires chargés de soulever les  
provinces travaillaient presque ouvertement; die autorités étaient aveug-  
les et sourdes, on aurait dit qu'elles favorisaient tous les moyens de ren-  
20 verser l'ordre de choses existant.... 21 februar la constitution proclamée à  
*Corona* ... les efforts des conspirateurs pour faire une diversion en faveur  
de ceux de l'île de Léon étaient notoires partout, l'évidence en était vor  
allem in der capital de la Galice, où personne pour ainsi dire ne doutait  
de ce qui devait arriver. In dieser Stadt hatte éclatirt die Commotion v.  
25 1815 (Don Juan Diaz Porlier.) Derselbe capt.-gen. u. gouverneur in  
office, der Porlier schon gefangen genommen hatte. Nur sehr petit nom-  
bre d'officiers et de soldats prit part à la révolut. de Corona; constit.  
proclamirt; capt.-gen., gouverneur, plus autres chefs arretirt; der lieut-  
gen. der sich gerettet, statt Maßregel zu ergreifen, prit le lâche parti de se  
30 présenter aux rebelles pour se faire arrêter. Die nouvelle der révolution v.  
*Corona* Signal; in Ferrol 23 Febr. constit. proclamirt; kein Widerstand  
der Behörden, gouverneur läßt sich in s. Haus arretiren; ebenso in Vigo.  
Der Commandant v. Santiago, der comte de San Roman, lieut.-gén., se  
déclara f. das gouvernement, prit le commandement de la Galice, fit  
35 mettre sous les armes les régiments de milice et réunit quelques vieilles  
troupes. Aber obgleich die Insurgents nicht fähig 500 Mann gegen San-  
tiago zu schicken, dans les premiers moments le nouveau capt.-gén. se  
retira à Orense, 25 span. Meilen v. Corona. Erhöht so in der Meinung  
der Soldaten u. Einwohner die Meinung v. der Macht der insurrection,  
40 en voyant qu'on lui abandonnait la ville la plus riche et la plus populeuse  
de la Galice ... Die insurgés arrivèrent à Santiago; blieben hier plusieurs

jours; der neue capt.-gen. réunissait zu Orense divers détachements de troupes de ligne u. 5 régiments de milices; 2 autres régiments, 1 bataillon d'infanterie u. quelques escadrons étaient prêts. Die forces des capt.-gen. imposant. Fast alle seine officiers u. soldats avaient fait la guerre de l'indépendance. Die Rebellen nicht 800 Mann, meist recrues. Dennoch 5 marschieren die conspirateurs sur Orense. Der capt.-gén. in famoser Position. Die Insurgés mußten über den Minho setzen, alors très enflé, il n'offrait aucun gué, le pont le plus voisin se trouvait à 10 lieues. Trotzdem giebt der capt.-gen. s. position auf, se retira en Castille, s'établit à Benavente, 40 lieues v. Orense. So flieht eine 5x stärkere Macht vor den 10 Rebellen. So tout le royaume de Galice, qui équivalait à  $\frac{1}{3}$  de l'Espagne, se soumit à ses ordres. Die population blieb ganz passiv, ne prit aucune part à la querelle. Solcher scandal wäre unmöglich gewesen si le désir du changement n'eût été répandu dans toutes les classes. Grosser Eindruck der événements v. Galice auf Madrid. Le gouv. commence à transiger m. 15 , der révolution en offrant de réunir les cortes par *estamentos*: (représent, nationale de l'ancienne monarchie esp. composed v. députés des clergé, noblesse, der villes, aber zusammen in une seule chambre.) Dieß Décret mißfiel allen; den Conspirateurs, weil dieses die Const, v. 1812; u. die défenseurs der antique monarchie hielten f. inopportune u. insignifiante 20 die promesse der cortes par estamentos, le décret du 4 Mai 1814, wodurch die Constit. abolie, contenant aussi la promesse du roi de convoquer les cortes, was nicht geschehn war. Die Revolutionäre v. Madrid excités par la faiblesse du gouv. arbeiten offen an ihrem but. Den 7 Mars le roi promit qu'il jurerait la constitut. Par un concours de circonstances 25. assez curieux, derselbe général mandé à Madrid durch den roi pour sauver la monarchie, Don Francisco Ballesteros, sagt dem roi er müsse schwören, schwört (le roi) le 9 mars, quand les rebelles de l'île de Léon étaient aux derniers abois; quand la colonne de Riégo, réduite à peine à quelques hommes, forcée de se dissoudre le 11 mars, quand la garnison 30y de Cadix s'opposait d'une manière ouverte, sanglante même, à la proclamation de la constitution dans cette ville. ... Damals bedeutende Truppen in Madrid. Royalistisch grösstentheils. Geschah aber nichts. Nur die  $\frac{1}{38}$  Chefs de corps versammelt um das ministère, gaben ihm en général de mauvais renseignements, roi soll bes. bestimmt worden sein 35 durch die présentation d'une liste d'officiers des gardes qui faisaient partie der conspiration. Diese liste bien loin d'être authentique ... Le fait est que les soldats des gardes et ceux de la garnison se trouvèrent aussi étonnés de la nouvelle que le roi avait juré la constit. que les gens même attachés au palais ... la plus petite démonstration de vigueur de la part 40. des autorités eût déconcerté le petit nombre de conspirateurs qui se trouvaient à Madrid. (17-51)

### Premier Ministère Constitutionnel.

Dem Beispiel des roi folgen die troupes restées fidèles u. die populations. Schwören der Const. Joie universelle ressentie à la nouvelle du parti pris par le roi. Die Wenigsten kannten die Const. Aber destruction d'un gouv. 5 faible, impuissant; c'était ouvrir la carrière à l'esprit de changement qui agitait les masses. Ausserdem seit Januar 1820 beständige conspiracies, alarms, hörte auf m. der condescendance du roi. 3 Klassen v. mécontents: 1) die die Fehler der Constit. kannten u. dem Gouv. auch nicht glaubten qu'elle serait observée; 2) die gegen jedes changement aus Furcht v. dan- 10 gers f. ihre intérêts; 3) der Theil der Revolutionäre, die die alte Monarchie détruite sahen, ohne daß sie eussent obtenu des lambeaux de ses dépouilles ... sie regrettaient les avantages que leur promettait la guerre civile allumée par le refus du roi de prêter sermon ... Minister wurden nun die hommes les plus poursuivis in 1814 f. leurs opinions: Don Eva- 15 riste Perez y Castro (Foreign Office); Don Manuel Garcia Herreros (Grâce et Justice); Don José Canga Arguelles (Finances); Don Augustin Arguelles (Intérieur); Le Marquis de Las Amarillas (guerre); Don Juan Jabat (Marine); Don Antonio Porcel (Outre-mer.) ... Quelques-uns passèrent du préside au ministère ... 4 mois depuis le serment du roi bis zur 20 installation des cortes ... Während dieser Zeit plusieurs provinces gouvernées par des juntes; il s'en établit même une dans la capitale sous le nom de *junte provisoire*; le gouv. la consultait sur toutes les affaires importantes. Die autorité suspendue de fait, die anarchistes se multiplièrent à l'infini. C'est à cette époque que parurent les sociétés patriotiques; 25 attirèrent les oisifs de toutes les populations; Diskussionswuth, violence etc. Vom Allgemeinen kam man bald zum gov., v. da auf die kleinsten employés, dans lesquels on trouvait des motifs de réprobation parce qu'on voulait les destituer pour donner leurs places aux déclamateurs ou à leurs amis. On vit alors la deputation de l'une de ces sociétés se porter 30 au palais du roi pour demander la destitution d'un digne ministre, le marquis de Las Amarillas; on vit des émeutes ... ainsi s'annulait de plus en plus le gouv. Die Cortes versammelt endlich. Grossentheils composées v. den membres der cortes extraordinaires v. Cadix et de quelques autres hommes modérés. Cortes u. Ministerium entschlossen de soutenir la con- 35 stitution telle qu'elle était sortie des cortes extraordinaires. Die cortes bald discrédités auprès de tous les partis. Den Exaltirten, weil on n'achevait pas de faire disparaître tout ce qui restait de l'ancien régime ... Damals begann die Distinction zwischen den libéraux v. 1812 u. den libéraux de 1820. Die ersten die auteurs der Constitution, verfolgt 1814; 40 die 2ten die conspirirt hatten um sie zu rétablir; die lezteren (v. 1820)



gaben sich f. die einzig Liberalen aus, die v. 1812 seien befriedigt m. der possession des ministère u. der deputation aux cortes, seien devenus modérés, ne faisaient plus marcher la révolution. Die v. 1812 (Cortes u. Minister) aus Furcht vor der Reaction schonten die libéraux v. 1820. Dieser parti se grossit d'une manière extraordinaire de toutes les prétentions malheureuses, de tous les hommes turbulents, bald kein ménagement mehr; ses journaux, ses tribuns de clubs attaquèrent, insultèrent ministres, cortes, roi... Die chefs des soulèvement der isle de Léon nommés généraux avaient formé seit dem serment des roi, un corps d'armée composé de ceux qui les avaient suivis u. quelques autres bataillons die 10 keinen Theil an der révolte. Dieß corps bes. begünstigt. Wird bald gefährlich f. das gouv., le point d'appui des exaltés. Nothwendig es aufzulösen u. in der Armee zu vertheilen ... représentations, difficultés, prétextes dagegen erhoben. Das Gouv. bleibt bei der ordre der dissolution dieser armée. Die chefs der île de Léon senden nach Madrid Riégo, qui 15 commandait en chef en l'absence de Quiroga, député aux Cortes. Ovation, die er in Madrid erhielt. Tritt höchst insolent auf gegen roi u. ministres. Wenn nicht der bon sens der garnison u. milice nationale, Riégo détruisait dès lors cette même constit. proclamée quelques mois auparavant. Riégo, né à Oviedo, famille noble, entra im corps royal des 20 gardes-du-corps, blieb dort bis Ende 1808, wo es aufgelöst in Folge der invasion française; Riégo, wie alle s. camarades, presentirt sich bei der nächsten Provinzialjunta, verlangt service in der Insurrektionsarméc, man nennt ihn lieutenant eines Infanterieregiments, tapfer, Gefangener nach Frankreich geführt, wo er blieb bis zum paix. Dort liest er Politi- 25 sches etc. Zurück, incorporirt dem régiment ||39| des Asturies, wo er es bis zum captain bringt; puis, da s. Regiment bestimmt f. die amerik. Expedition, erhielt er den grade supérieur. War also commandant des 2\* bataillon des Asturies als die conspiracy der île de Léon ou de las Cabezas éclata. Er hatte sie nicht concertée. Ward gewählt v. s. camarads 30 f. das schwierigste u. gefährlichste - de marcher m. s. bataillon u. dann v. Seville sur Arcos de la Frontera pour surprendre le quartier-général, arrêter le gén. en chef et tout l'état-major. Erfüllt diese mission m. success. Riégo später osa risquer l'attaque de la célèbre coupure de Cadix, qu'il ne put enlever et où il reçut une forte contusion de la chute d'une 35; muraille. Kaum rétabli stellt er sich an die tête einer colonne mobile pour chercher des vivres u. soulever die provinces voisines. Le nom de Riégo obscurcit immédiatement ceux de Quiroga, de Lopez Baños, d'Arco d'Agüero etc, tous ses égaux od. s. supérieurs in der hiérarchie militaire. Gouv. siegte jedoch nicht ohne evidente Proben der Furcht vor s. enne- 40; mis. Die armée de l'île fut dissoute, die résidence des Riégo fixirt in den



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Asturies. Clubs schreien über sein Exil, groupes nombreux durchlaufen die Strassen etc. gouv. ruft nur jeden instant die garnison unter Waffen, aber sans ordre de faire évacuer les rues, de disperser les groupes. Die criards so se familiarisèrent m. der troupe, diese gewöhnen sich aux cris  
5 séditieux ... Seit der arrivée des Riégo zu Madrid die agitation continue. Turbulenter Character der séances der Cortes. Die députés, voulant précipiter die révolution, avaient jeté le masque. Ministerium écarte Amarillas, den Kriegsminister, um s. Popularität zu halten. Auf Interpellation, September 1820, die Minister versichern Ruhe in Madrid, alle  
10 mesures seien getroffen, bestanden nur à fatiguer inutilement la troupe en la faisant tenir presque toutes les nuits sous les armes. Die insurrection ouvertement prêchée in den sociétés populaires. Man duldet, que l'on outrageât le chef politique de Madrid, poursuivi, sein Haus assailli. Regierung nicht exposait diese désordres den Cortes. Aber die ministres  
15 fürchteten die exaltés nicht so sehr wie die absolutistes. Daher ihr conduite apathique u. incertaine, mécontentement de tous les propriétaires der capitale u. villes populeuses, vivant dans une agitation continuelle, in der crainte des émeutes, pillage, toutes sortes d'horreurs ... Die cortes s'occupaient de *l'extinction des moines* u. der *réforme der ordres mendicants* (*monjes*) (moines) sind propriétaires, wie die Chartreux, Bernardins, Bénédictins etc; die *médiantes* qui vivent ou sont censés vivre des aumônes volontaires des fidèles.) Unterstützt v. den ministres diese mesure. Diskussion in den cortes. Session der cortes geschlossen November 1820. König, qui habitait l'Escurial, se décida à refuser sa sanction à la loi sur  
25 les ordres religieux. ... Nomination des général *Carvajal* comme capt-gén. der Nouvelle Castille, sans la signature du ministre de la guerre ... die ministres se crurent perdus, se lièrent m. den directeurs der clubs, émeutes wiederholt ohne durch die Soldaten reprimirt die sie sahen soutenues par l'autorité. Alors das ayuntamiento v. Madrid, imitant die *comiô muñe* v. Paris, prétendit gouverner l'état; machte représentations audacieuses damit der roi von Escurial nach der Stadt zurück u. ministres empfingen sie m. enthousiasm; die tribunes der clubs, die carrefours éclataient en menaces contre le roi; réunions nombreuses composées de vrais anarchistes u. curieux. ... Die deputation permanente der Cortes, entou-  
35 rée de mutins, s'adresse auch an den roi pour le faire revenir à Madrid; die anarchistes menacent d'aller chercher à l'Escurial; die garnison reste tranquille spectatrice de scènes scandaleuses, der roi révoque die nomination des capt.-gén. Carvajal; il retourne à Madrid. Erwartet an den Thoren v. den émeutiers; le roi; la reine, die infants furent tous insultés  
40 par une multitude effrénée, roi betrachtet sich in s. palais als Gefangner: die Constitution als épouvantail worunter die ministres en son nom

contre son expresse volonté regieren, roi gezwungen einen confesseur zu entlassen, der antiministeriell. Der *Club im café de la Croix de Malte*, solange er gegen den roi ulkt, ungenirt; sobald (royalistisch) gen die Minister, l'appareil de la force armée déployé, das café fermé à l'heure où se réunissait die société. Als die ministres den appui der anarchistes 5 gesucht, hatten diese présenté leurs griefs u. demandé des réparations, que le ministère se hâta de leur donner. Riégo ernannt zum capt.-gén. v. Aragon. On continuait d'insulter le roi. Nachricht, eines Abends daß der roi sorti pour la promenade, s. Wagen sei arretirt u. qu'on attentait à sa personne. Der chef der im quartier der gardes-du-corps läßt die 10 escadrons zu cheval steigen pour aller dans la direction suivie durch den roi, qui était revenu au palais par un autre chemin. Les gardes le surent à peine qu'ils rentrèrent dans leur quartier. Niemand klagt sie an d'avoir insulté personne dans cette course. Der einzige prétexte que quelques gardes hors de service auraient maltraité un national dans les environs du 15 palais, et poussé quelques cris séditieux. Dieses n'a jamais été prouvé. Cela suffit pour faire une émeute, mettre la garnison sous les armes, assiéger le quartier, dissoudre le corps. (December 1820) Diese effervescence dura 3 jours, während dieser Zeit das quartier der gardes-du-corps assiégé ... Le gouvernement ordonna que les gardes fussent envoyés à 20 Alcalá, mais ni la garnison, ni l'ayuntamiento, ne s'étant conformés à cet ordre, il se résolut à détruire le corps, et décida que les gardes, laissant dans leurs quartiers leurs chevaux et leurs armes, iraient occuper d'autres casernes, où ils seraient détenus prisonniers. Dieß der garde, deren colonel der roi war. Die Cortes reprirent leurs séances le 1<sup>er</sup> mars 1821, roi 25 beklagt sich bitter in der Eröffnungsrede, sagt u. a. (denuncirend s. ministry): «Ces insultes ne se seraient point renouvelées si le pouvoir exécutif avait eu l'énergie, la vigueur que la constit. exige, et que les cortes désirent.» Nach dieser manifestation der roi renvoya die ministres par décret du lendemain 2 mars, et demanda aux cortes de lui indiquer les personnes 30 qui devaient les remplacer. On vit à cette occasion die force des parti den die ministres in den cortes. Elles ne manquèrent pas d'assurer un revenu de 15,000 fcs à tous les ministres, ce qui valait bien, surtout pour eux, une déclaration d'avoir bien mérité de la patrie et d'emporter ses regrets ... die cortes répondirent enfin dem roi sie halten nicht convenable zu désig- 35 ner die Minister-Candidaten; le roi fit les nominations, le 4 mars, sur l'avis de son conseil d'état. Demagogie wird noch toller. Andrerseits die neuerwählten Minister ohne Einfluß auf die Cortes. (52-84)

### Second Ministère Constitutionnel.

Bardaji. (Affaires Étrang.) Moreno y Daviz. (Guerre) Valdemoro. (Intérieur) Feliu. (Outre-mer) Barata. (Finances) Escudero. (Marine) Cano Manuel (Justice). - Nicht populär. Unter diesen auch mehre alte Libe-  
5 rale, früher verfolgt. Ihr Zweck: Répression de l'anarchie. Zugleich zu étouffer die conspirations der s. g. royalistes qui commençaient à se montrer sur divers points en petites bandes ... Exaltados hatten sehr vermehrt. Hatten Anhänger in den Cortes; mehre hohe Beamte; Clubs. On apprit à cette époque l'entrée des Autrichiens à ||40| Naples. Dieß  
10 événement vermehrte die audace der exaltados in Spain. Ils marchèrent de front à la destruction du gouvernement. Durch Emeutes die autorités v. Barcelona gezwungen à chasser de la province des hommes distingués; in Galizia, der gefe politico, José Maria Puente, ganz aux ordres des exaltés, ließ mehr als 100 bekannte personnes arrêter, sie geführt nach  
15 Corona, wo das Volk excité sie zu assassiner, 40 davon embarqués, déportés aux Canaries. Prozeß den Déportés wie den Rückbleibenden gemacht; acquittés alle, weil nicht contre eux une seule charge. - Skandal zu Madrid. Un Chapelain d'honneur des roi - Don Mathias Vinuesa - angeklagt contrerevolutionärer conspiration, Verbreitung v. proclamati-  
20 ons séditiones. Prozeß. Der Fjuge le condamna à 10 ans de présides. Exaltados versammeln sich an einem der besuchtesten endroits, l'après-midi, 4 mai 1821, marchent à la prison, forcent la porte, assassinent m. barbarie den accusé, et parcourent ensuite les rues en célébrant leur triomphe. Das gouvernement mißbilligt hautement die déportations u.  
25 transportations in Galizia u. Catalonia u. läßt die prisonniers mettre en liberté; sezt ab den gefe polit, v. Corona, ersezt ihn durch Don Manuel Latre (moderado) ernennen zum capt.-gen. von *Madrid Morillo* (comte de Carthagène) u. zum gefe polit, den brigadier Don José *Martinez San Martin* ... Die demagogischen réunions appartenaient aile à la seule  
30 société secrète existante alors en Espagne - la maçonnerie. Seit 1820 und bes. seit dem grand débat zw. Regierung u. den chefs der l'île de Leon völlige désunion dans les loges: die modérés, in der Mehrzahl, abandonnèrent die loges; mais elles ne demeurèrent point désertes; les exaltés, les ambitieux s'en emparèrent aussitôt. Keine retenue mehr in der Zulassung  
35 von affiliés. Ueberau recrutirt, gens compromis, maçonnerie in allen Orten v. einiger importance verbreitet; die société beschäftigt sich nur noch m. Politik, an der Spitze die Exaltados, Krieg gegen gouv. u. ministres, jusqu'à ce qu'elle parvint à gouverner la nation. Durch sie formée une fausse opinion publique, u. die directeurs parvenaient à leur but; die

société avait dans les ministères, bureaux des administrations, les postes, partout ihre agents qui l'informaient de tout ce qui se passait; souvent les loges reçurent l'ordre de préparer l'opinion contre un décret ou contre une mesure qui n'était pas encore publiée. ... Anfang 1821 quelques maçons des plus exaltés trennten sich v. der société u. orèrent die *cornu-* 5 *neria*, auch Krieg gen die maçons ihr Zweck, weßhalb viele hommes de bonne foi entrèrent dans les comuneros; aber die division zwischen den 2 Gesellschaften nicht lange, die maçons zogen die comuneros à leurs intérêts, dazu der common hatred against the ministers ihr point de réunion. Zugleich Représentations gegen die ministres, émeutes, insurrec- 10 tion, Werk der geheimen sociétés, qui faisaient chaque jour un pas de plus dans la carrière de la désorganisation de l'état. Journale in ihrer Hand. Andre polit, sectes infestèrent den sol espagnol, aber ohne progrès, mußten sich réunir aux maçons od. den comuneros; die maçons parvinrent à s'emparer du gouv. in Folge des *événement v. 7 Juli 1822*. Kurz nachher, 15 die comuneros se déclarèrent leurs ennemis, u. die 2 sectes se combattirent mutuellement jusqu'aux derniers moments du régime constit. ... loges der Maçons. *Tours* nannten die Comuneros die lieux de réunion ... Diese sociétés die foyers von Anarchie, émeutes, insurrections. Die jeunes gens entraient meist de bonne foi dans ces tortueuses et criminelles 20 menées... Die Zeit kam heran f. die nomination der députés aux cortes f. die législature de 1822 u. 1823. Der Minister des Innern erläßt confidentielles Circular, as to the elections, an die gefes políticos. Aber der prédécesseur des gefe politico Martinez San Martin liest's in einem café. Lärm der Clubs, Journale etc gegen das Circular. Verlangen impeach- 25 ment der ministres des Innern. Das Circular war abgefaßt im «constitutionellen» Sinn; aber gegen die «exagérés». Art. 4) des Circulaire: «il faut que les élus soient autant que possible propriétaires, ou du nombre de ceux qui par leur position, leurs relations dans la société, doivent résister à des innovations dangereuses et contraires à la constit. elle-même». Das 30 Circular d.d. Madrid. 27Juli. 1821. Der «respectable» gefe politico v. Asturien, ayant fait une proclamation dans le même sens, elle fut dénoncée à l'alcade d'Oviedo, et le jury la déclara séditieuse, tant la contagion était générale ... Gouv. zu Madrid gibt nicht nach, unterdrückt die mouvements der agitateurs à leur naissances ... Lächerlicher Zug m. dem 35 portrait de Riégo, in Madrid; präsentirten sich in verschiedenen casernes, wo sie fraternisirt m. den soldats u. officiers; marschiren auf das l'hôtel de l'Ayuntamiento u. le palais, aber der gefe politico zerstreut sie m. einer Compagnie v. grenadiers u. milice nationale ... so qu'ils laissèrent le portrait de Riégo dans la rue ... Gleichzeitig events zu Sarragossa. Riégo, 40. sieh oben, capt.-gen. v. Aragon. Hatte sich dès son arrivée umgeben

m. den Exaltirtesten; darunter un aventurier, *Montarlot*, qui lui proposa de se présenter avec une colonne de troupe sur la frontière de France et d'y déployer le drapeau tricolore. Riégo contrebalanciert durch den brigadier *Don Francisco Aboreda*, gefe politico v. Aragon. Dieser constituirt 5 Anstalten zu Saragossa pour exécuter les projets de transfuge français. Aboreda, folgend alle pas des conspirateurs, berichtet tout dem Madrid gouv. Das Ministerium befiehlt sogleich dem brigadier Aboreda de réunir en sa personne den pouvoir civil u. militaire u. de prescrire à Riégo d'aller fixer sa résidence à Lérida. Riégo grade auf der Rundreise durch 10 Aragon, geht nach Lérida, da er erfahrt daß ihm nicht günstige effervescence in Saragossa. Wuth der Exaltados. On prit le parti d'exciter des émeutes dans beaucoup de chefs-lieux de province, et de s'arranger de manière que les autorités se réunissent pour faire représentations au roi contre le ministère, et pour le menacer de voir ses ordres méconnus s'il ne 15 le changeait. Solche Art Representations durch die Exaltés hervorgerufen in Corona, Sevilla, Cadix, Badajoz etc - résultat d'une même intrigue ... Insurrection zu Sevilla u. Cadix, die v. roi gesandten envoyés nicht admis, ernennen ihre eignen Beamten, erklären zu persister bis das ministère renouvelé, wüthende adresses au roi, aux cortés, circulent der toutes 20 parts, constitution invoquée en foulant aux pieds les attributions qu'elle donne au pouvoir exécutif. So in Cadix «résolution de ne recevoir aucun commandant gén. nommé par le roi, jusqu'à ce qu'il eût changé le ministère». (Zweck hier, in Cadix, das commandement militaire u. politique dem Don Manuel Francisco Jauregui zu lassen, dem chef der insurrec- 25 tion, der insolenten Brief an den roi schreibt. Pour régulariser la résistance dans le cas où le gouvern. voudrait se faire obéir par la force, les Gadétains se confédérèrent avec les patriotes de Seville. ... In Corona dieselben Szenen. Das Ministère sezt ab Mina, den capt.-gen. v. Galice u. centre de la réunion des démagogues. Ernannt an s. Stelle der brigadier 30 Don Manuel de Latre, der auch gefe politico der province. Emeute, dirigirt durch Mina selbst u. ses amis, worin entra une partie de la garnison u. der milice nationale. Latre fut insulté, maltraité u. Mina reprit la charge de capt.-gén. Die Anarchistes, triumphirend in Galizien, Andalusien etc, drohten nach Madrid zu marschiren etc Latre floh v. Corona, 35 se retira à Lugo und befiehlt allen autorités der Provinz de lui obéir comme chef politique und capt.-gen. par interim. Mina resta seul à Corona. Schon Zeichen der Contrerevolution in der Provinz. Aber die exaltés die stärksten in den Städten, disposaient über die Truppen. Latre siegt durch schlaue Mässigung. Mina quitta la Galice. Grâce à la constante activité u. énergie des comte de Carthagène u. Jose Martinez Martin 40 les anarchistes de la capitale n'osaient rien entreprendre u. restaient sim-

pies spectateurs des désordres des provinces. Gift der Presse. Cortes hatten Jury f. Preßvergehn eingeführt, die jurés gewählt par les ayuntamientos die fast alle dem parti désorganisateur angehörten. Die cortes damals réunies in session extraordinaire; messages v. Fernando (25 novemb. 1821) sie berufen um den désordres zu steuern, (bes. m. Rücksicht auf 5 Cadix). Die Cortes theilten ihre réponse à ce message in 2 Theile. In dem l' blamirt die conduite der agitateurs v. Cadix u. Sevilla, dieß remis aux mains du roi bevor der 2'Theil der response discutirt. Exaltés schon heisse Partisans in den Cortes, wenn nicht une majorité; Angriffe, auf die Minister; in dem 2' Theil die response an den roi «qu'il convenait de faire 10 resigner leur emploi par les ministres, *parce qu'ils avaient perdus la force morale.* (Der rédacteur dieses rapport u. dieser inculpation le député Don Jose Maria Calatrava)». Die rebelles persistaient in Andalusien, gestützt auf den appui in den cortés qui examinèrent les nouvelles représentations de Cadix et de Seville, et décrétèrent la mise en jugement des autorités de 15 cette ville. Regierung schlug Repressivgesetz über die liberté der presse vor. Die anarchistes tentèrent d'assassiner le comte de ;411 Toreno u. Martinez de la Rosa ... Gleichzeitig hatte die Regierung zu kämpfen gegen die Royalistes. An ihrer Spitze aucun homme de marque, aucun militaire de mérite. Commandés par des hommes obscurs. Bildeten peti- 20 tes bandes de divers côtés. Liefen überall auseinander, wo sie mit constit. Truppen zusammentreffen u. irren à travers les champs ou dans les montagnes. Wahre calamité f. den pays den sie traversent; die villages müßten subvenir à tous leurs besoins, pillage sowohl v. ihnen selbst, als den Soldaten die sie verfolgten; oft diese villages zu dulden die exactions der 25 chefs de l'un et de l'autre parti. Gaben arme terrible den anarchistes, qui accusaient die noblesse, clergé, modérés, famille royale u. den roi, d'être les auteurs ou les complices de ces conspirations. Mitten in dieser Confusion, wo nur noch menaces d'un côté u. craintes de l'autre, se firent les élections pour la législature de 1822 u. 1823. Die Exagérés vorherrschend 30 unter den Gewählten. On vit des députés élus par des provinces où ils n'avaient ni domicile, ni biens, ni réputation, ni connaissances même; d'autres qu'on avait toujours vu figurer à la tête des émeutes; quelques-uns étaient en jugement pour causes criminelles; un grand nombre n'avaient de propriété d'aucune espèce, d'où l'on pouvait conclure qu'ils 35 n'avaient rien à perdre. Projet der factieux war zu détruire die Monarchie. Gesagt in ihren Schriften, Clubs etc. Der député *Romero Alpuente* proclama dans le club de Lorenzini que «la guerre civile était un don du ciel». Der refus du roi de sanctionner das décret sur les *droits seigneuriaux* contribua beaucoup à retenir le torrent révolutionnaire. In den 40. | circonstances actuelles il équivalait à donner aux fermiers l'autorisation

de ne payer aucune rente u. hätte allumé une guerre d'extermination entre les propriétaires u. den fermiers ... roi hielt die Minister, trotz der Erklärung der cortes, bis Ende février 1822. Nannte neues ministère; v. den 7 neuen ministres 5 quittaient les bancs der cortes der dernière législature. Die Seele des gestürzten II<sup>te</sup> ministry war Feliu, ministre d'outre-mer, puis de l'intérieur. (82-116)

### III. Ministère constitutionnel.

*Martinez de la Rosa.* (For. Office) *Moscoso* (Intérieur.) *Don Manuel de la Bodega.* (Outre-Mer.) *Sierra Pambley:* (Finances) *Balanzat.* (Guerre)  
10 *Romarate* (Marine) *Gar eli* (Justice.)

Begann (Ende Feb. 1822) unter circonstances effrayantes. Auf der einen Seite die Demagogen, bandes royalistes in Catalogne. Eröffnung der cortes 1 mars 1822. Gleich in den ersten Sitzungen zeigt sich decidirte Tendenz zu den mesures extremes. Präsident der Cortes unterbricht den  
15 Minister, der über die Gefahr der Extreme spricht, er selbst sei à la tête des hommes qu'on appelait exagérés. Le ministre cita les prérogatives du roi, le président l'invita à se servir d'autres expressions, le roi n'ayant pas des prérogatives mais des devoirs. Haine sans borne contre le nouveau ministère. Ministers berufen in der Nacht des 9 Mars pour rendre compte  
20 aux cortes de l'état der nation. Triomphe des ministère, accusateurs confondus. Von diesem Moment ascendant der Minister in den cortes. Ihre Partei vermehrt. Die Demagogues discrédités. Cortes bestätigen wieder das loi sur les droits seigneuriaux, v. neuem vom roi verworfen. Beschäftigten sich auch mit Regulierung des government der provinces, u. in allen  
25 opérations suchten sie zu diminuer l'influence des gov.; à priver ses agents des moyens de soutenir l'ordre et faire exécuter les lois. Cortes wollten envahir die ganze administration publique, beschäftigten sich selbst m. der Polizei v. Madrid jusqu'à nommer une commission pour examiner si des gens suspects se réunissaient dans un faubourg, mischten  
30 sich in querelles de cabaret. Dazwischen protestations de fermeté u. courage faites lorsqu'on savait qu'il n'y avait rien à craindre. Machten sich so lächerlich au dernier point ... Eine der ersten dispositions der ministres zu rétablir le décret der cortes antérieures, qui divisait l'Espagne u. die îles adjacentes en 52 provinces. An die Spitze jeder Provinz gestellt Poli-  
35 tische u. milit. Autorités choisies dans le parti modéré ... Fortschritte der royalistes in Catalonien; guerre acharnée entre les habitants der montagne u. ceux des côtes. Zu Aranjuez désordres im palais und cris séditieux; zu Valentia bemächtigten sich einige artilleurs der citadelle ...:



«Mort à la constitution». Beide Bewegungen sofort unterdrückt ... Seit langem die garde royale das objet des déclamations des clubs. Die conduites der compagnies des gardes im Palais v. Aranjuez 30 mai, die nicht energisch dem désordre des Tags sich widersezt, donna de nouvelles armes aux exaltés. Auch quelques querelies zwischen den soldats der 5 garde u. den miliciens de Madrid im Monat Juin. Die cortés prirent précisément ce moment pour s'occuper de la réforme der garde royale. Schon den 30 Juni, als die troupes défilaient nachdem der roi sich retiré vom palais der cortes, die diesen Tag ihre session ordinaire beendigt die tambours d'un bataillon des gardes m. coups de sabre angeblichen Insul- 10 ten geantwortet u. quelques soldats sortirent des rangs pour prendre part à la querelle. Aber beigelegt. Aber in der Nacht 4 bataillons des gardes prennent les armes u. sortent de Madrid; les 2 autres bataillons étaient au palais. Capt.-gén. ihnen sofort nach; findet sie en bataille à une petite distance; wollten nicht rentrer dans les quartiers; cris contre la constitu- 15 tion; se rendirent dieselbe Nacht au Pardo, 2 lieues de Madrid, terreur à Madrid. Garnison von Madrid nur 2 bataillons d'infanterie u. 2 régiments de cavalerie très faibles. Auch die 2 bataillons im Palais pensaient comme leurs camarades. Im Palais noch 1 escadron de cavalerie u. 1 des régiments der garnison, s'était réuni aux gardes. Provinces voisines fast 20 dégarnies v. troupes, größter Theil dirigé auf Catalonien u. Navarra gegen die dortige sédition. Wenige jours vorher die carabiniers royaux u. das régiment provincial de Cordoba avaient poussé des cris de contre-révolution en Andalousie u. fast zur selben Zeit, le régiment provincial de Siguenza se soulevait avec toute la province, nur 12 lieues v. 25 Madrid. Gov. unterhandelt m. den révoltés. Beklagen sich blos über die insultes, lassen aber die pierre de la Constitution sur la place du Pardo wie er war sur celle de Madrid. Bei der sortie v. Madrid die plus grande partie des officiers u. mehre sous-officiers hatten sie verlassen; Indiscipline croissant entre eux; ... unterdeß déroute des carabiniers u. ihrer par- 30 tisans in Andalusien, mußten fuir v. da pour venir rendre les armes dans la Manche ... Während delibéri im Madrid palais über die gardes, das Madrid ayuntamiento prononça qu'il fallait attaquer die gardes m. den andern troupes der capital u. den miliciens nationaux. Insistirt mehrmals darauf, gov. résiste, (es fürchtet, daß die Démagogues den capt.-gen. u. 35 die troupes aus Madrid schicken wollen, um investir le palais, s'emparer du roi etc.) Mehre jours vor dem 2 juillet, un des principaux meneurs des clubs u. des ayuntamiento begann ordres zu donner au parc d'artillerie pour qu'on lançât des obus sur le palais. 6 Juli... indiscipline der soldats der 2 bataillons des gardes noch im palais wachsend; Geld unter ihnen 40 vertheilt; Wein; die soldats hinderten die sortie du palais des ministres,

des gefe politico, andrer personages de distinction, die dort die nuit  
zubringen mußten. Unterdeß marschieren die 4 bataillons des gardes  
vom Pardo auf Madrid, arrivant vor dem point du jour; le 7 juillet; gehn  
ein ohne résistance, même sans être aperçus; konnten so ihre attaque  
5 combiniren, Feind überraschen; aber während die colonne principale  
repoussée v. der grande place durch une poignée de miliciens nationaux,  
die autres détachements, die auf demselben point arriver sollten, arrêtés  
u. dispersés par de simples patrouilles. Die gardes fugitives se réunirent à  
la colonne an der Puerta del Sol, zu flüchten sich in das Palais. ||42| Les  
10 coups de fusil lehrten grande partie der garnison u. die habitants  
v. Madrid daß die gardes entrés hostilement in die capitale. Jeder courut  
à son poste. Durch die Bemühungen des capt.-gén. die gardes nicht atta-  
qués, der Palast nicht attaqué, le roi sauvé. Ordres f. die 4 bataillons die  
Waffen niederzulegen, zu begeben in quartiers ihnen anzuweisen. Die  
15 2 bataillons die im palais geblieben marcheront armés pour se rendre l'un  
à Leganes, l'autre à Vicalbaro, villages des environs de Madrid. Aber die  
gardes des Pardo fliehn vom palais, Weg nach Estremadura, verfolgt  
v. détachements d'infanterie und cavalerie m. quelques pièces d'artillerie;  
désordre in ihren rangs, reissen nach allen Seiten aus, Theil périsse, der  
20 größte Theil se rend prisonnière, bien peu parviennent à se sauver ... die  
gardes des Pardo hatten erst offen contrerevolution. Wunsch ausgespro-  
chen den 7 Juli. Die 2 Officiere, (Don Luis Mon u. Fortunato Flores), die  
sie angeblich zum traier m. dem ministres schickten, «eurent avec le roi  
une conférence secrète». Die gardes attendaient während 6 jours die  
25 direction que devait leur donner la cour, u. während dieser Zeit dauerten  
wahrscheinlich die conférences im palais fort. Von den confidents des roi  
• wollten die einen er sich absolu erkläre; die andren Modification der  
Constitut.; in der Nacht v. 30 juin hätten die Soldaten alles ausführen  
können; den 7 July war es zu spät ... Lorsque le capt.-gén. parla aux  
30 gardes qui se retiraient ceux-ci répondirent qu'ils allaient se rallier au roi,  
qui était également sorti de Madrid ... Wenn übrigens auch die gardes  
gesiegt den 7 juillet, l'entreprise n'échouerait pas moins, les constitution-  
nels avaient en général l'appui des troupes, u. maîtres des places fortes u.  
der principales villes ... le roi bevor den (trotz ihres royal. Eifers) ministres  
35 die plus grande réserve dans les événements de juillet u. ließ sie retenir im  
palais Nacht vom 6-7 juillet. Nach dem 7 Juli konnte sich das ministère  
nicht halten, exagéré mußte folgen. Aber die exagérés noch nicht einig  
unter sich. Bis Anfang August (1822) das nouveau ministère nicht orga-  
nisirt. maçons u. comuneros halten sich aus défense mutuelle in inaction  
40 apparente; erstere siegten u. so geschickt, daß das neue ministère m. dem  
consentement der Comuneros ganz composé aus maçons. (117-144)

#### IV ministère constitutionnel.

(Aug. 1822) *Don Evaristo San Miguel*. (For. Office) *Don Miguel Lopez Baños*. (Guerre) *Don Gaseo* (Intérieur) *Don Felipe Benicio Navarro* (Justice.) *Don Badillo* (outré-mer). *Don Mariano Egea*. (Finances.) *Don Dyonisio Capaz*. (Marine.) ... Lopez Baños einer der chefs der île de 5 Léon, nommé ministre der guerre, chargé de nommer ses collègues, worunter der hauptsächlichste der rédacteur des *Spectateur* war, anarchisches Blatt. Erstes Geschäft dieses ministère in die wichtigen postes die hommes ihrer Sekte zu setzen, die am meisten die ordre u. die ministères antérieurs bekämpft hatten. Aber bald exposés aux invectives der cornu- 10 ñeros; diese glaubten, u. m. Recht nach den Journalen der maçons, es würde nun durch den terreur geherrscht werden. Aber die maçons wollten nur jouir en paix du fruit de leurs travaux. Krieg bricht daher zwischen den 2 sectes aus. Die comuneros bemächtigten sich des procès intenté sur les affaires du 7 juillet, um zu poursuivre tous les modérés u. 15 griffen den For. Min., San Miguel an, der avait instruit le premier cette affaire u. dem sie des omissions criminelles vorwarfen. In Folge dieses procès verordnet die arrestation der ministres v. 7 Juli; comte de Carthagène und gefe politico San Martin conduits en prison, ebenso der duc d'Infantado u. mehre autres; grand nombre v. personnes distinguées Aie- 20 hen. In den Gefängnissen sollten diese gemordet werden. Aber une fois au pouvoir wollten die maçons ihrem gouv. Schein v. modération geben. Bes. aber wüthend weil man den ministre San Miguel in den procès verwickeln wollte, also dem ministère den Krieg machen. Nun ils ne gardèrent plus de ménagement, la cause fut arrachée des mains du juge de la 25 manière la plus illégale et la plus despotique, remis aux mains d'un autre, qui fit relâcher die principaux officiers und se borna uniquement à procéder contre les officiers des gardes ... Guerre civile s'étendait m. acharnement in den Frankreich benachbarten Provinzen; begünstigt v. den Tuileries, baron d'Eroles nahm das Commando der royalistes, u. régence 30 etablirte sich in Urgel. Minister schickten viele Soldaten sur cette frontière, Chefs v. ihrer Sekte, aber ungeschickt. Die Royalistes animirt zu nouvelles entreprises, guerre d'extermination; prisonniers, bes. die distingués, oft assassinés. Auch die provinces des intérieur infestées v. partis plus ou moins nombreux, qui interceptaient les courriers, attaquaient les 35 petits détachements des soldats et raubten in den provinces, erschweren sehr die communications. Vols, assassinats. Gouv. désobéi aux portes même de Madrid, wo se formaient de nouvelles bandes ... Die troupes constit. siegen in Catalonien, u. nach der prise v. Castelfollit et de Bala-

guer, die division royal, des baron d'Eroles forcée de se retirer en France. Aber der guerre dauert fort im Innern von Catalonien, bes. an der Grenze v. Valencia. Esprits exaspérés, furor auf beiden Seiten. Auch das gouv. respire l'extermination, le fer et la flamme. Ebenso in Navarra u. 5 Aragon. Die gén. en chef der armées publièrent à l'envi des bans sanguinaires, des proclamations atroces imposant avec la plus grande légèreté la peine de mort, la confiscation des biens od. die déportation. Die villages wo feu gemacht auf die constitutionnels devaient être brûlés u. saccagés sans pitié, wenn selbst die coupables nicht angehörig der localité, à moins qu'on ne les livrât. Ebenso die villes, wo ein patriote était tué; peine de mort f. die qui donneraient des nouvelles favorables aux royalistes. Diese décrets der fureur et d'extermination étaient exécutés. *Mina* damals wie 1835 ernannt zum capt. gen. v. Catalonien gegen die Royalistes u. denselben Nero. Ließ nach der prise Castelfollit schleifen u. 15 auf dem endroit le plus visible de l'un des pans de mur qui restent debout schreiben: «Ici fut Castelfollit; peuples, prenez exemple! ne donnez point asile aux ennemis de la patrie». Aehnliche ordres kamen direkt v. Madrid an ... 7 Octobre 1822 versammelt die cortés extraordinaires. 12 Octob. V stattete das ministère rapport ab über den état des choses. Schieben die 20 Schuld auf HofIntriguen, auswärtige Intriguen, Ignoranz des peuples, Pfaffen, etc Schlugen (die ministres) als Heilmittel vor: «1) zu fixer le sort du clergé; 2) daß das gov. indiquât les sommes à payer aux prélats hors du royaume. 3) gov. autorisirt zu éloigner v. ihren diocèses die prélats, curés, ecclésiastiques qui lui inspiraient de la méfiance. 4) pouvoir f. das 25 gov. d'envoyer d'une province dans l'autre les employés quittant leurs fonctions. 5) wo die employés nicht de front aux factieux widerstehen, Verlust v.  $\frac{2}{3}$  ihres Gehalt; 6) Stadt od. village, attakirt durch nombre de factieux égal ou inférieur au tiers de ses habitants, qui ne se défendrait pas, obligé à payer la force militaire destinée à les occuper; 7) die auto- 30 rites locales, die nicht der autorité supérieure avis gaben v. der présence der factieux in ihrer voisinage punies d'amendes durch die chefs militaires, suivant que ceux-ci le jugeraient convenable; 8) das gov. bevollmächtigt zu suspendre die ayuntamientos on the proposition der gefes polítocos; 9) f. die factieux <suspendues les formalités prescrites par la 35 constit. pour l'arrestation des accusés); 10) daß in den procès de conspiration die coupables payassent solidairement aile pertes u. dommages occasionnés à des tiers; 11) das gouv. autorisirt zu renvoyer au conseil d'état die présentations d'employés nicht ganz dévoués à la constit.; 12) gouv. autorisé, pour un terme fixé, à écarter u. remplacer en titre u. 40 personnellement die chefs militaires; 13) gouv. pouvoir de remplacer die magistrats die nicht feraient leur devoir; 14) tout fonctionnaire public,

employé civil u. militaire, der nicht die ihm vom gouv. auferlegte destination annimmt, privé de son emploi, déclaré incapable d'en obtenir aucun et, wenn militaire, retirés ses brevets; 15) créées sociétés patriotiques, réglementées pour fomenter l'esprit public; 16) Theaterstücke öffentlich zum selben Zweck; 17) Oeffentliches témoignage v. Dank f. die die am 7 Juli f. die patrie gekämpft. 18) que suivant le désir du gouv. les cortés adoptassent toutes les mesures que leur suggérerait leur zèle particulier, leur amour du bien public.» Die cortés accordèrent dem gouv. fast alle s. demandes, u. décrétèrent dabei que l'on ne donnerait rien aux prélats sortis du royaume. Sie supprimèrent die couvents isolés in den places frontières u. allen endroits de moins de 450 feux. Die Agents des gov. endlich bevollmächtigt ohne forme de procès u. f. 30 Tage alle arretiren zu lassen qu'ils regarderaient comme conspirateurs ... die galeries nahmen lärmenden part à ces discussions ... Das ministère wollte die leztere mesure nicht billigen. Widersprechende Erklärungen desselben. Congress zu Verona. - «Note de la France. A' Monsieur le comte de Lagarde. Paris. 25 Décembre. 1822». Die span. Reg. läßt sich grosse diktatorische Vollmachten v. den cortés geben, aber «faisait à peine usage de ces pouvoirs». Selbst in den provinces am freisten v. royalistes die contributions nur gezahlt m. arriéré considerable; il restait dû au trésor des sommes énormes. Das contingent décrété durch die cortés f. remplacement u. augmentation der armée s'incorporait dans les dépôts m. der größten lenteur u. die recrues, sans habits, mourant de faim, dans la plus déplorable oisiveté, - man gab ihnen selbst nicht die plus légère instruction - montraient toute l'inaction du gouvernement. Ließ sie des mois entiers dans leurs maisons sans leur assigner des corps. Milice active, sollte nach dem Décret der Cortés v. Januar 1822 auf fast 80,000 hommes, noch nicht 24,000, dieselben qui existaient en 1820. Endlich dieß gov. inepte u. débile antwortete die notes des grandes puissances en défiant l'Europe entière. Antwort des *Evariste San Miguel* (For. Min.) an den frz. Gesandten zu Madrid, d. d. 9 Januar. 1823. ... San Miguel et ses collègues épuisaient des ressources qui auraient suffi pour sauver 20 monarchies comme celle d'Espagne, «l'expérience a démontré que l'existence du cordon appelé sanitaire, qui depuis a pris le nom *d'armée d'observation*, alimente les folles espérances des fanatiques illuminés qui se bercent de l'idée d'une prochaine invasion de notre territoire» ... Alberne Apathie der Minister während dieser Verona u. diplomatischen Verhandlungen. - Die chargés d'affaires v. St. Pétersbourg, Wien, Berlin, hatten kaum San Miguel's Answer auf ihre notes erhalten, qu'ils demandèrent leurs passeports und sortirent d'Espagne; le ministre plénipotentiaire de France en fit autant peu de jours après. Jetzt erst die notes der alliés u. die

réponse des San Miguel (alten rédacteur des *Spectateur*) présentées aux cortes. Die cortes benutzten die séances v. 9-11 janvier 1823 zu déclamer contre die sainte alliance, à exagérer le patriotisme des Espagnols en rappelant la guerre de l'indépendance, protestations de mourir libres etc ...  
5 die cortes mendièrent les applaudissements des turbulentes galeries, u. wurden portés en triomphe à côté des apôtres de l'anarchie ... Auch hommes de bien liessen sich in diesen Sitzungen hinreissen, wie Arguelles, chef der parti der moderados ... hätten, statt declamiren, über die Widerstandsmittel consultiren sollen ... fanfaronnades des ministres, imprévoyance ... peu de jours après menacés dans la capitale même ... Un gros v. Royalistes hatte sich réuni sur les bords de l'Ebre vers les frontières de l'Aragon, Catalogne, Valence, unter a certain *Bessières* (wenige mois vorher zu Barcelona zum Tod verurtheilt wegen anarchistischen republiçanisçhen moves). Dieß corps avancirt nach Sarragossa, kommt  
15 bis an die faubourgs, schlägt dann den Weg nach Madrid ein. In Aragon nicht v. dem com.-gén. verhindert, obgleich er un des hommes de confiance des ministère u. mehr als forces suffisantes pour détruire 3-^1,000 factieux. Sie gehn nach Neucastilien. Arrivent in die environs v. Guadalaxara, nur 8 miles v. Madrid entfernt; ihr mouvement lent, den-  
20 noch fähig de s'approcher der Hauptstadt à cette distance sans trouver la moindre résistance. Gov. schickt gegen sie den Commandant der Provinces, Odali, 1 der 5 chefs der île de Leon; trifft die schlechtesten dispositions; bei Brihuega die colonne constitut. mise en déroute complète, perdit son artillerie, grand nombre de prisonniers, totalement dispersée.  
25 1 bataillon v. Madrid das viel «Riego» gesungen, se mit ignominieusement en fuite aux premiers coups de fusil. Dieß der patriotisme sur lequel comptaient les cortes u. das gov. pour faire face à la sainte alliance. Ebenso denselben Tag à 9 heures du soir Déroute s. Unterkommandanten Empecinado vor Brihuega. ... Diese déroute 24 Januar 1823; bringt  
30 confusion in Madrid hervor; ministres gaben ordres f. fortification v. Madrid, commandement der capitale dem gén. Ballesteros u. das der troupes dem Comte del *Abisbal*, *discrédité* par tous les partis u. mésestimé par ceux-mêmes qui l'employaient. Die Royalistes arrivèrent à Guadalaxara u., sans avancer davantage vers Madrid, passèrent le Tage pres-  
35 qu'à la vue des *Abisbal*, der seit dem 27 janvier s'était dirigé contre eux. Entrèrent den 30 à Huète, où ils firent mine de se fortifier. (3,500 Infant, u. 200 chevaux.) *Abisbal* presentirt sich 31 vor Huete u., obgleich die royalistes bis zum 10 février in der Stadt, wagte er nichts gegen sie zu unternehmen. Den 24<sup>e</sup> Januar hatte *Abisbal* das commando übernom-  
40 men; le gouv. gab ihm alle moyens worüber es disposer konnte, u. der comte in s. rapport v. 8 février dit daß s. forces nur 2900 Infanterie, u.

380 chevaux, non compris le régiment de Calatrava qu'il avait détaché à Cuenca, et qui se réunit à lui le 10. Dieß die moyens u. die autorité des gouvernement. Dennoch dieß ministère - «die 7 patriotes p. excellence», das Idol der Cortes u. der Presse ... Den 10 fév. verlassen die Royalisten Huete u. à marches ordinaires, repassèrent sans obstacle le Tage; theilen sich en 2 bandes, dirigirt die 1 vers l'Aragon, die andre gen Valencia, sans que les troupes constit. pussent obtenir sur eux que de très petits avantages. Diese Expedition dauerte bis Anfang März ... Gen. Mina damals v. den Patrioten gefeiert, v. den Cortes, grand'croix de San Fernando, f. die occupation der forts de la Seu d'Urgel; ist nichts als daß, nach der 10 retraite v. Eróles en France, évacuation volontaire des forts durch die assiégés weil ohne vivres, sans en être empêchés par les assiégeants. Von derselben Grösse Mina's prouesses in Catalonien. Den 5 février 1823 das ministère verlangt v. den cortes die levée v. 30,000 Mann à mettre l'armée sur le pied de la guerre; verlangt verschiedene autorisations f. sich, die 15 , deputations provinciales, die com.-gén. des arrondissements militaires. Commission erstattet den andren Tag Bericht darüber, bewilligt, billigt ... Endlich presentirt das ministère dem état des moyens die ihm urgents scheinen pour couvrir les nouvelles dépenses. Sagten weder wie groß die dépenses, noch die ressources, die sie demandaient, noch ob déficit in den 20 schon decretirten contributions ... 3 Articles v. den Cortes verworfen; aber die moyens bewilligt, obgleich die ministres ne surent compte ni des contributions, ni des provinces qui devaient le plus, ni des sommes nécessaires, ni de celles que devaient produire les moyens proposés. Den 12 fév. (1823) das gouv. macht Exposit. in Bezug auf die notes der gran- 25 des puissances, u. den discours des fzs. roi à l'ouverture der chambres, verlangt die cortes devaient prendre les mesures die sie hielten convenables. Diese ernennen commission, diese schlägt vor nichts als: 1) Regierung kann den Sitz v. Madrid weg verlegen - während der Zeit zwischen der Auflös. der ausserord. Cortes u. der Berufung der ordinaires. 2) In 30 i diesem Fall wird das gouv. über den lieu convenable f. s. translation consultiren u. junte de militaires connus etc. Also alle Maßnahmen beschränkt auf «abondan der capitale». Während diese propositions der commission debattirt assistiren die ministres nicht den cortes, (wenigstens *m* hört man nichts v. ihnen) Nun die fanfarons v. Cortes Angst, gestehn que 35" rien n'avait été préparé, qu'il était impossible de résister à l'invasion, que les Français pouvaient arriver à Madrid avec une seule division de *M* 8-10,000 hommes etc ... Á voir das empressement womit die cortes autorisaient le gouv. à sortir de Madrid in den 12 Tagen qui devaient s'écouler bis zur réunion der session ordinaire, sollte man glauben daß Madrid 40;« sehr nah an der Grenze v. Frankreich u. die Feinde sie schon ||44| franchise

hätten. Aber die Français tardèrent noch fast 2 mois à passer la Bidassoa u. Madrid 100 span, lieues v. diesem rivièrè ... Quant aux ministres espagnols, au parti qui dominait les cortes, ils n'eurent égard à rien, ils ne songèrent qu'à se mettre à temps en sûreté après avoir compromis la  
5 nation ... Ihre militärisch. Maßregeln schlecht. Decretiren 2 Operations u. 2 Reservearmeen. I' Operafionsarm.ee, Gen. Mina, troupes v. Catalonien. 2' Operationsarmee aus den troupes qui se trouvaient à Santander, u. einem Theil v. Alcastilien, den Basques, Navarra, Arragon, Valence; gen. Ballesteros. 1' Reservearmee sollte sich organiser zu Madrid unter  
10 comte del Abisbal, 2' in Galicien, unter chef, dem comte de Carthagène ... Die Franzosen fanden nicht den geringsten Widerstand weder au passage der Bidassoa, noch in den gorges étroites der chemins qu'ils suivirent jusqu'à Vittoria, ni au passage de l'Ebre. Selbst wenn das Volk gewollt, mußte passif bleiben, après l'abandon absolu worin le laissaient  
15 les troupes par suite des dispositions du gouv. ... Ausserordentl. Sitzung der Cortes geschloss. *am 19 Feb. 1823*. Man konnte sie nicht weiter verlängern, la session ordinaire devant s'ouvrir le 1<sup>er</sup> mars. Denselben 19 Febr. le roi renvoie die ministres, confiant ihre portefeuilles aux premiers employés der ministères bis zur nomination der nouveaux ministres. In derselben *Nacht v. 19 Feb. 1823* marschiren about 200 Verschwörer sur le palais; unter cris furieux, menaces etc, pénétrant jusque dans son habitation, zwingen ihn à reprendre le ministère. Roi äusserst outragé, seine vie ausgesetzt. Während diese émeutiers im place du palais, andre groupes verlangen à grands cris à la deputation permanente der  
25 cortes que l'on nommât une régence. Die cris «la régence et meure le roi» retentissaient de toutes parts, u. in den endroits les plus publics v. Madrid on plaça des tables pour faire signer des pétitions demandant la déchéance du roi. Dieß dauerte lang fort, nachdem die directeurs der émeutes schon befriedigt, ihr but erreicht, die rentrée der ministres. Der roi  
30 brauchte in dem décret de réinstallation die Worte: «pour le moment». Die Provinzialdeputation v. Madrid, v. Murcia, andre corporations mahnen ihn in d'audacieuses adresses dieß «pour le moment» wegzustreichen u. qu'il déclarât les ministres en titre. *Ueberau Lärm der Sekte, dieselben cris ... stellten den salut der patrie nur «à soutenir les ministres à leur*  
35 *poste»* obgleich ihre incapacité u. négligence notorisch. Die cortes eröffnet ihre *session ordinaire 1 mars 1823*. Den 2 theilt roi mit, daß er convenable gefunden die ministres zu renvoyer, en désignant ceux qui devaient les remplacer, ajoutait, que pour empêcher les affaires publiques de rester en souffrance die ministres démis devaient continuer à remplir  
40 leurs emplois bis sie eussent rendu compte aux cortes de l'état de la nation. Pour éluder die volonté des roi die cortes ordonnèrent daß die



ministres suspendraient leurs rapports bis à nouvelle résolution; dieß zwang den Rülps die ministres détestés zu conserver. (Die cortés thaten dieß nämlich indem sie hinderten die personnes chargées provisoirement de portefeuilles zu lire die rapports préparés durch die alten ministres.)  
Den 2 mars, (Beifall der galleries) - député proposa de déclarer l'incapacité du roi ... Die situation der famille royale war sehr kritisch. Die Cortes insistaient auf die «voyage» fatal, Sevilla bestimmt f. den Rückzugspunkt des gov. u. der Versammlung, roi schickt Atteste v. 7 médecins den Cortes, daß er nicht fort kann. Diese den 12 März den cortes vorgelegt, Commission übergeben, rapportirt den 13, schließt damit, Deputation zum roi zu schicken, daß die cortes hoffen, daß er bis zum 18 März zur Abreise ready sein werde, en fixant d'ici à ce terme précis Tag, Stunde etc, die cortes in Permanenz bis zur Antwort. Dieser Vorschlag angenommen ... Roi, obgleich im Bett, erklärt sich f. den 20\* bereit. Dieser Aufschub v. 2 Tagen bewilligt. Man excita die volontaires nationaux de Madrid die Reise mitzumachen ... f. diese 6 réaux p. Tag une ressource contre la misère. 2 bataillons aus ihnen gebildet. Das gouv. vor allem beschäftigt m. s. départ u. voyage nach Seville u. le peu d'argent disponible était réuni pour cet objet. Der größte Theil der troupes, worüber man verfügen konnte, destiné den roi u. die cortes zu begleiten, en abandonnant viele points wo sie äusserst nöthig. Die ministres so accoutumés à ne rien faire qu'il ne leur venait même pas à l'esprit que leur inaction pendant la marche laissât quelque vide dans les affaires. 23 mars die cortes suspendirent leur session pour un mois. Hauptsache: voyager commodément, avec sécurité, u. halten die «sept patriotes» an ihren postes, roi quitta Madrid 20 mars, escortés von den 2 nouveaux bataillons de volontaires u. durch plusieurs corps d'armée, d'autres se trouvant se postés sur différents points, pour protéger la marche. Unterdeß die royalistes sehr überhand in Valencia, schlagen ein gros constit., die sie angegriffen. Nehmen fast ohne résistance den Château de Murviedro, (l'antique Sagonte) Stadt Valencia selbst bloquée, hätten es genommen wenn Gen. Ballesteros bei s. Rückzug v. Aragon sie nicht forcer zu lever tout à fait le siège. Alors in Portugal die ersten symptômes de soulèvement. Silveyra, comte d'Amaranthe, se leva gen die Constit. in der province de Tras-os-Montes, fut suivie des troupes d'infanterie, cavalerie, milices in der Province. General Louis de Régo schlug ihn, Silveyra zieht sich nach Spanien zurück in die Province Zamora, mit about 4000 Infanterie, 50 chevaux, 6 pièces d'artillerie u. grand convoi de voitures. Dieß vermehrt den embarras der Espagn., da ihm keine troupes in Alcastile entgegenzusetzen. Comte del Abisbai damals l'homme à la mode der ministres u. amis. Man giebt ihm auch die autorité politique von Madrid. (145-220.)

### Entrée des Français. Junte Provisoire.

On n'avait rien disposé sur la frontière pour que les Français éprouvas-  
sent de la résistance, et le ministère fuyait de Madrid laissant toutes les  
branches de l'administration dans le plus grand désordre. Die armée  
5 v. Catalogne ou 1<sup>re</sup> armée d'opérations, about 24,000 hommes, aber so  
disséminés daß die Français ne trouvèrent pas 4,000 réunis. Die 2<sup>re</sup> armée  
d'opérations bei dem Rückzug v. Gen. Ballesteros nach Valencia, kaum  
16,000 Mann, obgleich er nichts in den Provinzen ließ als die garnisons à  
quelques places fortes. (Dieß die Armee v. Aragon, Valence, Navarra,  
10 Theil v. Altcastilien, provinces basques u. Santander.) 3<sup>e</sup> armée d'opéra-  
tions unter Comte del Abisbal s'organisait à Madrid, bestand zum Theil  
de corps nouveaux f. das Commando v. Castille-Nouvelle u. Estre-  
madura, about 12,000 Mann. 4<sup>e</sup> armée d'opérations die troupes qui gar-  
nissaient la Galice, die Asturias, u. Theil der Vieille-Castille: 2 bataillons  
15 d'infanterie, 3 anciens der milice, 6 ou 7 de nouvelle création, 2 régiments  
de cavalerie, 1 d'artillerie. Comte de Carthagène ihr Gen. en chef. Die  
*Reservearmee* sollte se former en Andalousie, bestand aus den corps qui  
garnissaient cette province u. des troupes qui escortaient le roi et les  
cortes. Die places en général hatten weder die garnison noch die appro-  
20 visionnements ¡451 de guerre nécessaires. So zu Santoña, San Sébastian,  
Pampelune ... Keine dispositions getroffen pour augmenter die means  
of defense u. réunir die ressources, dont pénurie extrême on all sides.  
Die Cortes hatten den Provinzialdeputationen grosse facultés verliehen,  
selbst, au mépris der Constituí., à frapper des contributions. Man dachte  
25 an die Dienste der juntas d'armement et de défense v. 1808-1813.  
Aber die *deputations provinciales* v. 1823 bestanden en général d'hommes  
modérés u. prudents, weil sie nicht ganz erneuert in 1821, u. die  
Démagogues, contents d'envoyer aux Cortes beaucoup de gens de leur  
confiance, n'avaient point chercher à influer sur l'élection des députés  
30 provinciaux, car *ceux-ci n'étant point payés*, ihr emploi schien mehr  
charge als avantage. Die députés provinciaux zur selben Zeit u. denselben  
Wählern gewählt wie die députés aux cortes, aber diese alle 2 J. erneuert,  
jene 4 J. u. se renouvelaient par moitié tous les 2 ans. Die grosse majorité  
des députés provinciaux war dégoûtée de la marche des affaires; *compo-*  
35 *sée d'hommes riches* ... Wußten daß die population nicht Krieg wollte.  
Wollten selbst Frieden, Freiheit v. der Anarchie des factions qui mena-  
çaient de ruiner les propriétés de toute espèce. Ausserdem sahn sie, daß  
die Cortes u. das government, en leur accordant des attributions qui  
violait la constitution, avaient pour but de se décharger sur elles du

poids de la guerre, de l'odieux et des violences et des sacrifices qu'elle entraîne. Les cortes et le gouv. résolus à fuir le péril, cherchaient également à fuir les difficultés qu'offrait l'état dans lequel ils avaient précipité les affaires. Ils voulaient accorder *un vote de confiance* à qui voudrait s'en charger. Ebenso mit den pouvoirs accordés aux généraux en chef, qui, 5 d'accord avec les deputations, pouvaient tout faire. Dieß die mesures pour soutenir die fameuses réponses aux notes der grandes puissances. So die Franzosen rücken ein ohne Opposition. Die 2' span. Armee se retira auf Valencia fast ohne tirer un coup de fusil u. die 1<sup>re</sup> armée schloß sich in den places fortes ein, nach einigen actions worin Mina u. die gén. unter 10 s. ordres mis en déroute. So bemächtigen sich die French des course des Ebro. Bloquèrent die places fortes en arrière de cette ligne, u. während das 2' Corps unter Gen. Molitor occupait l'Arragon u. sich mettait en communication m. dem duc de Conégliano, commandant in Catalonien, avancirten das 1\* Corps und die garde royale auf Madrid par les routes de 15 Guadarrama u. Somosierra. 1808 hielt eine span. division bei Somosierra Napoleon selbst auf u. Madrid ergab sich erst nach 4000 coups de canon tirés durch die français. Und Angoulême hatte nicht 1/2 der Armée v. Napoleon. Peu de jours vor der arrivée der Franzosen erläßt Abisbai publier un écrit worin er disait daß es indispensable de modifier la con- 20/ stitution. Abisbai versteckt sich in Madrid bis der entrée der French, beaucoup d'officiers restèrent à Madrid, division, discorde s'introduisirent in die corps u. die soldats désertèrent en grand nombre. Die *Français entrèrent à Madrid 24 Mai 1823 au milieu des acclamations des habitants*. Franzosen, obgleich sie aucune résistance fanden, hatten 47 jours 25 gebraucht pour arriver à Madrid après leur entrée en Espagne. Der duc d'Angoulême créa dès son entrée une *junte provisoire*, qui se mit à la tête des affaires u. s'installa d'abord à *Oyarzun* le 9 avril. Die junte composée d'hommes dévoués au roi u. ennemis irréconciliables de tout ce qui portait le nom de constitutionnel. (Waren span. Emigrés (royal.) nach 30 Frankreich.) Wüthende Reactionnäre ... le fameux décret sur les droits seigneuriaux n'allait à rien moins qu'à soulever les fermiers contre les propriétaires, so zu précipiter die révolution que les classes inférieures y prirent part. ... Franzosen appelliren so nur an die partie servile ... dje grandesse d'Espagne, représentée durch 36 de ses membres, richtet 35 Adresse an den Angoulême im *constitué*, moderirten Sinn. ... (Vom 27 Mai diese adresse) ... Statt libéraux u. serviles nun noirs u. blancs. Désordres u. insultes. Meurent les negros. ... Wurde délit den geringsten manque d'approbation der actes des gouv. const, gegeben zu haben, d'avoir exercé un emploi public, charge municipale, d'avoir été volontaire 40 nationale, les prisons gefüllt. Modérés ebenso jezt v. der Reaction ver-

folgt wie vorher v. der anarchy ... Tel était l'aspect des villes qui avaient  
reconnu la junte provisoire, deren régime 1 1/2 mois dauerte ... Sobald die  
Franzosen entrés in Madrid, *régence* établit durch den conseiller d'état  
français de Martignac; er berief die conseils suprêmes de Castille et des  
5 Indes damit sie selbst die individus nannten, qui devaient la composer.  
Diese erklärten sich nicht befugt zu ernennen, präsentirten aber eine Liste  
v. Individus die sie f. brauchbar hielten. Angoulême se conforme à la  
proposition der conseils, u. 26 Mai installée die Régence: *Duc d'Infan-*  
*tado*, président; duc de Montemar, baron d'Eroles (lieut.-gén.), évêque  
10 d'Osma, Don Antonio Gomez Calderón (procureur du roi au conseil des  
Indes.) ... Die 3<sup>e</sup> span, armée, nachdem sie left Madrid, prit den chemin  
v. Estremadura unter den ordres des marquis de Casteldosrius. Franzo-  
sen schicken gegen sie ein corps de troupes; Arrière-garde-gefecht avant  
d'arriver à Talaveira. Die Span, in ihrer retraite richteten sich de l'Estre-  
15 madure vers l'Andalousie, suivis du gén. Bourmont. Un autre corps de  
troupes frç. marcha sur la Manche unter Gen. Bordesoulle, u. gen  
Anfang Juni une division commandée durch comte Bourk s'établit dans  
le royaume de Léon, pour préparer l'occupation de la Galicie et des  
Asturies. Comte Molitor gegen Valencia, Gen. Ballesteros m. abandon-  
20 nent s. artillerie zieht sich vers la Murcie après quelque résistance oppo-  
sée par son arrière-garde au passage du Jucar à Alzira. In Catalonien, der  
duc de Conegliano, zerstreute das détachement v. 3-4000 men comman-  
ded durch Mina, zwingt ihn sich nach Tarragona zurückzuziehn, emporte  
quelques avantages sur la division de Milans, u. se dispose à bloquer  
25 Barcelone. Der Comte de Carthagène verließ Madrid 7 April u. nach une  
petite halte dans la Vieille Castille, il se dirigea vers la Galice pour orga-  
niser les troupes. Viele troupes liefen über zu den Franzosen. Die places  
v. Jaca, Tortosa, Cardone öffnen ihnen leurs portes. Auch kein Wider-  
stand der Bevölkerung. ... Unterdeß cortes u. gov. zu Sevilla s'obsti-  
30 naient à proclamer que la guerre était nationale. Cortés reprirent leurs  
séances in Sevilla den 23 avril. Neues ministère, *les cortes donnèrent la*  
*dernière main à la loi sur les droits seigneuriaux, dont les ministères v. 21*  
*u. 22 avaient refusé la sanction* ... M. Calatrava war an der Spitze des  
neuen ministère ... Die Français s'avançaient vers l'Andalousie, wo die  
35 armée de réserve formée sous les yeux du gouv. n'existait pas. ... Nach-  
richt kommt nach Sevilla, daß die Français traversé die montagnes.  
Panic. Cortes vereinigt 11 juin, beriefen die ministres sich zu erklären  
über l'état des choses; sie wußten nichts über die moves der French u.  
der roi habe noch nichts beschlossen über die translation des gouv. qui,  
40 d'après l'avis du conseil d'état, devait se faire à Algesiras. On fait la  
proposition que: comme il est à croire que les ministres n'ont pas la

confiance de S. M., on envoie un message au roi pour lui manifester la nécessité de se transporter avec toute la famille royale à Cadix, en partant de Seville dès le lendemain à midi. ||46| Deputation der Cortes bringt dieß dem roi. Er refusirt Sevilla zu verlassen. In den Cortes darauf schlägt der député *Galiano* vor: «Beschlossen, daß der cas eingetroffen v. Article 187 der Constitution, de considérer S. M. en l'état d'empêchement moral, u. régence provisoire zu ernennen, die réunira die pouvoirs exécutifs pour le seul fait de la translation.» Enthus. Applaus der Galeries. Die députés, die sich opposer wollten, menacés de mort par les galeries u. dans la salle même des cortes. Diese acceptiren Galianos Vorschlag. Ernennen die 10 Régence: Lieut.-Gén. *Don Cayetano Valdès* (député aux Cortes) président, u. die conseillers d'état *Don Gaspard Vigodet* (lieut.-gén.) u. *Don Gabriel Ciscar* (Chef d'escadre). Séance turbulente. Selbst nicht voté individuellement ... Die Cortes beschlossen de se réfugier à Cadix, d'amener le roi dans cette ville en le dépouillant auparavant de ses fonctions, alors 15 qu'elles ne pouvaient plus conserver la moindre espérance de faire triompher leur cause; alors que la constitution disparaissait en Portugal u. der roi y reprenait son ancienne autorité. Die portugies. Cortes hatten terminé leurs affaires. In derselben séance vom 12 (June?) die cortes résolurent que l'on exciterait le zèle des volontaires nationaux de Seville, et les autres villes pour suivre le gouv. à Cadix, en leur offrant les mêmes 20 avantages wie den volontaires v. Madrid. Fanden sich des gens ... Contrerévolution vorbereitet in Sevilla. Vermittelt durch den Arrest v. dem Anglais Gén. Doyle, qui dirigeait l'entreprise, et de divers officiers qui en faisaient partie. Le roi sortit de Seville m. s. ganzen famille *le 12 juin*, 25 6 1/2 Uhr abends, escorté par les bataillons des volontaires nationaux de Madrid u. Seville, 1 bataillon de marins u. le régiment de cavalerie d'Almanza. Le roi arriva le 13, à 5 Uhr du Matin, à Utrera; il en repartit à 2 heures après midi le même jour, roi arriva au porte St. Marie le 15, 2 Uhr du matin; 8 Uhr il se remit en route, et arriva à 1 heure après-midi 30 à l'île de Léon. Denselben 15 juin Décret der Régence, worin sie ihre executive Gewalt wieder in die Hände der Cortes zurücklegt. Die ministres also zu expédier les ordres au nom du roi, statt in dem der régence. Morgens den 13 Juin verließ der größte Theil der Cortes Sevilla, sur le •m bateau à vapeur. Denselben Tag il y eut un mouvement presque gén. de 35 î contre-révol. dans la province de Seville ... avec les Français waren entrés en Espagne la junte provisoire u. die Espagnols réfugiés en France, et les passions dont ils étaient possédés. ... Nach der Flucht der Cortes v. Sevilla, die French obtinrent la réunion de beaucoup de militaires espagnols, et les rangs des constitutionnels restèrent presque déserts. Der comte de Carthagène se refusa ouvertement à reconnaître la régence

nommée par les cortés. Er méprisa également die 2 partis (die régence zu Madrid u. die zu Cadix) u. se détermina à s'unir aux Français avec les troupes à ses ordres pour coopérer à la liberté du roi; il stipula daß niemand für s. opinions von früher verfolgt, verlangte sûretés f. die per-  
5 sonnes, u. die propriétés ... *Exposition faite par le comte de Carthagène* au duc d'Angoulême cirkulirte in copies. (Ohne ihre authenticité zu garant., giebt der Autor sie.) ... Es heißt darin u.a.: «Les cortés en dépouillant les propriétaires de leurs biens, en distribuant ceux du clergé séculier et régulier, en prêchant, en tolérant le désordre, auraient entraîné  
10 la multitude, et votre A. R. eût trouvé sur les Pyrénées de nombreuses armées patriotes, qui se seraient formées, comme cela eut lieu en France dans de semblables circonstances» ... sous le règne de Charles IV le prestige du clergé s'affaiblit tellement, par la diminution de ses revenus, que il serait resté resserré in engen limites, aber die guerre d'indépendance  
15 gab ihm neuen influence, durch die Dienste die er leistet, die stupide persécution der libéraux etc ... Les démagogues reconnurent que l'époque n'était point convenable pour faire un changement de constitution; car il aurait été d'une inconséquence manifeste de changer la forme du gouv. lorsque l'on prêchait de toutes parts qu'il n'y avait rien  
20 de plus parfait que la const. de 1812, et que par cette raison on ne pouvait consentir à la modifier. Ils voulurent donc conserver le roi, même au prix de l'absurdité de le déclarer le 11 juin en état d'inaptitude morale, et de le réhabiliter le 15 du même mois ... (221-316)

#### Opérations militaires. Régence de Madrid.

25 Die fortifications de Cadix nicht réparées seit 1812, wo Soult leva le siège de cette place, die canons démontés, keine fusils etc Pour la défense der ville u. île de Léon nur 700 quintaux de poudre; on eut recours à la marine; sie lieferte 1000 quintaux. Truppen bestanden aus 14 bat. Infant, ou volontaires nationaux v. Madrid u. Sevilla. Gesamtzahl 7100 men,  
30 200 sapeurs, 250 artilleurs u. 60 od. 70 cavaliers des volontaires de Madrid. Die 6 bataillons de milice nationale de Cadix about 3000 men. Keine ressources, (die fonds dus par le gouv. franc, par suite des indemnités stipulées à la paix gén. Soustraction de ces fonds par le cons. gén. Machado; procès gegen ihn u. his friend Mendizabal.) Die Franzosen  
35 23 vor der île de Cadix, et commencèrent à fortifier, à élever des batteries sans entreprendre aucune opération. Ihre force: 12,000 men. 16 juillet une sortie der constit. par le chemin royal u. le Trocadéro; mußte sich retirer m. perte. Die fzs. forces navales s'augmentaient, konnten aber nicht

empêcher die communications ... 16 août Angoulême arriva à Port-St.-Marie ... Die 3\* span. Armee continua ihre retraite auf Andalusien; Lopez Baños à sa tête. Entre Seville den 16 juin, nicht ohne résistance der populace dieser ville; nimmt dann den Weg nach Huelva. Die Fzs. die zu Sevilla den 18' June arrivent, verfolgen ihn sofort, bemeistern sich seiner ganzen artillerie; die cavalerie se dirige nach Estremadura; die Infanterie, about 1000 men, s'embarquèrent à Huelva u. parvint à Cadix m. dem chef Baños. On ordonna sa mise en jugement pour avoir abandonné les troupes sous ses ordres ... 4 Aug. convention des General Ballesteros m. Graf Molitor, sanktionirt durch Angoulême ... *Die Régence in Madrid:* déclara nuls tous les décrets de l'époque constit.; ne jugea même pas convenable de rétablir les choses dans l'état où le roi les avait mises avant le 7 mars 1820, et se permit des innovations de la plus grande importance; so im *système d'impôts*, worin sie abolissait die *contribution* directe; la partie la plus considérable des revenus de l'état. Für die milices provinciales, statt des règlement v. 1820, eines du milieu du XVIII siècle qui prouvait la honteuse ignorance de ses auteurs; bildeten partout die volontaires royalistes; - Les Cortes en créant la milice nationale voulaient opposer une force à celle de l'armée permanente qu'ils supposaient devoir être, en temps ordinaire, à la dévotion du gouv. Damit dieses keinen Einfluß auf die milice, die cortes wollten daß sie organisées durch die ayuntamientos u. daß die miliciens selbst ihre officers u. chefs ernannten, so daß diese institution ganz populär. Da die milice nationale noch nicht auf dem Strumpf, einstweilen die volontaires nat. créés durch die Cortes, où furent admis tous ceux qui voulurent u. nicht notés waren als ennemis der U 471 constitution. - nous avons vu dans la *gazette de Madrid* que tous les individus nommés à des emplois de finance étaient désignés als capt, officers, od. simply soldats des volontaires royalistes ...; l'Espagne doit à la régence de Madrid das fameux système de *purification*. Durch Dekret v. 27 Juni alle employés civils nommés seit dem 7 mars 1820 cesseraient immédiatement leurs fonctions etc. Die employés nommés par le roi vor dem 7, aber nicht déplacés seit 1820, ebenso die seit der Zeit changé de place od. avancement, restaient sujets à la *purification*, beruhend auf den rapports secrets sur leur conduite politique, diese rapports devant être pris v. 3 personnes royalistes etc etc ... die employés supérieurs devaient être purifiés par une junta composée de 5 individus. On créait dans chaque province une autre junta de 5 individus pour la purification des employés subalternes... Ceux qui sous le nom *de royalistes* se déclarèrent contre le gouv. const, étaient, la plupart, des gens de basse classe sans carrière, sans principes, sans instruction d'aucune espèce .... quelques uns avaient fait partie de bandes de voleurs (*El Rojo de Falderas, Jaime*

*Alonso etc*) ... Ceux qui suivaient de tels chefs waren des journaliers sans travail, jeunes gens die das recrutement flohen, quelques mauvais sujets échappés des prisons et se posant défenseurs de l'autel et du trône. So diese *bandes* ... die jeunesse de quelque espérance, attirée par l'oripeau du système constit., regardait avec le plus profond mépris les serviles ... In Folge der Ereignisse v. Sevilla v. 11 juin, Proclamation der Régence vom 19 Juin, in Folge wovon 100" incarcérés, demeurés dans les lieux soumis à la régence sous la sauvegarde des conventions ... um als otages f. das vie des roi zu dienen. ... Décret des Angoulême d'Andujar, 8 août 1823, 5 10 wodurch die commandants der troupes franc, devaient avoir connaissance des arrestations pour motifs politiques et des causes de ces arrestations. Die Régence widersezt sich der Ausübung dieses Décrets, heißt im Art. II dieses Décrets: «Les commandants en chef de notre armée mettront en liberté tous ceux arrêtés arbitrairement et pour opinions politiques, particulièrement les miliciens qui se sont retirés dans leurs foyers» ... l'ambassadeur de l'Angleterre résidait à Cadix, près des cortes ... die membres der régence wollten nie reconnaître la convention du gén. Ballesteros. ... Wollten ebenso Carthagène absetzen v. s. commander-generalship of Galizia. ... Presse wieder unter Censur. Die 20 «Gazette» u. «El Restaurador». (Redakteur des lezteren infâme journal war der père F. Manuel Martinez, mort évêque de Malaga.) (317-362)

### Délivrance du Roi.

Ankunft des Angoulême vor Cadix beschleunigt die préparatifs der attaque, die travaux commencèrent sofort gegen Trocadero; Fzs. stürmen 25 sie Nacht v. 30 auf 31 août, überraschen ceux qui la défendaient, et s'en emparèrent m. sehr peu de perte. Garnison v. Trocadéro 18,000 : 800 nur retournèrent à Cadix, effarés u. sans armes; le surplus tué ou pris. Decouragirt les plus fougueux partisans des cortes; quelques jours après die ministres schicken gén. Alava pour voir le duc d'Angoulême. 30 Le prince verlangt *nur* que le roi sortît de Cadix et arrangeât les choses comme il le jugerait convenable. Diese réponse ungenügend pour ceux de Cadix; les cortes décrétèrent que l'on ne parlerait jamais de capitulation. Le 16 sept., les Français bombardèrent Cadix pendant 2 heures, et parvinrent à jeter dans la ville une quantité considérable de boulets et de 35 balles, qui firent assez de ravages dans les édifices. Une bombe fut coulée par le feu des batteries de Cadix, dieser petit incident produit dans cette ville une joie extraordinaire. Le 20 sept., l'escadre franc, protégée par les batteries de terre attaqua le château de Santi-Petri, se rendit après



4 heures de feu, non sans reproche de lâcheté pour le commandant, car le feu des Franc, était très incertain à cause de l'éloignement; la garnison n'avait fait presque aucune perte, et les fortifications n'étaient point endommagées. Ce coup fatal aux Cortes parce qu'il assurait den Fr. un point fortifié dans l'île même de Cadix, et qu'il leur devenait très facile 5 d'empêcher les communications par mer. La situation des constitutionnels très critique depuis la perte de Trocadéro; il y avait des bataillons auxquels on ne pouvait confier de service sur la ligne parce que leurs postes désertaient en entier avec les officiers. Les lettres de change sur le fond d'indemnité ayant été protestées, il n'y avait ni crédit, ni 10 ressource de'aucune espèce. In London 2 Souscriptions f. die Constitutionnels, l'une, par Sir Robert Wilson, produisit seulement le don de 2 fusils; l'autre, présentée par Henri Hunt, donna 1 /. st. offerte par une jeune personne. Die Cortes hatten Cadix contribution v. 10 mili, réaux par mois aufgelegt aber impossible de réaliser cette somme. Das gouv. 15 schickt wieder Gen. Alava zum Angoulême: selbst réponse ... 27 sept, das bataillon de St. Mariai, le plus fort de ceux de Cadix et de l'île, se trouvant détaché sur la côte et à la batterie de Urrutia, poussa des cris contre la const, et appela les Français. Diese kommen nicht. Aufruhr v. dem const. Gen. unterdrückt. 8 grenadiers den andren Tag fusillés. Aucun 20 officier ne prit part an dem mouvement des bataillon, ... Dieß événement grossen Schrecken in Cadix. Bericht des Gen. qui commandait dans l'île, an das gouv. Le gouv. fit réunir une junte de généraux, zu examiner den rapport des commandant der île, finden s. situation extrêmement critique. Cortes réunies den 29 Sept., beschlossen, non sans quelque opposition, 25 que le roi pouvait sortir de Cadix pour voir le duc d'Angoulême. Le roi se résolut de se transporter le 1<sup>er</sup> Octobre au port de St. Marie, aber den 30 Sept. publicirte er ein Décret d. d. Cadix: «Espagnols, le premier soin du roi étant de faire le bonheur de ses sujets ... je me hâte de calmer les craintes ... que pourrait produire l'idée de voir introniser le despotisme et 30 dominer la haine d'un parti... verspricht 1) un gouvernement garantissant die sûreté personnelle, propriété, la liberté civile des Espagnols; 2) oubli général, complet et absolu de tout le passé, sans aucune exception. 3) anzuerkennen die dettes u. obligations contractées par la nation et par mon gouv. sous le système actuel. 4) Allen constit. généraux, chefs, officiers, 35 sergents, caporaux de l'armée u. marine ihre Grades, Solde etc gesichert. Ebenso die employés civils ... Die miliciens volontaires v. Madrid, Sevilla etc könnten frei (v. Cadix) nach, comme tous autres Espagnols réfugiés dans son enceinte, retourner sur le champ et librement chez eux, ou se rendre sur le point du royaume qui leur conviendra davantage. Die fort- 40 gehn wollen ausserhalb, erhalten passports.» In diesem Décret, ein Tag v.

s. Abreise, sagt er überall daß er «librement u. spontanément» handelt etc. Le roi sortit de Cadix le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre; le duc d'Angoulême l'attendait au port St. Marie, ebenso der président der régence v. Madrid, et le ministre des affaires étrangères, qui s'étaient hâtés de sortir de la capitale  
5 après le duc d'Angoulême pour circonvenir le roi au moment où il recouvrerait la liberté. Ebenso gén. Ballesteros accouru um zu féliciter le roi. Neues Décret v. 1 Octobre, 1823, d. d. Port-St.-Marie: «scandaleux événements; la plus criminelle trahison etc Phrasen. (<l'insolence la plus horrible envers ma personne royale, la violence la plus exigeante etc) ...  
10 le voeu gén. s'éleva de toutes parts contre la tyrannique constituit. ... désirant pourvoir aux besoins les plus pressants de mes peuples et manifester au monde ma véritable volonté au *premier* moment où j'ai recouvré ma liberté, j'ai décrété ce qui suit: *Art. 1* Sont nuls et sans aucune valeur |  
|48| de quelque espèce qu'ils soient, tous les actes du gouvernement appelé  
15 constituit. qui a régi mes peuples depuis le 7 mars 1820 - aujourd'hui, 1 Octobre 1823. *Art. 2* J'approuve tout ce qui a été décrété et ordonné par la junte provisoire du gouvernement et par la régence du royaume, créées, la première à Oyarzun, le 7 avril, la seconde á Madrid le 26 mai de la présente année». Le roi s'était remis, à son retour de France, entre les  
20 mains du même parti qui l'entourait à son arrivée à Port-St.-Marie. l'état avait été bouleversé pendant que les mêmes hommes tenaient les rênes du gouv. Presque tous étaient employés lorsque le roi jura la constit. en 1820; hatten sich einst soumis der révolution ... Ernennt den minist, des affaires étrangères der Régence - Don Victor Saez, chanoine de l'église  
25 primatiale de Tolède - zu s. confesseur ... Neues Décret: «le roi désire que pendant son voyage à la capitale il ne se rencontre à 5 lieues de son passage aucun individu qui durant le système constit. ait été député aux cortés dans les 2 dernières législatures, ni les ministres, conseillers d'état, membres du tribunal suprême de justice, com. gén., chefs politiques,  
30 employés de ministères, chefs et officiers de la milice nationale volontaire abolie; leur défendant *pour toujours* l'entrée de la capitale et des résidences royales, dont ils devront se tenir à un rayon de 15 lieues. Nicht eingeschlossen les individus qui, depuis l'entrée de l'armée alliée, ont obtenu de la junte provis. ou de le régence leur nomination à un nouvel emploi,  
35 ou leur remplacement dans celui qu'ils avaient reçu de S. M. avant le 7 mars 1820; mais les uns et les autres avec la condition de rigueur d'avoir été déjà purifiés.» (Damals hatte man purifié nur très petit nombre d'employés civils v. Madrid; on n'avait pas encore établi le mode de purification des militaires; was députés, cortés, conseillers d'état etc  
40 anging, so sie nur admis zur Purification wenn employés schon vor dem 7 Mars 1820.) ... Ce qui démontre le plus l'absurdité du décret c'était

d'y comprendre les chefs et les officiers de la milice nationale volontaire, parce que le nombre s'élevait à plusieurs 1000 d'individus, les officiers ayant été renouvelés 2 ou 3 fois ... Der duc d'Angoulême, unzufrieden, retournait sofort nach Frankreich ... der roi blieb zu Seville bis zum 23 Octobre, arrivirt zu Madrid 13 Nov. Un envoyé extraordinaire de l'emper. de Russie (Pozzo di Borgo) l'y attendait pour le complimenter sur sa délivrance; d'après l'opinion publique il influa puissamment sur la nomination du nouveau ministère. On le composa en général d'hommes plus modérés que le précédent, et le min. des aff. étrang. de la régence, don Victor Saez, fut renvoyé et sortit de Madrid. (363-390) 10

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(in Paris fzs. erschienen 1842)

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«... asoman soldados españoles jurando la constitución sobre el Neva, y recobrando sus banderas de las manos imperiales. Este hecho extraordinario y poco sabido se rodeó del modo siguiente: Napoleon, en su expedición descomunal de Rusia, se había llevado consigo parte de los prisioneros españoles que se hallaban en Francia; se les alistó en una legión particular; y con el descalabro del ejército francés, se pasaron al campamento ruso. Alejandro agasajó y aun galanteó á los soldados españoles, pues los acuarteló en Peterhoff, sitio imperial, á donde la emperatriz solía ir á visitarlos. El embajador de España en Rusia, Don Eusebio Bardají y Azara, quiso juramentar la tropa á la constitución, y Alejandro dispuso que fuese el acto solemnísimo; fué la formación sobre el Neva helado y se aclamó el juramento ante la corte toda, tremolando las banderas bordadas por mano de la misma emperatriz. Se apellidó el cuerpo Imperial Alejandro; costeando el erario su equipo nuevo, y embarcándolo en Cronstadt para España. Aquel cuerpo, atendido á su juramento sobre el Neva, zanjó la cuestión á favor de la constitución misma, alzándose en Ocaña para su restablecimiento en marzo de 1820.»  
(223, 4)

## Capítulo I. 1810-14. 1814-20.

Die Aragonese zu ihren reyes: «Nos que cada uno somos tanto como vos, é todos juntos valemos mas que vos» ... No mediaba en 1808 la menor desavenencia política entre los Españoles, pues la defensa del solar patrio contra un extranjero era el concepto despejado y terminante que alcanzaron todos, y unánime por tanto fué el ímpetu de la nación. Ya no ha sucedido lo mismo con el campo ideal de una constitución ... El yerro clásico de cuantas constituciones se han ido planteando en España se cifra en haberse empapado en lejislaciones extranjeras, orillando las tradiciones y costumbres populares. ... Se estremó de remate la arbitrariedad con Fernando, así como la vil torpeza con el príncipe de la Paz ... Acreedora se hace la constitución de 1812 al agradecimiento de todos los liberales, aunque no sea mas que por haber imposibilitado el ejercicio pacífico de la tiranía; pues planteó una España nueva ... salvasteis la civilización en España ... *Décret vom 4 Mai 1814, acto absolutamente voluntaria de Ferdin. VII, y en que prometía convocar las cortes* ... Hallóse la España en 1808 en plena posesión de sus derechos y arbitra de su destino, pues nunca se realizó mas solemnemente la soberanía nacional. Armóse la nación entera ... *Fern. VII* fué el primer demandante de las cortes, al verse preso en *Bayona*. Al instalarse la junta central, prometió solemnemente la reunion de cortes, y por el *mes de Marzo de 1809*, notició su convocación cercana. Fué consultando con las juntas provinciales, los tribunales supremos, los ayuntamientos, el clero superior, los cabildos, universidades y demás cuerpos del reino, sobre la forma de la reunion de las cortes, sobre la porción de votos que se habían de franquear á las provincias ultramarinas, y en fin sobre los puntos principales que el gobierno debía sujetar al dictamen de las cortes ... Variaron solo accidentalmente los informes que fué recibiendo la junta; cortes y constitución era el anhelo unánime ... Una comisión de la junta central fué juntando y coordinando estos informes, preparó los materiales de un código, y se dedicó á la revision de códigos anteriores y á la reforma administrativa. La junta central publicó, 28 Octob. 1809, un manifiesto convocando las cortes para 1 march 1810: «Las cortes, decia, nombre que servia de misterioso estudio á los eruditos y de zozobra para los estadistas, y que horrorizaba á los tiranos.» «Se esmeraba», anadia, «en reunir los representantes de la nación, como único móvil para alentar á los débiles, enfrenar á los ambiciosos, doblegar á los engreídos y á los aspirantes indiscretos, y sobre todo atajar á los insensatos asoladores del pais.» Dieß der acto postrero der junta central. Sie resignirte u. schuf die 1<sup>re</sup> regencia: |

obispo de Orense, D. Francisco Javier de Castaños, D. Francisco Saavedra, don Antonio Escario y don Miguel de Lardizabal, hombres todos poco afectos al sistema de la libertad ... aufschiebend die convocación der cortes ... durch public endlich gezwungen voranzumachen. Juntáronse las cortes el 24Sept. 1810 ... Regentschaft legt ihr 5 Amt nieder. So daß die cortes, desde el principio de su existencia, se hallaron sin gobierno, en una ciudad sitiada, y en medio de los estragos de la fiebre amarilla. ... Ihr 1<sup>ter</sup> Akt Décret vom 25 *Septembre* (1810), que ningún diputado pudiera obtener ni solicitar para sí ni para otro empleo ni gracia de ninguna especie durante la temporada de su ejercicio, 10 ni en un año después. 2 *Dezember* (1810): decretaron la rebaja de sus situados, por mas comedidos que fuesen. ... Públicos eran sus debates; Redner: Arguelles, Toreno, Calatrava, Muñoz Torrero, Lujan, Porcel, Antillon, Zumalacarregui, Jiraldó etc ... dividíanse las cortes de Cádiz en dos porciones harto desiguales. La una constaba de eclesiásticos, de suje- 15 tos de clase privilegiada y de empleados del gobierno; esta era la mayoría, sostenedora de los abusos; y la otra se componía de 45 individuos, independientes todos, y encaminados denodadamente á la reforma de los desaciertos ... Unterscheidung v. da zwischen den «liberales» u. «serviles». ... Die Mayoría (Majorité) servil, aber cobarde, arrollada por la 20 opinion jeneral... en la votación se acobardaba la mayoría ... Siempre se estuvo mostrando el partido servil muy avenible en punto á las prerogativas de la corona, con tal que este allanamiento suyo quedase compensado con el de los liberales á la *conservación de los abusos eclesiásticos y administrativos*. Sucedió con esto que *en la comisión nombrada 25 para estender el proyecto de constitución, conceptuada tan democrática, la mayoría era servil*. Uno de ellos, el canónigo Cañedo, que paró luego en obispo de Málaga e arzobispo de Burgos, proponía que se *coartasen todavía mas las regalías, con tal que se consintiese en la representación separada, ya del clero, y ya de la nobleza*. «*Dejáis demasiado prepotente al 30 rey*», dijo à Muñoz Torrero, también canónigo, pero defensor de la libertad «y como clérigo, debierais abogar mas ||55| bien por la iglesia que por el í solio» ... Sobresale en todas las discusiones sobre constitución el mismo afán de oposición á la corona en el partido anti-liberal, y el mismo tesón en el bando opuesto para defender sus prerogativas ... Brindóse también 35 el partido servil á ser instrumento de las tramoyas de la infanta doña - Carlota para lograr la rejencia. ... En aquella propension al cercen de la .., autoridad rejia, se está viendo el encono implacable de los alumnos de Torquemada ... *tras catorce dias de solemnísimos debates, quedó sentenciada la abolición des tribunals der Inquisición* (Santo Oficio). ... La 40 libertad de imprenta fué como un sentido nuevo desembozado repenti-

ñamente en los Españoles. Zuerst mißbraucht v. den serviles. «El pro-  
 curador jeneral de la nación y del rey»; «la Gazeta de la Mancha» «la  
 Atalaya de la Mancha» ... später la rejencia estaba costeando aquellos  
 periódicos para zaherir á las cortes y á la constitución ... el fraile Manuel  
 5 Martinez habia antes comparado la constitución con las «Tablas de la  
 Ley recibidas por los Israelitas en el Monte Sinai»; y este mismo paró  
 después en predicador del rey y consejero de la Inquisición. ... La comi-  
 sión que redactó el proyecto de constitución redondeó sus tareas  
 July 1811. la mayoría era del bando servil; dividíanse los 15 individuos  
 10 que componían la comisión de esta manera: *Mayoría* (servil):  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 Huerta, Perez, Valiente, Cañedo, Barcena, Ros, Jáuregui, Mendiola; *mino-*  
 1 2 3 4 5  
*ría* (liberal) Muñoz Torrero, Arguelles, Espiga, Oliveros, Perez de Castro,  
 15 6 7  
 Leyva, Morales Duarez; el último indeciso. ... Entabláronse los debates  
 el 1 August 1811, bajo la presidencia de Jirardo ... Einige v. der Commis-  
 sion sprachen gegen das Project u. stimmten gegen alle seine Artikel,  
 aprobados ya por ellos mismos en la comisión ... Promulgóse la con-  
 20 stitucion 19 march 1812 ... Formóse nueva rejencia, componiéndola suje-  
 tos escojidos por el bando liberal contra los del opuesto, y para mayor  
 estrañeza estos mismos liberales fueron empeñadamente molestados por  
 los rejentes, el duque del Infantado, Don Juan de Villavicencio, el conde  
 del Abisbal, Don Joaquin Mosquera, Don Ignacio Martínez de Rivas,  
 25 siendo tan solo el primero hechura de los serviles; y luego habiendo  
 tenido que hacer dimisión el conde del Abisbal, lo reemplazó Villamil,  
 que terció en las hostilidades con sus compañeros. Esta rejencia fué la  
 que asalarió escritores para zaherir á las cortes y á la constitución; estre-  
 mando su empeño hasta el punto de estimular al cabildo de Cádiz para  
 30 que desobedeciese un decreto de las cortes ... 8 März 1813 wird die rejen-  
 cia abgesezt v. den Cortes, neue gewählt, compuesta de tres consejeros  
 de estado: el cardenal de Borbon, Don Gabriel Ciscar u. Don Pedro Agar  
 ... Die Beendigung des Kriegs Fernando VII á España, y recargó la farsa  
 con el peso de aquel poderío imponderable que le proporcionó su mil-  
 35 agroso rescate en el rapto primero de un júbilo desaforado ... die  
 2-jährige Existenz der Const., ceñida por el pronto á Cadiz y algunos  
 pueblos libres, apenas se habia asomado por las provincias, al paso que  
 las tropas imperiales se iban retirando. ... Uebrigens über 1000Docu-  
 40 jeneral, den consejos, tribunales supremos, prelados, cabildos, casi todas  
 las comunidades relijiosas, los ayuntamientos, los empleados de todas



graduaciones, un sin fin de particulares, aun residentes en el extranjero ...  
 Auch v. den auswärtigen Mächten anerkannt. Rußland, in traité con-  
 firmé en Weleski-Luki, 20 Juli de 1812: «Art. 3. S. M. el emperador de  
 todas las Rusias reconoce por lejítimas las cortes jenerales y estraordi-  
 narias reunidas actualmente en Cádiz, como también la constitución que 5  
 han decretado y sancionado.» (en 1812 u. 1814 algo suponía la España  
 armada en la contienda con el Imperio.) *Preussen*, tractat m. Spanien, en  
 Basilea, 20 Januar 1814: «Art. 2 S. M. el rey de Prusia reconoce á S. M.  
 Fernando VII como único rey lejítimo de la monarquía española en 10  
 ambos hemisferios, como también á la rejencia del reino que durante su  
 ausencia y cautiverio lo está representando, en virtud de su elección lejí-  
 tima por las cortes jenerales y estraordinarias, y la constitución sancio-  
 nada por estas y jurada por la nación.» Es tremóse mas el canciller de  
 Rusia, conde de Romanzoff, pues acusando el recibo de un ejemplar de  
 la constitución, enviado por la rejencia al emperador de Rusia, escribió, 15 ?  
 25 nov. 1812, al señor Zea Bermudez: «Ha recibido S. M. este nuevo 1  
 testimonio del afecto que merece al Gobierno español, con tanta mayor M  
 complacencia por cuanto esta acta solemne afianza la prosperidad de esa j  
 nación valiente y pundonorosa á la cual profesa S. M. sumo aprecio»... 1  
 In *den Cortes damals allein se había vinculado la vida intelectual de España* 20 1  
 ... En los 6 años de guerra, por ningún rumbo acertó la autoridad J  
 suprema á coordinar las operaciones militares, y las cortes se hicieron J  
 cargo de la precision de concentrar el mando en un solo caudillo, y Jf  
 nombraron al duque de Ciudad-Rodrigo (Wellington) jeneralísimo de las 1  
 tropas españolas. Alle die rejencias nuiles, reactionär, gegen die Cortes. 251  
 Auszunehmen die última rejencia. Cardenal Borbon, Gabriel Ciscar, u. 1  
 Pedro Agar gut; daher auch verfolgt nachher. Die Minister alle ó inser- §  
 viles ó perjudiciales en causa tan preeminente ... No habia en 1812 un 1  
 Español que dejase de amar con entusiasmo á Fernando VII ... al votar 1  
 la constitución, afectísimas y de todo corazón estuvieron las cortes á la 301  
 monarquía ... Die Liberalen wollten 2 Kammern als moderner; die Ser- |  
 vilen *Eine*, aber m. el afán de plantear los tres *brazos* ó estamentos, al |  
 remedo de las cortes de Navarra. Da die Liberalen die «innovación der |  
 2 cámaras» nicht durchsetzen konnten, atenedos á la tradición de las 1  
 Cortes de Castilla, se ciñeron al establecimiento de una sola cámara. Por 351  
 punto jeneral, los lunares mas aparentes de aquella constit. son mas bien  
 obra de los amaños del partido servil que de un acaloramiento demo-  
 crático, que nunca hubo. ... Abrieron las cortes ordinarias sus sesiones,  
 el 1 Oct. 1813, en Cádiz. Wahlen: el partido liberal fué únicamente el  
 mal hallado. Meist servile, erklärte Feinde der Constitution. 69 diputa- 403  
 dos del bando servil schickten 12 April 1814 Petición al rey para que

anule el mismo código en cuya virtud se habían juntado. Se constituyen delatores ihrer eignen Compañeros (u. a. Lasauca; Inguanzo; Ros; conde de Buenavista; Villagomez; Caballero; Aznares; Lopez del Pan; Tadeo Segundo; Gil; el [54] obispo de Pamplona; Gomez Calderón; Fon-  
5 cerrada; Perez; conde de Vigo y Garate. (Diese dieron todos su declaración por escrito.) Das gov. nimmt dieß natürlich fidel an u. plantea un sistema acosador. ... Zozobran las tropas francesas en la Península con las campañas memorables de 1812 u. 1813 en Rusia y en Alemania. Está Napoleon batallando con la Europa entera, tiene que llamar á sus falan-  
10 jes veteranas de España. ... Den 12Nov. 1813, schreibt Nap. una carta á Fernando noticiándole como «las circunstancias en que se hallan su imperio y su política le inclinan á apetecer el dar un corte á los negocios de España; que la Inglaterra está allí fomentando la anarquía y el jacobinismo, empeñadísima en acabar con la monarquía y esterminar la  
15 nobleza; y como no puede menos de apesadumbrarse con ese esterminio de nación tan vecina á sus estados». Der portador de la carta de Nap. an Ferdinand, todavía preso in Valençay, war der comte de Laforest, soll zugleich tratar con él sobre los negocios de España. Napol. nennt ihn nur «alteza real», nicht Majesté. Antwort Ferd. VII vom  
20 21 Nov. (1813), contesta Fern, á la carta con que S. M. I. y R. le «ha honrado». «V. M. me trajo á Valençay, y si gusta reponerme en el solio de España, puede hacerlo etc.»

11 Dec. 1813 erkennt Nap. seinen preso als rey an, Vertrag zwischen beiden zu Valençay, por sus respectivos plenipotenciarios, el conde de  
25 Laforest y el duque de San Carlos. San Carlos reist nach Madrid, Träger des Tractats u. eines Briefs des rey an die rejencia. Darin schrieb der roi: «que se ratificase aquel tratado tan felizmente concluido in Valençay, donde S. M. habia logrado un espléndido hospedaje». Zugleich aber geheime Instruktionen, (finden sich in el folleto publicado durch den  
30 canónigo Escoiquiz in 1816) der embajador solle ausforschen ob die cortes u. rejencia «se halla ó no imbuido in deslealtad y in jacobinismo, como tenia hartos motivos para temérselo». Wenn das erstere, soll er verbergen die intentions des roi «contentándose con el empeño único de que la rejencia dé su ratificación». Wenn umgekehrt daß Fernand, die  
35 ratification will «reservándose, vuelto á España, declarar nulle y forzado el tratado todo». Hatte dem Bonaparte in dem Brief d. d. 21 nov. 1813 geschrieben: «Si yo prometiese algo á V. M. y luego me viese precisado á practicar todo lo contrario, que concepto merecería yo á V. M.? ... me deshonraría á la faz de la Europa» ... San Carlos kommt zu Madrid an,  
40 se divulga el tratado que trae, conmueve indignamente al público. Contestó la rejencia, el 8 jan. 1814 ... Contentóse pues con decir á S. M. «que

no podia menos de hacerle presente el decreto de las cortes del 1 Jan. 1814» ... El tratado de Valençay ocasionó en las cortes el decreto v. 2 Febr. 1814, confirmando el del 1 Jan. del mismo año, y añadiendo que «el rey quedaría reconocido por libre, cuando en el regazo del congreso nacional hubiese formalizado el juramento prescrito por la constitucion». ... Denselben Tag Manifest der Cortes an die Nation, dándole 5 cuenta de su conducta en cuanto al tratado de Valençay. Nannten diesen tratado «contrato ajustado entre la víctima y el verdugo». Billigte die rejencia, die dem San Carlos Brief f. den rey gegeben «guardando un silencio decoroso acerca del tratado de la paz». Der rey schickt Brief 10 durch General Zayas an die rejencia, d. d. 1 March 1814, daß er partira de Valençay el 13, encaminándose por Cataluña, y acaba con esta cláusula: «En cuanto al restablecimiento de las Cortes, como todo lo que se ha hecho en mi ausencia en provecho del reino, lo aprobaré, como que se conforma con mis reales intenciones.» Ferdinand enters in Spain 15 24 march 1814; jeneral Copons lo recibe en la raya de la Cataluña, v. da nach Aragon, dann nach Valencia, (hier 19 April 1814) Hier empfängt ihn der Präsident der rejencia (Borbon), los ministros del despacho con toda la comitiva que debía acompañarle. Schon verdrießlich gen den Cardinal. Die bando servil se azora ob in seiner junta hatte schon impre- 20 sionado sumamente al rey en Teruel. Valencia Schauplatz v. Verrath: Perjúranse der duque del Infantado, jeneral Elio, hasta entonces fiel constit., sigue su ejemplo el conde del Abisbal, que está mandando el ejército de reserva; llega en seguida el diputado por Sevilla, D. Bernardo Mozo Rosales, portador de la representación famosa de 12 abril, firmada 25 durch 69 diputados á cortes, pidiendo la abolición de la constitución. Die rejentes Lardizabal u. Villamil auch nach Valencia en demanda de su estermínio ... Don Bernardo Mozo Rosales se afamó luego unter dem nom de marqués de Mata-Florida, Minister v. Fernand. VII u. individuo de la rejencia de Urjel, en 1823 ... Adelanta Elio sin estruendo algunas 30 tropas sobre la capital... die cortes schreiben 2 mal dem roi que apresure su venida para afianzar el sosiego público ... En aquel trance, como en otros muchísimos, careció la España de gobierno, pues la rejencia se mantuvo absolutamente pasiva, como también los ministros, sin que nada providenciasen tampoco las cortes ... Royal decree v. 4 May 1814 35 «con sus visos de transitorio entre la constit. y el nuevo régimen que debe sucederle». ... «Aborrezco u. detesto» sagt Fernand, im Décret «el despotismo, que no tiene ya cabida con las luces y la civilización de la Europa. Para precaver abusos, voy á tratar con los diputados de España y de Indias en cortes, legalmente convocadas, compuestas de unos y de 40 otros, tan pronto como pueda juntarlas.» «libertad racional»

## Muk1133S: ^27.11.07.

Aus Manuel de Marliani: Historia política de la ESpaña moderna

«Preßfreiheit etc». Promulgando este decreto, dispone el rey su marcha de Valencia para Madrid. Antes de salir ... da orden para la disolución de las cortes y para el arresto de reyes, ministros, y diputados. Nombra por ejecutor de la orden al general Eguia, capitán general de Castilla la Nueva y gobernador de Madrid, y antes diputado servil; á Don Ignacio Martínez de Villela, Don Antonio Alcalá Galiano, Don Franc, de Leyva, Don Jaime Alvarez de Mendieta, intitulándose jueces de la comisión de policía. In Madrid gefangen: «Martínez de la Rosa, Capaz, Canga Arguelles, Cepero, García Herreros, (ministro de gracia y justicia), Arguelles, Zumalacarregui, Muñoz Torrero, Oliveros, Villanueva, Calatrava, Zorraquin, Larrazabal, Arispe, Feliu, Teran, Gallego, Golfín, Traver, Dueñas, Rivero, Diputados todos de 1810 ó de 1814.» Entwischen: Toreno, Caneja, Diaz del Moral u. Isturiz. In der Nacht v. 10-11 Mai arretirt: (Nicht Cortes): Alvarez Guerra, ministro de la gobernación, los jenerales Odonojú y Aguirre, el poeta Quintana, el conde de Noblejas (mariscal de Castilla), su hermano Don Ramon Chaves, el comisario de guerra Rubio etc etc Encargóse Eguia de prender personalmente á entrambos reyes y á los ministros, procediendo sus 4 asesores al arresto de los diputados que habían asistido á la sesión en aquel mismo dia, muy ajenos de la disolución de las Cortes. Este fué el principio de la reacción que, desenfrenándose mas y mas á diestro y siniestro, trocó en cárcel el ámbito de la Península. Presos los sujetos sobredichos, en la madrugada del 11 Mayo se publica el decreto del IV Mai, worin Ferdinand «aborrece y detesta el despotismo». 14 May, llega el rey á Madrid; pavor mortal nubla los corazones. Sofort errichtet una comisión de policía, royalist, comité de salut public. |

[53] *Ministerium*: Duque de San Carlos de Estado, der Exregent Larrazabal de las colonias, Macanaz de gracia y justicia, der Exdeputé general Eguia de guerra, u. der exdeputé Góngora de hacienda. Duque del Infantado ist Presidente de Castilla ... Die Pfaffenblätter verlangen «Köpfe». Alle kanzeln royalist. Marats. 3 verschiedene comisiones ernannt para sentenciar á los reos ... 3 Monate die presos im Gefängnis ohne zu wissen warum, 1 Juli der fiscal del Consejo de Castilla, Don Antonio Segovia sein Bericht an die Polizeicommission, die reos hätten apetecido una *monarquía moderada*, contrarestando únicamente la soberanía absoluta del rey. Durch die Commission, die damit nicht zufrieden, getrieben, präsentirt Segovia den 17 July einen Anklageakt (informe) capitulándolo con varios cargos ideales ... (Alle diese Reactionäre entweder den Franzosen als Werkzeug gedient, die meisten servile Huldiger der Cortes gewesen) ... Die Sache an eins der gewöhnlichen Gerichte gewiesen. Fand no corpus delicti. Ihm entzogen. Anfang Septembre

ernennt der König eine Junta extraordinaria, Namens «Comisión de Estado», zusammengesetzt v. Capt. gen. v. Madrid, Arteaga; den conseillers de Castilla, Conde del Pinar, Lasauca, Exregent Mosquera, Galiano. Informe v. Don Mateo Zendoquiz. Erst honorífico. Bezahlte, macht gegentheiliges. (Der conde del Pinar z. B. einer der wüthendsten enemigos des alzamiento nacional. Enviado por Murat con el célebre Melendez á Asturias, como predicadores de todo rendimiento á las armas franceses, ambos emisarios presos en Oviedo u. á punto de ser ajusticiados.) Trägt auf Tod an gegen conde de Toreno (contumaz), García Herreros, Calatrava, Arguelles u. Martinez de la Rosa. Gefangne treten so forsch 10 auf, daß alte Commission Entlassung giebt, neue eingesezt. Diese den Gefangnen günstig. Wieder andere. Die neue Commission rãth dem rey die reos zu verurtheilen en virtud de su soberanía todo poderosa. Wirklich in der Nacht vom 17-18 December 1815 se presenta un individuo de la comisión de estado, u. verliest jedem die v. rey ausgesprochne Sentenz 15 en los términos de un decreto del 15 December, sin especificar el delito. 40 fortgeschleppt in der Nacht, die einen enviados á los presidios de Africa, como Arguelles, Calatrava, Martínez de la Rosa, Zorraquin etc, die andera encerrados en fortalezas y conventos. Royal decree v. 10 Januar 1816, daß niemand zugelassen die presos zu sehn. Das Haupt- 20 vote, wofür diese Deputirte bestraft (*Sehr* viele die f. dieselben Sachen gestimmt premiados por el Rey, unter den Verfolgern): Geh. Sitzung der Cortes vom 2 Nov. 1812. (Absetzung\Destierro des Bischof v. Orense por haberse negado al juramento.) Votum vom 1 Januar 1812, daß keine persona real terciase en la rejencia. Resolución vom 15 Aug. 1812 contra 25 los que se negaron á jurar la constitución. *Abolición de la Inquisición.* (Session vom 26 Jan. 1813) Artícel 3 der Constit. declarando la soberanía del pueblo. (Sesión v. 29 August, 1811) ... Reacción política y monástica ... Von 1808-1814, während des Befreiungskriegs, fueron las Cortes una máquina desviada de la potestad ejecutiva y el pueblo ... aquella ale- 30 vosía pausada y tenaz de la potestad ejecutiva, desde 1808 hasta 1814, en algunos de sus ajenies; las dañadas miras ó el desvío de algunos otros, y la incapacidad de todos, prepararon las desventuras de 1814 ... Fenómeno estrañísimo, ... que de la unanimidad de toda una nación por el triunfo de su independencia, no han venido á quedar mas que escombros 35 y un pensamiento ... Hasta 3 veces se ha trabado ya la pelea para realizarlo ... (43-62)

Capítulo Segundo. 1814-1820.  
(Tentativas militares.) 1820-1823.

(*Martignac*. La España y sus Revoluciones. 1833.) «se restableció cuanto  
había seis años antes, con los abusos comprobados por la experiencia  
5 etc» (M.) «Entre las reformas planteadas por el Gobierno de José, y tras  
él por el de las cortes, las había tales que un régimen advertido se debía  
dar por muy venturoso en verlas ya corrientes etc.» (I.e.) «Ya llevaba el  
rey dos años de restablecimiento en el pleno ejercicio de su poderío, y  
seguían aun atestadas las mazmorras, y aun iban asomando larguísimas  
10 listas de proscritos de cuando en cuando, como para traer mas y mas  
asustadas las familias». (I.e.) «El foco donde se maquinaban todos los  
golpes de estado, donde se fraguaban las listas de proscripción, y se  
ensalzaban ó derribaban ministros, era todo *palaciego*, abrigándose en el  
dormitorio y en las antesalas del rey. Componíase aquel consejo de clér-  
15 rigos tramoyistas y de la servidumbre ínfima, que venían á formar la  
famosa camarilla ... estado de trastorno, desazón y desvalimiento en que  
yacía todo. ... Orillado quedaba el sistema de hacienda planteado en la  
revolución, y el único practicable y el intento de restablecerlo habían  
costado al ministro Garay su deposición ... Había que recurrir á im-  
20 puestos arbitrarios, á derechos exorbitantes de aduana que acababan de  
echar al través el comercio, y en fin á empréstitos sin crédito ni amorti-  
zación, sin condición alguna que los hiciese llevaderos. No se podía acu-  
dir á las primeras urgencias del estado, desamparando ú desatendiendo  
los servicios mas principales. No se pagaba el ejército; la marina, destro-  
25 zada en el combate de Trafalgar, no podía rehacerse de su quebranto. La  
administración jeneral, careciendo de todo medio para obrar, nada hacia,  
y nada podía emprender para la mejora interior del país, ni aun para el  
mantenimiento de lo que ya se hallaba existente. De allí procedía el des-  
contento de los pueblos.» (I.e. *Martignac war comisario real (fzs.)* junto  
30 al duque de Angouleme.) ... gobierno de ira y ceguedad ... Sus demasías  
iban acarreado nuevos alzamientos en el ejército ... Brotan con la des-  
esperación tramas y maquinaciones, que paran en el cadalso. Intenta  
Mina, en 1814, apoderarse de Pamplona; pero en medio de su malogro,  
se pone en salvo de la suerte que le aguardaba. Quiere el jeneral Porlier  
35 proclamar en Galicia la constit. en 1815, y paga con su vida el malha-  
dado empeño. Richard, en 1816, deja igualmente en Madrid su cabeza en  
el cadalso. Pasan por las armas en 1817 al esforzado jeneral Lacy en las  
islas Baleares, por haber querido restablecer la constit. El coronel Vidal y  
sus compañeros fenecen, 1818, en Valencia, por haber soñado también

aquel mismo intento. Se entabla una nueva tentativa tras el mismo objeto, en 1819, por el ejército expedicionario de América. Morgens 7 Juli Conde del Abisbal, que lo mandaba, auxiliado por el jeneral Sarsfield, arrestó á diez or 12 prohombres en la trama, mientras estaban haciendo el ejercicio en el Palmar del Puerto de ||52| Santa María. Tantos ensayos sangrientamente malogrados no alcanzaron á escarmentar de conjuraciones. (63-5) 5

### Introducción.

No careció España de instituciones políticas, ni aun en lo mas remoto, encabezando sobre este particular á la Europa toda, ya por el régimen de ayuntamientos y concejos bajo el imperio romano, y luego con los concilios en la monarquía goda; después con las cortes entonadas y pujantes en toda la temporada larguísima de la invasion árábica, apocadas bajo la dinastía austríaca, y por fin soterradas por la casa de Borbon. ... Die Spanier carecieron en todo tiempo de un vínculo de comunidad social... hatte nie un gobierno ... filosofía, metafísica, od. economía política ... Die Cortes erscheinen im XV Jhh. wie im XIII, siempre enfrenando y siempre conteniendo, mas nunca adelantando. Se desplomó por no acertar á trasformarse según las urjencias de la temporada en que vivía. ... Die reyes streben nach immer größrer Gewalt, pero sin otra mira que la de vivir á lo déspota, pues á ninguno de ellos ocurrió el intento de plantear arreglos y de fomentar mejoras políticas ó intelectuales. Ni antes ni después de la unidad monárquica, la reunion de las diversas provincias, alcanzó á variar en la Península ibérica su estampa peculiar, pues no parece ahora mismo sino que se agolparon unas repúblicas encabezadas por una soberanía nominal, con leyes y usos diferentes, con monedas de cuño respectivo, y un sistema de impuestos particular, aber kein centro civilizador u. keine conceptos trascendentales. Estado social tan raro ha venido á imposibilitar hasta el ejercicio de una potestad absoluta despejada y sistemática ... así el despotismo ha ido variando con las interpretaciones arbitrarias de virreyes ó gobernadores, como que en España la arbitrariedad ha sido la reinante, mas bien que el absolutismo. ... Lo mas arraigado en las costumbres de la Península es sin disputa el sistema municipal: contrarestó los embates de la potestad absoluta, por cuanto constituye la base de la vida pública. ... Los ayuntamientos españoles son hoy, hasta cierto punto, las municipalidades romanas, conservando hasta estos últimos tiempos sus condiciones mixtas de herencia y de elección ... sobreponiéndose á la caída del imperio romano, contrarestaron intactos 10 15 20 25 30 35

las invasiones de Godos y de Arabes ... como única institución popular  
vividora, debieron servir de plantilla para la formación de las constitu-  
ciones modernas ... Selbst Carl V no alcanzó sie zu avasallar por entero  
5 le trajeron sus juntas nacionales, llamadas por el pronto concilios. Era la  
monarquía de estos electiva bajo la fórmula de: «Rex eris, si recta facias;  
si non facias, non eris», übersezt por los Aragoneses con su «se no, non».  
Recien establecidos los Godos en la Península, ejerció el clero á sus  
anchuras un influjo fundado é inmenso en aquellas gavillas de soldadesca  
10 idiota, y los obispos elejidos por el pueblo fueron sus verdaderos repres-  
entantes. Concilla. (Clerus darin) ... Ventilábanse las leyes en aquellos  
concilios, compuestos de la grandeza y del clero superior ... en suma se  
estaba presenciando una representación nacional en los concilios; y ellos  
fueron el oríjen de las cortes ... A los 297 años de existencia, fenece la  
15 monarquía goda con el rey Rodrigo en la batalla de Guadalete, en 714, y  
la prole del desierto domina la España. ... Se entabla una lid que sigue  
por 774 años, y tiene por paradero la espulsion total de los invasores ...  
En aquellas peleas diarias donde jeneraciones enteras se van relevando  
incesantemente, cada provincia plantea sus leyes, establece costumbres de  
20 utilidad peculiar, conducentes á robustecer la resistencia ... Anfangs un  
puñado v. Cristianos refugiados en Asturias reta al poderío musulman;  
júntanse concilios en Leon ya desde 904, y en Astorga en 934 u. 937 ...  
Aun mucho después de la muerte de Rodrigo, siguen los concilios com-  
poniéndose únicamente de prelados, pues eran los conservadores únicos  
25 de la ciencia; mientras nobles y plebeyos viven sobre las armas. Desde  
aquella fecha ejerce el clero sumo influjo en la suerte de España, y fué  
siempre muy á mas en una guerra de 7 siglos; lid nacional al par que  
relijiosa, pues además del perdón propio contra el estraño, tremolaba la  
bandera de Cristo contra la media luna de Mahoma ... In den concilios  
30 nacionales abwechseln cuestiones políticas con las relijiosas ... En breve  
estos objetos diversos se fueron separando, y las juntas, en vez de conc-  
ilios, se apellidaron *cortes*; y el pueblo, excluido hasta entonces de las  
reuniones políticas, logra representantes con asiento junto al clero y la  
nobleza. 1169 *Alfonso VIII* beruft zu den cortes nach Burgos die «ciu-  
35 dadanos y todos los ayuntamientos de Castilla». *Fernando II*, 1188, las  
cortes de Carrion «todos los concejos de Castilla». *Alfonso IX*, 1202,  
cortes en Benavente, «diputados de todas las poblaciones del reino», u.  
1208 nach Leon, juntando á «todos y cada uno de los pueblos del reino».  
Die diputados de los pueblos, d. h. el elemento democrático, fängt an zu  
40 herrschen in diesen juntas. Clergé u. noblesse prädominiren noch in den  
reinados v. *Fernando III* u. *Alfonso X* con crecida autoridad, aber seit



Sancho IV, los individuos de aquellos brazos vinieron á perder todo influjo en los negocios públicos ... El pueblo se iba ya ensalzando como potestad política; los ayuntamientos, briosamente constituidos, fueron fomentando esta fuerza popular con el móvil de una organización poderosa. Las cabezas de familia formaban la junta ó ayuntamiento, de 5 donde se escluian así el clero como la nobleza, que no tenían la menor intervención en sus elecciones. Los concejales, alcaldes y regidores, manejaban el concejo, y luego los merinos ó jurados desempeñaban el cargo de jueces. Habia rejidores perpetuos ó vitalicios, cuyo ejercicio era personal. En algunos pueblos no tenían número fijo los concejales; pero 10 después Alfonso XI lo determinó. Nombraba el rey los *correjidores*, cuya autoridad era al mismo tiempo judicial y municipal. Las juntas de cabezas de familia, ó *concejos* nombraban al pronto á los concejales, y luego les cupo el elegir los diputados á cortes, quienes se apellidaron procuradores. Ausgeschlossen bei den Corteswahlen, (auch als active Wähler) die 15 asalariados por el rey, wie die cortes han ido recordando, die v. Burgos 1430, Zamora 1432, Valladolid 1442 u. 1447, Toledo 1457 u. 1462. Los costeaban los concejos, y desde 1468, se acordó en las cortes de Medina, aprontándoles 140 maravedises diarios, á espensas de sus representados. Die diputados vom Tag ihrer partida bis Rückkunft in ihren Ort (cortes 20 de Medina 1318, de Madrid 1329) inviolables, sin que en aquella temporada se les pudiese demandar en justicia. (Acuerdo der Cortes v. Valladolid 1350 u. v. Tordesillas 1401) Ninguna tropa podía parar, ni aun acercarse al paraje donde se habían juntado las cortes ... Sie schwören 25 con sus delegantes nur f. das bien público zu arbeiten. No debían admitir empleos ni agasajos de sus soberanos, ni para sí, ni para amigos ó deudos, sopeña de padecer, como perjuros, gravísimas penas. Cortes v. Coruna, 1520, pidieron pena de muerte y confiscación der bienes contra todo diputado que llegase á quebrantar su juramento, ó a recibir la menor fineza ... ||51| No se juntaban las cortes á plazos fijos ó periódicos. 30 Casos previstos, worin sie zusammenzuberufen. En sobreviniendo algún trance, se juntaban las cortes por sí y ante sí, y sin esperar la convocación del soberano. Revestían los concejos á las cortes de poderes concretos y muy ceñidos, dándoles instrucciones imprescindibles; con que así su contenido era por esencia imperativo. Auf Vorschläge der Krone, verwerfen 35 die Deputes, gestützt daß sie nicht dazu ermächtigt in ihren cahiers. Was v. den Cortes v. Castilla, gilt m. leves diferencias, f. die demás provincias. Nur in Aragon versammelt der rey die cortes jenerales jährlich in Zaragoza. (In Aragon 4 estamentos, in Castilla 3. Nämlich im erstren ricos hombres, infanzones, clero, procuradores. In Castilla nobleza, clero, pro- 40 curadores.) 1307 der rey Don Jaime bevollmächtigt sie nur v. 2 zu

2 Jahren zu berufen. Aber beständiger Zank darüber. In dem Aragon seine Constit. die *Justicia mayor*, v. der der rey Krone u. Investitur erhielt. Die Justicia sagte: «Nos, que cada uno somos tanto como vos, é todos juntos valemos mas que vos, os hacemos rey de Aragon, con tal  
5 que juréis é guardéis nuestros fueros é previlejios; é se no, non» ... Dieß die organización política de España bis Ende des Jhh. XV, monarquía templada con instituciones municipales y políticas. El primer período de nuestra historia es el de las libertades de España ... Incorporation v. Castilla u. Aragon; se crea la unidad monárquica; decadencia de las instituciones populares. *Ferdinand u. Isabel* f. sucesora una hija, *Juana la Loca* u. m. ihr fenece die dinastía castellana ... La Inquisición, la América y Carlos V retraen á los Españoles de establecer en la Península la era bonancible que no podía menos de rayar tras una lid de 800 Jahren por la independencia nacional... Principalmente en el trance de formarse  
15 la monarquía en 1474, por el desposorio de Isabel de Castilla con Fernando de Aragon, incorporando también la Navarra, quitada á Juan de Albret, campea el pavoroso azote de la Inquisición. ... Erstes Opfer die Judfos. Beim primer asomo de persecución, schwören 100,000 judfos ihrem Glauben ab, nennen sich Cristianos nuevos. Codicioso Fernando V y fanático por especulación, m. Sixto IV verabredet die Verfolgung dieser nuevos Cristianos. Dazu die Inquisition bes. famos. 2 sept. 1477, los reyes católicos autorizan el tribunal de la Inquisición u., 1478 bestätigt durch Brevet des Pabsts, u. 2 Januar 1481 planteado en Sevilla, nombrando á Torquemada inquisidor jeneral. In diesem Jahre allein an 300  
25 auf dem Scheiterhaufen etc. bald tausende. Torquemada wird auch inquisidor jeneral de Aragon. Funda Fernando el consejo real de la Inquisición, nombrando presidente el mismo espantoso Torquemada ... Auf-ruhr in Aragon, die Cortes schicken Deputirte zum Pabst, Volk ermordet al primer inquisidor, Pedro Arbués, en la catedral de Zaragoza ... Granada fällt in die Hand der reyes católicos, 2 Januar 1492, dia del aniversario de la plantificación del Santo Oficio. (Columbus sets out 3 August 1492) Expulsion der Juden v. Castilien, 31 März, 1492. Arrójanse de España hasta 800,000 Israelitas ... Torquemada f 1498. Folgt ihm der dominico *Deza*; in den 8 Jahren seiner presidencia al St. Oficio  
35 38,440 reos, wovon verbrannt 2580. Expulsion der moriscos de entrambos sexos de mas de 14 Jahre. So, Juden, Moren u. víctimas der Inquisition, Bevölkerung um 2 millions vermindert. Pabst f. Geld entbindet Fernando von. sus juramentos contraídos con las cortes de Aragon ... Diese innere Verfolgung etc lenkt das öffentliche Gemüth auf acontecido mientes exteriores, en guerras y conquistas. [13-21]

*Carlos V.*

Sein Erzieher Adriano de Utrecht, después inquisidor jeneral, u. dann papa. Sein erster Minister der cardinal Jimenez de Cisneros, auch Generalinquisitor, der verurtheilt 52,552 Españoles, wovon 3564 zum fuego. Versammlung der cortes zu Valladolid, um dem Flamenco Carl IV die 5 investidura national zu geben. Er will diese Autorität nicht anerkennen, negándose á acudir á las cortes, y enviando encargados que se presentaron en su nombre para recibir el pleito-homenaje de los diputados de la nación; diese (cortes) lassen die comisionados nicht zu; notificiren ihm daß wenn er nicht persönlich kommt á jurar su acatamiento á las leyes 10 del pais, no se le reconocerá por rey. Er kömmt u. schwört. «Tened presentes, señor, dijeron ihm, que un rey es el asalariado de la nación.» Enarbola en 1517 Vasco Nuñez Balboa la bandera de Castilla en el Darien; la tremola en Méjico Hernán Cortés en 1519, y en el Perú, Pizarro en 1524 ... Penetró hasta el alma á Carl V die humillación forzosa ante 15 las cortes de Valladolid.... Aufrühre in Spanien, die diputados perjuros v. Lynchgericht geviertheilt. Segovia zuerst straft m. Tod un diputado traidor; alborótanse otros pueblos, y se formaliza la santa liga de Avila. Celebran los diputados comuneros sus sesiones en Tordesillas, u. 20 October 1520, estienden una protesta de agravios, dediciert dem Carl IV. Er 20 les contesta desaforando á cuantos diputados se hallan reunidos en Tordesillas. Inevitable se hace ya la guerra civil, y el porvenir de las libertades de España está pendiente de la suerte de las armas; capitanea Padilla á los comuneros, pero el desvío de las provincias, la deshermandad entre las diversas partes de la nación, deja sin resultas el vuelo de 25 aquel ímpetu sublime; las jerarquías privilegiadas se arriman al emperador, y el clero, menos el obispo de Zamora, se atiene á las disposiciones de la Inquisición. Se había apoderado no obstante *Padilla* de la fortaleza de Torrelobaton; pero no teniendo mas que reclutas consigo, no puede contrarrestar á los Imperiales: lo alcanzan en las campiñas de Villalar, 30 23 abril 1521, y su hueste queda dispersa, cayendo él mismo en manos del enemigo. A poco tiempo, Padilla, mártir de la libertad, fenece en el cadalso, y con él se entierran las franquicias de Castilla. Dasselbe Jahr 1521 presenció el fallecimiento de la libertad en España y su renacimiento en Alemania ... 1517 tritt Luther gen Tetzl auf; 1517 Carlos V 35 al trono de España ... Gastaban los reyes católicos 12,000 maravedises al dia, y Carlos V llegó á esponder hasta 150,000 ... Die contribuciones ordinarias reichten nicht hin, legt neue auf. Widerstand der Cortes v. Coruna: hebt die v. 1529 auf, que contrarestaban los nuevos impuestos, y

5 todavía tropezó con ellas en Toledo, lidiando mas y mas contra sus desafueros. Logró Carl von Pabst impuestos sobre los bienes eclesiásticos ... Acudió al dote de su mujer para los gastos de la guerra; in 1527, su ejército, faltó de paga, se encamina al papa en busca del dinero que les  
10 debe el emperador; y en 1529, imposibilitado de pasar á Italia por la misma causa, traspasa á los Portugueses por una cantidad crecida los derechos de Castilla sobre las Molucas. Vende á Cosme de Médicis las fortalezas de Florencia y de Liorna por 150 mil ducados; y estuvo ya para vender al papa Farnesio los estados de Milan y de Siena. Apurados  
15 todos aquellos arbitrios, acude á empréstitos extranjeros, y la desconfianza en su crédito y la urgencia de los apuros le precisan á pagar intereses de 10, 20 y aun 30%. Tenia Carl V en 1550 empeñado casi el total de sus rentas; las de Castilla en 800,000 ducados sobre los 910,000 que estaba pagando; las de Ñapóles y de Sicilia en 700,000 sobre los 800,000 que  
20 componían su conjunto; las de Milan de 400,000 estaban empeñadas por entero, como también gran parte de las de Flándes, y todo esto prescindiendo de las remesas de América ... Die Fremden, v. denen er einpumpfte, lograban privilegios que anonadaban el comercio y ||50| la industria de los naturales; y en los prestamistas se vinculaba la saca de  
25 renglones, cuya estraccion estaba prohibida á los Españoles, cargando igualmente con el monopolio de la introducción; y así en manos de aquellos quedaba estancado casi todo el comercio interior y exterior y el de las Indias. En balde fueron las reclamaciones mas encarecidas, pues creciendo mas y mas las urgencias del príncipe, ninguna cabida tenían en él  
los lamentos justísimos del pueblo. [21-23]

*Felipe II.*

Constituirt sich inquisidor sumo. Ueberau seine spies. Hauptminister unter ihm: El duque de Alba, Ruy Gomez de Silva u. Espinosa. Unter ihm beginnt «el gobierno, embebido todo en tramoyas palaciegas». El cargo  
30 de diputado wird un ramo de granjeria. Uno de ellos lo compra en 14,000 ducados ... cortes nur noch instrumento manejable según el albedrío de una soberanía desenfrenada, y sujeta por otra parte al fanatismo religioso. Conserva Aragon tal cual independenciam; y se está en acecho de coyuntura para dar al través con aquellas cortes, cuando viene de suyo á  
35 rodearse. Prenden á Antonio Perez, ministro apeado, en Calatayud; se empeña la Inquisición en apoderarse del preso, que el Justicia mayor y la diputación permanente habían negado al rey; se alborota el pueblo, arrebatada á Perez de las garras de los inquisidores, y favorece la huida del reo á Francia. En seguida envía Felipe sus tropas; acaudilla el Justicia al pueblo

contra el ejército real, queda vencido, lo degollaron en la plaza llamada hoy de la Justicia, 1592. Espiran las libertades de Aragon con Lanuza, como las de Castilla con Padilla, y desde entonces no son ya las cortes mas que un remedo lejano der frühern; y en llegando á la dinastía francesa, veremos cómo ya no se convocan sino para su avenencia servil á la coronación de un rey, ó al reconocimiento del heredero presuntivo del solio, pues todo se reduce á un mero acatamiento al derecho divino, en cuya virtud se va traspasando la corona ... Anuladas las cortes, todo asomo de vida política desaparece ya en España. Reina la Inquisición ... Sublevación der Moriscos en las Alpujarras, v. Granada herausgetrieben 23 Juni 1529 ... Don Juan v. Austria | 1 October 1578 ... blasse Finanznoth Phillips ... [24-30]

*Felipe III. Felipe IV. Carlos II.*

*Felipe III* expulsirt die letzten Mauren v. Valencia, auf Rath des Erzbischof, de Valencia, Juan de Ribera, que Roma beatificò sin rubor, weil, sagt er «por cuanto su maestría en labranza y artes daba motivos fundados para maliciarlos de trastornadores del sosiego público», fixirt die Expulsion der Mauren f. 11 Sept. 1609 f. die v. der Provinz Valencia, u. 10 Januar 1610 para todo lo restante del reino ...

*Felipe IV.* auf den Thron, 1621. *Carlos II.* Empezó la dinastía con un déspota y acabó con un insensato. «Carlos V fué jeneral y rey, Felipe II solamente rey (pero ¡qué rey!); Felipe III y Felipe IV ni aun reyes fueron, y Carlos II ni siquiera hombre.» Traspasaron las entrañas á la nación, se internaron hasta su esencia vital, trascendiendo á su población y sus productos.... En los siglos XV u. XVI, la España parece que se vincula en matar á diestro y siniestro donde quiera que asoma el pendón de la Inquisición y de la soberanía. En Méjico, Lima, Cartajena de Indias, Sicilias, Cerdeña, Oran y Malta, la Inquisición entabla su rumbo y va degollando víctimas innumerables. En Milan, en Ñapóles y en Flandes, países del señorío español, intenta plantearse la Inquisición ... Felipe II ... el señor de una monarquía, en cuyo ámbito jamás se pone el sol, tiene que ir alargando indecorosamente la mano; está mendigando ... Exhausto está de todo punto el erario de Felipe IV, pues habiéndose pactado, en el desposorio de la infanta doña María Teresa con Luis XIV, un dote de medio millón de escudos de oro, estuvo M. Lionne muy advertido en apuntar, al estender el contrato, que en *virtud del pago* de aquella cantidad se realizaría la renuncia de la infanta á sus derechos para la corona de España. Nunca Felipe IV aprontó el dote, y suministró así á Luis XIV un pretesto para dar por nula aquella renuncia y declarar una

guerra de devolució. ... La gloria militar (in der Zeit v. Karl V), que centelleó esplendorosamente en el trance de fenecer las libertades públicas, embelesó instantáneamente á un pueblo de suyo ardoroso y recién salido de una guerra de largos siglos empleados en conquistar su independencia nacional ... Después acá no hubo arbitrio para henchir el vacío hecho en la población por la soberanía y por el tribunal implacable de la Inquisición, soterrando castas enteras de jente en sus lóbregas mazmorras, ó abrasándolas por millares en sus hogueras. Arrojáronse allá hombres sin cuento, y sabido es que la despoblación es una de las plagas mortales de la España desventurada. [30-33]

*Felipe V. Fernando VI. Carlos III. Carlos IV.*

Dinastía francesa ... Borbones ... desaparece toda política nacional ... Wird satélite v. Francia ... Nun sucht England stets den fzs. Einfluß in Madrid zu paralyssiren u. eignen zu gewinnen. Daher die oscilaciones del gabinete de Madrid, entre política inglesa ó francesa ... M. dem paz de Utrecht, pacificada la España, die neue Dynastie durch Europa anerkannt. Felipe .. en castigo de la resistencia de algunas provincias que le tenían airado, les quitó las reliquias de sus fueros y exenciones. Unter Felipe V 9992 Opfer der Inquisition, wovon 1032 verbrannt. Neue atropellamientos contra los derechos de la nación. El primer desafuero consistió en el *auto acordado* de 1713, aboliendo la ley de sucesión, vijente en la monarquía desde siglos, para sustituirle la de los Agnados. ... Era el testamento de Carlos II un atropellamiento innegable de las leyes u. costumbres del país ... Otro acto de Felipe V, su renuncia y su recobro de la corona ... (Machte renunciación zugunsten seines Sohns Don Luis 10 Januar 1724 (el rey Luis t 31 August 1724). Machte ein Testament, worin er seinen Vater ermächtigt zu thun was er will m. dem Thron. Nach dem *auto acordado* v. 1713 hätte dem Don Luis folgen müssen sein Bruder Don Fernando) ... Folgt dem Felipe V *Fernando VI* in 1746. Die reina (Schwester des Königs v. Portugal), der duque de Alba u. der ministro Wall halten offen den *englischen* Einfluß, f August, 1759.... Nun sein Bruder. *Carlos III.* (König v. Sizilien damals) Dieser läßt gerichtlich testimoniar die incapacidad del príncipe real, schließt ihn aus vom span. Thron, ernennt seinen 2' Sohn Carlos zum Präsumptiverben des span. Throns, u. seinen 3' Sohn zum König beider Sizilien. (Dieser letztere, unter dem nombre de Fernando IV hat geherrscht in Sizilien bis 1824) ... *Carlos IV.* ... No aparece en la historia insurrección mas caballerosa que la de los Españoles en 1808. ... gobierno (borbonisches) cadavérico ...

Mitten im Frieden (unter den Borbones, vor 1808) hatte man gesehen gavillas de salteadores como rejimentadas y tratando de potestad á potestad con un *rey dueño de vida y hacienda* ... Iba la España feneciendo pausadamente, y la tisis social se estremaba hasta su postrer período, ais die agresión v. aussen Signal zur resurrección giebt... *Guerillas*, ajenas de toda combinación militar. Aquella ||49| vida errante, aventurera y provechosa fué muy halagüeña para un tropel avezado á vivir á la intemperie, sin acordarse jamás del dia siguiente, y cuya subsistencia tenían á su cargo la mendiguez y la caridad interesada de los frailes ... Alzamiento tan jeneral fué poderosísimo para la derrota del extranjero, pero redundó en intrincar aun mas la carrera á la España victoriosa. Resabiado con sus demasías, todo el pueblo, como prendado de su soberanía absoluta, iba desde luego á abrigar su memoria y su afición por largo tiempo. Aquella plaga de proletarios ahitos y armados era ya una riada de trabajoso afán para reverterla en su cauce. *Un mero desarme venia á ser una sentencia de muerte por hambre, y el gobierno de aquella temporada, en vez de utilizar unos brazos cansados de peleas, concentró todo su ahinco en perseguir los ingenios patrióticos que los habían acaudillado.* Al ir encarcelando á los capitanes del sublime alzamiento contra todo jénero de servidumbre y despotismo, sumerjia al pueblo en el embeleso de la ociosidad. Encargóse el estado de martirizar á los prohombres de la nación, y *los conventos de malear mas y mas á la ínfima hez del pueblo* ... Así se ha ido enconando una de las llagas mas hondas de España ... Al defender el solio derribado de un monarca preso, se fué avezando la plebe, ajena de todo porvenir y condenada á la servidumbre del terrón, á ajenciarse á viva fuerza la subsistencia que la sociedad le niega por su trabajo. *Los nombres de los guérilleros encumbrados á las graduaciones superiores del ejército han quedado en los ánimos como trofeos patentes.* Mas en cuanto á los medios de medrar, poco se escrupuliza en su elección, en hallándose la sociedad desgobernada. *Cada cual guerra entonces por su propia cuenta:* y buscando así el derecho para sus violencias, se *cohonestan luego con cualquier pretesto.* Quien carece de amparo se lo proporciona por sí mismo, y atropellando á los demás, resulta una anarquía pavorosa, *cuyo paradero es una disolución social* ... Vicisitudes sin par son las de España, pues jamás asomó otro gobierno tan afanado en desconceptuar la aristocracia, atrepellar el vecindario honrado, desterrar todo jénero de talentos y com-  
''placiéndose en desenfrenar y embrutecer la plebe y en estremar su ferocidad. En ... *La clase media, por decirlo así, era la única avasallada* ...  
- ' El pueblo no gusta del gobierno representativo y rechaza una constitución que es la ley universal: y es porque, al par del soberano, *jamás alcanzó sino tropelías en beneficio propio* ... (12-42) |

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2\*<sup>e</sup> edit. Paris. 1853.

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[Tome I]

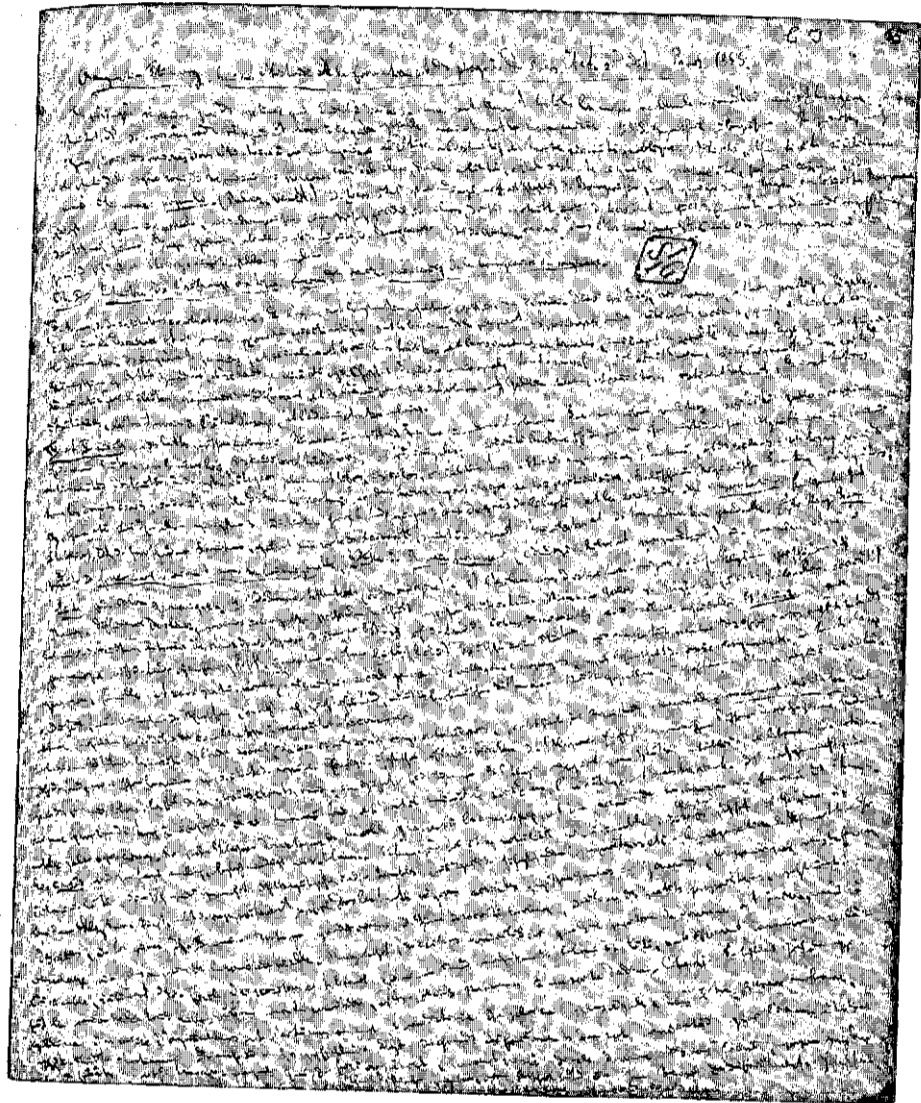
les préjugés répandus par des systèmes qui tendent à diviser en classes mutuellement hostiles la masse nationale aujourd'hui une et homogène ... Bestreitet, daß der troisième ordre répondait alors à ce qu'on appelle maintenant la bourgeoisie: sucht das Gegentheil zu beweisen. Diese opinion, nach ihm, donne des racines dans l'histoire à un antagonisme né d'hier et destructif de toute sécurité publique. Citirt: «Questi che si chiamano li stati del regno sono di tre ordini di persone, cioè del clero, della nobilita, e del restante di quelle persone che, per voce commune, si può chiamare *popolo*.» (Relaz. venét.) [II, III] Der «tiers état» ist allerdings 15 nicht ausschließlich die Bourgeoisie, noch weniger die als Klasse constituirte Bourgeoisie. Er ist insofern das *popolo*, als die Bourgeoisie, im Gegensatz zu Adel u. cleros, dieses vertritt. Der tiers état enthält die Elemente mehr od. minder eingeschlossen, die sich nach seinem Siegen scheiden, aber alle unter der Leitung der Bourgeoisie. Was die «racines 20 dans l'histoire angeht à un antagonisme né d'hier», so wird sich dieß aus Thierry's eigner Darstellung ergeben.



Ch. I. Extinction de l'esclavage antique,  
fusion des races,  
naissance de la bourgeoisie du moyen âge.

Von den Formen, die die institutions civiles et politiques de l'empire unter Constantin erhalten, geht aus, was de romain dans nos idées, nos 5 moeurs, et nos pratiques légales. Cette ère de décadence et de ruine pour la société antique fut le berceau de la plupart des principes ou des éléments sociaux, qui, subsistant sous la domination des conquérants ger- mains, et se combinant avec leurs traditions et leurs coutumes nationales, créèrent la société du moyen âge, nämlich u. a.: Königthum v. Gottes 10 Gnaden, l'esclavage miné etc durch das Christenthum, das régime municipal, tout oppressif qu'il était devenu, s'imprégnant d'une sorte de démocratie par l'élection populaire du Défenseur et de l'évêque. Wann die Barbaren nach Gallien kamen, trois choses restèrent debout, les institutions chrétiennes, le droit romain à l'état d'usage, et l'administration 15 urbaine. [1-4]

*IV et V siècles* grandes luttes zwischen Barbaren u. Römern u. zwischen den Franken u. andren Barbaren. Franken bleiben maîtres, société gallo-romaine auf der einen Seite, sous la même loi, des conditions très-diverses et très-inégales; société barbare auf der andern ihre eigenthüm- 20 liehen Abstufungen u. lois u. nationalités distinctes. In der erstren des citoyens pleinement libres, des colons, ou cultivateurs attachés aux domaines d'autrui, et des esclaves domestiques privés de tous les droits civils; in der 2\ peuple des Franks partagé en deux tribus ayant chacune sa loi paticulière, Salische u. Ripuarische Franken, Burgunder, Gothen 25 etc [5] Bei diesen allen wenigsten 3 distinkte sociale Bedingungen: deux degrés de liberté et la servitude. Die *compensations f. Verbrecher* etablirt durch die Herrschenden Franken, gründet une sorte de hiérarchie, point de départ d'assimilation et de transformation graduelle. ErsterU) Rang Franke, zweiter\2) die *freien Barbaren vivant sous la loi originelle*, dritter3\ 30 der *Romain possesseur* (l'indigène libre et propriétaire,) u., au même degré der *Lite* od. colon germanique; 4) der Romain tributaire (colon indigène); 5) l'esclave sans distinction d'origine. [6] Diese Klassen verschieden durch Rang, différence des lois, mœurs u. languages. Verschieden vertheilt zwischen Stadt u. Land. Römer-Gallier v. Klasse 3) (in der 35 Gallo-Rom. société) leben in den Städten, entourés d'esclaves domestiques. Von ihnen nur beständig auf dem Land des colons demi-serfs u. die esclaves agricoles. *H. lu. 2* der race germanique auf dem Lande, jede



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family f. sich, umgeben v. ihren *liti* (lidi). Deutsche in den Städten nur un petit nombre des officiers royaux et des gens sans famille et sans patrimoine. [7] Die Prééminence sociale passa des villes aux campagnes, weil Aufenthalt der race conquérante. Die haute classe indigène, mit Aufnahme der Pfaffen, macht nach, zieht aufs Land, nimmt die barbarischen Sitten an. Städte verfallen; Pfaffen u. classes moyenne u. inférieure erhalten hier die débris de civilisation à recueillir et à conserver.

Barbarie invahirt toutes les sommités de l'ordre social; la vie civile in den rangs intermédiaires, sinkt herab zur servitude personnelle; *mouvement d'amélioration* auf dem Land, wo es schon begonnen vor der chute des empire. [8] Einfluß des Christenthums auf Modification der Sklaverei. Einfluß der germanischen Sitten. Der reiche Germane bedient par des personnes libres, les fils de ses proches, clients, amis; im Gegensatz zu den Römern der Sklave relegirt v. Hause, etablirt als laboureur od. artisan, sur une portion de terre à laquelle il se trouvait fixé, et dont il suivait le sort dans l'héritage et dans la vente. Dieß noch gemacht v. den nobles gallo-romains. So viele Sklaven domestiques de la ville passent à la campagne, et du service de la maison au travail des champs. So *casés* wird ihre Lage analog, obgleich niedriger als der Colonen. Sklave wird nur chose mobilière u. immeuble. Die Klasse der serfs wächst auf Kosten der coloni u. liti, die sich wieder vermehrt durch Kaputgehn, in diesen troubles, eines Theils der höherstehenden propriétaires etc. Amalgamation der Charakter dieser beiden Klassen. Dieß, nebst dem rapprochement opéré dans les hautes régions sociales zwischen Gaulois u. Germains, le premier pas vers la fusion des races, die bis zum Jh. X eine Nation produciren. Der Kern der société barbare, die classe des petits propriétaires, geht unter in vassalage od. plus ou moins de la servitude réelle. Umgekehrt, die esclaves domiciliés sur quelque portion du domaine et incorporés à l'immeuble, s'élèvent durch die fixité de position u. tolérance zu einem Stand nahe dem der coloni u. liti, unter different denominations. Là se fit la rencontre des hommes libres déchus vers la servitude; et des esclaves parvenus à une sorte de demi-liberté. So bildet sich in ganz Gallien une masse d'agriculteurs et d'artisans ruraux, deren destinée de plus en plus égale, sans être jamais uniforme, während die Städte stationär od. mehr u. mehr verfallend. Dazu die grands défrichements du sol exécutés sur l'immense étendue des forêts et de terrains vagues qui, du fisc impérial, avaient passé dans le domaine des rois franks, wovon grosser Theil der Kirche gegeben, deren Antheil bedeutend in diesem travail de défrichement. Pfaffen dépositaires der ancienne civilisation. | [9-11]

[66] So bilden sich, speziell unter dem Patronage der Pfaffen, nach u. nach neue villages, en dehors der alten municipes, villes u. bourgs. [13]

Die réduction der *esclavage antique* an die *servage de la glèbe*, sehr avancirt in IX, vollendet sich im Lauf des X Jhh. So verschwindet die letzte Klasse der gallofranke société, die eigentl. esclaves, meubles. Nun der esclave appartient à la terre plutôt qu'à l'homme: son service arbitraire changé en redevances u. travaux réglés; u., par suite, un droit de jouissance sur le sol dont il dépendait. *Serf*. Damit verschwinden mehr u. mehr coloni u. liti, die im X Jhh. schon sehr selten u. ganz verschwunden. In diesem Jhh. völliger Sieg der germanischen Sitten, u. seine Folge, das *régime féodal*, tous les pouvoirs publics transformés en privilèges domaniaux. Zugleich verschwindet die *distinction des races* zwischen Barbares u. Romains. Die codes germa, u. rom. ersetzt durch coutumes. So entsteht die *société française*. (Le droit cesse d'être personnel et devient local; c'est le territoire et non la descendance, qui distingue les habitants du sol gaulois.) In dieser société fractionnement indéfini sous le rapport politique, simplification sous le rapport social. Vermehrung der *seigneuries*: beiderseits beständiger u. systemat. Versuch alle Klassen auf 2 zu reduzieren. Adel u. serfs.

«Lex humana duas indicit conditiones. Nobilis et servus simili non lege tenentur.» [14-15] (*Adalberonis carmen ad Robertum regem*) type des régime der servitude domaniale. Dumpfer Widerstand dagegen in den Städten.

Das Feudalregime verwandelt, dans toutes les choses de l'ordre civil et politique, la jouissance précaire en usage permanent, l'usufruit en propriété, le pouvoir délégué en privilège personnel, le droit viager en droit héréditaire. So m. honneurs, offices, possessions. Gilt nicht nur f. die tenure noble, sondern auch f. die tenure servile, «le serf soutient contre son maître la lutte soutenue par le vassal contre son seigneur, et par les seigneurs contre le roi.» [16]

Im VIII siècle kann der serf willkürlich v. einem Theil des domaine auf den andren transportirt werden; im X casés par familles; leur cabane et le terrain qui l'avoisine sont devenus pour eux un héritage; grevé de cens et de services, aber kann nicht werden légué od. vendu, u. die famille serve a pour loi de ne s'allier par des mariages qu'aux familles de même condition attachées au même domaine. Herr hat *das droit de mainmorte* u. *de formariage*. [17]

Unter dem manoir seigneurial bilden sich bes. vom IX zum X Jhh. des tribus agricoles, Dörfer, Kirchen u. mit ihnen paroisses, centres de nouvelles circonscriptions à la fois religieuses et politiques. Einfälle der Normannen begünstigen Aufkommen einiger Schlösser, aber zugleich accurent beaucoup le nombre des bourgs fortifiés. Die population laborieuse et dépendante s'aggloméra dans ces lieux de refuge ... So com-

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mencements plus ou moins grossiers de la vie urbaine. Das régime purement domanial alteriert. Für Polizei u. kleine délits wählen die villageois unter sich d'aides et d'assesseurs à l'intendant, aus ihrer Klasse, sorte de magistrat municipal. Seit Anfang des XI Jhh. Streben der *villains* (der 5 habitants des bourgades u. bourgs) sich zu emancipiren u. ihre terres. [18,19]

Neben dem Adel u. serfs noch die libertas romana; l'état civil des personnes in den *anciennes villes municipales*; titre v. citoyen; zwar bedroht durch die Feudale u. heruntergekommen. Von dort, pour les 10 villes de fondation récente, l'exemple de la communauté urbaine, de ses règles et pratiques. [19, 20]

*Cités gallo-frankes im X Jhh.* liberté civile: administration intérieure sehr verändert depuis les temps romains. [20] Im fonds diesen sehr heterogenen modifications gemeinsam, daß das *régime héréditaire et aristocratique de la curie* progressiv transformirt in *gouvernement électif* u., à 15 différents degrés, populaire. Die Jurisdiction der officiers municipaux sehr gewachsen in matière civile et criminelle. Zwischen dem collègue der magistrats u. dem corps entier des citoyens keine legale corporation intermédiaire mehr; alle pouvoirs administratifs procédaient nur v. der délé- 20 gation publique u. ihre Dauer im Durchschnitt 1 Jahr. Der Défenseur, magistrat suprême, tombé sous la dépendance de l'évêque; wurde subaltern; verschwand dann ganz; Episcopat, Populär, eignet sich seine Funktion an. Durch die Feudalität der episcopus transformirt in den Dominus. [21] Andererseits das gouvernement des municipalités se modela 25 graduellement sur le régime des cours et des châteaux. Les citoyens notables devenaient vassaux héréditaires de l'église cathédrale, et, à ce titre, ils opprimaient la municipalité ou en absorbaient tous les pouvoirs. Les corporations d'arts et métiers, chargées par abus de prestations et de corvées, tombaient dans une dépendance presque servile. [22] In einigen 30 cités die seigneurie des évêque sans partage u. dominante; in andren der pouvoir féodal double, getheilt zwischen Pfaff u. dem officier royal, comte ou vicomte. In den Städten, wo diese Rivalität am heftigsten, unterstützt episcopus die municipalité libre, den principe électif etc. bereitet so vor die réaction civile.

35 X u. XI Jhh. marquent, pour la population urbaine, le dernier terme d'abaissement et d'oppression. Litt am meisten v. dem neuen Zustand. La ruine de ces institutions, qui nulle part ne fut complète, n'eut point lieu sans résistance, trace d'une lutte bourgeoise contre les pouvoirs féodaux. Während dieser ère de troubles et de retour à une sorte de barbarie, 40 s'opéra la fusion de la portion indigène et de la portion germanique des habitants des villes gauloises; u. unter ihnen gebildet droit commun,

coutumes municipales, nach den Zonen verschieden gemischt v. traditions romaines u. débris der alten codes barbares.

Dieselbe Crise in der société urbaine in Italien, m. bessren Chancen f. die ville. In der 2' Hälfte des 11' Jhh., in Folge des Scandals zwischen Pabst u. Kaiser, éclata le mouvement révolutionnaire, wiederbelebend 5 unter neuen Formen u. neuer Energie den esprit municipaler Unabhängigkeit. Die cités v. Toscana u. Lombardei. [23, 24] (Sieh *Hüllmann*.) Ihre chefs électifs nennen sich Consuls. Souveraine Städte. Ueber die Alpen u. über das Meer dringt diese Bewegung nach Gallien. Consulat in den Städten, die durch Handel m. Italien am meisten verbunden etc. Von den 10 grossen Städten dehnt sich die Consularverfassung - soit de vive force, soit de bon accord entre les citoyens et les seigneurs - in den kleinen aus. Diese propagande umfaßt den *tiers méridional* der France actuelle.

Anders im centre u. im Norden. A l'extrémité du territoire, unabhängig v. Italien, neue Form, die *commune jurée*. Sie naquit spontanément 15 par l'application faite au régime municipal d'un genre d'association dont la pratique dérivait des moeurs germaniques. Diese Form verbreitet sich v. Nord nach Süd, während die Organisation consulaire v. Süd nach Nord. «Commune» désignait im Mittelalter la municipalité constituée par association et par assurance mutuelle sous la foi du serment. - Beide Formen | 20 [67] pour principe l'insurrection u. als Zweck égalité des droits u. réhabilitation du travail. Dadurch wurden die Städte personnes juridiques selon l'ancien droit civil u. personnes juridiques selon le droit féodal; doch sie hatten nicht nur die faculté de gérer les intérêts de voisinage, celle de posséder et d'aliéner, sondern erhielten de droit, dans l'enceinte 25 de leurs murailles, la souveraineté que les seigneurs exerçaient sur leurs domaines. [25-27]

In der *partie centrale* de la Gaule auch Emancipationsversuche v. dem joug féodale, in anciens municipes u. villes considérables. Verschiedne Formen, aber weder die commune jurée des Nordens noch das consulat 30 des villes du Midi. [27] l'indépendance municipale blieb hier sous beaucoup de rapports faible et indéfinie.

Diese Revolution, die oft nicht eindrang in die alten villes municipales, in vielen neuen Städten. Oft nicht in den alten cités, aber in den neuen, grand bourg né sous ses murs. So nicht in Périgueux, aber in Puy-St.- 35 Front. [28] Im Ganzen die Resultate, die degrés etc sehr verschieden. Analogie in der série der révolutions municipales du XII Jhh. m. der constitutionellen Bewegung im 19'. *L'imitation* y joua un rôle considérable. Diversité presque infinie des changements qui s'accomplissent au XII Jhh. [29]

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Durch die charte de communes, les chartes de coutumes u. die statuts municipaux, la loi écrite reprend son empire; l'administration renaît dans les villes. Die *Bourgeoisie* erhebt sich zwischen Adel u. serfs. [30]

*Action der villes sur les campagnes im XII u. XIII Jhh.* Die liberté municipale breitet sich v. den einen auf die andern. Die bourgs populeux aspirent aux privilèges des villes fermées; die commune jurée erscheint in simples villages, ou associations d'habitants de plusieurs villages. Les principes des droits naturels, les paysans vinrent à demander leur affranchissement par seigneuries et par territoires, et à se liguier pour l'obtenir. 10 maîtres du sol müssen transigiren, par des traités d'argent, sur leurs droits de tout genre. Aber diese concessions producirten kein changement complet od. général. Dazu brauchte das Land 6 Jhh. [31-33]

## ch. II. Le Parlement au XIII siècle; les Etats généraux de 1302, 1355, et 1356.

15 Das 12' Jhh. ließ Municipales restaurés, villes de consulat, villes de communes, villes de simple bourgeoisie, bourgs et villages affranchis, une foule de petits états plus ou moins complets, d'asiles ouverts à la vie de travail sous la liberté politique ou la seule liberté civile ... Diese éléments de rénovation sociale hatten nicht selbst die Kraft sich untereinander zu ver-  
20 binden, ni de soumettre autour d'eux ce qui leur était contraire. Um die front der Aristokratie féodale anzugreifen das *Königthum* nöthig. [34, 35]

Die royauté germanique d'origine, mais formée en Gaule et imbue des traditions impériales, vergaß nie son principe romain, l'égalité devant elle et devant la loi. Merovinger vergebliche Anstrengungen; das Princip  
25 besiegt au déclin de la seconde race. In den erneurten Städten fand das Königthum sujétion effective, des subsides réguliers, des milices capables de disciplines. (Partout les bourgeois étaient organisés en compagnies, armés régulièrement et exercés au tir de l'arc et de l'arbalète.) [35, 36]

Im XII Jhh. défrichement, inoui jusque-là, de forêts et de terres in-  
30 cultes, aggrandissement des anciennes villes, établissement des villes nouvelles, peuplées de familles échappées au servage, commencement du mouvement de recomposition territoriale. [36, 37]

Im XIII Jhh. erschienen die réformes judiciaires et législatives entamant le droit féodal ... nouveau droit civil, né dans les chartes des com-  
35 munes et les coutumes rédigées pour des villes ou des bourgades passe dans la sphère de l'état. Ce *droit de la bourgeoisie*, hostile à celui des classes nobiliaires ... régla d'après ses principes, l'état des personnes, la constitution de la famille et la transmission des héritages. U établit le

partage des biens paternels ou maternels, meubles ou immeubles, entre tous les enfants, l'égalité des frères et des soeurs, et la communauté, entre époux, des choses acquises durant le mariage ... [37] renaissance de l'étude des lois romaines ... impulsion donnée par l'Italie ... Studenten gehn nach Bologna seit dem 12' Jhh. u. bald ce droit professé concurre- 5  
ment avec le droit canonique dans plusieurs villes du Midi, et dans celles d'Angers et d'Orléans. Wird *raison écrite* f. die territoires, wo die coutumes nur wenig vom römischen Recht beibehalten u. *droit écrit*, wo das röm. Recht noch als Gewohnheitsrecht existierte. [38] Unter diesem Einfluß gebildet *toute une classe de jurisconsultes et d'hommes politiques, la* 10  
*tête et l'âme de la bourgeoisie.*

La cour du roi ou le *Parlement*, tribunal suprême et conseil d'état, devint, par l'admission de ces hommes nouveaux, le foyer le plus actif de l'esprit de renouvellement ... théorie du pouvoir impérial, de l'autorité publique, une et absolue ... Ihr Einfluß im XIII u. XIV Jhh. ... hielten f. 15  
legitim nur 2 choses, la royauté et l'état de bourgeoisie ... [39]

*règnes de Louis IX u. de Philippe le Bel:* Unter dem ersten diese juristischen Reformen gemässigt, unter dem 2' revolutionär ... [40] Diese Légistes des XIV Jhh., fondateurs et ministres de l'autocratie royale, fallen oft als Opfer sous la réaction der v. ihnen verletzten Interessen. 20  
Enguerrand de Marigny, pendu à Montfaucon, sous le règne de Louis X; Pierre de Latilly, chancelier de France, et Raoul de Presle, avocat du roi au Parlement, tous deux mis à la torture sous le même règne; Gérard de la Guette, ministre de Philippe le Long, mort à la question en 1322; Pierre Frémy, ministre de Charles le Bel, pendu en 1328. 25

*Wächst die Zahl* des hommes libres à titre de bourgeoisie u. diese classe d'hommes stellt sich direct sous la garde et la justice du roi. [42] Erst: keine Commune darf sich bilden ohne consentement du roi; dann, der roi allein kann communes schaffen; dann daß toutes les villes de commune ou de consulat, étaient par le fait même, sous sa seigneurie immédiate. 30  
Dann machte sich die royauté un |68| de faire des bourgeois par tout le royaume, sur le domaine d'autrui comme sur le sien. Durch legale fiction wird die bourgeoisie so statt droit réel, attaché au domicile et que l'habitation conférait, quelque chose de personnel. Man konnte désavouer son seigneur et s'avouer bourgeois du roi. [43] (Sans quitter la glèbe 35  
seigneuriale) So entstand sourdement une nouvelle classe de citoyens libres ... Dieß alles etablirte sich nicht ohne lutte u. ohne protestation.

Nicht so die institution fameuse des *États généraux* (d. h. Zulassung der bourgeois zu ihnen.) Diese assemblées - of german origin - zusammengesetzt ursprünglich de députés élus respectivement par la noblesse et 40  
le clergé, formant soit une seule réunion, soit deux chambres distinctes.



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Villes geworden partie intégrante de la hiérarchie féodale, et la féodalité reconnaissait à tous ses membres le droit de consentir librement les impôts et les subsides ... [44, 45] Erst selten u. bornée à des cas spéciaux, hatte die convocation par le roi des représentants des bonnes villes lieu  
5 d'une façon isolée, machte kein Aufsehn, nicht bemerkt durch die contemporains. Surcroît de dépenses et de besoins pour la royauté qui firent naître les créations administratives im XIV siècle, machten nöthig des appels plus nombreux et réguliers des bourgeois mandataires des cités et des communes. [46] Streitigkeiten zwischen pape Boniface VIII u. Philippe le Bel. Pabst berief concile général, der roi une assemblée générale des députés des trois états, clergé, noblesse, et *bourgeoisie des villes*. Zu Paris, à Notre Dame, 10 April 1302. Die vom Norden schickten ihre échevins, die von Süden ihre consuls. Bourgeoisie erklärt sich gegen den Pabst, Absolutheit vom fremden Einfluß der Krone. [47] Erste apparition  
15 d'une pensée politique des classes roturières. Der Name *tiers état* ne comprend de fait que la population des villes privilégiées. Bis Mitte des 15<sup>e</sup> Jhh. Wahlen beschränkt auf die bonnes villes; étendues aux villes non murées et aux simples villages zum Ende des XV Jhh. ... nature toute municipale der représentation des 3<sup>ème</sup> ordre ... glaubte sich chargée de  
20 plaider la cause de la masse des non-nobles ... [48] Dieß droit der bourgeoisie ursprünglich nicht werthvoll, sondern suspect, weil toute convocation des états aboutissait à de nouvelles demandes du fisc ... Ihre Rolle subaltern in den états v. 1302 u. die spätere unter Philippe le Bel u. seinen successeurs, bis Mitte des XIV Jhh., u. meist veranlaßt durch guerres od.  
25 changements de règne. Unter Johann bedeutend, wegen der public disasters ... [49]

*états généraux de 1355*: Unter ihren Beschlüssen: Autorité partagée zwischen roi u. den états représentés par une commission de 9 membres; l'assemblée des états s'ajournant d'elle-même à terme fixe; l'impôt réparti  
30 sur toutes les classes de personnes et atteignant jusqu'au roi; le droit de percevoir les taxes et le contrôle de l'administration financière donnés aux états agissant par leurs délégués à Paris et dans les provinces; l'établissement d'une milice nationale par l'injonction faite à chacun de s'équiper d'armes selon son état; la défense de traduire qui que ce soit  
35 devant une autre juridiction que la juridiction ordinaire, l'abolition du droit de prise ou réquisition forcée pour le service royal, suppression des monopoles exercés sous le nom de tierces personnes par les officiers royaux ou seigneuriaux ... Initiative du tiers état dominait, délibérations schein en communes unter den 3 états gewesen zu sein ... [51, 52]

40 *états généraux v. 1356*: Schlacht v. Poitiers, roy gefangen, la plupart des nobles tués etc. sentiment de douleur nationale in den classes rotu-

rières ... mépris pour la noblesse qui avait lâché pied devant une armée très inférieure en nombre ... Die gentilshommes revenant de la bataille verfolgt u. mißhandelt in den villes u. bourgs, durch die sie passirten ... Prinz Regent. Ruft die états généraux zusammen. 800 Deputirte, 400 davon Bourgeois ... [53] Revolutionair ... comité v. 80 membres v. der 5  
Versammlung gewählt, beschlossen: autorité des états déclarée souveraine en toute matière d'administration et de finance, mise en accusation de tous les conseillers du roi, destitution en masse des officiers de justice, création d'un conseil de réformateurs pris dans les 3 ordres, défense de conclure aucune trêve sans l'assentiment des 3 états, droit pour ceux-ci de se réunir 10  
par leur seule volonté, sans convocation royale ... [54] Der lieutenant du roi, Charles duc de Normandie, mußte in allem nachgeben ... nobles gehn fort, da ihnen die prépondérance der bourgeois insupportable ... Schließlich noch der clergé ... So nur noch die députés des villes ... Unterordnete sich der deputation de Paris ... la question de suprématie pour les états 15  
devint une question parisienne, soumise aux chances de l'émeute populaire et à la tutelle du pouvoir municipal ... Etienne Marcel, prévôt des marchands, c. à. d. de la municipalité de Paris ... [55, 56] Befestigte Paris ... *Jacquerie* Ihr chef bot seine alliance an den Städten, acceptirt v. Beauvais, Senlis, Amiens, Paris u. Meaux soit comme secours, soit comme 20  
diversion ... Principalement die classe pauvre der villes sympathisait avec eux ... La destruction des Jacques fut suivie presque aussitôt de la chute, dans Paris même, de la révolution bourgeoise ... Paris verlassen v. den andern Städten. (1359) *Charles V*, nachdem er sie besiegt, prit quelque chose v. den tendances politiques der bourgeoisie ... Adel immer mehr 25  
Sinn f. Luxus, plaisirs, élégance ... *bourgeoisie, classe moyenne de la nation, haute classe du tiers état...* Les cahiers des 3 états furent la source d'où, à différentes reprises, découlèrent les grandes ordonnances et les grandes mesures d'administration ... [60-67]

### Ch. III. Le Tiers État sous Charles V, 30 Charles VI, Charles VII und Louis XI.

Der tiers état schöpfte seine force und esprit in den classes commerçantes u. der classe des officiers royaux de justice et de finance, dont le nombre et le pouvoir augmentaient rapidement u. m. wenigen Ausnahmen sortaient tous de la roture ... [69-71] rôle particulier de la bourgeoisie pari- 35  
sienne ...

Charles V etablirte, *sous le nom d'aides ordinaires, permanence de l'impôt*, violant du même coup les franchises féodales und die franchises

municipales... [72] Die royauté so for the first time en opposition avec la bourgeoisie ...

*Charles VI*, mineur ... Um zu continuer die levée der subsides généraux, versuchten die tuteurs du jeune roi, des convocations de notables et  
5 des pourparlers avec l'échevinage de Paris, kein result ausser surcroît d'effervescence populaire et des menaces d'émeute ... [73] Durch ordonnance v. 16 Nov. 1380, schafften die tuteurs etc à perpétuité les impôts établis, sous quelque nom que ce fût, depuis le temps de Philippe le Bel ... [69] Mußten daher administrer m. den seuls produits du domaine  
10 royal à bout de ressources legen sie taxe auf marchandises de toute sorte. Insurrection in Paris, dann in den principales villes des provinces du centre et du nord ... Angefeuert durch das Beispiel der ville de Gand, den Krieg m. dem Grafen v. Flandern ... Correspondance zwischen den bourgeois de France u. den Flamands insurgés ... [74, 75] Royauté u.  
15 baronnage verbinden sich; un grand coup fut frappé en Flandre par l'intervention d'une armée française et de Charles VI en personne; cette campagne victorieuse, Sieg der noblesse über die roture, Reaction bei ihrer Rückkehr nach Frank, armée royale rückt in Paris wie in eine eroberte Stadt ein, 300 (élite de la Bourgeoisie) personnes, arretirt und durch  
20 Ordonnance vom 27 janvier 1382 abgeschafft die libertés immémoriales v. Paris, s. échevinage, jurisdiction, milice, die existence indépendante de ses corps d'arts et métiers ... Die nombreuses exécutions à mort ... [76] Die haute bourgeoisie Parisienne zu zahlen des amendes équivalant presque à la confiscation des biens. Aehnlich in Rouen, Amiens, Troyes, Orléans, Reims, Châlons und Sens ... Während 29 Jahren désordres  
25 d'une administration sans règles, dilapidations de tout genre, folie du roi, querelles des princes, guerre civile et bientôt l'invasion étrangère ... Die réaction v. 1383 hatte die haute classe der bourgeoisie parisienne ruinirt, verarmt und ihres influence héréditaire beraubt ... Das abaissement die-  
so ser classe supérieure, composée du haut négoce et du barreau des cours souveraines. Dadurch stieg d'un degré die classe intermédiaire, celle des plus riches *parmi les hommes exerçant les professions manuelles*, classe moins éclairée, plus grossière de moeurs ... Dadurch der Karakter v. démagogie als 1412 Paris seine franchises u. privilèges zurückerhielt.  
35 Dieß bewirkt durch den duc de Bourgogne, der, pour accroître ses forces, s'était fait l'allié de la bourgeoisie et le défenseur des intérêts populaires .. [77, 78] Die élections municipales geben ein échevinage u. conseil de ville presque entièrement formés de gens de métier u. wo dominaient die maîtres bouchers de la grande boucherie et de la boucherie St. Geneviève.  
40 Um diese hommes eine clientèle héréditaire des valets qu'on nommait écorcheurs ... Dieses gouvernement eut l'affection du menu peuple und

devint objet d'effroi pour la bourgeoisie commerçante u. die Reste der alten Stadtpatricier ... l'autorité, se faisant soutenir par des émeutes, passa bientôt du conseil de ville à la multitude, des maîtres bouchers aux écorcheurs. Einer davon *Simon Caboche* ... v. ihm die Cabochiens ... [79] Hier alliance politique entre la classe lettrée, les esprits spéculatifs, et la 5 portion ignorante et brutalement passionnée du tiers état. In der Pariser municipalité, en 1413, Jean de Troyes, médecin renommé, saß neben den bouchers Saint-Yon und Legoux en parfaite communion de sentiments avec eux. l'Université tritt f. die Reformen auf; lädt das Parlament v. Paris auch dazu ein, dieses refusirt. Aber l'échevinage und die Université 10 ne reculèrent pas ... [80, 81] furent autorisés von Hofe zu présenter un plan de réforme administrative et judiciaire ... aile anciennes ordonnances conservées dans les archives leur fussent livrées en examen ... Das Volk nimmt die bastille St. Antoine, cette citadelle de la royauté dans Paris ... Gewaltsame Szenen ... Den 25 Mai, 1413, die résolutions des 15 nouveaux réformateurs, rédigées, wie die v. 1356, sous la forme d'une ordonnance royale, lues devant le roi en son lit de justice et déclarées obligatoires et inviolables ... besteht aus 258 Artikeln, code complet d'administration ... 2 Hauptideen: la centralisation de l'ordre judiciaire et celle de l'ordre financier; tout aboutit d'un côté à la chambre des 20 comptes et de l'autre au parlement ... Ausser der élection pour les emplois judiciaires elle n'institue rien de nouveau ... [82-85] Reaction ... die ordonnance vom Mai 1413 cassirt u. annullée durch die v. 5 September, 1413 ... Enthielt (die v. Mai) auch Maßregeln für die paysans ... Im XIII und XIV Jhh. Masse villages affranchis ... Communal Verfassung, 25 aber: la condition des paysans, résultat de transactions de tout genre sur les droits réels ou personnels, resta inégale suivant les lieux et diversifiée à l'infini ... Cette masse d'affranchis encore attachés au domaine par quelque lien et tout au moins soumis à la juridiction seigneuriale ... Patriotisch ... Schlacht v. Azincourt durch traité v. Troie, 1420, an Heinrich V 30 v. England die Krone v. Frankreich abgetreten ... royaume conquis jusqu'à la Loire ... Jeanne d'Arc aus der Bauernklasse ... [87-90]

*Charles VII:* principaux conseillers furent des bourgeois. Jacques Coeur (Financier) Jean Bureau, grand maître de l'artillerie ... Reformatrice ordonnances über administration, Finanzen, Armee, justice u. 35 police générale ... Permanente Steuern ... pour la première fois stehendes Heer ... Die milices des villes vinrent se fondre dans une armée royale ... das règne v. Charles VII das des élan national ... [91-93] Die Resultate der gemeinsamen Anstrengungen consolidirt und systematisirt unter

*Louis XI:* Kampf pour la cause de l'unité de pouvoir et du nivellement 40 social... affectait d'être roturier par le ton, l'habit, les manières ... Art v.

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dictature démocratique ... Wollte établir l'unité de coutume, de poids et de mesures ... Als Vorbild das régime civil des républiques italiennes ... convoqua des négociants à son grand conseil. Wege, Kanäle, marine marchande etc Vergrößerung des stehenden Heers um das 4fache ... Druck der Steuern, unter ihm ... schonte nichts als die privilèges municipaux ... [94-97]

#### ch. IV. Les États généraux de 1484. Le tiers État sous Louis XII, François I und Henri II.

10 fatigue produite sur le peuple français par le despotisme prolongé de Louis XI 5 Janvier 1484 états généraux réunis, (à Tours) toutes les provinces du royaume, langue d'Oïl et langue d'Oc. Die élection f. die 3 ordres s'était faite au chef-lieu de chaque bailliage, et les paysans eux-mêmes y avaient pris part. In den états délibération non par ordres, mais par  
15 têtes, dans 6 bureaux correspondant à autant de régions territoriales, vergebne Reaction hin nach dem état des choses zur Zeit v. Charles VII, l'impulsion vers la centralité administrative une et absolue war zu stark. [98, 99] Republik. Redensarten in dieser Versammlung. Durch Sire de la Roche, député de la noblesse de Bourgogne. Kein Resultat, (ses traditions de caste rendues généreuses par une raison élevée et par quelque notion de l'hist. grecque et romaine.)

Der tiers état ne se passionna que pour le redressement de griefs matériels et pour la question de taxes permanentes et arbitraires. C'est sur ce point seulement que fut soutenu par les députés de la roture le droit des  
25 états généraux, que d'autres posaient comme libres et souverains en toute matière. Die mouvement politique v. 1357 avait eu pour principe l'esprit municipal à son plus haut degré d'énergie. Nicht mehr möglich. Rêve des Etienne Marcel une confédération de villes souveraines ayant Paris à leur tête, et gouvernant le pays par une diète sous la suzeraineté du roi. Dieser  
30 Geist der droits locaux et d'indépendance personnelle [70] verschwunden vor désirs d'ordre public et de vie nationale. Tiers état s'attacha jezt nur aux choses purement pratiques et d'intérêt présent. [101,102] Hauptpunkte der cahiers des 3<sup>es</sup> état: diminution des impôts et réduction des troupes soldées, reprise des portions aliénées du domaine royal, mise en  
35 vigueur des actes garantissant les libertés de l'église gallicane, *rédaction par écrit des coutumes - premier pas vers l'unité de loi*. Die assemblée v. 1484 votirte Subside nur unter dem titre de don et d'octroi. Verlangte und

erhielt versprochen zweijährige Berufung der états gén. Aber nicht berufen in den 14 J. des Charles VIII, Steuern unter ihm levées par ordonnance et réparties sans contrôle. Régime arbitraire. Invasion des sud de l'Italie, l'ère des grandes guerres s'ouvrit. [103-105]

Im XII Jhh. Municipalität v. Italien. Im XIII. Jh. röm. Recht v. den 5 ital. Schulen. Im XV Jh. die Literatur in Folge 50jähriger Kriege mit Italien. Frankreich Italien zum Kampfplatz der europ. Monarchien gemacht, seinen Ruine eröffnet. Schöpfte dort den culte der chefs-d'œuvre antiques. [105] Révolution intellectuelle. Communion de la pensée pour les hommes d'élite über die séparation der classes. Quelque 10 chose d'uniforme infusée par l'éducation littéraire. So bereitet sich eine publique opinion vor, un fonds commun d'idées purement laïques, d'études sorties d'une source autre que celle des écoles du moyen âge. États gén. blieben blos wie bisher un recours suprême dans les temps de crise. [106] 15

*Rôle du Parlement de Paris*, dieser bourgeois légistes, seit dem XVI Jhh. Ihre Macht entsteht v. dem usage de promulguer les edits royaux en cour de parlement, et de les faire inscrire sur des registres que la cour avait sous sa garde. Dieses registrement lieu in Folge eines arrêt. Délibération préalable dazu nöthig. Unter *Louis XII* beginnt das Parlament 20 als pouvoir médiateur entre le trône et la nation, u. aus vieux ennemis de toute résistance à l'autorité du prince, avocats de l'opinion publique. Unter L. XII signes de progrès et de prospérité. Verbesserte Agriculture, neue Quartiere in den Städten, bequemere Häuser gebaut. Aisance der classe moyenne in den habits, meubles u. divertissements coûteux. Grosse 25 Vermehrung der marchands u. des commerce lointain ... Steigen der Preise ... Les terres rapportaient davantage, rentrée des impôts sans contrainte et à peu de frais. [107-110] l'ordonnance v. 1499, principe de l'élection pour les offices de judicature u. garanties contre l'abus de la vénalité des charges. Einzige assemblée politique in diesem règne blos. 30 Députés de villes u. des corps judiciaire, législation fängt an zu herrschen über die coutume. That viel zur Redaction der coutumes de France. Von 1505-1515 20 coutumes des pays ou de villes importantes recueillies, examinées et publiées avec la sanction définitive, tiers état vorherrschend bei dieser Redaction u. Reform des droit coutumier. Beispiel die chan- 35 gements pour les manages entre nobles in dem régime des biens conjugaux. Dazu Einfluß des römischen Rechts auf den droit national; ließ es verlieren v. der tradition germanique. [111-114]

*François!* roi gentilhomme. Trotzdem envahissement des offices royaux sur les seigneuries. Adel geht in den Schlachten caput und formirt 40; sich in den armées régulières, dilapidations scandaleuses, malheurs

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inouïs. Législation beschäftigt m. industrie, commerce, agriculture, police des eaux u. forêts, exploitation des mines, navigation lointaine, sécurité de toutes les transactions civiles, à son apogée la révolution intellectuelle, die Renaissance. Alles erneut, sciences, beaux-arts, philosophie, littérature, 5 alliance de l'esprit français avec le génie de l'antiquité. [115-117]

Unter *Heinrich II* letzter Fortschritt goes on, ohne daß er etwas dafür thut. magnificence des nouvelles constructions en palais et en châteaux etc La noblesse, à l'exemple du roi, prodiguait l'argent pour ce luxe de la civilisation, le mérite de l'œuvre à des artistes roturiers; die grands sei- 10 gneurs dem goût du beau. So die Aristokratie, wie unter Louis XIV d. h. appliquant die conversation polie au jugement des choses de l'esprit et des productions littéraires, ihren Antheil an der modernen Entwicklung. Adel liebte nicht die fonctions judiciaires ou administratives. Behielt sich nur die offices d'épée et charges de cour. Die Andren fielen dem tiers état 15 in die Hand. Fzs. Adel nicht classe politique sondern militaire. In dieser Epoche die ganze Administration, bis zu dem was später ministères genannt, in der Hand des tiers état. [118-120] Im Gericht v. chancelier garde des sceaux bis zu den présidiaux. In den Finanzen ebenso die trésoriers, surintendants, intendants, contrôleurs, receveurs généraux u. par- 20 ticuliers. Ailes bourgeois lettrés ... hommes de longue robe. Die jurisdiction der sénéchaux, baillis, prévôts du roi meist noch in der Hand v. gentilshommes, brauchten aber bürgerliche lieutenants ou des assesses gradués. Den Bürgern nur untersagt das gouvernement der provinces, des villes et des fortresses, die grades des armées de terre et de mer, die 25 charges de la maison du roi, u. die ambassades, die dem haut clergé od. Adel zufielen. Der suprême pouvoir délibérant, der conseil d'État, bis zum XIV Jhh. halb barons, halb gens d'église, am Ende des XVI in majorité des gens de robe. [121,122] Die offices supérieurs de judicature et de finance procuraient aux titulaires ausser ihren appointements des privi- 30 léges constituant pour eux une sorte de noblesse non transmissible qui ne les enlevait pas au tiers état. Ils étaient exempts de divers impôts ou péages, konnten acquérir des terres nobles ohne zu zahlen die droits exigés dans ce cas pour l'acheteur roturier. [123] Sammelten Vermögen, legten es an in possessions territoriales. Die héritage des gentilhomme ruiné 35 passait in die Hände des officier royal enrichi par son emploi. Zwei Wege zum Amt, mérite od. faveur, u. vénalité passée en coutume. Die riche bourgeoisie profitait de cette dernière voie. Sorge der parents «ogni padre daher cerca di metter qualcuno de suoi figli allo studio per questo effetto.» Daher grand nombre des universités en France, zahlreicher 40 Besuch der Universität in Paris. Viele Arme hier, leben v. den fondations faites dans les collèges. Aspiration des classes inférieures vers les lettres.

Andrerseits Bourgeois bereichert durch den progrès der relations commerciales, durch den crédit bildet sich in der bourgeoisie marchande une classe nouvelle (pour y prendre le premier rang), grands Kapitalisten (financiers damals genannt). Das système des fermes générales, importé d'Italie en France, u. die opérations du crédit. Chargés de faire, soit 5 comme fermiers soit comme régisseurs, le recouvrement des impôts, banquiers du trésor et dépositaires des recettes opérées par les comptables, avançant des fonds pour toutes les entreprises de guerre ou de paix, ils eurent, dans les affaires de l'état, une part indirecte mais considérable. Favorisirt beim Hofe etc Verheiratheten sich m. der hohen Magistratur. 10 Bringen dem tiers état die puissance que donne l'argent. «Li mercanti, per essere a questi tempi patroni dei danari, sono favoriti e accarezzati, ma non hanno niuna preminenza di dignità. *Relaz. Venet.*» progrès ihres influence v. Mitte des XVI bis letzte Zeit des XVIII Jhh., leur carrière semée de faveur et de haine, de gains énormes et de cruelles avanies. 15 toujours maudits et toujours nécessaires. | [125-128]

#### [71] Ch. V. États généraux de 1560 et de 1576.

Les protestants français ne formèrent qu'un parti clandestin et persécuté, jusqu'au jour où la faiblesse de l'autorité royale exercée par un prince mineur donna à ce parti l'appui de la noblesse, et lui permit de se monter, de se constituer 10 et d'agir. (*Mignet. L'établ. de la Réf. Rei.*) [129, 130]

Règne de *François II* nur une minorité.

*Charles IX.* passions Religieuses hatten unter *François II* Zeit gehabt de faire alliance avec les passions politiques. Deux grandes factions ayant 25 des princes à leur tête. Auf der einen majorité des nobles, auf der andern majorité du peuple unie au clergé. Dann parti modéré, wollten transaction, aber unité de l'église als soutien des état, liberté de conscience aber nicht schisme, sérieuses réformes in den moeurs du clergé catholique. Diese parti Hauptwurzel in der bourgeoisie. Dominirte in den *États 1560*, 30 ' kamen zus. 13 Dec, erst zu Meaux, dann zu Orléans. 393 députés, 98 f. den clergé, 76 f. die noblesse, 219 f. den tiers état. Wollten bes. die droits de l'état en matière d'organisation ecclésiastique. Im conseil des roi *Michel d'Hôpital*, chancelier de France, bourgeois v. naissance, porta dans le gouv. les principes traditionnels du tiers état, maintien de l'unité 35 française, libertés de l'église gallicane. Une foi, une loi, un roi, aber tolérance. Machte dieß geltend bei den États. [130-132] Cahier de remontrances du tiers état, 354 articles, verlangten u. a.: l'élection aux dignités ^



ecclésiastiques pour le concours du clergé et d'un certain nombre de notables; l'attribution d'une part des revenus ecclésiastiques à l'établissement de nouvelles chaires dans les universités et à l'érection, dans chaque ville, d'un collège municipal; l'interdiction aux prêtres de recevoir des testaments; la réduction des jours fériés aux dimanches et à un petit nombre de fêtes; l'élection des officiers de magistrature par le concours de l'ordre judiciaire, des magistrats municipaux et de la couronne; la révision des anciennes lois et ordonnances, et la réunion en un seul corps de celles qui seraient maintenues; la poursuite d'office contre les crimes notoires sans qu'il fût besoin de partie civile; la suppression des douanes intérieures et l'adoption d'un seul poids et d'une seule mesure dans tous les royaumes; l'établissement des tribunaux électifs de commerce et de police; des règlements prohibitifs sur la coupe des bois de haute futaie; la restriction des justices seigneuriales au profit de la justice royale; la peine de déchéance des droits seigneuriaux pour tout noble convaincu d'exactions envers les habitants de ses domaines; enfin, la tenue des états gén. une fois au moins tous les 5 ans, et le choix immédiat d'un jour et d'un lieu pour leur prochaine convocation. Ce cahier est divisée en 5 sections: 1) de l'état ecclésiastique; 2) des universités; 3) de la noblesse, gendarmerie et suite de cour; 4) de la justice; 5) des tailles, impositions, subsides, marchandises et autres choses ... [133,134] Aile 3 Stände wollten keine neuen Steuern bewilligen, verlangten Rücksendung in ihre Provinzen, lezten Janvier 1561 geschlossen. Ordonné daß die états provinciaux sich versammelten am 20 Mars 1561, nach vorheriger consultation wählen sollten 3 Députés, un clerc, un noble, et un bourgeois, darauf jedes der 13 gouvernements u. die 39 élus sich versammeln sollten 1 Mai in Melun. Die ordonnance, die zum Theil den cahier aufnahm, erschien am Tag des Schlusses der états gén. l'Hôpital arbeitete sie aus «en saige». [135] als zu den kirchlichen Würden vertheilt die Wahl zwischen 1) Krone u. 2) clergé u. peuple. Die députés der 13 gouvernements versammelten sich, v. den 2 ordres laïques, im August zu Pontoise, die Pfaffen unter dem Titel «colloque» zu Poissy. Erstre 26 Personen, 13 nobles u. 13 bourgeois mit aller Vollmacht, die états gén. [136] Dießmal beide ordres einmüthig. pré-tentions au partage de la souveraineté wie in den Etats v. 1356 u. Maßregeln vorgeschlagen wie 1789. Schlagen vor au profit du roi alle geistlichen Güter zu verkaufen, clergé durch pensions zu entschädigen. Von dieser vente Product berechnet auf 120 millions de livres, wovon 48 f. die dotation nouvelle bestimmt, 42 f. das amortissement der dette publique, 30 placés à l'intérêt in den villes u. ports de mer pour y alimenter le commerce, en même temps qu'ils donneraient un revenu fixe au trésor. Plan fiel vor dem Vorschlag des clergé d'éteindre avant 10 ans le 3<sup>e</sup> de la

dette pour une cotisation imposée à tous les membres de leur ordre. Die  
Versammlung v. Pontoise verlangte f. die Protestanten libre exercice de  
leur culte. Entsprochen durch Edict vom 17 Januar 1561. [137, 138] Aber  
aux mouvements de la masse populaire beigemischt ambitions rivales de  
princes et de grands qui renouvelaient sous un roi mineur ce qui, 1 1/2 siècles 5 -  
auparavant, s'était fait sous un roi insensé. [139] Ordonnance des Hôpital  
v. Moulins 1566. Anfaßt die vom cahier des 3<sup>e</sup> Standes verlangten Reformen  
im système judiciaire. Restreignit la compétence des justices de privilège;  
nahm auch den maires, échevins, capitouls, consuls et autres magistrats  
du même ordre la connaissance des causes civiles, ließ ihnen nur die 10  
der Jurisdiction criminelle und der police. Die vieux municipes antérieurs  
à toute charte de commune réclamèrent avec succès devant le Parlement  
u. die ordonnance de Moulins ohne effect im Bezug auf sie ... [140,141]  
In den Religionskämpfen zog die opinion des masses populaires alles  
nach sich, auch das Königthum, un moment impartial. Machiavellisti- 15  
sche Politik des Hofes. Hôpital tritt aus dem ministère im Mai 1568,  
f. 13 mars 1573. [142] - *Massacre de la Saint-Barthélémy 24 août 1572.* la  
bourgeoisie parisienne complice du pouvoir royal an diesem Tag. Corps  
municipal accepta die ordres zur Ausführung des guet-apens ... In diesen  
Bürgerkämpfen wird die Literatur ernsthafter, Waffe der Partheien, ange- 20,  
wandt auf Geschichte, Moral, gouvernement. Bildung v. Theorien über  
die administration. Politische Oekonomie - cette science bourgeoise des  
villes de l'Italie - introducirt durch un ministre italien créature de la reine  
mère, (*René de Biragues*, garde des sceaux en 1571 u. chancelier de  
France seit Hôpital t bis 1578) gab mehr rationelle Direktion den règ- 25  
lements faits sur la police des métiers et sur le trafic des marchandises.  
Von diesem date das System der balance du commerce u. die Protection  
der industrie nationale durch Verbot der Ausfuhr v. matières premières u.  
der Einfuhr v. manufactures étrangères:

«Afin que nosdits sujets se puissent mieux adonner à la manufacture et 30  
ouvrages des laines, lins, chanvres et fillaces qui croissent et abondent en  
nosdits royaume et pays, et en faire et tirer le profit que fait l'estranger,  
lequel les y vient acheter communément à petit prix, les transporte et fait  
mettre en œuvre, et après apporte les draps et linges, qu'il vend à prix  
excessif; avons ordonné et ordonnons qu'il ne sera doresnavant loisible à 35  
aucun de nosdits sujets et estrangers, souz quelque cause ou prétexte que  
ce soit, transporter hors nosdits royaume et pays aucunes laines, lins,  
chanvres et fillaces ... Défendons aussi très-expressément toute entrée en  
cestuy nostredit royaume de tous draps, toilles, passements et canetilles 40  
d'or ou d'argent, ensemble tous veloux, satins, damas, taffetas, camelots,  
toilles et toutes sortes d'étoffes rayez ou y ayant or ou argent, et pareil-

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lement de tous harnois de chevaux, ceintures, espées et dagues, estrieux et  
espérons dorez, argentez ou gravez, sur peine de confiscation desdites  
marchandises - Davantage défendons l'entrée en nostredit royaume et  
pays de toutes sortes de tapisseries estrangères, de quelque étoffe et façon  
5 qu'elles soient, sur les mesmes peines que dessus.» (Édit de janvier 1572  
sur le commerce à l'étranger et sur la police du Royaume. Cf. les Édits du  
2 Mars 1571 sur la fabrication des draps, de juin 1572 sur la création des  
courtiers de commerce, et de la même date sur le taux d'intérêt.) [143-145]

Die Szenen v. Paris (24 Aug. 1572) wiederholten sich zu Meaux,  
10 Orléans, Bourges, Rouen, Angers, Lyon, Toulouse u. vielen unbedeuten-  
deren Städten. 3<sup>tes</sup> parti armé, les *politiques*, s'unit aux protestants in  
Sachen der Toleranz. Von den Katholiken guerre contre le roi proclamée  
comme légitime. Republikanische doctrines nées und se mêlaient des cris  
de haine et de vengeance. *Etienne de la Boétie*: «Discours de la servitude  
15 volontaire». *François Hotman*: ||72| Franco-Gallia; *Hubert Languet*: Vin-  
diciae contra tyrannos, sive de principis in populum populique in prin-  
cipem legitima potestate; *Apophthegmes* ou discours notables recueillis de  
divers auteurs contre la tyrannie et les tyrans; *Discours* des jugements de  
Dieu contre les tyrans, recueilli des histoires sacrées et profanes; *Du droit*  
20 des magistrats sur leurs sujets etc etc ... Diese Bücher fruits du désespoir  
des protestants et d'un sentiment public de colère et de désaffection ...  
[145, 146]

*Henri III* mußte annehmen die Bedingungen der confédération victo-  
riouse der calvinistes und catholiques associés ... 5<sup>tes</sup> édit der pacification  
25 vom 14 mai 1576. (1<sup>er</sup> v. 19 mars 1562, 2<sup>tes</sup> v. 23 mars 1568, 3<sup>e</sup> v. Au-  
gust 1570 u. 4<sup>e</sup> v. Juli 1573.) Dennoch exercise du nouveau culte frei u.  
public dans tout le royaume sauf Paris et la cour ... überhaupt weiter als  
eins der vorhergehenden ... *Henri III* natürlich nicht ehrlich gemeint m.  
diesem Edikt... Hing auch nicht v. ihm ab ... [146,147] Die *Ligue* basirt  
30 auf serment d'assistance mutuelle et de dévouement jusqu'à la mort,  
régime de terreur, l'obéissance absolue à un chef suprême qu'on devait  
élire ... [148] Hof rief die *états généraux* zus. zu Blois 15 novembre 1576;  
die *protestants* u. die *politiques* en furent écartés par tous les moyens de  
fraude et de violence. Die meisten députés hatten als Mandat: une reli-  
35 gion catholique romaine. Noblesse u. clergé gleich intolérant, tiers état  
etwas mehr modéré. [149] König erklärt sich Chef der Ligue, die petit  
nombre d'élus calvinistes et de leurs élus zog sich zurrück, protestant  
d'avance gegen die Beschlüsse der assemblée. 2 ersten ordres stimmten  
sans débat f. abrogation des édit u. reprise der guerre civile. In tiers état  
40 Theilung. Theil u. darunter die deputation v. Paris f. den guerre; der  
andre wollte die Restauration der unité catholique durch sanfte Mittel.

*Jean Bodin* chef de l'opposition bourgeoise contre la ligue et contre la cour. [150] Bewirkte un refus péremptoire de tout subside. Diese états im übrigen constitutionelle Ideen. 3 Artikel im cahier des tiers état zeigen die résistance des privilèges municipaux à l'envahissement administratif: ils revendiquent, au nom des corps de villes, la liberté des assemblées, la 5 liberté des élections, et la juridiction pleine et entière. Der esprit jaloux der ancienne magistrature (urbaine u. parlementaire) zeigt sich in der demande de suppression des tribunaux du commerce. Antwort des roi auf die cahiers des états im Mai 1579 durch die ordonnance de Blois. Hält aufrecht f. kirchliche nominations den droit absolu du roi selon le 10 concordat de 1516. F. die juristischen Stellen, statt der présentation de 3 personnes par les corps de judicature, Wahl durch die Krone sur des listes d'éligibles dressées dans chaque circonscription juridique et renouvelées tous les 3 ans ... Henri de Bourbon, roi de Navarre, protestirt gegen die vote der états gén. pour la réunion à un seul culte ... [151-156] 15 Neue Vermittlung durch traité de Bergerac et l'édit de Poitiers, septembre 1577; durait encore en 1584 als der Bruder des Königs François, duc d'Anjou, stirbt; Erbschaftsansprüche auf den Thron nun v. Henri v. Bourbon. Daher crise violente. Grosse progrès nun der ligue; elle pénétra cette fois dans les hautes classes de la bourgeoisie qu'elle parut embrasser 20 toute entière. [158] *Henri de Lorraine, duc de Guise*, (Sohn des François, ermordet 1563 durch un gentilhomme huguenot.) Die Doctrines républicaines, entstanden unter den Huguenotten par l'attentat de Charles IX, passèrent dans les rangs opposés aus Verachtung gegen Henri III u. appréhensions qu'inspirait la royauté à venir, souveraineté du 25 peuple u. des droit d'élection nationale angerufen, comme sauvegardes de la foi orthodoxe, zèle pour l'ancien dogme s'imprégnait de passions démocratiques ... [159] Henri Guise verspricht restauration, gegen die royauté, pour tous les privilèges, ceux du clergé, der noblesse, der provinces u. der villes. Die villes de liberté municipale ergriffen gierig diese 30 occasion gegen das niveau der administration. Elles s'enrôlèrent à ferivi dans la Ligue, dont leurs milices composèrent la principale force, et Paris fut à la tête de ce mouvement. Wie zur Zeit des Etienne Marcel association de corps municipaux sous l'influence et la direction de la démocratie parisienne ... Dans un esprit de secte et de division. Im Fall des Siegs 35. Resultat une sorte d'assurance mutuelle entre le clergé, la noblesse et les communes contre l'action du pouvoir royal et le progrès vers l'unité, un régime d'intérêts spéciaux et de morcellement administratif, sous la haute protection de l'Espagne. [160,161]

## Ch. VI. États généraux de 1588; Le Tiers État sous le Règne de Henri IV.

*Henri III.* Erste hostile démonstration der ligue en 1585. Armée rassemblée. Revolt mehrerer Provinzen u. Städte (die Champagne, Picardie, Normandie, Bretagne u. Bourgogne, Rheims, Châlons, Soissons, Péronne, Amiens, Abbeville, Mézières, Toul, Verdun, Rouen, Caen, Dijon, Mâcon, Auxonne, Orléans, Bourges, Angers u. Lyon) im Namen des Cardinal de Bourbon, oncle du roi de Navarre, se disant premier prince du sang parce qu'il était prince catholique, hinter ihm der duc de Guise, der wahre chef der révolte. Henri III. gezwungen, durch édit v. 1585, widerruft alle edits de pacification. Unter Todesstrafe nur Cuit des Catholicism erlaubt. Protestant. Priester in Zeit 1 Monats u. andere Protestanten in der Zeit v. 6 mois das royaume zu verlassen unter Todesstr. Déclaration v. 16 Oct. 1585 reducirt v. 6 Monaten auf 15 Tage den délai assigné aux religionnaires pour abjurer ou quitter la France. Aile biens des réfractaires u. ihrer direkten u. indirekten Helfer zu confisciren, anzuwenden f. die frais de guerre zu führen mit der königl. u. der Macht der ligue. *Sixti V* Excommunicationsbulle des Henri v. Navarra, wird déchu v. der Krone erklärt etc [162-164] Am 18 July, 1585, wenn Henri III persönlich ins Parlament ging, pour y faire lire et publier son premier édit de proscription, die cour n'inscrivit l'acte sur ses registres qu'après de vives remontrances. Ebenso bei seinem Edikt 3 Monate später u. wenn Henri III das registrement der Excommunicationsbulle verlangte. [165] Henri v. Navarre beginnt Krieg auf seiner Seite. Bataille de Coutras, 20 Oct. 1587. Guise zwingt den König zur convocation des états de 1588. Nur die France catholique. [169,170] Mission zu fonder la prédominance des états sur le pouvoir royal. (12 Mai 1588 *Journée des barricades*, 31 Mai 1588 Zusammenberufung der états gén.) Die assemblée eröffnet den 16 octobre, 505 députés: 134 du clergé, 180 de la noblesse, 191 du tiers état. Zwei Epochen, die *vor* u. *nach* der Ermordung des duc de Guise. In der *Y* die états, an der Spitze der tiers, kämpfen gegen den roi f. die souveraineté; nur die édits mit ihrem concours sind lois fondamentales. Drohen den roi en tutelle permanente sous la représentation nationale zu stellen, u. de déléguer pour le présent cette tutelle au chef de la ligue. In der 2' Epoche schwankend zwischen Furcht u. colère, sehnt sich jeder heim, um sich se rendre sur un terrain propice à la rébellion ouverte •.. Der tiers état spielt die erste Flöte. Initiative nimmt er den propositions hardies envers la royauté oder violentes contre les Huguenots. [171,172] Keine Steuern mehr ohne Stände etc Daneben demandes

renouvelées des cahiers de 1576 u. 1560. *Meutre du duc de Guise*. Insurrection in Paris. Andre Städte folgen. Bald ganze Provinzen. Von Picardie à Bretagne à Provence fédération municipale organisée contre la royauté. Man wandte die Augen nach den cantons suisses, on parlait de se constituer en république à leur exemple. Démocratie parisienne macht 5 sich maîtresse des parlement durch einen coup d'état, unterdrückt den nom du roi in den actes judiciaires, ernennt duc de Mayenne zum lieutenant gén. de l'état royal et couronne en France. [173-175] Henri III macht pacte d'alliance m. Henri v. Navarre u. stellt sich unter den Schutz der religionnaires. (Tours 26 avril 1589.) 4 Monate nach der Ermordung 10 des Guise Zusammenkunft v. Henri de Valois u. Henri de Bourbon zu Plessis-lez-Tours, wo scellé die union between parti royal u. parti calviniste. Ihre Armeen vereint, marschirt auf Paris, wo die ligue maîtresse. Henri v. France campe zu Saint-Cloud, der v. Navarra zu Meudon. Die apprêts du siège étaient terminés à la fin de juillet u. der assaut sollte 15 stattfinden den 2 août. [176] Aber Henri III ermordet durch Jacques Clément, Dominikanermönch. 4 Aug. 1589 Henri v. Bourbon, nachdem er geschworen de maintenir sans altération la relig. catholique, anerkannt als roi durch die chefs de l'armée royale. [177] 22 mars 1594, nachdem er katholisch geworden, entra militairement dans Paris nach 4 J. v. combats 20 etc. Bataille d'Arqués, 13 Sept. 1589; bataille d'Ivry, 14 mars 1590; abjuration du roi à St. Denis, 25 juillet 1593. So nur siegte die royauté gegen die association des principe de l'orthodoxie mit den doctrines de la souveraineté du peuple. Im Maße wie er siegte, zieht sich der Zèle fanatique v. den classes moyennes in die classes inférieures zurück, die leztre, durch 25 un régime de compression et de terreur zwingen Paris die 4 jährige Belagerung auszuhalten; sie auch en aveugles livrés au protectorat du roi d'Espagne. Lezter Act der Ligue une convocation d'états gén. faite sans mandement royal. Réuni zu Paris 28 Janvier 1593. Wenige Deputirte. Unverschämte Forderungen des roi d'Espagne. [178,179] Die députés 30 ligueurs thaten nichts, machen diese Vorschläge nicht an das Parlament v. Paris déclarèrent nul «tout acte fait ou à faire pour l'établissement de prince ou princesse étrangers». |

[73] *Henri IV*. Principien des Hôpital siegen unter ihm. [180, 181] établissement définitif de la liberté de conscience et de l'état civil des dissidents; restauration u. progrès de richesse publique; conception d'une politique française, fondée sur le maintien des nationalités et l'équilibre des puissances européennes. *Edit de Nantes*, 13 avril 1598. *Maximilien de Bethune, marquis de Rosny, duc de Sully*, créé surintendant des finances en 1596. [182-185] Agricultur. Seidenmanufactur. Communicationsmit- 40 tel, canaux, ponts, routes, dessèchement des marais, défrichements des

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terrains vagues. Politik gegen das Haus Oestreich. (*Économies royales de Sully.*) [186, 187] Ermordung v. Henri IV. Unter ihm nimmt die royauté clairement seine forme moderne an, die der souveraineté administrative. Geregelt die départements ministériels. 3 Ursachen schwächen f. die  
5 haute bourgeoisie das intervalle qui la séparait de la noblesse: l'exercice der fonctions publiques u. bes. der fonctions judiciaires, continué dans les mêmes familles, u. fast ihr patrimoine geworden; die industrie des grandes manufactures et grandes entreprises qui créait d'immenses fortunes; [189] endlich der pouvoir de la pensée fondé durch die renaissance des  
10 lettres au profit des esprits actifs. Ausser durch den Bürgerkrieg die Masse der ganzen städtischen Bevölkerung sehr remuée; unter derselben Partheifahne hatten sich hommes de tout rang u. profession rapprochés. In der Ligue bes. pêle-mêle associé dans ses conseils der artisan u. magistrat, petit marchand u. grand seigneur; nachdem dieß aufgehört blieb was  
15 zurück v. sentiment der force u. dignité personnelle.

Die population de la campagne im XVI Jhh. im Allg. befreit v. der rude u. humiliante condition de servage; ihre obligations gen den propriétaire du sol fixées et modérées de plus en plus dès la fin du XV siècle. Von da an, bei jeder convocation des états, des assemblées primaires,  
20 composées des habitants de toutes les paroisses u. concourant, par leurs délégués, à la formation des cahiers et à l'élection des députés du tiers état. [190] Die délégués jeder paroisse dressaient le cahier de ses doléances u. brachten es zum chef-lieu du bailliage cantonal: là, réunis aux délégués du chef-lieu ils éalisaient des personnes chargées de fondre en un seul  
25 cahier les doléances des paroisses et de les porter à la ville siège du bailliage supérieur, où de nouveaux délégués, élus de la même manière et réunis aux mandataires de la ville, rédigeaient, par une nouvelle compilation, le cahier provincial de l'ordre plébéien, et nommaient ses représentants aux états gén. Cette innovation date de l'assemblée de 1484, fit  
30 désormais un seul corps politique de toutes les classes du tiers état. Bis dahin tutelle officieuse exercée durch die bonnes villes en faveur des gens du plat pays. Von ihnen direct kommen die remontrances, die sie betreffen, in den cahiers v. 1484, 1560, 1576 u. 1588. [191]

Die bourgeoisie le noyau du tiers état. Seit dem XIV Jhh. contraire  
35 moves, eins de progrès durch die emplois judiciaires et administratifs, commerce, industrie, science, lettres, beaux-arts, professions libérales u. professions lucratives, wodurch sie positions importantes unter alle formes. Andererseits, was ursprünglich ihr force u. lustre, die *liberté municipale* déclinait rapidement. Die Gesetzgebung des XV Jhh. nahm den  
40 magistrats des villes die autorité militaire, die des XVI Jhh. die jurisdiction civile, restreignit leur jurisdiction criminelle u. unterwarf

immer strengerer contrôle ihre administration financière. Das privilège de communauté libre et quasisouveraine, wurde ebenso traité wie die privilèges féodaux u. passa unter dem niveau des pouvoir royal. Die pertes der noblesse waren irréparables, die der bourgeoisie nur apparentes. [191,192]

5

### Ch. VII. États généraux v. 1614.

*Louis XIII.* Durch Finanzverluste Henri IV u. a. gezwungen die *Paulette* zu errichten - droit annuel mis sur tous les offices de judicature et de finance. Mittels dieses impôt's erhielten die magistrats des cours souveraines u. die officiers royaux de tout grade la jouissance de leurs charges 10 en propriété héréditaire. Dadurch stieg zu taux inconnus die valeur vé-nale des offices. Neues degré de considération daher f. die fonctionnaires civils, v. der hérédité. Der haut prix des charges écartait die noblesse davon, wovon ein Theil arm, u. der andre grevé de substitutions u. dieß in einem Moment wo, plus éclairés, die nobles den Fehler ihrer aïeux 15 begriffen die offices dem tiers état zu überlassen. Daher zwischen den 2 ordres de nouvelles causes d'ombrage et de rivalité. Im XVI Jhh. hatte der grande lutte religieuse dominirt u. atténué toutes les rivalités sociales. [194,195] Daher Harmonie auf den ét. gén. v. 1576 u. 1588. Dagegen im premier quart des XVII Jhh. éclatirt die collision zwischen den 2 ordres. 20 So 1614, wenn die ét. gén. zusammengerufen, à la majorité de Louis XIII, um zu suchen remède gegen die dilapidation u. Anarchie producirt in den 4 J. de régence écoulés seit Heinrich IV todt. [196]

14 Oct. 1614 kommen die ét. gén. zus. zu Paris, in 3 chambres distinctes au couvent des Augustins. 464 députés, 140 clerics, 132 nobles, u. 25 192 vom tiers état. Unter den letztern herrschten durch Zahl u. Einfluß die membres du corps judiciaire u. die autres officiers royaux. Bei der Eröffnung nahm der 3<sup>e</sup> Stand zum erstenmal Anstoß an den différences du cérémonial à son égard. Morgue auf der Seite der nobles, susceptibilité auf der der bourgeois. Den Arbeitsplan, entworfen v. den clerics u. nob- 30 les, ließ der 3<sup>e</sup> Stand durchfallen. Die noblesse, um die haute bourgeoisie zu treffen, verlangt, unterstützt vom clergé, vom roi die surséance, et par suite la suppression du droit annuel dont le bail allait finir. Diese Proposition der 2 ordres adressirt an den tiers. Dieser stimmt bei der suppression des droit annuel, in Folgedessen die charges erblich waren, sezt 35 hinzu die abolition der vénalité, u. verlangt dagegen v. den 2 anderen ordres m. ihm zu solliciter die surséance des pensions, deren chiffre verdoppelt seit dem Tod v. Henri IV, u. die réduction der tailles devenues



accablantes pour le peuple, (um  $\frac{1}{3}$ ) [196-198] noblesse verlangt die propositions disjointes u. vor allem Diskussion des droit annuel. Ebenso der clergé. 3' Stand verwirft dieß, fit porter ce refus v. einem seiner membres principaux, Jean Savaron, lieutenant général de la sénéchaussée d'Auvergne. Dieser sprach 2 mal vor dem clergé. [199] Vor der noblesse sprach er d'un ton haut et fier; ironie et menaces. Noblesse antwortet m. murmures u. invectives. Der clergé lobte sein message; refusirte aber son concours. Tiers beschlossen dem roi s. propositions zu présenter; mémoire; schickt es zum Louvre mit 12 députés; Savaron Sprecher: «Que diriez-vous, Sire, si vous aviez vu dans vos pays de Guyenne et d'Auvergne, les hommes paître l'herbe à la manière des bêtes?» [201, 202] Sagt auch: «Ce n'est pas le droit annuel qui a donné sujet à la noblesse de se priver et retrancher des honneurs de la judicature, mais l'opinion en laquelle elle a été depuis longues années que la science et l'étude affoiblissoit le courage, et rendoit la générosité lâche et poltronne.» [203] Pensions kosteten jährlich 5,660,000 livres «pour acheter leur fidélité» (des nobles.) Adel beschließt sich zu plaindre au roi. Bittet den clergé sich anzuschliessen. Dieser aber médiateur schickt ein membre zum tiers, sollte der noblesse quelque satisfaction geben. [204] Tiers état deputirt zu diesem Zweck an die noblesse den lieutenant civil de *Mesmes*. Er nennt die 3 ordres 3 frères, «le tiers état le cadet», «qu'il se trouvait souvent dans les familles que les aînés ruinaient les maisons, et que les cadets les relevaient». [205] Adel noch wüthender. Beschließt sogleich d'aller porter plainte au roi. Zugelassen die noblesse en corps 2 Tage später. Sprecher *baron de Senecey*. Nennt den tiers «ordre composé du peuple des villes et des champs: ces derniers quasy tous hommagers et justiciables des 2 premiers ordres; ceux des villes, bourgeois, marchands, artisans, et quelques officiers». Beklagt sich über das Bild der 3 Brüder. [206] «En quelle misérable condition sommes-nous tombés, si cette parole est véritable ... Ils s'attribuent la restauration de l'État; à quoi comme la France sait assez qu'ils n'ont aucunement participé.» Die nobles, die dabei: «Nous ne voulons pas que des fils de cordonniers et de savetiers nous appellent frères; il y a, de nous à eux, autant de différence qu'entre le maître et le valet.» tiers beschließt Dank f. de *Mesmes* u. sich an den travail des cahiers zu setzen, ohne sich weiter um diese Dispute zu bekümmern ... [207] Clergé kömmt wieder als entremetteur, ||74| verlangt neue avances vom tiers. Abgeschlagen, la brouillerie des 2 états tenait tout en suspens. Ordre des roi daß der tiers démarche gegen die noblesse nahm; mehre Tage dieß ordre nicht obéi. Unterdeß kam die mémoire contenant les demandes du tiers zum examen du conseil. Noblesse u. clergé acceptiren es ganz m. Ausnahme des article des objet der dissidence; Kanzler verspricht jähr-

liehe Reduction der pensions um  $\frac{1}{3}$  u. Unterdrückung der nutzlosesten, tiers läßt sich bei den 2 andern ordres bedanken f. ihre coopération; ses envoyés auprès de la noblesse ne désavouèrent que l'intention d'offense, réponse convenable. So der différend beigelegt. Anderer Streitpunkt survint; tiers gegen noblesse u. clergé: l'indépendance de la couronne vis-à-vis de l'église. [208, 209] Der tiers verlangt daß dieß juré u. signé «par tous les députés des états, et dorénavant par tous les bénéficiers u. officiers du royaume ... Tous précepteurs, régents, docteurs et prédicateurs seront tenus de l'enseigner et publier». Dieß l'affranchissement de la société civile. Clergé en alarme. Bittet sich u. erhält Mittheilung dieses article vom tiers, u. auch der noblesse mitgetheilt. Diese schließt sich an der chambre ecclésiastique. Die démarches collectives der 2 premiers ordres inutiles auprès du tiers. [210] Es handelt sich hier um die question posée zur Zeit der Ligue zwischen der royauté légitime par son propre droit, u. der royauté légitime par l'orthodoxie. Die débat dieser question by Art v. coup d'état enlevé à la discussion des ordres, u. évoqué au conseil, ou plutôt, à la personne du roi. [211] 3 jours Debatte des tiers ob er sich dem ordre fügen sollte. Heftige Debatte. On convint que le texte de l'article ne serait point inséré dans le cahier général, mais que sa place y resterait formellement réservée. (Erst 1682 in einer Versammlung v. Bischöffen dieser article des cahier v. 1615 fast wörtlich angenommen.) noblesse u. clergé erhalten v. Rom des briefs de felicitation ... Tiers verlangt convocation des ét. gén. aller 10 J. [212-214] Der cahier v. 1615 enthält 695 articles, in 9 chapitres: Des lois fondamentales de l'État; de l'État de l'Église; des hôpitaux; de l'université; de la noblesse; de la justice; des finances et domaines; des suppressions et révocations; police et marchandises. [215] U. A.: «que les communautés religieuses ne puissent acquérir d'immeubles, si ce n'est pour accroître l'enclos de leurs maisons conventuelles», «que les crimes des ecclésiastiques soient jugés par des tribunaux ordinaires», «que tous les curés, sous peine de saisie de leur temporel, soient tenus de porter, chaque année, au greffe des tribunaux, les registres des baptêmes, mariages et décès, paraphés à chaque page, et cotés». [216] «que défense soit faite à tous gentilshommes ou autres de contraindre personne d'aller moudre à leurs moulins, cuire à leurs fours, ou pressurer à leurs pressoirs, ni d'user d'aucun autre droit de banalité». «que tous les seigneurs laïcs ou ecclésiastiques soient tenus, dans un délai fixé, d'affranchir leurs mainmortables». «que les professions soumises depuis l'année 1576 au régime des maîtrises et jurandes puissent s'exercer librement». [217] «que tous les monopoles commerciaux ou industriels concédés à des particuliers soient abolis; que les douanes de province à province soient supprimées, et que tous les bureaux de perception soient

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transférés aux frontières». Ebenso demandes wegen der unité judiciaire. Zugleich aber erneuert der tiers v. 1615 die protestations v. 1588 u. 1576 gegen die envahissement par l'État des anciens droits municipaux: Magistrate frei zu erwählen ohne Einmischung u. hors de la présence des 5 officiers royaux; daß ihnen appartienne die garde des clefs des portes, daß alle municipalités in gewissen Grenzen ohne Autorisation des gouvernement sich selbst besteuern können. [218] Unter den 2 ordres laïques der antagonisme complet. Der cahier des tiers v. 1615 vaste programme de réformes, wovon les unes exécutées durch die grands ministres des 10 XVII Jhh., die andre 1789. Cahier der noblesse eine requête en faveur de tout ce qui périssait ou était destiné à périr; In allem haine jalouse contre les officiers royaux, et, en général, contre la classe supérieure du tiers état, «défense à toutes personnes roturières et non nobles de porter harquebuses ni pistolets, ni avoir chiens à chasser, ni autres qui n'ayent les 15 jarrets coupés ... que pour régler le grand désordre qui est aujourd'hui parmi le tiers état qui usurpe la qualité et les habits des damoiselles, Votre Majesté est très humblement suppliée que dorénavant il leur soit défendu d'en user ainsi, à peine de 1000 écus d'amende ... Prescrire à chacun état tel habit que par l'accoutrement on puisse faire distinction de 20 la qualité des personnes, et que le velours et satin soit défendu, si ce n'est aux gentilshommes.» Verlangen gentilshommes nicht nur in allen emplois de la guerre et de la cour, sondern in den parlements, places réservées à tous les degrés de la hiérarchie civile, depuis les hautes charges de l'État jusqu'aux fonctions municipales. [219-221] Endlich elle demande de voir faire le grand trafic sans déroger. C'était dans les idées une sorte de progrès, mais le tiers état, par esprit de monopole, réclame contre cette requête; il veut que le commerce reste interdit aux gentilshommes, et le soit formellement à tous les privilégiés ... Durch diese rivalité passionnée die ét. gén. v. 1614 impuissants. Die coalition der 2 ersten gegen den 30 3 état machte nulle l'action de l'assemblée sur la marche et l'esprit du gouvernement. [222] Louis XIII braucht die mésintelligence der états pour le maintien des abus et la continuation du désordre. 23 février 1615, 4 mois nach Eröffnung der états, die cahiers der 3 ordres présentés au roi, en séance solennelle, dans la grande salle de l'hôtel de Bourbon. Den 35 24 Febr. begaben sich die députés des tiers au couvent des Augustins, fanden die salle démeublée de bancs et de tapisseries, u. ihr président zeigt an daß der roi u. chancelier ihm verboten künftig Sitzung zu halten. Bestürzung u. Wuth des tiers. Einige fragten sich: «*Sommes-nous autres que ceux qui entrèrent hier dans la salle de Bourbon?*» (Wörtlich, aus der 40 Relat. de Flor. Rapine, III partie) 174J. später das Wort v. Sieyès qui amena le serment du Jeu de Paume: «*Nous sommes aujourd'hui ce que*

*nous étions hier, délibérons.* » Die députés, chaque jour, allaient battre le pavé du cloître des Augustins, pour se voir et apprendre ce qu'on voulait faire d'eux. Ils se demandaient l'un à l'autre des nouvelles de la cour etc [223-225] Warteten, daß der conseil entscheide sur les points essentiels ihres cahier. Se réunirent plusieurs fois en différents lieux. Den 5 24 mars les présidents des 3 ordres furent mandés au Louvre: Artikel zu viel f. den roi sie zu beantworten, man nahm ihre Hauptdemands an, d'abolir la vénalité des charges, de réduire les impôts, et d'établir une chambre de justice contre les malversations des financiers. Sie könnten sich nun schieben. [226] (Ebenso die suppression de la *paulette*.) Es heißt 10 im cahier de la noblesse de 1615: «l'expérience fait connaître combien est pernicieux l'établissement du droit annuel appelé *paulette*, qui rend tant de charges de judicature que toutes autres héréditaires, et ôte à Votre Majesté le moyen de pouvoir choisir les officiers, et l'espérance aux gentilshommes d'y parvenir jamais.» [227] Die promesses du roi 15 jamais tenues u. die réponse royale aux cahiers erst nach 15 Jahren. Mit der assemblée v. 1615 fermée la série des grandes assemblées. Leur réunion n'aboutit qu'à un antagonisme stérile. Die bourgeoisie kömmt herein in diese ét. gén. ohne lutte durch arbitre royal, Anfangs m. mehr défiance als joie. Viele Ideen ihrer cahiers passaient dans les ordon- 20 nances royales. Zur action wie bes. gesehn in denen v. 1615. Der ordre plébéien, frappé d'une telle expérience, macht v. da peu de cas de ses droits politiques. Die opinion se donna V<sub>i</sub> siècles sans réserve à la royauté. Elle embrassa la monarchie pure, symbole d'unité sociale ... [228-230] *Bourgeoisie lettrée.* 25

### Ch. VIII. Le Parlement sous Louis XIII. Ministère de Richelieu. La Fronde.

*Louis XIII.* Die vide gelassen durch das Verschwinden der ét. gén. ausgefüllt durch das Parlament v. Paris m. s. tentatives d'intervention directe dans les affaires du royaume. [231] Seit dem XVI Jhh. benutzten sie die 30 Formalität des enregistrement zu behaupten, sie repräsentirten die états, hätten in ihrer absence dieselbe Macht; recrutirt seit mehr als 3 Jhh. dans l'élite des classes roturières, placé au premier rang des dignitaires du royaume, hatten sie die sympathies u. confiance des tiers état. Geliebt wegen ihres esprit de résistance gegen die favoris u. ministres, ihre hostilité 35 perpétuelle contre la noblesse, zèle f. die gallikanische Kirche etc. Die hérédité des charges gab ihnen in den Augen der Nation une force de plus pour la défense des droits et des intérêts de tous. [232, 233] Kamen höchstens

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zu hautes paroles. Aber keine action f. ihre remontrances, wollte es das, so mußte es recourir à des auxiliaires plus puissants que lui, aux princes du sang, aux factieux de la cour, à l'aristocratie mécontente. | [235]

[75] 28 Mars 1615, 4 Tage nach Auflösung der états gén., berief das 5 Parlement, ohne commandement royal, les princes, ducs, pairs et officiers de la couronne, «ayant séance et voix deliberative à la cour», à s'y rendre pour aviser sur les choses qui seraient proposées pour le service du roi, le bien de l'état et le soulagement du peuple. Conseil du roi cassirt ihr arrêt durch ein contre-arrêt, worin den Prinzen etc verboten der invitation zu 10 folgen. Parliament gehorcht, aber um Remontrances zu redigieren. Erhält wieder Befehl de s'arrêter. Gehorcht dießmal nicht. Les remontrances prêtes, verlangt das Parlement Audienz vom roi; die Verhandlungen darüber dauern 1 Monat; 22 Mai zugelassen zur Audienz im Louvre u. liest dem roi s. remontrances vor. [236, 237] Den andern Tag, am 23 Mai, arrêt 15 du conseil zu biffer ces remontrances des registres du parlement u. verbietet der Compagnie ohne kgl. Erlaubniß sich in Staatsangelegenheiten einzumischen. Parliament verlangt neue Audienz. Abgeschlagen. Ordres réitérés à exécuter l'arrêt du conseil. [239] Résista wiederum als alle 20 moyens dilatoires seine Procedur anwendet. Die, die er zu s. délibérations eingeladen, quittaient Paris u. préparaient tout pour une prise d'armes. Prinz v. Condé, duc de Vendôme, ducs de Bouillon, Mayenne, Longueville u. autres grands seigneurs soulevèrent les provinces dont ils avaient le gouvernement, publiaient un manifeste contre la cour, u. levèrent des soldats au nom du jeune roi qu'ils disaient violenté par les ministres. 25 Benutzend die inquiétudes causées durch die complaisances du gouv. f. den römischen Hof u. s. Verbindungen mit Spanien, ils entraînent dans leur parti les chefs des calvinistes. Die Religion réformée comprometirt durch diese alliance an die insurrection aristocratique. Unter diesen protestants die ducs de Rohan, de Soubise, de la Trémouille, u. selbst der duc 30 de Sully. [240] Die remontrances du parlement prétexte der guerre civile, die blos in Truppenmärschen u. pillages commis par les troupes des princes révoltés bestand, traité de paix conclu à Loudun, 6 Mai, 1614, u. publié sous la forme d'édit. Aile stipulations d'intérêt public restèrent en paroles, nichts exécuté als die clauses secrètes qui accordaient aux chefs 35 de la révolte des places de sûreté, des honneurs et 6 millions à partager entre eux. «le temps des rois passé, celui des grands venu.» Alles im Mißstand bis

*Richelieu.* [241,242] sorte de dictateur. Nach Philippe le Bel royauté reculait dans sa tâche révolutionnaire et fléchi sous une réaction de l'aristocratie féodale; nach Charles V ebenfalls retour en arrière; l'œuvre v. Louis XI près de s'abîmer dans les troubles du XVI siècle u. die v.

Henri IV compromise durch 15 J. de désordre et de faiblesse. Richelieu verfolgt 3 Hauptobjekte: Hoher Adel définitivement zu zwingen à l'obéissance à la loi et au roi; Aufhören des protestantisme als parti armé im état; Frankreich frei in s. auswärtigen Verbindungen. Mit sous ses pieds le respect des formes et des traditions judiciaires, homme de révolution. 5 [243-246] Im november 1626 berief er 55 *notables* de son choix: 12 vom clergé, 14 v. der noblesse, 27 v. den cours souveraines, m. un trésorier de France u. dem prévôt des marchands de Paris. Gaston, Bruder des roi président, Marschälle de là Force u. Bassompierre Vicepräsidenten; aber die nobles qui y siégèrent, conseillers d'État pour la plupart, appartie- 10 naient à l'administration plutôt qu'à la cour; il ne s'y trouva ni un duc ni un pair, ni un gouverneur de Province. Séance geöffnet 2 December, im grande salle der Tuileries. [247] L'initiative der propositions vom gouvernement, nicht v. der assemblée: die assiette de l'impôt doit être telle que les classes qui produisent et qui souffrent n'en soient pas grevées; Indu- 15 strie u. Commerce ressort principal der prospérité nationale; armée permanente, grades accessibles à tout; réduction des dépenses improductives au profit des dépenses productives; augmentation des forces maritimes en vue du trafic lointain; établissement de grandes compagnies de commerce et reprise à l'intérieur des grands projets de canalisation; [248] sévérité de 20 la police u. régularité de la solde des troupes; démolition, dans toutes les provinces, des forteresses et châteaux inutiles à la défense du royaume. Assemblée des notables trennte sich 24 février 1627; sofort commission formée zu redigieren in ein selbes corps de lois die réformes nouvellement promises u. die qui devaient répondre aux cahiers des états de 1614. 25 Gleichzeitig begann die *démolition des forteresses* - cantonnements de la noblesse factieuse et de la soldatesque des guerres civiles - de s'exécuter. A chaque époque décisive du progrès vers l'unité nationale, ce genre de destruction avait eu lieu par l'autorité des rois; so unter Charles V, Louis XI u. Henri IV. Richelieu überließ die mesures à prendre pour 30 *l'aplanissement politique du sol français* der diligence der provinces u. municipalités, u. d'un bout à l'autre du royaume, les masses plébéiennes se levèrent pour abattre de leurs mains les murs crénelés, [249] repaires de tyrannie ou de brigandage, «les villes coururent aux citadelles, les campagnes aux châteaux, chacun à sa haine». On rasa les forts, les bastions. 35

Resultat der commission de réforme législative, sous la présidence du garde des sceaux, Marillac, die ordonnance v. Janvier, 1629. Dieser nouveau code hatte 461 articles, (die gens de Robe nannten *ihn code Michau* v. Vornamen Michel de Marillac.) Il touche à toutes les parties de la législation. [250] Unter den dispositions prises des cahiers de 1615 die 40 meisten genommen dans celui du tiers état. Decretirt l'uniformité du

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régime municipal, aile corps de ville sollen so viel wie möglich nach dem modèle der v. Paris zurechtgeschnitten werden. Relâche f. die noblesse die üens die sie exclusiv am Waffenh Handwerk hielten sous peine de déchéance. Adelt den grossen Seecommerce. [251-253] 1635 lettres patentes pour l'établissement de l'académie française. Unterdrückte États particuliers, constitutions municipales etc Politique extérieure v. Henri IV. «le but de mon ministère a été celui-ci: rétablir les limites naturelles de la Gaule, identifier la Gaule avec la France, et partout où fut l'ancienne Gaule constituer la nouvelle.» Bereitete den Westphälischen Frieden vor  
10 ... Nach s. Tode *réaction du tiers état contre la dictature ministérielle* ... diese das principe u. l'aliment des guerres civiles *de la Fronde*. M. de St. Aulaire: Histoire de la Fronde. Bazin: Histoire de France sous le ministère du cardinal Mazarin. [255-259]

*Louis XIV. Mazarin*. Fronde 4 Jahre. Im Monat Juni 1648 ligirten sich  
15 die 4 cours souverains, d. h. das parlement, die chambre des comptes, der cour des aides u. der grand conseil pour résister ensemble au Mazarin. (Louis XIV mineur) Diese coalition pour leur intérêt privé, le maintien gratuit du droit annuel. Ce droit, condition de l'hérédité des charges, nur établi f. 9J. Expirirte in 1648; édit der es renouvelirte pour le terme  
20 ordinaire, imposa aux officiers des compagnies la retenue de 4 années de leurs gages. Signal d'opposition donné par la haute magistrature, ailes gruppirt sich um sie, was unter Richelieus Dictatur gelitten. [260] «Depuis la mort de Louis XIII, quoique les princes, grands seigneurs et officiers, à cause des ressouvenances des énormes injustices et maux into-  
25 lérables qui leur ont été faits et à tout le royaume, par ceux qui s'étaient emparés de la puissance absolue près du roi sous *le nouveau nom de premier ministre d'État*, eussent protesté de ne plus souffrir qu'un particulier s'élevât ainsi sur les épaules des rois et à l'oppression du monde, néanmoins, par le trop de bonté qu'ils ont eu, il est avvenu qu'un étranger,  
30 nommé Jules Mazarin, s'est installé dans ce souverain ministère.» (*La Requête des 3 états présentée à MM. du parlement en 1648, Mémoires d'Orner Talon*.) Masse aufrührerischer Elemente, débris du passé ou germes d'avenir. Die Elemente, die der *première Fronde* - 1648 u. 1649 - ihren Charakter geben: griefs du peuple accablé d'impôts, rancune de la  
35 noblesse amoindrie dans ses privilèges, traditions des ét. gén., die Provincial u. Municipal libertés, einige klassische Ideen, Beispiel Englands. [261] Durch ein arrêt discutirt v. 60 députés der cours souveraines (30 Juin, 1648): In article 3 Todesstrafe ausgesprochen contre toute personne employée à l'assiette ou au recouvrement d'impôts non vérifiés ès cours  
40 souveraines, avec liberté des ||76| suffrages. Nach Art. 6, den man nannte «article de *la sûreté publique*» «aucun des sujets du roi, de quelque qua-

lité et condition qu'il soit, ne pourra être détenu prisonnier passé 24 heures sans être interrogé suivant les ordonnances, et rendu à son juge naturel.» [262] Nach Art. 19: «Qu'il ne pourra à l'avenir être fait aucune création d'offices, tant de judicature que de finance, que par édits vérifiés 5  
 ès cours souveraines, avec la liberté entière des suffrages, pour quelque cause, occasion, et sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, et que l'établissement 5  
 ancien desdites compagnies souveraines ne pourra être changé ni altéré.» So proklamirten sich die cours «le premier pouvoir de l'État». In einigen pamphlets de l'époque instinct de démocratie; perce manchmal in den discours des orateurs du parlement. Sieh z. B. *Orner Talon*. (Mém.) 10  
 «Les rois sont les égaux des autres hommes selon le principe commun de la nature, l'autorité seule nous distingue. L'autorité que possèdent les souverains dépend de la soumission de leurs sujets etc.» [263] Moment de 10  
 crise kam, wo der pouvoir machte des concessions incomplètes (édit während Juli 1648). Public: trop tard. Coup d'état de la cour, (l'arrestation 15  
 du conseiller Broussel et des présidents Charton et Blancmesnil). *Journée des Barricades*, «27 août 1648: tout le monde sans exception prit les 15  
 armes ... enfants etc U y eut dans Paris plus de 1200 barricades en moins de 2 heures, bordées de drapeaux et de toutes les armes que la Ligue avait 15  
 laissées entières.» (*Mém. du Card. Retz.*) «tous les bourgeois disant hautement 20  
 qu'ils étaient au service du parlement ... les soldats disaient tout haut qu'ils ne combattraient point contre les bourgeois, et qu'ils mettraient 20  
 les armes bas, tant était grand le mépris du gouvernement.» (Mém. d'Orner Talon.) [264, 265] Zweiter kritischer Moment der Fronde 20  
 durch die déclaration royale du 24 octob. 1648, répondant à ce point où 25  
 parviennent les révolutions quand le pouvoir accepte, mais sans résignation et sans bonne foi, le pacte que la nécessité lui impose. Temps d'arrêt plein de défiances et de tiraillements Période extrême du mouvement 25  
 révolutionnaire. Usurpation de toute l'autorité dans Paris par le parlement ayant pour auxiliaires les magistrats municipaux. [266] 30  
 «Ensuite la cour délibéra des moyens de la conservation publique, et pour y parvenir arrêterent de former un million de livres.» (*Mém. d'Orner Talon*) Arrêt du Parlement qui déclare le cardinal Mazarin ennemi du roi 30  
 et de l'État, et ordonne une levée de gens de guerre, 8 janvier 1649. - Idem faisant défense à tous capitaines et soldats d'approcher à vingt 35  
 lieues de Paris, et enjoignant aux villes, bourgs et communes de leur courir sus, 10 janvier. - Idem qui ordonne l'expropriation nécessaire pour 35  
 fortifier par des retranchements les faubourgs de Paris, 12 janvier. - Lettre du parlement de Paris aux autres parlements du royaume, 18 janvier. - Lettres aux baillis, sénéchaux, maires, échevins et autres officiers 40  
 du royaume, même date. - Arrêt du Parlement de Paris qui ordonne que 40



tous les deniers publics du ressort seront versés dans les coffres de l'hôtel de ville, 19 janvier. - Arrêts par lesquels il déclare sa jonction avec les parlem. de Provence et de Normandie, 28 janvier et 5 février. - L'écueil des Parlements war die durch force des choses nothwendige jonction ...  
5 der haute noblesse. [267] Il fit sa paix avec la cour, au lieu de pactiser avec l'Espagne 11 mars 1649. - *Convocation des ét. gén.* Ordonnance par le roi 23 janvier, 1649. Nur Adel erschien. [268] tiers état war die ét. gén. satt. Nur élections incomplètes u. die réunion des états fut ajournée indéfiniment. Nach 2 J. wieder, sur les instances de la noblesse, zusammen-  
10 berufen f. den 8 Septemb. 1651. Wieder die Wahlen, bes. des tiers état, n'eurent point lieu dans toute la France. - Die corps municipaux erkann-  
ten an die autorité suprême du parlement; (adhésion déclarée par les villes de la Normandie, Provence, Poitou, Guyenne, Languedoc, Amiens, Péronne, Mézières, le Mans, Rennes, Angers, Tours etc) celui de Paris,  
15 avec son prévôt des marchands, ses échevins, ses conseillers, ses syndics des corporations industrielles, ses colonels et capitaines de milice, fut le pouvoir exécutif des lois faites par la compagnie souveraine. Diese Muni-  
cipalität v. Paris s'empara de la Bastille, et eut quelque chose des erre-  
20 sincère dans son esprit et de grave dans ses allures disparut quand les courtisans factieux, leurs moeurs et leurs intérêts y entrèrent ... La paix  
conclue à St. Germain, 30 mars 1649, entre la cour et le parlement, termina la période logique de la Fronde, l'acte final de cette paix sanctionna  
de nouveau l'intervention du parlement de Paris dans les affaires géné-  
25 raies, surtout dans les questions d'impôts. Il n'en résulta que l'anarchie.  
3 ans de guerre civile pour de pures questions de personnes, un pêle-mêle de complots aristocratiques et d'émeutes populaires, de frénésie et de frivolité, les scandales d'une galanterie sans pudeur joints à ceux de la  
révolte par égoïsme et d'un appel fait à l'étranger (Turenne et le grand  
30 Condé), un massacre (de l'hôtel de ville, 4 juillet 1652) comploté contre la haute bourgeoisie par des démagogues à la solde des princes, dieß die  
scènes v. mois avril 1649 - Septembre 1652. [270-272]

Das Principe der absoluten Monarchie (Déclar. du 21 Oct. 1652) proclamé, schließlich, plus rudement que jamais au milieu d'un silence géné-  
35 ral: «Nous avons fait et faisons très-expresses inhibitions et défenses aux gens tenant notre dite cour de parlement de Paris de prendre ci-après  
connaissance des affaires générales de notre État, et de la direction de nos finances, ni de rien ordonner, ni entreprendre, pour raison de ce, contre  
ceux à qui nous en avons confié l'administration, à peine de désobéis-  
40 sance.» 9 mars 1661 erklärt Louis XIV en conseil «qu'il voulait gouverner par lui-même». [272]

Im vorigen Jhh. die renaissance des lettres war mouvement d'idées commun à toute l'Europe civilisée. La réforme de Malherbe fut contemporaine des projets de Henri IV. Descartes, Corneille, Pascal, Poussin unter Richelieu u. Mazarin. Philosophie, Literatur, Kunst wird national .. Die haute société polie wirft sich auf den esprit; les hommes de lettres 5 sans naissance y entrèrent, non plus comme domestiques ou protégés des princes et des grands, mais à titre personnel. Neben dem pouvoir des livres der pouvoir des salons, (femmes) la *bourgeoisie lettrée* gagna dans le monde du loisir l'influence dont elle jouissait déjà dans le monde des affaires ... elle eut des postes avancés partout. Von ihr geht aus im 10 XVII Jhh. l'agitation politique par la Fronde, et l'agitation religieuse par le jansénisme, un des ressorts moraux de la révolte des corps judiciaires contre le pouvoir absolu. Cette doctrine liée aux efforts successifs de l'opposition parlementaire servit d'aliment à l'esprit de discussion bis milieu des 18 siècle. - [273-275] 15

#### ch. IX. Louis XIV u. Colbert.

*Louis XIV.* Ministère de Richelieu hatte gedauert 18 J. v. 1624-1642, das des Mazarin 19 J. v. 1642-1661. «le métier de roi.» l'exercice du pouvoir, qui, depuis la mort de Henri IV, n'avait eu lieu que par délégation, se trouva réuni à son principe, et la royauté, réduite durant un demi-siècle à 20 l'état de pure idée, redevint pour ainsi dire une personne. [276-279]

*Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, Sohn eines marchand de drap à Reims. Er selbst machte den apprentissage des commerce zu Paris; verließ dann das comptoir, successivement cleric de notaire, cleric chez un procureur au Châtelet, commis au bureau de recette financière qu'on nommait des parties 25 casuelles, secrétaire particulier du cardinal Mazarin, et enfin intendant de sa maison. Mazarin, à son lit de mort, le recommanda vivement au roi. Ministre v. 1661-1683. fidèle observateur des maximes de Richelieu. Colbert fit ebenso Grosses wie Richelieu, aber nicht wenigeres dans sa pleine liberté d'action, sondern sous la dépendance la plus étroite, ton et manié- 30 res d'un bourgeois: [282-284] «rendre difficiles *toutes les conditions des hommes qui tendent à se soustraire du travail* qui va au bien général de tout l'état; ces conditions sont le trop grand nombre d'officiers de justice, le trop grand nombre de prêtres, de moines et religieuses. Et ces deux derniers, non-seulement se soulagent du travail qui irait au bien commun, 35 mais même privent le public de tous les enfants qu'ils pourraient produire pour servir aux fonctions nécessaires et utiles ... *rendre honorables et avantageuses ... toutes les conditions des hommes* qui tendent au bien

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public, c'est-à-dire les soldats, les marchands, les laboureurs et gens de  
journée.» (*Projet d'une révision gén. des ordonnances*, discours prononcé  
par Colbert dans le conseil du 10 Octobre 1665.) Il réduisait le nombre et  
la valeur des offices, afin que la bourgeoisie, moins empressée à leur  
5 poursuite, tournât son ambition et ses capitaux vers le commerce. Erklärt  
den commerce de mer ne pas déroger à la noblesse. Project zu remanier  
die ganze législation u. in un seul code zusammenzufassen [287, 288]  
... Ordonnance civile touchant la réformation de la justice (avril 1667);  
ordonnance pour la réformation de la justice; (août 1669) édit portant  
10 règlement général pour les eaux et forêts; (août 1669) ordonnance cri-  
minelle, (août 1670) ordonnance du commerce, (mars 1673) ordonnance  
de la marine, (août 1681) ... [289] Unter s. créations l'Académie des  
sciences, l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, les académies de  
peinture, de sculpture et d'architecture, l'école de France à Rome, l'école  
15 des langues orientales, l'Observatoire, l'enseignement du droit à Paris ...  
routes, canaux, bâtiments civils et militaires, arsenaux, marine mar-  
chande et marine de l'État. - *Pierre Clément*: histoire de la vie et de  
l'administ. de Colbert. *Daresté de la Chavanne*: l'Histoire de l'adminis-  
tration en France etc ... [290, 291] Durch ihn Frankreich puissance mari-  
20 time et commerciale ... Edit de mars 1673, portant que ceux qui font  
profession du commerce, denrées ou arts, qui ne sont d'aucune commu-  
nauté, seront établis en corps, communautés et jurandes, et qu'il leur sera  
accordé des statuts ... Il ne vit dans la France industrielle qu'une vaste  
école à former sous la discipline de l'État ... «les arts étaient nouveaux  
25 ou presque totalement oubliés par l'interruption du commerce. Nous  
ignorions les goûts du consommateur étranger; nos manufacturiers,  
pauvres, écrasés sous les taxes et la honte de leur état, n'avaient ni les  
moyens ni le courage d'aller puiser au loin les lumières; il s'agissait d'imi-  
ter et non d'inventer. Le ministre donna aux ouvriers des instructions, et  
30 la plupart furent bonnes, parcequ'elles étaient rédigées par des négociants  
ou des personnes expérimentées soit dans l'art, soit dans le commerce  
étranger.» (*Forbonnais*) [292,293]

Aus der règne v. Louis XIV sortait la France avec ses frontières fixées  
au nord et, en grande partie à l'est. *Lorraine* réunie unter Louis XV. [296]  
35 Cette fatale guerre de Hollande, qui commença le naufrage de la poli-  
tique de Richelieu, frappa du même coup le système financier de Colbert  
et faussa toutes ses mesures. De 1672-78 tout fut arrêté ou recula en fait  
d'améliorations économiques. Louvois verdrängte den Colbert aus der  
Gunst des roi. Colbert f 6 sept. 1683, le coeur brisé. Auf dem Todtenbett:  
40 «Si j'avais fait pour Dieu ce que j'ai fait pour cet homme-là, je serais  
sauvé deux fois, et je ne sais ce que je vais devenir.» Une lettre de

Louis XIV, alors malade, lui ayant été apportée avec des paroles d'amitié, il resta silencieux comme s'il dormait. Invité par les siens à faire un mot de réponse, il dit: «Je ne veux plus entendre parler du roi, qu'au moins à présent il me laisse tranquille; c'est au Roi des rois que je songe à répondre.» War impopulaire jusqu'à la haine. Son convoi devant passer 5  
près des halles ne sortit qu'à la nuit et sous escorte, de peur de quelque insulte du peuple. Das peuple u. bes. das v. Paris haßte ihn wegen der taxes onéreuses établies depuis la guerre de Hollande. - Révocation de l'édit de Nantes. Colbert protecteur des protestants. Die Révocation 17 Octobre 1685. [297-304] 10

*Tome II.*

1853.

Ch. X. Caractère social du règne de Louis XIV,  
son action sur les Progrès du tiers État.

Die Arbeit der fzs. Gesellschaft seit dem XII Jhh. aboutirt in der monarchie 15  
absolue, *son second point de départ.* [1-3]

1690 erschienen im Ausland 15 mémoires: «*Les soupirs de la France esclave qui aspire après la liberté.*» ... Die droits anciens ... les anciens privilèges, leur restauration en masse sous le nom de liberté ne pouvait être l'objet de désirs sérieux que pour les deux premiers ordres ... Der 20  
tiers ordre hatte nichts verloren als die alten libertés municipales, die ihm gleichgültig geworden. Er der foyer der neuen Ideen. ... Essai de *réaction* politique gegen die monarchie absolue. Fénelon. duc de Bourgogne. St. Simon. Duc de Chevreuse. Duc de Beauvilliers. Sentimental. Volksbeglückend. Realiter: Decentralisation, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, hiérarchie 25  
de privilèges, monarchie féodale, séparation des ordres rendue plus profonde et de nouvelles distinctions de classe; dabei Art v. philanthropie sociale. [4-10] Abschaffung aller eigentlichen Administration. Unter Louis XIV zuerst administration complète, «il fixa les bases de la constitution administrative du pouvoir.» Von diesem âge datiren die temps 30  
modernes pour l'action régulière de l'E'tat, la sociabilité, les moeurs, la langue et le goût national ... [14] Il acheva pacifiquement la ruine de l'indépendance nobiliaire, astreignit, sans contrainte apparente, les grands seigneurs à la vie de cour et au service régulier dans l'armée, et partout, même à la cour, fit prévaloir, pour les honneurs, la fonction sur 35  
la naissance. [15] Duc de St. Simon nennt die règne Louis XIV un «*règne*

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*de vile bourgeoisie*». Sous Louis XIV presque tous les ministres sortaient de la bourgeoisie; in der Armée Fabert u. Catinat, Duquesne u. Duguay-Trouin. In der Literatur m. Ausnahme v. St. Simon, Fénelon, Laroche-foucauld u. madame de Sévigné alle grands noms plébéiens: Corneille, 5 Pascal, Molière, Racine, La Fontaine, Boileau, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Fléchier, Massillon, La Bruyère, Arnaud, Nicole, Domat; ebenso die artistes: Le Poussin, Le Sueur, Le Lorrain, Philippe de Champagne, Lebrun, Pujet. Er sezte die Académie française au rang des grands corps d'État. - Bildete sich une société mixte, modelée sur un même type de politesse et 10 de bon goût. [17-20] Die Provinzen modelten sich nach Paris. Der guerre d'Allemagne, v. 1688-1697 unter den expédients financiers der création d'offices vénaux u. Bemächtigung der magistratures urbaines et de tous les emplois à la nomination des villes, ihre Errichtung in offices héréditaires, u. de les vendre au plus cher possible, soit aux particuliers, soit aux 15 villes elles-mêmes. Un maire perpétuel et des assesseurs candidats - nés pour les fonctions d'échevins, consuls, capitouls, jurats, syndics, furent imposés à toutes les municipalités du royaume qui cessaient d'être électives, à moins qu'elles n'eussent acquis de leurs deniers les nouveaux offices, pour les éteindre, ou, comme on disait, pour les réunir au corps 20 de ville. Diese offices, mis à l'enchère u. parés du titre des conseillers du roi. [23, 24] Cette *audacieuse confiscation du régime municipal*. Kein soulèvement statt pour sa défense. Grosse Anarchie am Ende Louis XIV, je nachdem die Städte ihre franchises rückgekauft hatten od. nicht. [25, 26]

Der *Régent* beschließt 1716 (juin) daß alle villes du royaume ren- 25 treraient dans la plénitude de leurs droits. [26] 1722 wieder, in einer crise fiscale, tous les offices municipaux, créés et mis en vente par Louis XIV, le furent de nouveau par le régent. Seconde confiscation des libertés communales. Von nun ein jeu pour le gouvernement de vendre, de retirer et de vendre encore ses titres de maires, lieutenants de maires, assesseurs, 30 échevins, consuls, capitouls, jurats, syndics perpétuels, et de pressurer les villes par la menace renouvelée d'une intrusion d'officiers héréditaires. Von 1722-1789 f. das régime municipal nur 16 J. de liberté sans rançon. Dans cet espace de temps, sauf deux intervalles, v. 1724-1733, u. v. 1764-1771, aucune élection de magistrats dans les communes ne put se 35 faire qu'en vertu des brevets d'offices acquis par elles. Das régime municipal war noch f. viele Städte un objet d'orgueil et d'attachement par les souvenirs, aber es hatte *complètement cessé d'être une force pour les classes progressives de la nation*. [27-29]

Das *parlement* plia unter Louis XIV, aber redressirte sich gleich nach 40 s. Tode. Wohl zu merken daß nicht nur die édits royaux sondern die päpstlichen Bullen revêtues de l'autorisation royale u. die traités conclus

m. den puissances étrangères devaient être enregistrés. So das parlement intervenait dans toutes les grandes affaires extérieures ou intérieures de l'État. Il cassa le testament de Louis XIV. Provocirt die dernière convocation des Ét. gén. u. geht dann selbst im gouffre révolutionnaire unter. |

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[78] *Thierry. T. II. (1853.)*

#### Premier Fragment.

#### Tableau de l'ancienne France municipale.

*M. Leber* v. «Histoire critique du pouvoir municipal». 1828.

1<sup>re</sup> division a) la zone du régime consulaire, (im Süden); b) la zone du régime communal; (im Norden); c) la zone des municipes non réformés et des villes de simple bourgeoisie, zwischen den beiden.

2<sup>de</sup> division: la région du nord; du midi; du centre; de l'ouest; de l'est; du sud-est. [38-42]

1.) *Région du nord, terre classique des communes jurées*: Picardie, l'Artois, la Flandre, la Lorraine, la Champagne, la Normandie, l'Ile-de-France. In der *Picardie* die meisten u. entwickeltsten des chartes municipales des villes hier appliquées à de simples villages; auch confédérations de plusieurs villages ou hameaux réunis en municipalités sous une charte et une magistrature collectives. [42] Von der Charte v. Amiens 15  
procèdent die v. Abbeville, Doullens u. plusieurs villes du Ponthieu. Die charte v. Soissons reproduite ou imitée in denen v. Crespy en Valois, Compiègne, Senlis, Meaux, Fismes, Sens, Dijon. Die Charte v. Laon portée à Reims u. répandue dans tout le Laonnais. Die v. St. Quentin servait de modèles aux chartes de Corbie, de Roye, et de Chauny. Das 25  
*Flandre française* u. *l'Artois*, démembrement de la Flandre belge, haben m. ihr type commun d'organisation municipale; neben der commune jurée die *Institution de la paix*, débris de la trêve de Dieu, maintenu comme établissement de police urbaine sous l'autorité de magistrats spéciaux, (heissen apaiseurs.) In der *Lorraine* die 3 alten Bischofsstädte, bes. 30  
Metz, besondere indépendance municipale; ces 3 villes sujettes de l'Empire d'Allemagne. Die Anderen (*Champagne* etc) erhielten fast alle die Charte od., comme on disait, la loi v. Beaumont-en-Argonne, petite ville de Champagne fondée vers la fin du XII siècle. Rheims in dieser Provinz der einzige vieux municipe, Sens u. Meaux ausgenommen, die organisa- 35

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tion urbaine peu forte u. bornée à la garantie de droits purement civils. In der Normandie, haben Rouen u. die andren grossen Städte 1 maire, 12 échevins, 12 conseillers et 75 pairs, i. e. 100 membres f. das corps municipal. Diese Constitution transportée v. hier au midi sur les terres de la domination anglaise. In der Ile-de-France wieder der type constitutionnel der Communes de la Picardie méridionale. (1 maire et 12 pairs.) Paris Ausnahme, tradition romaine unter mittelaltrigen forme; liberté complète quant au droit civil, peu de chose quant au droit politique.

2.) *Region du Midi. Régime consulaire* v. Italien. Provence, le Comtat-Venaissin, le Languedoc, l'Auvergne, le Limousin et la Marche, la Guienne et le Périgord, la Gascogne, le Béarn, la Basse-Navarre, le comté de Foix et Roussillon. (Nicht dazu gehörig le Lyonnais, la Bresse et le Dauphiné.) F. den midi «Consul» war «échevin» im Norden, aber grösser der pouvoir, bei den meisten Städten sorte de souveraineté partagée, bei einigen plénitude de l'état républicain. Municipalrégim erhielt sich seit den Römern. Die *Provence* u. die *Comtat-Venaissin* im XII u. XIII Jhh. foyer de la tradition italienne. Nach dem établissement der municipalité consulaire hier der *Podestat* in Marseille, Arles u. Avignon. Fast in allen Städten hier das consulat forme plus énergique donnée à des libertés immémoriales. Constitution scheint l'œuvre commune der noblesse u. bourgeoisie. Fast überall die magistrature urbaine getheilt zwischen den 2 classes, die sie de bon accord ausübten; (Ausnahme Tarascón, wo 1238 lutte armée wegen dieser partage des consulat entre nobles et bourgeois u. Brignolles, wo die municipalité ganz in den Händen des Adels u. sie allein consuls. 1222 verkauften sie das consulat dem comte de Provence; depuis lors des roturiers admis dans le conseil municipal.) Hier weniger distance zwischen ihnen als in den andren Städten. In den Städten der Provence u. des Comtat der *collège des consuls* assisté v. 2 conseils, wovon der zahlreiche der conseil général. Bei ausserordentlichen affairs bes. unter dem Namen *parlement* tous les chefs de famille in den églises od. ou plein air versammelt. Das consulat établi en Arles en 1131, zeigt sich in Béziers in demselben Jahr; zu Montpellier 1141; zu Nîmes, 1145; zu Narbonne, 1148; zu Toulouse, 1188. In *Languedoc* kleine Städte, villages u. selbst bourgs ganz organisirt wie die grossen villes. Presque par tout le consulat répondait par ses attributions à l'idée de gouvernement complet. In Languedoc, wie in der Provence unterschied sich die haute bourgeoisie kaum v. der noblesse, bourgeois seit time immémorial konnten besitzen des terres nobles. Zu Montpellier das régime consulaire etablirt durch insurrection gegen den seigneur immédiat (1141), dauerte nur 2 J., erscheint 63 J. nachher wieder, bleibt dann. [48,49] Die *Auvergne*, le *Limousin* u. *la Marche* bilden die nördliche Gränze des

Régime consulaire. In den Städten der *Auvergne*, die pouvoirs restreints, zu Clermont durch die officiers de l'évêque, zu Aurillac durch die des abbé, zu Riom durch die des comte od. des roi. In der *Marche* mehr bourgades als villes, das consulat nach dem XIII Jhh. errichtet, un nom hier presque sans valeur. Im *Limousin* hat das régime wieder s. énergie 5 méridionale; erscheint in Limoges im XII, hält sich bis zu dem XIII Jhh. Dann im Kampf m. dem vicomte muß die Stadt trêve de paix machen, worin ihre Municipalautorität zerstückelt wird. Die consuls v. Limoges hatten vorher die pouvoirs administratif, législatif, judiciaire, et militaire. [50, 51] In *Périgord*: In s. Hauptstadt *Périgueux* indépendance municipale 10 absolue. Ursprünglich 2 Städte, die bourg entwickelt früher die neue Form als die ville originaire. Deßwegen luttet armées zwischen den 2 villes; schliessen 1240 durch die victoire des principe réformateur u. der réunion en une seule communauté *démocratique* sous le régime du consulat. Un maire der 12 consuls vorgesezt. Périgueux besitzt diese complète 15 souveraineté municipale bis 1789. [52] zu *Bordeaux* maire eingeführt Ende des XII Jhh., bestanden hier vorher *Jurats*, Titel der häufig v. der Gironde jusqu'au milieu de la chaîne des Pyrénées. 1244 die corps de ville 1 maire annuel, 50 jurats, 30 conseillers, 300 citoyens élus par le peuple sous le nom de *défenseurs*; Zahl der jurats dann réduit auf 24 u. der 20 défenseurs auf 100. Dieselben Städte des Bordelais modelèrent, à différentes époques, ihre Constitution nach der v. Bordeaux, die meisten nannten sich: «alliées et filleules de Bordeaux». (Blaye, Libourne, St. Émilion, Podensac, Bourg, Castillon, Cadillac, Rions, Saint-Macaire.) Die imitation desselben type constitutionnel s'étendit vers le sud dans la 25 Gascogne occidentale; (Réole, Mont-de-Marsan, St. Sever, Dax.) Ihr caractère commun: l'association de la mairie à la jurade. In dem Rest der Gascogne das consulat m. pouvoirs restreints u. jurisdiction partagée. [52-54] In der *Guienne orientale*: *Cahors*, municipe réformé par la propagande consulaire kämpft ausdauernd dafür; *Agen* ville non réformée, 30 durch Zufall der Gesamttitel s. Magistrate «conseil» in consuls verwandelt; zu *Rodez* ville u. bourg getrennt bis Mitte des 18' Jhh. *Le Beam u. la basse Navarre*: communautés uniformément régies par des fors, statuts municip. analogues aux fueros. Die villes, grandes u. petites, haben hier jurats (4-6) u. diese exercent die justice civile u. criminelle; die haute 35 jurisdiction du fors de Morlaas, qui était pour toute la province une sorte de cour souveraine. *Bayonne* Ausnahme; nimmt im Anfang des XIII Jhh. die constitution des communes normandes an; doppelter Grund: die suzeraineté des rois d'Angleterre étendue v. Normandie zu den Pyrénées u. der Seehandel, der die commune jurée hier vom Norden herbeiruft. 40 [54, 55] *Comté de la Foix*: das consulat reparait, Pamiers; in der Nähe v.



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Partners (in den Pyrénées) die curieuse fédération républicaine der 6 communautés des Val-d'Andorre. *Roussillon*: consulat (2-5); hatten lange vor der réforme définitive le droit de guerre, *Privilegium manus armatae* (coutumes de Perpignan), zu rächen die Unbillen begangen an der Stadt od. 5 selbst eingebornen habitants derselben. In allen Städten dieser Provinz der premier consul commandant-né de la milice urbaine u. hatte, à ce titre, droit de vie et de mort sur tous les citoyens. Zu Perpignan régime consulaire établi in 1196, démocratique, complet. 3 classes v. Einwohnern, alle hatten polit. Rechte, oft Kampf unter ihnen, Messen *mains*. 10 (main majeure, main moyenne, main mineure.) [56, 57]

3.) *Région du Centre*. Umfaßt den Orléanais u. Gâtinais, la Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Berri, Nivernais, Bourbonnais, la Bourgogne. Die commune jurée hier selten, Titel Consuls nur 2 mal im 12' Jhh. in der Bourgogne u. im XIII im Bourbonnais. Ältere Constitutions; certaine somme 15 de droits administratifs, mais sans garanties politiques. Fast alle villes hier échappèrent der Revolution des XII Jhh. vieux municipes die Modificationen untergehn. | [57-60]

[79] *Orléanais: Chartres*: 10 prud'hommes administrateurs des affaires communes de la ville. Erinnert an die decemprimi, decaproti der römischen Curie. Jurisdiction u. Polizei ganz in den Händen des prévôt, erst seigneurial, dann royal; Ende des XV Jhh. statt die prud'hommes 12 échevins, im XVI Jhh. erhielten sie das droit de police. *Orléans*: ähnlich; will 1137 commune jurée werden, gezüchtigt vom roi. *Étampes* erhielt v. Philippe August sich in commune jurée zu verwandeln; revocirt 25 in 1196, à la requête des églises et des nobles dont elle affranchissait les serfs. In den übrigen Städten v. Orléanais nur ébauches v. municipalité, faibles, u. meist peu anciennes. [60, 61]

*Gâtinais: Lorris* (petite ville) plus grande somme de droits civils sans anciens droits politiques, ohne jurisdiction u. ohne attributions administratives. Charte v. Anfang des XII Jhh. franchises pour des personnes u. biens, aber ne formait de corps u. hatte keine eigne police. Viele Städte verlangten s. Constitution, v. den rois od. seigneurs. Seine Popularité wuchs u. s. régime dehnte sich aus im Maß von den municipalités à privilèges politiques déclinerent. Wegen ihrer nature exclusivement civile 35 wurde sie v. loi urbaine zur coutume territoriale u. schließlich der droit roturier de toute une province. Charles VIII fit publier les coutumes de Lorris en 1493. Im XVI Jhh. hiessen sie: «Plus anciennes, fameuses et renommées coutumes qu'aucunes autres en France». Louis XIII reformirt sie 1631; sie waren alors communes f. about 300 villes, bourgs ou 40 villages des Gâtinais, Orléanais, Pays-Chartrain, du Blaisois, Berry, Touraine, Nivernais, Champagne u. Bourgogne. [61, 62]

*Marne: Mans* vor dem XII Jhh., m. dem ersten Beispiel der révolte communale; sa commune jurée en 1072 gegen den comte u. d'accord m. dem évêque, dauerte nur 1 Jahr. «Facta igitur *conspiratione* quam *communione* vocabant, sese omnes pariter sacramentis astringunt.» Unterlag unter Guillaume le Conquérant, der v. England kam s. Präentionen 5 auf die Grafschaft Maine geltend zu machen. (Von den communes vor dem 12 Jhh.: *Cambray* 1076, *Beauvais*, 1099.) Von da an Mans municipe abâtardi, ohne jurisdiction propre, bis unter Louis XI, wo errichtet in Communauté unter 1 maire, 6 pairs u. 6 conseillers, ayant droit de police u. des droits de justice très-étendus. In dieser Provinz fast alle munici- 10 palités incomplètes. Type: *Ferté-Bernard*: un syndic électif chargé de la recette et de l'emploi des deniers communs. [62,63]

*l'Anjou*: Noch schwächer. Gen Ende des XII Jhh. scheint Angers une milice organisée gehabt zu haben; sezt nur conseil de ville dépendant des officiers du comte, dépourvu de jurisdiction, et sans titre de fonction 15 spéciale pour aucun de ses membres. Unter Louis XI l'Anjou definitiv réuni à la couronne; Louis XI octroyirt neue Charte, 1 maire, 1 sous-maire, 18 échevins u. 36 Conseillers mit allen droits der commune de la Rochelle. [63]

*La Touraine*: Tours im XII Jhh. u. früher 2 Städte distincte die cité u. 20 die bourg St. Martin, genannt Châteauneuf. F. die cité uralte Constitution, fast alle pouvoirs 4 prud'hommes jährlich gewählt durch das corps entier der Bürger. Châteauneuf revoltirt 1125 gegen die seigneurie des chapitre v. St. Martin, giebt sich eine Organisation communale, durch capitulations, u. der médiation royale lange reducirt auf 10 Prud'hommes 25 sans compétence judiciaire. Im XIII Jhh. beide villes in Eine vereinigt, die Constitution der cité wird commune; nur die 4 Prud'hommes, juges u. administrateurs, vermehrt durch 2, gewählt v. Châteauneuf. Bei jeder assemblée du conseil municipal sassen neben den 6 élus 1 Représentant des archevêque, des délégués du chapitre de Tours u. de abbaye de 30 St. Martin, der juge de Touraine u. plusieurs bourgeois notables. Ersetzt 1461 durch die Constitution v. La Rochelle, 1 maire, 24 échevins u. 75 pairs ayant pleine jurisdiction au civil et au criminel. Für die andren Städte der Touraine die älteste Form: 2 élus m. administration financière mit od. ohne droit de police. [64, 65] 35

*Beni: Bourges* cité épiscopale, Zeichen d'une révolution démocratique vor der Bewegung d'où sortirent la Commune et le Consulat; diese révolution hatte zugleich Bischof u. comte hors du gouvernement municipal gesetzt. Im XII Jhh. de toute ancienneté die Stadt régie v. 4 Prud'hommes élus chaque année; droit de justice dans toutes les causes, administrant 40 aile affaires communes bis zu einer gewissen Summe allein, u. darüber

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hinaus m. dem concours obligé de l'assemblée générale des habitants. Diese Constitution détruite durch Louis XI nach einer émeute gegen die officiers royaux, contraints de traiter pour l'assiette d'un impôt m. der assemblée générale u. injuriés u. menacés de mort par le peuple. Louis XI gab ihnen die Constitution v. La Rochelle, 1 maire, 12 échevins, 32 conseillers ernannt par tous les citoyens et nommant les autres magistrats. Auf réclamation die alte charte restaurirt durch Charles VIII, wieder das Gouvernement des Quatre etc Aber statt Prud'hommes heissen sie nun Echevins; 1491 1 maire als président dem échevinage hinzugefügt. Constitution v. Bourges Type nicht nur f. die Städte v. Berri, sondern auch f. manche ausserhalb dieser Provinz. Un centre de propagande, un objet d'imitation et d'émulation autour d'elle. Vollständig dieß erreicht in *Nevers*. [65-68]

*Nivernais*: Nevers; 1231 traité m. dem seigneur, wonach wie in Bourges. Louis XII unterdrückt die élection directe durch en assemblée générale, setzt 32 conseillers ein, 8 f. 8 gezählt durch jedes der quartiers de ville u. chargés d'élire les quatre échevins. Diese constitution in *Moulins*, accompagnée de franchises purement civiles u. einer compétence administrative wozu Polizei in 1518 zugefügt durch Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnais. 4 f. die officiers municipaux, whatever their power, règle générale in den villes grandes u. petites du Berri, Nivernais u. Bourbonnais. In Vierzon u. Issoudun les Quatre heissen «gouverneurs», in La Châtre «Prud'hommes», sagt «élus». Diese Zahl 4 Bezug auf die 4 quartiers der Städte, alte Eintheilung, scheint der des röm. «Castrum» zu entsprechen. [68, 69]

*Bourgogne*: plus de variété. Durch révolution accomplie es scheint im XII Jhh., d'accord zwischen dem duc der Bourgogne u. den habitants v. *Autun*, der office seigneurial du Viguier od. *Vierg* (vicarius, viarius, vigarius, viers, vyer, vierg in den chartes françaises) wurde municipal u. électif gemacht. Der vierg d'Autun nun durch das corps entier der citoyens jährlich gewählt, alle Rechte des ehemaligen Représentant des duc de Bourgogne; jurisdiction haute, moyenne u. basse u. commandement souverain der milice urbaine. Autun, nachdem ihm die jurisdiction civile u. criminelle erst bestritten, dann entrissen durch die officiers royaux, besaß noch im XVI u. XVII Jhh. die autorité militaire des Vierg. [69-71]

*Dijon* suchte 1183 ihr Muster in der Picardie. Wählten die commune v. Soissons; accordirt durch ihren duc Hugues III, unter Garantie des roi de France, 1187. Verlangten u. erhielten v. der ville de Soissons un memorandum de ses droits et usages constitutionnels, wurde ihnen v. dort expédié in forme de charte sous le sceau de la commune. [71] Wuchs in Dijon in liberté u. pouvoir. Seit dem XIV Jhh. nahm der maire den Titel

Vicomte-Mayeur, à cause de la vicomte de Dijon, droit de seigneurie sur certaines rues de la ville que le duc de Bourgogne avait acquis et cédé ensuite à la commune. Im XVII Jhh. trug der Maire bei den pub. Cerem. noch Theil des mittelaltrigen costume. [72, 73] *Beaune* constituirt 1203 nach Dijon, m. Ausnahme der exécutions capitales u. des profit v. certaines amendes. 1231 dieselben Rechte ohne Reserve Montbar, u. 1276 Semur-en-Auxois, nur daß der duc de Bourgogne den maire ernennt u. alle amendes ihm gehören: «Communiant et libertatem habendam in perpetuum, ad formam communiae et libertatis divionensis (d. h. v. Dijon)» (*Chartes* der 2 letzten Städte)-. [73] *Auxerre* wollte commune jurée 15 J. vor Dijon unterstützt v. s. comte, widersezt v. Bischof, der es bei Louis le Jeune davonträgt. Die Stadt brauchte es nun nicht mehr über ihr régime traditionnel, 12 élus, hatten kein maison commune, versammelten sich in den églises. Keine Jurisdiction, wählten unter sich 3 Gouverneurs pour l'expédition des affaires. *Châlon* sur Saône treibt die Macht s. Prud'hommes zum droit de justice à tous les degrés, nur en partage m. dem châtelain des duc de Bourgogne. *Mâcon* vor Mitte des XIV Jhh. keine forme définie, denn s. 6 Prud'hommes ohne jurisdiction stets abhängig vom bailli ducal ou royal, (lettres de Philippe de Valois, février 1346) [73, 74] Zu *Tonnerre* 6 élus (Échevins) ohne compétence judiciaire, Ende des XVI Jhh. ihnen 1 maire zugefügt, ayant jurisdiction de police. *Châtillon-sur-Seine* 2 parties municipalem distinctes, 4 magistrats, in dem einen Theil m., in dem andren ohne jurisdiction; vereinigt im XVII Jhh. - Wir haben hier also gradationen vom régime entièrement libre de Bourges et de Nevers bis zum régime de simple police urbaine ou die pure gestion pécuniaire der intérêts communs. Die Zahl 4 scheint Tradition der röm. municipalité; die curies hatten 2 od. 4 magistrats jährlich gewählt, duumviri, quatuorviri juridicundo. [74, 75]

4.) *région de l'ouest*. Bretagne, Poitou, l'Angoumois, l'Aunis u. la Saintonge. 2 particularités: der type original et uniforme der municipalités der Bretagne u. das établissement der constitution communale de Rouen et de Falaise in 4 der provinces annexées im 12' Jhh. zur domination anglo-normande. Ohne diese Adoption die commune jurée nach dem type der grossen Städte der Normandie, würden Poitou u. die ihm benachbarten Provinzen im Süden das Consulat adoptirt haben. 35

Die traditions des droit romain u. des gouvernement municipal, conservées dans toutes les provinces de la Gaule, ne subsistèrent point dans l'Armorique. Erhielt nouvel esprit u. formes sociales v. der émigration d'outre-mer, woher der Name Bretagne. [76]

*Bretagne*: Nantes u. Rennes vielleicht allein etwas v. der municipalité gallo-romaine. Für die andern, bes. die simples bourgs, war die

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municipalité traditionnelle un régime à la fois ecclésiastique u. civil, wo die église paroissiale das centre der administration u. wo der conseil de fabrique remplissait l'office de conseil commun. Uebrigens keine jurisdiction jointe in der Bretagne à l'administration urbaine; in den Städten  
5 die justice in allen Graden dem duc od. évêque u. in den villages dem seigneur du Heu. Ausnahme *Guingamp*, wo justice municipale, concedirt den bourgeois durch die ducs de Bretagne, probablement im XV Jhh. In der Bretagne kein Kampf der bourgeoisie um die Municipalrechte zu erobern, keine traces der révolution communale; der Name commune  
10 erscheint hier erst nach ihrer Réunion m. der Krone. Depuis lors dringen hier u. da in die Bretagne ein die formes u. titres d'offices der municipalités françaises u. ersetzen od. modifient den type ordinaire der municipalité indigène: 6 Conseillers de ville, 1 Syndic, 1 Miseur (mise = dépense. Officier chargé de la recette et de l'emploi des contributions.) u.  
15 1 contrôleur des deniers communs. Diese charges municipales remplies indistinctement durch den clergé, noblesse, bourgeoisie. In plusieurs villes, z. B. Morlaix, waren die emplois des Miseur u. Contrôleur exercés durch gentilshommes d'ancienne famille. 1560 gab Nantes die alte régime auf, sollicitirte u. obtint v. François II die const, municipale d'An-  
20 gers m. allen ihren privilèges, aber magistrature moins nombreuse, 1 Maire u. 10 Échevins. Analoge Reformen, ohne so directe imitation, zu Rennes, unter Henri II 1548, 26 mars. 13 magistrats, später reducirt auf 7:6 Échevins u. 1 Procureur Syndic. (1592.) *Quimper*, im XVII Jhh., 1634, erhielt échevinage gleich Nantes u. Rennes, blieb aber unter der juridic-  
25 tion temporelle de son évêque. Diese jurisdiction existirte in St.-Malo bis ins XVIII Jhh., ebenso zu Vannes u. St.-Brieuc. [76-79]

*Poitou*: Commune jurée, in der freisten u. entwickeltsten Form. Von der Normandie, im XII Jhh. nahmen *Poitiers* u. *Niort*, unterworfen der couronne anglo-normande das Beispiel ihrer const, commun. Ahmten  
30 Rouen u. Falaise nach. Lassen sich bestätigen v. Philippe-Auguste, après sa conquête judiciaire de la Normandie, de l'Anjou, du Poitou et de la Saintonge. 2 chartes dieses roi in 1204. Sie folgten wörtlich dem règlement v. Rouen u. Falaise. Nach u. nach gehn sie weiter. Während dort der maire nommé par le roi sur une liste de 3 candidats u. die jurisdiction  
35 urbaine Limitée par des réserves, in Poitiers u. Niort die jurisdiction absolue u. der maire élu directement. Es gab in diesen Städten Sorten v. assemblées municipales: convoquée wöchentlich, der maire, der 1 échevin u. die 12 conseillers; 1 monatlich, wo ausserdem die 75 pairs - «assemblée des mois et des cent». Der maire, jährlich gewählt durch die  
40 100 membres des collège u. parmi eux, war capitaine gén. de la ville u. juge, m. den échevins, dans toute cause civile et criminelle. Das collège,

sorte de patriciat bourgeois, ernannte alle magistrats u. ergänzte sich selbst durch élection. Zu Niort hatte das ensemble dieser privileges wie zu Périgueux forme de seigneurie sous le vasselage immédiat de la couronne. - Châtellerault, Loudun, Montmorillon lange nicht diese franchises, ihre municipalités comparatively neu, ne méritent aucune mention. [79-82] 5

*La Saintonge* u. *VAuras* normannische Constitution wie zu Niort u. Poitiers m. Ausnahme der juridiction sans réserve u. der Wahl des maire durch das collège municipal. Die charte v. Philippe-Auguste f. die bourgeois St. Jean d'Angely porte qu'elle sera gouvernée selon la forme de celle de Rouen. [82] - *La Rochelle*, auch nach normannischem type wurde 10 type der liberté municipale f. die villes du centre de la France. Daher die Projecte v. Rochelle, in Folge seiner existence presque républicaine, im XVI u. XVII Jhh. Verlor 1628 sa constitution et ses privilèges municipaux. Ebenso St. Jean d'Angely. Zu *Saintes* der normannische Type modifié par une organisation antérieure à l'établissement de la Com- 15 mune. Statt 1 maire 2 Jurés investis conjointement de la principale autorité. Gegen Ende des XV Jhh. die Mairie définitivement établie. [83, 84]

*l'Angoumois: Angoulême* hatte droit de justice vor dem établissement der Monarchie. Im XIII Jhh. Freiheit entwickelt nach dem modèle v. la Rochelle. In der letzten Hälfte des XIV ganz erneuert nach dem v. 20 St. Jean d'Angely. Bis in's 18\* Jhh. sein ganzes régime municipal, m. del-jurisdiction, sauf f. das crime de lèse-majesté. *Cognac* hatte mairie, échevinage u. die justice moyenne u. basse. [84, 85]

5) *V. Région de l'Est. l'Alsace, Franche Comté, le Lyonnais, la Bresse* u. *le Dauphiné*. Gehörten alle dem Empire Allemand. [85] Im Unterschied 25 der rois de France u. der comtes de Flandres die deutschen Kaiser systematisch Feinde der municipalités créées durch insurrection u. assurance mutuelle sous la foi du serment. «Conventículas quoque omnes et conjurationes in civitatibus et extra, etiam occasione parentele et inter civitatem et civitatem et inter personam et personam seu inter civitatem et 30 personam, omnibus modis fieri prohibemus.» (Constitutio pacis Frederici I) «Quod nulla civitas, nullum oppidum, communiones, constitutiones, colligationes, confederationes, vel conjurationes aliquas, quocumque nomine censeantur, facere possent; et quod nos, sine domini sui assensu, civitatibus seu oppidis in regno nostro constitutis auctoritatem faciendi 35 communiones, constitutiones, colligationes vel conjurationes aliquas, quaecumque nomina imponantur eisdem, non poteramus nec debebamus impertiri.» Henrici regis sententia contra communiones civitatum) | [62] Diese deutschen Lumpen: Sur leurs terres du Nord ont combattu et interdit la Commune jurée, et, sur leurs terres du midi, toute ligue popu- 40.. laire tendant soit à l'érection, soit au développement normal du Consu-

lat. [86] In den provinces éloignées du centre de l'Empire u. nicht-deutsch, begünstigten sie par tous les moyens possibles die seigneurs ecclésiastiques, gegen die laïques, denen sie mißtrauten, u. die autocratie municipale des évêques contre toute révolution même consentie par les  
5 comtes souverains du pays. Charte v. Frederic II, en 1226, wodurch er nuls u. non avens erklärt tous les consulats u. autres gouvernements libres des villes de Provence: «Pervenit nuper ad notitiam nostram quod quarundam civitatum, villarum et aliorum locorum universitates in  
10 ditiones, potestates, consulatus, regimina et alia quaedam statuta, quae ad suae arbitrium voluntatis exercent; et cum jam apud quasdam ... in abusum et pravam consuetudinem inoleverunt ... nos ex imperiali auctoritate tarn jurisdictiones, consulatus, regimina, potestates et statuta caetera per universitates civitatum inventa, atque concessionones super his, per  
15 comités Provinciae et Forcalquerii ab eis obtentis, ex certa sciencia revocamus, et inania esse censemus.» (*Papon*, Histoire de Provence.) Die wachsende Schwäche der Bande des vasselage zum Empire erlaubte der Provence ihre Consulate frei zu entwickeln. Nicht so das Dauphiné, weil sa sujétion à l'Empire reeller, u. die carrière de rénovation municipale  
20 aufgehoben durch den appui effectif den die Bischöfe der villes principales gegen die bourgeoisie erhielten. Wo hier das Consulat, nur als neuer Titel, nicht als pouvoir nouveau, réduit à quelque chose de médiocre et de subalterne, dépourvu de jurisdiction. Ein Theil der f. das Dauphiné gemachten Bemerkungen gilt f. das Lyonnais u. la Bresse. [87, 88]  
25 *Elsaß*: Das mouvement der révolution communale, née au nord de la France u. propagirt v. da auf die terres de l'Empire, étouffé à Trêves, 1161, durch Kaiser Friedrich I. (Communis quoque civium trevirensium, quae et conjuratio dicitur, quam nos in civitate destruximus ... quae et postea, sicut audivimus, reiterata est, cassetur et in irritum revo-  
30 cetur, statuentes ne deinceps, studio archiepiscopi vel industria comitis palatini reiteretur. Hontheim. Hist. trevir. diplomat. 1.1, p. 594.) Rien ne prouve qu'il ait pénétré dans les villes de l'Alsace. Die meisten dieser Städte datiren nicht über das XII Jhh. Erhielten ihre constitution libre, pièce à pièce, durch die concessions du souverain. Erhielten ihre indépendance quasi-républicaine nicht durch élan des esprit de rénovation, durch  
35 lutte violente gegen die pouvoir seigneurial, sondern durch die exemption légalement obtenue de toute jurisdiction autre que celle d'un délégué de l'Empereur, et le changement graduel des offices impériaux en magistratures municipales. So werden *souveraine* Städte: Haguenau, Colmar, Müll-  
40 hausen, Scheiestadt, Wissembourg, Seltz u. andre v. moindre importance. Sogar das Recht alliances ausserhalb des empire zu schliessen. Dabei

aber diese Rechte accordirt unter présence continue d'un représentant du souverain sous les titres de Comte, Préteur, Prévôt, Vogt, association étrange qu'on ne rencontre que là et qui provenait de la nature toute federative de l'empire germanique. Autre particularité des régime municipal d'Alsace daß, unter den magistratures urbaines, mehre des fiefs 5 héréditaires u. die bourgeoisie der villes composée v. nobles u. nicht nobles, worunter die administration ziemlich gleich getheilt bis Mitte des XIV Jhh.; später die classes plébéiennes prépondérantes u. die démocratie règne. Dieß changement bei den Ständen des Elsaß m. Ausnahme v. Straßburg l'unique fait révolutionnaire - [88-90] *Strasbourg*, die älteste 10 dieser Städte, die einzige v. den Römerzeiten her, hatte une municipalité immémoriale, davon éléments absorbirt in der seigneurie temporelle des évêque. Bis Ende des XII Jhh. das corps de ville borné auf officiers u. vassaux nobles der maison episcopale, qui formaient une classe de patri- 15 ciens u. un sénat héréditaire. Im XIII Jhh. eine erste Revolution; die municipalité erhielt une organisation distincte, sinon entièrement indépendante de la cour seigneuriale; gab un sénat annuel et électif, se renouvelant lui-même, u. choisissant, selon des proportions qui varièrent, en partie parmi les vassaux nobles de l'évêque u. en partie dans la plus haute classe des bourgeois proprement dits. Nach 1<sup>er</sup> Jhh. about, diese muni- 20 cipalité aristocratique renversée durch un soulèvement der classes moyenne u. inférieure der bourgeoisie; eine 2<sup>e</sup> Revolution hatte Statt; neue Constitution fondée sur l'existence politique der Zünfte (Tribus), deren Zahl, d'abord variable, auf 20 fixirt durch das statut définitif. Für die exercise des droit de cité nur die 2 Klassen der nobles u. der artisans 25 légalement reconnues; die bourgeois Kaufleute u. professions libérales mußten sich fondre in der letztern, en se faisant agréger einer Zunft. Der Senat od. Grand Conseil gebildet v. 31 membres, 10 nobles, 20 Plebejer f. die 20 tribus, u. un chef de gouv., *Anmeister* qui devait toujours être plébéien. 3 collèges inférieurs, ayant des attributions spéciales u. nom- 30 mes: chambres des 13, des 15, des 21, zusammengesetzt 1/3 nobles u. 2/3 plébéiens, (die 3 geheimen Stuben) Ueber allen diesen pouvoirs herrschte, comme investi de la souveraineté municipale, der conseil der 300 échevins (Schöffen), résultant de l'élection de 15 seiner membres durch jeden der 20tribus. Basis dieser Constitution gelegt 1334, letzte 35-Form erhalten 1482, existirte noch 1789. [90-92]

*Franche-Comté. Besançon* ville de l'Empire en dehors despays de langue allemande. Empereurs folgten den États des rois de Bourgogne par donation de Rodolphe III, en faveur de Conrad le Salique, mari de sa nièce Gisèle. Gaben die grandes villes du pays en fief aux évêques, 40<sup>e</sup> devenus par là princes de l'Empire, investis des droits régaliens et de



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l'autocratie municipale dans chaque cité. So in Besançon bis zu den letzten J- des 12 Jhh. plaintes des bourgeois contre les abus de ce pouvoir: Henri VI, l'empereur, autorisa l'institution d'une sorte de jury auprès de la justice seigneuriale; et la création d'une municipalité électorale ayant la  
5 police et la garde de la ville. Bourgeoisie fährt fort d'attaquer ce qui restait de l'ancienne autocratie de l'archevêque; s'attribua par empiétements successifs, la juridiction civile et criminelle, le gouvernement politique à l'intérieur et le droit de guerre et de paix en dehors. Tout le XIII Jhh. angewandt zu dieser Revolution, viele soulèvements, alliances  
10 défensives m. l'un ou l'autre des grands seigneurs du pays. In diesen confédérations sahen die empereurs den Einfluß des roi de France, édits menaçants für maintien der pouvoir des archevêque: «Sicut ad culminis nostri pervenit notitiam, rex Franciae, fermento persuasionis suae, sinceritatem fidei vestrae molitur corrumpere, vos a fidei nostrae et imperii  
15 debito avertendo, et servitium sui secularis domini accrescendo.» (Rodolphe I, lettre an die cives v. Besançon, 1277) Stadt stellt sich unter die garde des comtes de Bourgogne, soutient un siège contre le souverain qui refusait de l'admettre comme ville libre et immédiate, (en 1288.) Nun die politique des empereurs changea, ils laissèrent les droits seigneuriaux  
20 passer de prélat au corps de ville. (Adolphe, roi des Romains, en 1296; Maximilian, en 1503.) Von dem XIV - Mitte des XVII Jhh. archevêque de Besançon blieb nominalement prince de l'Empire, aber die cité exerça tous les pouvoirs attachés primitivement à ce titre. In Besançon, während  
5 Jhh., kein changement dans l'organisation du pouvoir [63] municipal.  
25 Die Constitution établie par concession v. Kaiser Heinrich VI blieb bis zur Eroberung durch Louis XIV. In den 7 quartiers der Stadt - Bannières - wählten die citoyens jährlich 28 notables, diese 14 personnes, deux par bannière, pour former la magistrature de l'année. Diese 14 hiessen erst Prud'hommes, dann Recteurs, schließlich Gouverneurs. Bildeten den  
30 seil ordinaire, ecerçant la police et la justice municipale; présidirten à tour de rôle. Diese 14 magistrats, die 14 nouvellement sortis de charge, u. die 28 notables bildeten den Conseil d'État - souveraine autorité. Nur bei ausserordentlichen Gelegenheiten kamen sie zus., ihre réunions mehre Tage vorher öffentlich angezeigt, avec les choses qui y devaient être  
35 cutées. Durch die Annexion an Frankreich verlor Besançon alle ses privilèges politiques, la haute juridiction municipale transportée au Parlement. [92-97]

*Poligny*: charte des XIII Jhh. garantirt des droits de franchise et de communauté, gegeben 1288 durch Othon V, Comte de Bourgogne. Erst  
40 4 Prud'hommes, simple police. Im XV Jhh. dazu 12 Conseillers, u. justice moyenne u. basse. En 1525 toute justice lui fut accordée, corps de ville

mit 2 conseils, an der Spitze maire, nannte sich Vicomte. Aehnlicher Verlauf zu *Dôle* u. *Salins*. Zu *Montbelliard* Conseil commun aus 9 Maîtres-bourgeois u. un maître-bourgeois en chef, élu pour le présider. Der Maire officier du Comte, nur voix consultative im conseil. *Pontarlier*: communauté immémoriale; seit Alters unie in Ein corps politique m. 20 villages 5 in der Umgegend; die villages participaient an der élection der magistrats u. den charges f. die administration commune; alle waren bourgeois de Pontarlier, nannten sich Barons u. ihre communauté Baroichage. (barois f. barons) Die union dissoute en 1537, die villages refusèrent de payer leur quote-part des dépenses de la ville, plâdirten vor dem parlement v. 10 *Dôle* ihre séparation. Débris des institutions mérovingiennes, die Centaine m. ses hommes libres. Aehnlich im Belg. Flandern, le Franc de Bruges. - Im général, in den Städten 2\* Rangs u. den bourgs der Franche-Comté les chartes de privilèges ne remontent pas au delà der 2<sup>es</sup> moitié des XIII Jhh.; der titre Échevins erschien spät, der v. Maire noch später, 15 pouvoir municipal nicht über die Grenzen der lois romaines; 4 magistrats. [97-100]

Zu *Lyonnais* u. *Dauphiné* hat die mouvement révolut. des XII u. XIII Jhh. nur vorübergehende Aenderungen producirt, nicht changé les bases de la constitution établie, noch neue pouvoirs établi, noch neue 20 libertés politiques. Nach der Periode de litige u. lutte armée zwischen bourgeois u. seigneurs der status quo ante, nur jezt garantirt durch pacte mutuel u. conventions écrites. [100]

*Le Lyonnais*: *Lyon*: droit municipal romain nicht interrompue; droit italique; voile franchise f. personnes u. biens, exception de tout impôt 25 direct ausser den charges municipales, droit de former un corps qui se taxe lui-même et administre ses deniers communs durch mandataires élus, veille à sa propre sûreté durch milice urbaine, exerce la police des rues et la surveillance des métiers, mais sans aucune jurisdiction criminelle ou civile. Dieß verteidigt contre le pouvoir temporel des arche- 30 vêques. 1208 in einem traité der citoyens m. dem Bischoffe: «Juraverunt cives nullam conspirationem vel juramentum communitatis vel consulatus ullo unquam tempore se facturos.» plus d'un siècle Kampf m. dem évêque. Am Schluß nichts stipulirt als das Alte. (1320) Das revenu seigneurial des archevêque bestand in den péages, droits de mutation, frais 35 de justice u. amendes. Siegten *so weit* blos durch Verbindung m. den rois de France, sie wurden freiwillig partie du royaume: «Nos, supplicationibus civium Lugduni civitatis de regno nostro existentes favorabiliter annuentes, eosdem cives et eorum singulos sub nostra speciali gardia et protectione suscipimus.» (Charte de Philippe le Bel 1292.) Nun die juris- 40 diction des archevêque soumise dem appel au roi. In dieser Constitution

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nichts neues ausser der attribution du droit électoral aux corps d'arts et métiers. Ende des XVI Jhh. folgte die Constitution v. Paris imposée par lettres patentes v. Henri IV. (1594) Die milice urbaine, gebildet, sous le nom de pennonage, des compagnies appartenant chacune à l'un des 5 quartiers de la ville u. jede m. dem étendard des quartier, dauerte bis 1789. Die Constitution v. Lyon nachgeahmt v. den meisten Städten u. bourgs des Lyonnais, Forez u. de la Bresse. Ihre Chartes de franchises obtenues durch concession gratuite od. à prix d'argent, im XIII u. XIV Jhh. Le nombre de 4, die fonctions annuelles u. die élection directe 10 par le corps entier des bourgeois. Namen der magistrats successivement: Syndics, Procureurs, Conseillers, Consuls, Échevins. Z. B. Montbrison, Bourg en Bresse. [100-107]

*La Bresse:* (départ, de l'Ain.) sorte de filiation qui remonte à 2 ou 3 modèles reproduits de proche en proche, m. od. ohne variantes. Redac- 15 tion viel besser als im Norden, f. diese bourgs, formules du droit romain. [107, 108]

*Dauphiné: Vienne:* constitution gallo-romaine, basse justice appartient aux magistrats de la ville, la haute justice der officiers impériaux; transformirt sich sous l'influence du privilège de souveraineté obtenu par les 20 archevêques. Die charte, dem Bischof abgerungen, nur die reconnaissance formelle de libertés immémoriales; diese reconnaissance ohne allen guerre civile, (zwischen 1221 u. 1266) Namen der Magistrats erst Syndics u. Procureurs, nannten sich Consuls im XIV Jhh. - *Valence:* sehr agité im XII Jhh. Seit Mitte des XII Jhh. des associations jurées against the tem- 25 poral power des évêque. Durch Kaiser Friedrich I 1178 u. Kaiser Philippe II 1204 dissoutes. 1199 révolte der Bürger gegen das gouvernement autocratique des évêque. Compromi. In moins de 20 J. wieder Insurrection, zwingt den Bischof (Guillaume de Savoie) de sortir de la ville; gouvernement révolutionnaire; traité de paix m. dem Bischof in 1229; wieder 30 die autocratie des évêque tempérée durch die franchises traditionnelles. Im XIV Jhh. rédaction écrite, franchises purement civiles. Dieselben wie zu Vienne. Ist kein pouvoir municipal. Unter der protection des roi de France devenu dauphin du Viennois in 1425 erhalten sie des droits modérés; durften rebâtir leur maison commune, 80 Personen sich versammeln 35 ohne Erlaubniß des Bischofs u. présence de ses officiers, la garde des clefs wenn der évêque abwesend, dieser u. sein Nachfolger à leur avènement u. tous ses officiers à leur entrée en charge, mußten schwören auf die évangiles de garder et faire garder «les franchises, libertés, usages et coutumes de la cité, du bourg et des faubourgs». Corps municipal, peu nombreux 40 et sans aucune jurisdiction, aus Syndics u. Conseillers, communément appelés Consuls, 1 secrétaire u. 1 Mandeur, officier chargé de faire les

commandements de service pour la garde urbaine, et d'avertir les magistrats du jour où ils auraient à tenir conseil. [108-113]

*Die*: libertés immémoriales in den Städten des Dauphiné v. double source, municipalité gallo-romaine u. municipalité gallo-franke de la 2<sup>ème</sup> race. Die ancien municipe et seigneurie episcopale, jurisdiction f. die Nichtzahlung der contributions municipales u. refus ou négligence de service dans la garde urbaine, auch f. tout crime u. délit commis par un citoyen de garde pendant ses heures de service, sauf l'homicide et l'adultère ... [114] l'usage de bâtir dans les villes des maisons flanquées de tours était venu d'Italie avec la constitution consulaire ... l<sup>re</sup> charte worin die libertés immémoriales gesichert, durch compromis m. dem évêque, v. 1218; 1246 rédaction générale der libertés u. privilèges der ville de Die dressée um als loi zu dienen; darin das Recht vorbehalten dieß Statut zu ändern; so das corps de ville, fast ohne jurisdiction, genutzt pouvoir législatif zusammen m. dem évêque; fait bizarre, öfter in den municipalités des moyen âge. Vom Ende des XIII Jhh. nouvelle guerre civile, nouvel accord, festere Bestätigung der alten privileges. (1298). In *Gap*, placée | [64] anciennement unter dasselbe droit municipal wie Die, Valence u. Vienne, erwarb sich das consulat in dem ersten 4<sup>ten</sup> des XIII Jhh. durch die grand mouvement révolutionnaire. Benutzen zur Revolte gegen den Bischof den Krakehl v. Friedrich II (Kaiser) m. dem Saint-Siège. [117-119] (1240) Ihre ville érigée en ville [libre] immédiate selon le droit germanique. 1257 schließt der v. s. seigneurie temporelle so abgesezte évêque Bund m. dem dauphin, comte de Vienne u. d'Albon, worin sie sich partagèrent d'avance tous les droits du consulat u. die domaine supérieur de la ville. Die exécution suspendue unter dem Dauphin Guigues XII. Unter s. Nachfolgern verzichtet die Stadt auf tous les droits du régime consulaire, übertragen sie der veuve du dauphin, comme tutrice de ses enfants mineurs. 11 Dec. 1271. Hofften so en fait die Hauptsache zu hüten. Es wurde auch nichts geändert, nur nominell unter der Herrschaft des dauphin. Der évêque Eudes II en 1274 traité m. der ville, Zahl der consuls v. 4 auf 5 erhöht, u. jedes Jahr 1 davon erwählt parmi les membres du chapitre de la cathédrale. Bischof dann recours au comte de Provence u. Forcalquier, unter dem Versprechen ihm hommage f. die seigneurie temporelle zu machen. Der sénéchal de provence acceptirte dieß im Namen des comte Charles d'Anjou; ce pacte dormit bis 1281; querelle plus violente zw. dem évêque u. der ville de Gap, er ins prison gesetzt, reclamirt bei dem Anjou, devenu roi des Deux-Siciles. Macht mit ihm traité de partage. Prince v. Salerne, Sohn des Anjou, macht sich m. s. Truppen maître v. Gap in 1282. pouvoir municipal réduit aux plus strictes limites de l'administration urbaine. Nach seiner Abreise wird der

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traité de partage lettre morte, der évêque bemächtigt sich der ganzen  
pouvoir; longue querelle darüber m. dem comte de Provence, Pabst inter-  
venirt sans pouvoir la terminer, u. dazu Krakehl m. der famille des com-  
tes de Vienne. Ende des XIII Jhh. cède der évêque u. schließt m. dem  
5 Sohn des dauphin Humbert I (v. Vienne) nouveau traité de partage du  
domaine supérieur de la ville. Tous les droits de péage et de marché,  
perçus autrefois par les consuls, la juridiction à tous ses degrés sur une  
partie de la banlieue, et, au dedans des murs, une moitié der juridiction  
civile, donnés au comte; dem évêque die haute justice criminelle, le droit  
10 d'ordonnance et de proclamation, la garde des clefs et toute la police de  
la ville. Dem Capitel eine indemnité f. s. einen consul. Jede getheilte  
seigneurie concentrirte sich in den Händen des Anwesenden der 2 sei-  
gneurs u. wurde nominell f. den andren. Dieß changement in Gap statt in  
j. Jhh. Fand sich so wieder auf der seule domination des évêque. Stadt  
15 verlangte nun wenigstens ihr uraltes droit municipal. Neue troubles.  
Arbitres dazwischen, 1378, zwangen ihn die alten coutumes schriftlich  
abzufassen u. als loi f. sich u. successeurs anzuerkennen. (1378); aber die  
élections faites par la ville bedürfen der Bestätigung des juge episcopal u.  
das commandement de service f. die garde urbaine den officiers de l'évê-  
20 que. [122-129]

*Embrun:* das régime consulaire vollständig Anfang des XIII Jhh. Ver-  
lor es wieder in den guerres malheureuses contre die 2 seigneurs, dauphin  
u. archevêque; (1257 das consulat aboli.) nun nur noch corps de ville  
ohne juridiction u. soumis dans tous ses actes aux officiers seigneuriaux.  
25 Indeß die vanité municipale genügt den Namen consulat zu introduire,  
selbst da wo es nicht reell einen Tag existirte. les bourgs de la Provence et  
du Languedoc tenaient à honneur d'être autorisés légalement à changer  
le nom de leurs Syndics en celui de Consuls; des demandes à cet effet bis  
ins XVIII Jhh. So in *Grenoble* die ville la moins libre des vieilles cités du  
30 Dauphiné. [130,131]

Die Städte des Lyonnais u. des Dauphiné erläutern die ältere  
Geschichte der fzs. Städte überhaupt. Ihre statuts u. chartes de privilèges  
die einzigen authentischen Proben u. monuments d'un droit municipal  
antérieur der rénovation des XII siècle, liberté des personnes et des biens  
35 vor der révolution municipale des XII Jhh. le droit des cités métropoli-  
taines ou episcopales de la France. [132,133]

*César Balbo:* Opuscoli per servire alla storia delle città e dei comuni  
d'Italia. Turin. 1838.

l'établissement de magistrats nommés consuls et investis de l'univer-  
40 salité des pouvoirs publics mit fin, dans les villes italiennes, à la seigneurie  
exercée par les évêques à titre de feudataires impériaux. Dieses der Cha-

racter simple et un dieser révolution quand elle déborda sur la Gaule. Hier die effets variirt. Feudalität herrschte voll in Gallien, die municipes soumis à différentes sortes de seigneurie, die einen unter évêque, die anderen unter mehr od. minder puissantes familles, andre unter 2 od. 3 seigneurs partagée. In Gallia méridionale daher das consulat nicht nur aux 5 prises m. dem pouvoir temporel des évêques, sondern bald m. diesem pouvoir, bald m. dem der seigneurs laïques. Manchmal durch den évêque begünstigt. Im Norden, wo die alte römische liberté weniger conservirt, die commune jurée doppelten Zweck, fondation de libertés politiques pour des hommes déjà civilement libres u. affranchissement pour des 10 hommes à demi serfs ou en plein servage. So die révolution communale, l'un des résultats de l'ébranlement produit par la lutte de la papauté contre l'Empire, toute politique en Italie; in France à la fois politique et civile. [133, 134]

*formules du droit municipal de St. Quentin:*

15

«Eux jurèrent ensemment chescun quemune ayde à son juré et quemun conseil et quemune détenanche et quemune deffense. Ensemment nous avons établi que quiconque en notre quemune entrera et ayde du sien nous donra, soit pour cause de fuite ou de paour des anemis ou de autre forfait, mais qu'il ne soit accoustumé, à mauvestiés en le quemune entrer 20 porra, car la porte est ouverte à tous; et se son seigneur à tort ses choses aura détenu, et ne le voudra détenir à droit, nous en exécuterons justice. Et se il estait ainsi que le seigneur de la quemune eust dedens le bourc ou dedens la ville aucune forteresche, et voulist mettre wardes dedens, il y mettrait wardes qui seraient de le quemune par la volente et par l'octroy 25 du maire et des eskevins, car autres pour la destruction des bourgeois mettre ne porrait. Les bourgeois de St.-Quentin ne doivent nulle ayde en nulle manière à leur seigneur, ne se assemblent pour faire li taille, mais se aucun li veult donner de son gré comme requis du seigneur, selon son plaisir il li donra.» [135,136]

30

Second fragment.

Monographie de la constitution communale d'Amiens.

I. *Prolégomènes; temps antérieurs au XII siècle.*

Amiens «Samarobriva» zur Zeit wo Cäsar Gallien eroberte; Capitale der  
5 Ambiani, einer der Tribus der Beiges. 57 a. Ch. liefern die Ambiani der  
belgischen Armee gegen Cäsar 10,000 hommes. Cäsar siegt. A plusieurs  
reprises, des légions furent cantonnées à Samarobriva. In 10 J. Gallien  
durch die Römer erobert. August zählt Gallien unter ses divisions admi-  
nistratives. Samarobriva erhält das régime municipal romain, hatte un  
10 corps de magistrature u. d'administration urbaine, u. Curie chargée du  
soin de la police et des affaires locales, et investie dans certains cas prévus  
et déterminés par l'autorité souveraine, du droit de justice et de l'appli-  
cation des lois. [137,138] Prosperit unter den Römern. Im IV Jh.  
«Ambiani urbs, inter alias eminens». Hieß: Samarobriva Ambianorum.  
15 Erster Name verschwindet in den bas temps de l'empire; bleibt Ambiani  
f. die ville, nachher der barbarisme Ambianus, woraus Amiens. Ende des  
III Jhh. Christenthum u. ein Bischoff zu Amiens. Zw. 260 u. 303 St. Fir-  
minus. 406 Alains, Suèves, Vandales, Burgondes, envahirent la Gaule.  
Amiens auch zu leiden v. den dévastations des Barbares. Behauptet,  
20 however, noch 437 rang distingué unter den ||60| villes soumises à la do-  
mination romaine. Seit 428 hatten die Franks unter Chlodio Incursions  
jusqu'à la Somme gemacht, aber repoussés par Aétius. Ende des V Jhh.  
Amiens soumis aux Francs; 486, durch Chlodowig, roi des Franks Sa-  
ilens, Schlacht bei Soissons gegen Siagrius, letzter Römer der in Theil v.  
25 Gallien geherrscht. Nun, durch die dissolution de l'empire, nehmen die  
magistrats municipaux v. Amiens u. autres villes de la Gaule autorité die  
nie vorher. Die membres der curie gardèrent leurs anciennes attributions,  
mais en même temps ils remplirent certaines fonctions que la retraite des  
officiers impériaux laissait vacantes, u. exercèrent dans une étendue plus  
30 ou moins grande die juridiction criminelle u. die juridiction contentieuse  
ou des tribunaux civils. Aber auch der cadre de l'ancienne Curie brisé,  
das corps municipal se forma de tous les citoyens notables u. die clercs y  
entrèrent wie die laïques. Der évêque intervint directement dans le gou-  
vernement et l'administration de la ville. Hatte jusque-là nur ascendant  
35 moral gehabt, La loi romaine lui accordait à ce titre une sorte de justice  
de paix: le droit d'arranger les différends et de terminer les procès qui lui  
étaient soumis. [139-143] Nun wieder membre u. président du corps

municipal. Wurde aber auch Bischoff durch *élection populaire*. Die rois mérovingiens etablirten in jeder wichtigen Stadt des hommes auxquels ils délèguèrent leur autorité - *comtes*, hautes fonctions de juges u. d'administrateurs civils et militaires. Daneben also la Curie, le Défenseur, u. der évêque. [144,145] In der Stadt der séjour des familles gallo-romaines, les notables convoqués par le comte pour juger sous sa présidence au civil et au criminel, c'était la Curie elle-même. So das agrandissement der juridiction municipale sanctionné u. régularisé durch die institution germanique du *Mal* ou de l'assemblée judiciaire. Die magistrature urbaine behielt ausserdem in der période mérovingienne l'administration intérieure u. locale; elle exerçait la juridiction volontaire, et les actes de cette juridiction, affranchissements, adoptions, légitimations, donations, traditions de biens vendus, réceptions de testaments etc ... *Rachimburgii* (*Rekin-burghe*) ... jugeaient sur le fait et sur le droit; le comte ne faisait que recueillir les opinions et sanctionner le jugement... [146, 147] Oft die comtes francs entravèrent durch actes d'une brutale violence l'action légale de la justice od. die rois francs imposaient aux villes des évêques nommés par eux etc. En général, in Amiens u. den anderen Städten, unter den Merovingern, in ihrer plénitude die diverses prérogatives de l'ancien droit municipal. Unter den mérovingiens u. carolingiens, Amiens eine der reichsten u. blühendsten Städte Galliens. Commerce auf der Somme, wovon es der entrepôt. Unter Charlemagne u. noch später fast tout le commerce d'importation dans les contrées nord-ouest de la Gaule-Amiens, Rouen, le port d'Étaples en Boulonnais (l'ancien *Portus Icius*), Utrecht, Pont-St.-Maxence, Paris, Troyes, et Sens. Sous les 2 premières races, comme à l'époque de la domination romaine, il y eut à Amiens un atelier de monnayage. [148,149] Von VII-X Jhh. kein monument relatif à l'organisation municipale d'Amiens. l'Institution du *Scabinat* (*Scabini*, *Scabinei* vom deutschen *Skapene* od. *Skafene*) geschaffen v. Charlemagne, véritable corps déjuges. Diese juges gewählt durch den comte du lieu, die *missi dominici*, u. das peuple. Unter diesem Wort zu verstehn auf dem plat pays die hommes libres selon le droit germanique, in den Städten die généralité des citoyens nach dem droit municipal romain. Dadurch révolution in dem ancien régime municipal. [150,151] Aber de fait die juges gewählt unter den alten Geranten der affaires de la cité. Daher *Eskevins* u. *Eschevins* Sinn v. administrateurs u. juges. Invasions der Nordmans zu Amiens jährlich v. 859-926. Andrerseits guerres des seigneurs, qui se disputent ses murailles et son territoire. In der Mitte des X Jhh. existirt noch f. die citoyens le droit de prendre part aux élections episcopales, l'un des privilèges dérivant de leur vieille constitution romaine. [152] Auch während des ganzen XI Jhh. üben die v. Amiens



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dieß Recht aus u. noch im XII Jhh., wenn ihre Municipalrevolution. Das  
Recht die Scabins einzusetzen usurpirten ganz die comtes, wird l'une des  
bases de la souveraineté locale qu'ils s'arrogèrent. In den cités langer  
Streit deßwegen zwischen der puissance seigneuriale u. der corporation  
5 urbaine, die unter verschiedenen noms u. m. différents degrés de pouvoir  
administratif u. judiciaire der Curie der röm. Zeiten gefolgt war. Alle  
Städte Galliens unterlagen in diesem lutte, quoique d'une façon très-  
inégale - X u. XI Jhh., période de décadence et de ruine pour les insti-  
tutions municipales: dissolution du corps des Échevins, remplacés durch  
10 die vassaux du comte, pairs de la cour seigneuriale, l'inféodation des  
offices soit judiciaires, soit administratifs. Damit oubli des traditions de  
la vie civile, invasion des moeurs et coutumes barbares. Im XI Jhh. point  
extrême de ce mouvement de dissolution de tout ordre civil... la Trêve et  
la Paix de Dieu proklamirt durch die évêques assemblés en conciles natio-  
15 naux ou provinciaux. Aehnliche Versuche auf kleinerer Stufenleiter, u.  
associations sous le serment pour le maintien de la paix publique se for-  
mèrent dans de petits pays ou de simples villes. Um 1025 vereinigen sich  
die Einwohner v. Amiens u. Corbie par un pacte de paix réciproque nicht  
nur zwischen den beiden Städten sondern allen Personen, domiciliées  
20 dans leur enceinte et sur leur territoire. Principe: l'association jurée, unter  
dem Namen *Gilde* v. Deutschland nach Gallien gebracht u. conservirt in  
allen Provinzen, bes. im Norden, nach der Mischung der Racen; die bei-  
den Städte vereinigten sich unter Anrufung der Heiligen, deren Reliquien  
sie besaßen. [153-156] Jedes Jahr réunions zu Amiens un jour de grande  
25 fête, Frieden f. alle Tage der Woche, der voeu durch Eid bestätigt. Keine  
2 Individuen, die Streit, plündern od. brennen, sondern en terme fixe in  
die Kirche kommen plädiren friedlich v. comte u. évêque. A l'octave des  
Rogations ihre assemblée annuelle; religiöser Charakter der Institution  
s'effaça par degrés, wurde purement politique, les reliques des saints  
30 furent négligées, et au lieu de processions et de prières, am Tag de-  
grande assemblée, des divertissements et des danses. Die moines v. Cor-  
bie u. Amiens nehmen keinen Theil mehr daran, aber der paix dauerte  
fort. Durch die féodalité un partage de domaines territoriaux de toute  
nature et de toute dimension, jedem un lot plus ou moins grand de sou-  
35 veraineté et de juridiction. In Amiens daher die seigneurie du comte sur  
la ville et sa banlieue; die des évêque, obgleich er seigneur dominant,  
restreinte aux domaines propres de l'église inner u. ausserhalb der Stadt.  
Doch heißt der Bischoff v. Zeit zu Zeit in den Documenten Procurator  
rei publicae Ambianensis, Titel aus der früheren Const, municipale.  
40 [157-159] die bâtiments u. dépendances der alten citadelle, nommée le  
Castillon, m. den terrains die s. murs begrenzten bis an die Somme,

waren du domaine du roi u. nicht des comte; erblich tenus, sous condition de foi et d'hommage, durch un châtelain, der une certaine juridiction in diesen limites, nach dem comte, dem évêque u. vidame od. lieutenant civil de l'évêque, einer der seigneurs od. «prince de la cité». [160] Neben diesem partage territorial, gab es, wie unter den Römern u. unter den 5 2 ersten Racen (der 2<sup>ter</sup> im Anfang) biens communaux? Im XI Jhh. zu Amiens noch une sorte de conseil municipal. Man findet noch krakehlend m. dem Comte od. validant par leur présence les donations et les contrats des «Principaux de la ville Primores urbis - viri authentic! haben tes in plebe pondus testimonii». *Charte v. 1091* ... nach ihr das 10 Scabinat carolingien ersetzt durch die cour féodale des comte, 2<sup>ter</sup> clergé u. peuple v. Amiens s'unissaient pour réclamer u. protester contre les abus du pouvoir, les fraudes et les extorsions des juges seigneuriaux. Juridiction des comte ausgeübt durch Zahl v. Vasallen, qui à titre d'hommage pour leurs fiefs, lui devaient le service judiciaire u. militaire. In der 15 Stadt u. auf dem terre. Hiessen vicomtes. Diese charte gegen die prévarications der juges. [161,162] Gerichtliche Garantien. Nichts mehr entgegen den traditions der villes als die justice, à ses différents degrés, propriété privée u. des revenus patrimoniaux, l'action de vol intentée sans partie plaignante, u. die accusation sans témoin pour une prétendue trou- 20 vaille de choses enfouies ou sans maître, nach dem droit féodal dem seigneur gehörig, waren tägliche Erpressungsmittel in Amiens. Der accusé entlassen v. 1 vicomte fiel dem andren in die Hände; Angeklagte zahlte so viel amendes als vicomtes in der ville od. canton; endlich, das objet du vol réel od. prétendu confisqué par les juges. Heißt in der charte: 25 «Attendantes quam miserabiliter plebs Dei, in comitatu Ambianensi, a vicecomitibus novis et inauditibus calamitatibus affligebatur, quasi populus Israel oppressus in Egypto ab exactoribus Pharaonis, zelo Caritatis permoti condoluimus.» Wohlwollen einzelnes Seigneur half jedoch nichts gegen die institutions. Revolution nöthig. Gemacht in Amiens 1/4 Jhh. 30 nach der charte v. 1091, erlassen v. den comtes Gui et Ives. | [164-166]

1591 II. XII Siècle.

*Établissement de la commune d'Amiens.*

but der Revolution im XII Jhh.: die alte Municipalordnung herstellen u. fixer par une nouvelle constitution; ressaisir le droit de juridiction 35 urbaine, et substituer aux offices féodaux des magistratures électives; reconquérir die revenus der alten municipalités, ihre biens communaux, sa banlieue; ériger l'universalité des citoyens en corporation libre investie

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des droits politiques et ayant le pouvoir de déléguer les fonctions administratives et judiciaires. In den nordischen Städten Galliens Mittel: l'association jurée, die Ghilde, zu stiften assurance mutuelle f. tous les droits u. intérêts. [166-168] In den documents «Conjuration» u. «Commune».

5 «*Communio*, novum ac pessimum nomen.» (Guibert, abbat, de Novigento, de vita sua, lib. III, ap. Script, rer. gallic, et francic, t. XII, p. 250) Auch «*communia jurata*». Die membres der cités formées en commune, hiessen collectivement u. l'un à l'égard de l'autre des *Jurés*, manchmal auch so die magistrats municipaux, wegen des serment particulier gelei-

10 stet nach ihrer Wahl. Die Constitution communale umschloß: 1) droit politique: neues Recht, nur die titres d'offices conservés ou rétablis, wie Échevins u. Maires. Maire emprunté à l'organisation des grandes domaines sous la première et la seconde race. [169] 2) le droit civil, ancien droit fondé sur la coutume locale; 3) droit criminel, theils ait, theils

15 erneuert in Bezug auf neue Verbrechen, wie crime de *lèse-commune*. Von 1100-1112 die Communes jurées successivement zu Noyon, Beauvais, St. Quentin, Laon. Zu Laon der évêque allein seigneur, die abolition graduelle des anciens pouvoirs municipaux avait eu lieu à son profit et sous son nom. Gegen ihn die révolution, guerre civile etc. [170] l'évêque tué

20 dans une émeute, u. die bourgeois révoltés se défendirent contre le roi en personne. Durch Ansteckung, 1113, au plus fort de la révolution de Laon, unternehmen die bourgeois v. Amiens d'ériger leur cité en commune. [171] Die commune v. Amiens conjuration gegen den comte; 1113 dieser Enguerrand de Boves, seigneur de Coucy; Geoffroy (St.) évêque.

25 Neigte zur parti de la bourgeoisie, da er selbst v. dem comte beeinträchtigt. [172] Durch son entremise negociirten die bourgeois m. dem roi, erhielten f. Geld v. Louis-le-Gros l'approbation der neuen Commune u. ihrer magistrats. Auf der einen Seite also die commune, l'évêque, die officiers royaux u. der vidame der église épiscopale; auf der andren comte

30 Enguerrand de Boves, zuerst allein, dann m. dem châtelain, der, obgleich königlich ihm Chatillon öffnete. [173] Diese Revolution erzählt v. Guibert, abbé de Nogent. Enguerrand greift die bourgeois m. Waffengewalt an. Chassé de la ville, schließt er sich in der Festung ein. (Chatillon) [174] Guerre civile v. 3 ans. Die bourgeois während des ganzen guerre unter-

35 stützt v. den forces des évêque u. vidame u. im Anfang selbst v. Sohn des Enguerrand, perhaps the most cruel baron of the XII century. Thomas söhnt sich m. s. Vater aus. [175] Die Belagerten des Chatillon ergreifen die offensive, pillage, massacre, incendie, découragement der bourgeois u. bes. des clergé. Geoffroy, harcelé, 1114 entsagt dem Bischofssitz, geht

40 ins Kloster zu Cluny. [176] Kehrt zur l'injonction des archevêque zurück, Anfang 1115. Die ville beständig v. der Garnison der forteresse ange-

griffen, man schlägt sich de rue en rue, bourgeois verbarrikadieren ihre maisons, tragen das Kostbarste in die monastères voisins. Alle terres des évêque u. chapitres occupées durch die gens des Thomas. Consultirt sich (der évêque) m. Bischoff Ives v. Chartres. Dieser selbst schreibt au roi, Louis-le-Gros. Dieser marschirt auf Laon, züchtigt dort die Bürger, dann 5 auf Amiens; [177,178] tritt auf als maintenant la paix publique, défenseur des faibles et protecteur des églises. 1115 kömmt das Heer des roi an die Thore v. Amiens. Bischoff entzündet roi durch Predigt. Nächsten Tag Belagerungsmaschinen gen das Castillon. Königliche Truppen u. bourgeois machen assaut, angeführt v. Louis in Person; [179,180] forteresse 10 widersteht, roi selbst durch flèche an der Brust verwundet. Verwandelt den siège en blocus. Durch famine zu nehmen beschlossen, blocus dauert près de 2 ans; ergab sich 1117 den officiers royaux; tour etc geschleift par ordre du roi; der châtelain Adam behielt sein fief, aber nur über Trümmer, Enguerrand abgesetzt, alte Grafenfamilie des Raoul wieder ein- 15 gesetzt. Diese famille macht Compromiss, pouvoir getheilt zwischen seigneurie u. cité. Geoffroy f 1116. [181,182] l'Art, der charte: «Unusquisque jurato suo fidem, auxilium, consiliumque per omnia juste observabit.» 1117 der pacte zwischen der neueingesetzten famille u. der cité - l'charte v. Amiens; hier souveraineté urbaine règle, pouvoir seigneurial 20 exception. Im moyen âge la haute juridiction l'attribut essentiel de la souveraineté. Die des comte ging ganz auf die Commune über, ausgenommen assistance d'un prévôt, qui faisait les sommations, instruisait d'office, veillait aux jugements, mais ne jugeait pas, et sauf réserve d'une part dans le produit des amendes, saisies et confiscations judiciaires. Die 25 juridiction des évêque u. chapitre erhalten dans leur ancien ressort; die des vidame und châtelain nur conservirt as to die profits pécuniaires. [183,184] Les droits de cens, de travers et autres, les moulins et les fours banaux restèrent en la possession du seigneur en titre sur chaque portion du territoire communal, Commune mußte sie später erhalten durch 30 Ankauf v. chaque titulaire od. durch Cession. Commune gab ihr pouvoir législatif, administratif u. judiciaire, jährlich erwählten magistrats, chef «Mayer», membres Échevin od. Échevin et Prévôt. [185] Der zum maire od. Échevin Erwählte mußte s. Amt annehmen unter Strafe des bannissement - war im droit romain die offices municipaux une charge obli- 35 gatoire. Das échevinage wie die alte Curie régissait die propriétés communes u. gérait die finances der cité, police urbaine, gab Authenticité aux actes de tout genre, in s. Schoß tribunal f. die infraction gegen Polizei- u. Municipalregulations; aber darüber hinaus, Juridiction civile u. criminelle, konnten modificiren das droit commun durch décrets od. juris- 40 prudence; sie gaben endlich ihre actes m. dem sceau der Commune. 1190,

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philippe-August, portant *concession* od. vielmehr Confirmation de leur Commune. [186, 187] Ausserdem haben wir: Charte der Commune v. Abbeville donnée par Jean comte de Ponthieu, 1184 «secundum jura et consuetudines Communie Ambianis vel Corbeie vel Sancti Quintini». 5 «Ad hec si forte inter me et dictos burgenses meos, querela emerit, que per hoc scriptum nequeat terminari, per communiam St. Quintini, vel Corbeie, or Ambianis terminata fuerit.» 15 der Artikel 1-7, 9-11, 14-16, 20 u. 44 wörtlich der Charte v. Amiens entlehnt. [188-190]

10 III. *Articles primitifs et Principales Dispositions de la Charte Communale d'Amiens.*

*Art. 2* Dieb, der ergriffen, dem preposito nostro ausgeliefert, et quidquid de eo agendum iudicio communionis iudicabitur, ei fiet. Dem Reclamanten das Gestohlene zurückzugeben, reliqua in usus nostros convertentur. *Art. 3* Nullus aliquem inter communiam ipsam commorantem, vel mercatores ad urbem cum mercibus venientes, infra banleucam civitatis disturbare presumat. Quod si quis fecerit, faciat communia de eo, ut de communie violatore, si eum comprehendere poterit, vel aliquid de suo, justifiant faceret. *Art. 4* über Wegnehmen v. Sachen durch einen juratus gegen juratus; [191,192] *Art. 5*. Wenn der Entwender kein juratus u. ausserhalb der Commune lebt. *Art. 6* Verwundungen m. der Faust u. *Art. 7* m. Waffen unter ||58| jurati. [193] *Art. 9* Verwundungen zugefügt durch non juratus. *Art. 10* Verbalinjurien zwischen jurati. *Art. 11* Verbalinjurien gegen die Communia u. audiencia. [194] *Art. 14*. Qui, clamore facto de adversario suo, per prepositum et majorem et iudices communie justitiam 25 prosequi non poterit, si postea adversus eum aliquid fecerit, illum rationabiliter communia conveniet, ejusque audita ratione, quid inde postea agendum sit, iudicabit. *Art. 15* Wer citirt justitiam et iudicium communie subterfugerit, sein Haus niedergerissen, expulsé etc. *Art. 16* Wer einen hostem communie in domo sua scienter receperit, eique vendendo et 30 emendo et edendo et bibendo vel aliquod solacium impendendo communicaverit, aut consilium aut auxilium adversus communiam dederit, reus communie efficietur, et, nisi iudicio communie cito satisfecerit, domum illius, si poterit, communia prosternet etc. *Art. 20* Qui iudices communie de falsitate iudicii comprobare voluerit, nisi, ut justum est, 35 comprobare potuerit, in misericordia est et majoris et scabinorum, de omni eo quod habet. *Art. 44* Si conventio aliqua facta fuerit ante duos vel plures scabinos, de conventionem illa amplius non surget campus vel duellum, si scabini qui conventioni interfuerint, hoc testificati fuerint.

*Art. 45 Omnia ista jura et precepta quae praediximus majoris et communie, tantum sunt inter juratos; non est aequum judicium inter juratum et non juratum.* [195, 196]

Unterschied zwischen citoyen u. étranger hier zwischen Juré u. non-Juré. Die Municipaljurisdiction innerhalb der Mauern, l'ancienne cité u. s dann der banlieue. Das droit der liberté politique, faisant de le ville un État ayant droit de guerre et de paix autour de lui et droit de législation sur lui-même, originell dem XII Jhh. [197] Dieß droit politique spielt die geringste Rolle in der Charte d'Amiens. Sous-entendu. Aber zu bedenken, daß diese charte Compromiß m. dem seigneur. Ihr ordre intérieur io geht den seigneur nichts an. Der point litigieux - die juridiction. Darüber die Hauptbestimmungen. Juridiction gehört der commune; die Charte regelt die partage des profits attachés à ce droit m. dem seigneur pour chaque espèce de crime ou de délit. Verbrechen der lèse-commune. Das Niederreißen des Hauses Strafe in den meisten Communes du Nord de la 15 France avec un appareil sombre et imposant. [198-202] 1190 Philippe-Auguste, devenu comte d'Amiens, se réserve comme cas royaux les cas de rapt et celui de meurtre ... Aber die commune behält d'homicide commis m. violence ou par simple accident ... (Coutume v. Amiens, rédigée vor 1250 ... vie pour vie, membre pour membre.) [203] In allen Strafen der 20 Charte v. Amiens rachat durch Geld stipulirt. Z. B. perd son poing ou paie 9 livres pour le rachat de son poing. Dieß das ancien droit coutumier der ville u. comté d'Amiens. Teutsche compensatio ursprünglich auf die barbari beschränkt, f. die Gallo-Romains die Bestimmungen des röm. Rechts. Aber, quand les lois personnelles fléchirent et disparurent sous la 25 juridiction territoriale des seigneurs, et que des usages locaux se substituèrent partout aux lois écrites, la coutume, dans les villes, comme hors des villes, dut favoriser et développer le système des peines pécuniaires aux dépens de tout autre système. Das droit de justice devenant la propriété du seigneur justicier, sein principal intérêt d'en tirer le meilleur 30 revenu possible. Darum im droit coutumier, les amendes prédominèrent sur les peines corporelles u. f. diese presque toujours admis la faculté de rachat. Durch die révolution des XII Jhh. die juridiction des seigneurs dans les villes ganz od. theilweise transportée aux villes elles-mêmes, sie schufen kein nouveau droit pénal, hielten sich hierfür wie f. das droit civil, 35 à la coutume. Die nécessité de pourvoir aux dépenses de l'administration, u. sich zu ménager des ressources financières, ließ sie schon maintenir l'ancienne pénalité, deren produit noch lange la source la plus abondante ihrer revenus municipaux. Die Theilung der profits judiciaires v. Amiens zw. der ville u. den co-seigneurs, verschieden f. die eigentlichen amendes 40 u. die confiscation. F. die ersten  $\frac{2}{3}$  der Commune u.  $\frac{1}{3}$  f. den comte;

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ausnahmsweise der Commune  $\frac{1}{4}$  od. das Ganze davon. *Confiscation der biens meubles* (Capitalia, catalla) gleiche Theile. In einigen Fällen dem comte das Ganze. [204-206] Im XII Jhh. der Quote-part der Commune v. Amiens v. dem total produit ihrer jurisdiction, la principale branche de ses  
5 revenus ordinaires. Zweifelhaft ob das Steuerrecht des échevinage über alle membres der commune periodisch u. hors des cas de stricte nécessité. Der Rest des revenu annuel: le cens payé par les locataires ou fermiers des maisons, terrains, cours d'eau, pêcheries u. marais appartenant à la ville, bald als débris der anciens biens municipaux, bald durch concessi-  
10 ons der comtes pour former la nouvelle banlieue. Vielleicht droit sur les ventes d'immeubles, «Issue de deniers» seit dem origine der Commune, droit de «nouvelle bourgeoisie» payé durch jeden étranger qui devenait citoyen d'Amiens, qui «entrait dans la Commune»; dieß droit entsprach der cotisation primitive que, d'après le principe de la *ghilde*, tous les  
15 membres de l'association jurée avaient versée simultanément pour former le premier fonds de la caisse communale. [207] Die ressources extraordinaires collectes d'argent ou en nature u. emprunts que la Commune contractait, sur fondation de rentes viagères ou perpétuelles, à un taux plus ou moins élevé. Der Commune gehörten *nicht*: les impôts indirects  
20 perçus dans la ville u. der banlieue, die droits sur les marchandises apportées ou mises en vente, die péages, die tonlieux. M. ihren faibles moyens hatte die commune le soin de l'ordre intérieur u. der sûreté extérieure, die garde der ville, des entretien de ses fortifications, der tutelle de tous ses intérêts civils. In dem échevinage jeder membre s. bestimmte fonction, f.  
25 die affaires politiques, die jugements civils u. criminels, die finances, die surveillance des mœurs, la voirie. [208]

#### Section IV.

*Donation faite à la commune durch Philippe d'Alsace comte d'Amiens.*

*Philippe Auguste, confirmation der commune.*

30 *Articles additionnels der Charte communale, texte définitif*

1161, Philippe d'Alsace, comte de Flandre u. d'Amiens, schenkt der abbaye de St. Jean lez Amiens Güter. [209] Fordert die Gemeinde auf der abbaye dafür aide u. protection zu geben. 1170 stellt er une autre abbaye sous la garde du Corps de ville. Beweist die Macht der Commune. [210]  
35 Philippe's v. Alsace Frau f 1182, hält alle fiefs die sie ihm en dot gebracht. Alienor de Vermandois reclamirt das héritage de sa sœur, cedirt Philippe-August Theil du Vermandois u. d'Amiénois en secret, er erhebt s. Ansprüche sur ces domaines. 1185 muß Philippe d'Alsace ihm céder

tous ses droits sur le comté d'Amiens. Philippe August nun zu Amiens als  
 roi u. Comte, double puissance. Abdicirt nicht s. Feudalrechte als comte,  
 macht aber in allen Akten geltend s. höheres kgl. Recht. Die alten comtes  
 mußten faire hommage à l'évêque. Er thuts nicht. [211] «nous ne devons  
 ni ne pouvons rendre hommage à personne.» (Sieh charte f. die Kirche v. 5  
 Amiens 1185.) Bes. eine Aenderung in der Art d'exprimer les rapports  
 der Communes m. den officiers du comte, devenus officiers royaux. Phi-  
 lippe- Auguste's Charte v. 1190, à la requête des bourgeois d'Amiens  
 gegeben, drückt dieß veränderte Verhältniß aus u. confirmirt zugleich die  
 immunités municipales. (Garantie der Charte jurée en 1113 u. constituée 10  
 en 1117) Im Ganzen Reproduction der charte émanée vom premier suc-  
 cesseur v. Enguerrand de Boves. 3 parties. 1) 45 articles; aus der charte  
 primitive. 2) un *memorandum* betreffend den rachat de péage fait par la  
 Commune zw. 1144 u. 1164. [212,213] 3) 6 articles additionnels joints  
 par la chancellerie de Philippe-Auguste aux articles primitifs, hervorge- 15  
 gangen aus der Revision der ursprünglichen Charte, titre des roi dann  
 dem comte substitué. [214] Unter den 45 primitiven articles quant au  
*droit civil* folgendes noch zu nehmen: (1117) Vor der Charte existirt.  
 Enregistrés nicht décrétés durch die bourgeois affranchis. Restriktion  
 des ||57| droit de duel, nul champion gagé admis à combattre contre un 20  
 membre der Commune; andre Neuerung (in der alten Charte) jeder An-  
 geklagte, accusé u. die témoins konnten sich, s'ils le voulaient, faire  
 entendre par des avocats. Die dispositions traditionelles v. 3 sources:  
 1) droit romain; 2) altes germanisches Recht; 3) droit féodal.  
 Art 21, 22, 23, 32, 35 plus ou moins direct altgermanisch. [215, 216] Art 25  
 21 dot. Hochzeitsgeschenk des Manns an die Frau. Inaliénable erklärt.  
 Art. 23 veuve m. enfants mineurs einer Tutel unterworfen u. unter direc-  
 tion eines avoué, genannt mainbourg. Art. 22 u. 35 relatifs au partage des  
 acquêts, in gewissen Fällen usufruit f. den conjoint survivant. Art. 32  
 Nicht punissable der acheteur d'un objet volé, wenn durch Eid Unwis- 30  
 senheit versichert. (Lois salique tit. 39 u. 49) Vom droit féodal: Wo com-  
 bat judiciaire admis f. procès civils; art. 25 temperirt das principe du  
 retrait lignager zugelassen; art. 8 Strafe gen personne lésée qui refuse de  
 donner *assurément*, d. h. sécurité à son adversaire. [216, 217]

Art. 26 7 Jahre f. das Recht der prescription. Art. 42 Verbalinjurien 35  
 unter Jurés, an der Spitze le nom de *serf*. Art. 36 u. 37 Injures gegen  
 Maire u. Prévôt im Amte. Erste crime politique puni par l'abatis dei-  
 maison; 2<sup>e</sup> délit amendable par accord, après jugement des Échevins u.  
 sans punition publique. Diese dispositions bleiben in der Charte v. 1190.  
 Prévôt kgl. geworden bleibt also *unter* den magistratures communales. 40  
 [217, 218]



Aus Augustin Thierry: Essai sur l'histoire de la formation et des progrès du Tiers État

*Die 6 neuen Artikel v. Philippe Auguste:* 1) Die contestations relatives à des immeubles situés dans la ville, jugées durch den prévôt, en plaid général, 3  $\chi$  das Jahr. 2.) Alle crimes u. délits jugés durch den maire u. échevins en présence des bailli du roi, wenn er will assister, meurtre u. 5 rapt réservés dem roi. 3.) die biens der homicides, incendiaires u. traîtres einschließlich dévolus au roi. 4) Nul ne pourra faire le ban, (i. e. Ordonnance, proclamation) in der ville ausser par le roi u. l'évêque. 5) der roi, sénéchal od. prévôt des roi, der évêque u. maire, pourront chacun 1  $\chi$  p. 10 incendie, trahison, et rapt. 6.) «Nous voulons et nous octroyons à la commune que jamais il ne soit loisible ni à nos ni à nos successeurs de mettre hors de nos mains ladite commune ou cité d'Amiens, mais qu'elle reste perpétuellement et invariablement unie à la couronne royale.» Dieß garantie f. die constitution u. franchises der ville. [218, 219]

15 Alle Aenderungen in der charte v. Philippe-Auguste f. das régime judiciaire, *nichts* im droit politique. Der Rückhalt des droit seigneurial f. den ban ou ordonnance expressément réservé au roi et dem évêque; aber diese restriction à l'égard des autres seigneurs d'Amiens u. nicht der Commune. Denn erhalten die Art. der charte primitive as to statuta scabi- 20 norum u. die spätem als des XII Jhh. documents constatent que l'échevinage resta en possession de faire des ordonnances en toutes matières, législation, administration, justice u. police. [219, 220]

Im *Art. 8* der Charte v. 1117 aufgenommen in die v. 1190 heißt es: Der Verwundete, der die Gerichtsbarkeit nicht acceptirt, *catalla ejus capi-* 25 *tur*. In *Art. 9* wer nicht zur Commune gehört einen der Commune verwundet etc *domum illius communia prosternet et capitalia erunt nostra*. [222] (*catalla, capitalia*. Merkwürdig, daß das Wort Capital m. dem Aufkommen der Communen aufkömmt.)

*Art. 52* Volumus etiam et Communie in perpetuum quittamus et con- 30 cedimus, quod, nec nobis, nec successoribus nostris, liceat civitatem Ambianensem vel communiam extra manum nostram mittere, sed semper regie inhereat corone. [227, 228]

## Appendix I

*Plan d'une collection gén. des monuments inédits de l'histoire du Tiers État.* 35 Guizot zuerst; traute die exécution an den Thierry 1836; Was vor mehr als 2 Jhh. geschehn in Frkr. f. den noblesse u. den clergé. [229]

## Appendix II.

*Liste des Députés du tiers état aux ét. généraux*, de 1484, 1560, 1576, 1588, 1593 u. 1614. [234-273]

## Appendix III.

*Cahier du Village de Blaigny pour les Ét. Gén. de 1576*. | [274-278] 5

(Heft 2)  
Exzerpte zur Geschichte Spaniens

| 1 | London. August. 1854.

The Political Constitution  
of the Spanish Monarchy.  
Proclaimed in Cadiz, 19 March, 1812.

5

London 1813.

So remarkable a congress as this Cortes is without parallel in history. Its members (among them an Inca of Peru) assembled from nearly all parts of the globe. (XI) "no legislative body ever before controuled such immense territories, such a colossus of interests." (l. c.) Die Span. Con-  
stit. besteht aus 384 Artikeln u. 10 divisionen. 1) On the Span. Nation and Spaniards. 2) On the territory of Spain, its Religion, Gov., and on the Spanish Citizens. 3) On the Cortes. 4) On the King. 5) On the Tribunals and Administration of Justice in civil and criminal matters. 6) On the interior gov. of the provinces and of the people. 7) On the Taxes. 8) On  
15 the National Military Force. 9) On the Public Education. 10) On the observance of the Constitution and mode of proceeding to make alterations therein. [IX]

*Art. 1* The Spanish Nation consists of all Spaniards of both hemispheres. [2] *Art. 3* the sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, and  
20 the right of enacting its fundamental laws belongs exclusively to it from this same principle. [3] *Art. 8* All Spaniards are bound, without any distinction whatever, to contribute, in proportion to their means, to the expences of the state. [4] *Art. 12* the Religion of the Span, nation is and shall be perpetually, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, the only true reli-

gion. The nation protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other whatever. [6] *Art. 15* The power of making laws is fixed in the Cortes, jointly with the King. *Art. 16* The execution of the laws is fixed in the king. [7] *Art. 25* (Die span. Citizenship ist lost) 3) in the state of domestic servitude; 4) from not holding any employment, 5 office, or known means of living ... In the 6<sup>th</sup> place, from the year 1830 all those who claim the rights of citizenship must know how to read and write. ... [10]

*Art. 28* the basis of the national representation ... is the population. *Art. 30* To calculate the population of the Europ. dominions, the last 10 census in 1797 shall be referred to, until a new one can be taken; and a corresponding one shall be made for the calculation of the ultramarine population ... [11] *Art. 31* for every 70,000 souls, there shall be one deputy to the Cortes. [12] *Art. 34* For the election of the deputies to the Cortes, parish, district, and provincial meetings shall be held. *Art. 35* 15 the parish elective meetings shall be composed of all citizens settled and resident in the district of each respective parish, including the secular ecclesiastics. [13] *Art. 38* In the parochial meetings there shall be appointed for every 200 inhabitants a parish member. *Art. 40* In parishes, whose population is between 150 and 200, a member shall be appointed; 20 and in those that do not amount to this number, the inhabitants of a neighbouring parish shall unite to elect the member or members corresponding. *Art. 41* The parish meeting shall select eleven *umpires of their number* by plurality of votes, in order that they may elect the parish member. [14] *Art. 45* To be entitled to be appointed parish member, it is 25 necessary to be a citizen, 25 years of age, an inhabitant, and resident in the parish. [15] *Art. 46* the parish meetings shall be presided over by the chief of police, the mayor, or chief magistrate (Alcalde) of the city, town or village wherein they may be held, with the assistance of the Parish priest ... [16] *Art. 52* the president, the examiners, and the secretary shall 30 examine the lists, and the last shall in a loud voice proclaim the names of those citizens who have been chosen umpires by the greatest number of votes. *Art. 53* the nominated umpires shall retire to a separate place before the meeting is dissolved, and conferring together, shall proceed to nominate the elector or electors of the parish, and the person or persons 35 who shall receive more than half the votes shall be elected. Subsequently their appointment shall be published in the meeting. [18] *Art. 59* the elective meetings of the district shall be composed of the parochial electors, who shall assemble at the head of each district, for the purpose of nominating the elector or electors, who must proceed to the capital | 40 |2] to elect the deputies to the Cortes. (Dieß sind die *district elective*

meetings) [19] *Art. 63* the number of the district electors shall be in proportion of 3 to 1 of the deputies to be elected. [20] *Art. 66* the census determines the number of deputies for each province, and the number of electors to each of its districts. *Art. 67* die elective meetings of the districts  
5 by the chief of police, or the chief magistrate of the chief town of the district... Sie erwählen electors of district "in secret scrutiny by means of tickets, in which the name of every one elected is written down" (*Art. 73*), wer "beyond the half" der votes shall be elected od., wenn keiner should have received the absolute plurality of votes, the two who shall have  
10 obtained the greatest number shall undergo a second scrutiny, and he that receives the greater number of votes shall remain elected. In cases of even numbers, decision shall be made by ballot. [21-23]

*Art. 75* To be an elector of district, it is necessary to be a citizen, in exercise of his rights, 25 years of age, settled and resident in the district,  
15 either a layman, or of the secular clergy; the citizens who compose the meeting being eligible, or those not present thereat. [24] *Art. 78* The elective meetings of the province; *elective provincial meeting* shall consist of the electors of all its districts, who shall assemble in the capital, for the purpose of naming the appropriate deputies to the Cortes, as represent-  
20 atives of the nation. *Art. 81* These meetings shall be presided over by the chief of police, of the capital of the province ... [25] *Art. 88* The electors who are present shall proceed to the election of a deputy or deputies, one by one, approaching the seats of the president and the scrutineers, and the secretary; and the last shall insert in a list in their presence, the name  
25 of the person whom every one elects. [28] *Art. 90* After the election der deputies, die der deputies of reserves, V, (ihrer Zahl) of that of the deputies. *Art. 91* To be a deputy to the Cortes it is requisite to be a citizen in the exercise of his rights, 25 years old, born in the province, or settled therein with a residence of at least 7 years, whether a layman or secular  
30 ecclesiastic, those who compose the meeting, or those not present thereat, being eligible. *Art. 92* It is besides required, to be eligible as a deputy to the Cortes, to possess a proportionate annual income, proceeding from real personal property. *Art. 93* The order of the preceding article is suspended until the Cortes in their future meetings declare the period to  
35 have arrived in which it shall take effect, pointing out the proportion of that income, and the description of property from which it must result, and what they shall thence forward decree, shall be regarded as *constitutional*, in the same manner as if it was herein expressed ... *Art. 95* The secretaries of state, the counsellors of state, and those fulfilling offices of  
40 the royal household, are ineligible as deputies to the Cortes. *Art. 97* No public officer employed by Gov. shall be elected deputy to the Cortes by

the province in which he discharges his trust. [29, 30] *Art. 102* To indemnify the deputies for their expences, the respective provinces shall contribute such daily allowances as the Cortes, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of each general deputation, shall point out for the deputation that is to succeed it.

*Art. 104* the Cortes shall assemble every year in the capital of the kingdom. ... *Art. 108* the deputies shall be renewed entirely every 2 years. [33, 34] *Art. 110* a member is not eligible to 2 successive parliaments. *Art. III* On the arrival of the deputies at the capital, they must present themselves to the *permanent Committee of the Cortes* ... [35] *Art. 124* The Cortes cannot deliberate in the presence of the king. *Art. 125* In those cases where the secretaries of state have any communications to make to the Cortes in the name of the king, they may attend the debates when, and in such manner as the Cortes may think fit, and may speak therein, but they cannot be present on proceeding to the vote. [39]

*Art. 131* The *powers of the Cortes* are, viz: 1) to propose and decree the laws: and to interpret and alter them on necessary occasion. 2) to take an oath to the King, to the Prince of Asturias, and to the Regency ... 3) to determine any doubt of fact or right, that may occur in order of the succession to the crown. 4) to elect a Regency or Regent of the Kingdom, when the constitution requires it, and to point out the limits within which the Regency or the Regent must exercise the royal authority. 5) to make the public acknowledgment of the Prince of Asturias. 6) to nominate a guardian to the King minor, when the Constit. requires it. [41] 7) They are to approve, previous to ratification, the treaties of offensive alliance, [of] subsidies, and the particulars of commerce. 8) to permit or refuse the admission of foreign troops into the kingdom. [3] 9) to decree the creation and suppression of offices in the tribunals established by the Constit., and also the creation or abolition of public offices. 10) to fix every year, on the proposal of the king, the land and sea forces, determining the establishment in time of peace, and its augmentation in time of war. 11) to issue ordinances to the army, the fleet, and to the national militia, in all their branches. 12) to fix the expences of the public administration. 13) to establish annually the taxes. 14) to take property upon loan, in cases of necessity, upon the credit of the nation. [42] 15) to approve the division of the taxes among the provinces. 16) to examine and approve the accounts of the application of the public funds. 17) to establish the custom-houses and duties to be paid there. 18) to order what is expedient for the administration, preservation, and alienation of the national funds. 19) to determine the value, the weight, the standard, the figure, and description, of money. 20) to adopt the system it may judge most convenient and just of weights and measures. 21) to promote and encourage

all kinds of industry, and to remove the obstacles that paralyse it. 22) to establish a general plan of public instruction in the whole monarchy, and approve that which is intended for the education of the Prince of Asturias. 23) to approve of the general regulation for the police and health of the kingdom. 24) to protect the political liberty of the press. 25) to render real and effective the responsibility of the secretaries of state, and other persons in public employ. 26) lastly, it belongs to the Cortes to grant or refuse its consent in all those cases and acts which the Constituí, points out necessary. [43,44]

10 *Art. 139* Decision shall be given by an absolute majority [of] votes ... necessary that there be present at least one half and one more of the total number of the deputies composing the Cortes. *Art. 140* If the Cortes reject a project of law in any stage of its examination, or resolve that it should not be put to the vote, it cannot be again proposed in the same  
15 year. [46] *Art. 143* the king gives his sanction in this form, with his sign manual: "Let this be made public as law." *Art. 144* The king refuses his assent in this form, equally with his sign manual: "Let it return to the Cortes," giving at the same time a statement of his reasons for refusing it. *Art. 145* The King may exert his prerogative for 30 days; if within that  
20 time he has neither given nor refused his assent, it shall be understood that he has given it, and will in fact give it. *Art. 147* If the king refuses his assent, the same matter cannot be again agitated in the Cortes in the same year, but it may in succeeding ones. [47] *Art. 148* If the same project of new law should be proposed in the Cortes the following Jahr, admitted, approved, and presented to the King, he may give or refuse his  
25 assent a second time, according to the 143<sup>d</sup> and 144<sup>th</sup> articles; in the latter case, the subject cannot be again proposed in the same Jahr. *Art. 149* If the same project of new law should be proposed a 3<sup>d</sup> time, admitted and approved in the Cortes of the following year, it shall be understood that  
30 the king gives his assent, and on presenting it to him, he will give it, according to Art. 143. [48]

*Art. 157* Previous to separating the Cortes will name a Committee, styled the *permanent Committee of the Cortes*, composed of 7 individuals, 3 from the Europ. provinces, 3 from those beyond sea, and the 7<sup>th</sup> to be  
35 drawn by lot between an Europ. deputy and one from beyond sea. [51]

*Art. 160 The Powers of this Committee:* 1) to keep a vigilant eye on the observance der Constituí., and the laws, to report to the succeeding Cortes, any infringements thereon, which it has observed. 2) to convoke the extraordinary Cortes in those cases prescribed by the Constituí, etc. [52]

40 *Art. 161* The Cortes extraordinary shall be composed of the same deputies who form the ordinary one during the 2 years of their deputation.

*Art. 162* The permanent Committee of the Cortes, shall convoke them on an appointed day, in the 3 following cases. 1) when the crown shall become vacant. 2) when it is impossible for the king, in any manner to conduct the gov., or he should be desirous of abdicating the throne in favor of his successor, the Committee being authorised in the first case to 5 take such measures as it may deem suitable for the purpose of ascertaining the inability of the king; 3) whenever in critical circumstances, and important affairs, the king may think proper they should assemble and communicate the same to the permanent Committee of the Cortes. | [53]

[4] *Art. 168* King ... sacred ... inviolable ... not subject to responsi- 10 bility.

*Art. 171* (14<sup>th</sup>) Der king kann "propose to the Cortes new laws, od. alterations of the old ones, that they may deliberate thereon .... [55-57]

*Art. 172* the following are the restraints on the authority of the king: 1) cannot under any pretext prevent the assembling of the Cortes, at the 15 periods, and on the occasions pointed out by the Constit., suspend or dissolve them, nor in any manner embarrass their sessions u. deliberations. Whoever may counsel, or assist any attempt whatever of this nature, are declared traitors, and shall be prosecuted accordingly. 2) the king cannot quit the kingdom without the consent of the Cortes, and if 20 he should, it is to be understood that he has abdicated the crown; 3) nicht alienate, cede, renounce, or in any manner transfer to another, the royal authority, nor any of his prerogatives. 4) the king cannot alienate, cede, or exchange any province, city, town, or place, nor any part however trifling of the Span, territory. 12) the king previous to contracting mar- 25 riage, shall acquaint the Cortes, to obtain their consent, and if he should not obtain it, it is to be understood that he abdicates the crown. 5.) the king cannot make offensive alliance, nor special commercial treaty, with any foreign power without the consent of the Cortes." [58-61]

*Art. 173* the king, on his accession to the throne ... shall take an oath 30 before the Cortes in the following form: N. by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Span. Monarchy, King of Spain, I swear by the Almighty, and by the Holy Evangelists, that I will defend and preserve the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, *without tolerating any other in the kingdom etc.* [61, 62] 35

*Art. 179* The King of Spain is our Lord Don Ferdinand the 7<sup>th</sup> of Bourbon, who actually reigns. *Art. 181* the Cortes shall exclude from the succession that person or persons who may be incapable of the gov., or have done anything by which they deserve to lose the crown. [64] *Art. 183* Whenever it is probable the crown may fall; or may have actually fallen 40 to a female, she cannot marry without the consent of the Cortes; and



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if she should act contrary thereto, it is understood that she abdicates the crown. *Art. 184* In case a female happens to reign, her husband shall have no authority whatever respecting the kingdom, nor any share in the gov. Während der minorité des king od. seiner unability (through 5 physical or moral reasons) zu reign, "the Cortes nominate a Regency of 3 or 5 persons." (*Art. 192*) Regency auf die Constitution zu schwören etc [65-67] *Art. 201* The eldest son of the King shall be styled Prince of Asturias; die andren Prinzessen u. Prinzessinnen nach *Art. 202* Infantes u. Infantas of Spain. [69] *Art. 213* the Cortes shall fix the annual revenue 10 of the King's household etc [71] *Art. 222* The ministers of public affairs shall be 7: The minister of For. Affairs; The minist, of public affairs of the gov. of the kingdom, in the Peninsula, and the adjacent islands; the secret, for the colonies; the secret, of public affairs, of mercy and justice; the secret, of the revenue, or minister of finance; the secret, of war; the 15 secret, of the navy. [73, 74] *Art. 231* There shall be a Council of State composed of 40 individuals ... nämlich: *Art. 232* aus 4 ecclesiastics and no more, 2 of whom shall be bishops; 4 grandees of Spain, and no more; and the remainder shall be chosen among those subjects most distinguished for their intelligence and education, or for signal services in any 20 of the principal branches of administration of the Gov. of the State. The Cortes cannot propose for this office any individual deputy to the Cortes, at the time of the election. 12, at least, of the members of the council of State, shall be natives of the provinces beyond sea. [76] *Art. 233* All the Counsellors of State shall be appointed by the King, at the presentation 25 of the Cortes. *Art. 234* To form this council, there shall be circulated in the Cortes, a triple list of all the ranks referred to in the desired proportion, from which the King shall elect the 40 members, to compose the Council of State, taking the ecclesiastics from the list of them, the grandees from their list, and so on of the others. *Art. 235* The Council of 30 State is the only Council of the King, who will hear its opinion upon important matters of Gov., and especially to grant or refuse his sanction to the laws, declare war, and make ||5| treaties. *Art. 237* this council shall propose to the King 3 persons for presentation to all ecclesiastical benefits and for preferment to offices of judicature. [77] *Art. 239* The 35 Counsellors of State cannot be removed, without sufficient reasons, proved before the supreme Court of Justice. *Art. 240* The Cortes shall fix the salary of the Counsellors of State. [78]

*Art. 242* The application of the Laws in civil and criminal affairs, belongs exclusively to the tribunals. *Art. 243* neither the Cortes nor the 40 King can, in any case, exercise judicial authority, advocate in depending causes, nor command the révisai of concluded judgments. [79] *Art. 259*



A tribunal shall be established in the capital, which shall be called the Supreme Court of Justice, (um, nach *Art. 261* try the Secretaries of State, wenn Cortes impeachment gegen sie decretirt, take cognizance of all cases of dismissal and suspension from office of Counsellors of State, and the officers of Courts of Justice etc. auch to take cognizance 5 of appeals against the oppression of all the superior ecclesiastic tribunals of the Capital; auch als Art Cassationshof.) [82, 83] *Art. 284* Without proof that reconciliation has been attempted, no law-suits can be commenced. [91] *Art. 303* Neither torture nor compulsion shall ever be used. *Art. 304* Neither shall confiscation of property be permitted. [95] *Art. 309* 10 For the interior gov. of the towns, Ayuntamientos shall be formed, of 1 or more magistrates, alderman, and the public counsellor, presided over by the chief of police (corregidor), and, wherever there is none, by the magistrate, or the first appointed of these, if there should be two. *Art. 310* An Ayuntamiento shall be established in those settlements that 15 are without it, and in which it is desirable; all those which possess, either in themselves or in their liberties, a population of a 1000 souls, being required to have it, and a proportionate district shall be assigned it. *Art. 311* the laws shall determine the number of individuals of each rank to compose the ayuntamientos of the town, with regard to their popu- 20 lation. *Art. 312* The magistrates, alderman, and public counsellor, shall be nominated by election in the towns ... *Art. 313* Die citizens ernennen durch majority electors u. diese *Art. 314* ernennen die Magistrates, Aldermen, Public Counsellors. [97, 98] *Art. 315* The Magistrates and half of the Aldermen, shall be changed every year, also the Public Counsellor, where 25 there are two; where there is only one, every year. *Art. 317* To be qualified as a magistrate, alderman, or public counsellor, besides being a citizen in the exercise of his rights, it is necessary to be 25 J., with at least 5 years residence in the town. *Art. 318* No public officer actually employed and nominated by the king, can be eligible as a magistrate, 30 alderman, or public counsellor; the national militia, however, not being included in this regulation. [99] *Art. 319* Diese municipal employments shall be public duty, from which no person can be exempt without lawful reason. *Art. 321* To the Ayuntamientos shall be entrusted 1) police regu- 35 lations for health and convenience; 2) to assist the magistrate in whatever 3) may relate to the safety of the persons and property of the inhabitants, and to the preservation of public order. 3) the administration and application der funds belonging to the city, and duties of excise, with the duty of nominating a trustee, under the responsibility of those who appoint him; 4) to make out a division and proportion equally the taxes, and 40 forward them the respective treasury; 5) to take care of all preparatory

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schools, and other establishments of education to be paid out of the funds of the district, 6) to take care of hospitals, relig. houses of charity, foundling hospitals etc 7) to take care of the construction u. repairs of roads, causeways, bridges, and prisons; the forests and plantations des district, and of all public works. 8) to draw up the municipal regulations der town, present them den Cortes f. approbation, by a provincial deputation etc 9) to encourage agriculture, industry, and commerce. [100,101] *Art. 323* Die Corporations shall discharge ||6| all these duties under the inspection of the provincial deputation, to whom they shall every year, 10 give in a certified account of the public funds they have received and applied. [102]

*Art. 324* The political gov. of the provinces, shall reside in the superior chief or governor appointed by the king in each. *Art. 325* there shall be in every province a deputation, styled provincial, presided in by the superior chief or governor. *Art. 326* this deputation shall be composed of the 15 President, the Intendant u. 7 individuals. *Art. 327* Half of the provincial deputation shall be renewed every 2 years; on the first change the majority retiring, and on the second, the lesser number, and so on successively. *Art. 328* The election dieser individuals made by the district electors, 20 on the day following that of appointing deputies to the Cortes, in the same order as the latter, are nominated. *Art. 330* Qualification f. member der provincial deputation: 25 years of age, native or inhabitant of the province with a residence of at least 7 years therein; to possess a competent income, to appear with decency; no public officers nominated by 25 the king. *Art. 331* 4 J. must elapse after the cessation of his duties, before the same person can be elected a second time. [103,104] *Art. 334* Die deputation shall keep Sessions 90 days at most in every year. *Art. 335* Die duty dieser deputation auf provinciellen Standpunkt, was die der Ayuntamientos auf municipale. Zugleich deren Ueberwachung. 30 [105-107] *Art. 337* All members der ayuntamientos u. provincial deputations, on entering into office, schwören auf die Constit. etc [108] *Art. 354* There shall be no custom-houses, except in the sea-ports, and on the frontiers. ... [112]

*Art. 359* The Cortes shall also determine, by the respective naval and 35 military codes, whatever relates to the discipline, promotion, pay, and all other matter for the good gov. of the army and navy. *Art. 362* there shall be formed corps of national militia in each province, consisting of the inhabitants of the same, in proportion to its population u. circumstances. [113,114] *Art. 364* Der service der militia nicht permanent. 40 *Art. 365* können ausserhalb ihrer provincial limits nicht employed werden without the Authority der Cortes. [115] *Art. 371* All Spaniards have

liberty to write, print, and publish their political ideas, without any necessity for a licence, examination, or approbation, previous to publication, subject to the restrictions and responsibility established by law. [116]

Diese Constitution kann nur alterirt, added or corrected werden in any 5  
of its details, nicht until 8 years elapse after it has been carried into  
practice (*Art. 375*), [117] die deputies who may have to decree definitively  
thereon, shall be provided with special powers accordingly (*Art. 376*), die  
proposals f. den change in any article der Const, must be made in writ-  
ing, u. supported u. signed by at least 20 deputies (*Art. 377*), 3  $\chi$  verlesen 10  
with intervals of 6 days from one to the other reading, u. after this ...  
discussed whether there is ground for proceeding to debate thereon.  
(*Art. 378*) If it is admitted to debate, ... put to the vote whether there is  
ground for considering it again, in the following general deputation, u.  
for this effect  $\frac{2}{3}$  der members present müssen agree. (*Art. 379*) Die fol- 15  
lowing gen. deputations m. denselben formalities, m.  $\frac{2}{3}$  der votes agreeing,  
erklärt that there is ground for special powers to make the proposed  
alterations. (*Art. 380*) *Art. 381* Dann den provinces communicated u.  
nach der time worin dieß has been done, the Cortes shall determine if the  
next deputation or the one immediately succeeding it shall come qualified 20  
m. den special powers. *Art. 382* these shall proceed from elective provin-  
cial meetings, adding to the usual powers the following clause etc ...  
They also grant etc [118,119] ||7| *Art. 383* The proposed alteration shall  
be again discussed, and if approved by  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the members, it shall become  
a law of the Constit., and be published as such in the Cortes. [120] 25

Notiz zu Charles Romey: Histoire d'Espagne

Romey, Charles  
(Histoire d'Espagne.

8 vol. Paris 1839-1848

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Southey (Robert)  
History of the Peninsular War.

3 vol. London. 1823-1832.

*T. I.*

the Romish church leagued itself with the monarchical authority, against 5  
whose abuse it had formerly been the only bulwark. (4) the wealthy  
(monastic) orders still afforded a respectable provision for the younger  
sons of old or opulent families: the far more numerous establishments of  
the mendicants were more injuriously filled from the lower classes.  
(9) Ende des 18'Jhh. Portugal u. Spain in a state of slow, but certain, 10  
advancement; of which increasing commerce, reviving literature, human-  
er manners, and mitigated bigotry were unequivocal indications. (12)

1807. Secret Treaty of Fontainebleau.

Invasion of Portugal.

Removal of the Royal family to Brazil, (p. 62 sqq.) 15

Godoy—the Queen's paramour. (65) Wird Prince of Peace durch den  
treaty of Basle den er negotirt, wodurch ceded Hispaniola to the French.  
(66) 1796. treaty of St. Ildefonso offensive u. defensive m. France against  
any power of the Continent. (I.e.)

*Parties in favour of the French: einige*, and those of the best of the 20  
Spaniards (When the French revolution began, the young and the ardent  
in Spain—eagerly adopted principles which promised a new and happier

order of things) who hoped to obtain that reformation in their gov. by the assistance of France. ... Many transferred their attachment from the French Republic to the French Empire—*Zweitens*: class of Spaniards who hostile to the Revolution für Bonaparte. Als system of enlightened  
5 despotism. The unhappy circumstance with which the Engl. war had commenced, irritated them against Great Brit., and that sentiment of indignation naturally biassed them toward France. ... *Dritte description*, who enemies to the Prince of Peace, because they envied him, and wished to exercise a like tyranny themselves. (68, 69) *11 Oct. 1807*. secret letter  
10 des Prince Ferdinand f. marriage m. der new imperial family, "the honour of allying me with your family." (Zugleich Intrigue for the removal against Godoy.) Für Bonaparte "it was necessary to begin by occupying Portugal, and to dupe the Span. Court into a co-operation against a friendly power". (72) "while she derived from Spain all the assistance  
15 that could be desired, the Span. gov. would be preparing the way for its own destruction." (I.e.) the first step to remove the best troops from Spain. Dazu, at the requisition des French gov., 16,000 men marched into the North of Germany, and another division into Tuscany. (72) *Aug. 1807* Portugal required to act against England. *November 1807*.  
20 While the court was waiting in the most anxious incertitude the result of its submission, the agitation of the Lisbonians was increased by the appearance of a Russian squadron in the Tagus. Admiral Siniavin with 9 ships of the line and 2 frigates had been acting in the Archipelago against the Turks, in alliance with England; and now on his way home to  
25 act against Engl, in conformity with the plans of Buonaparte. (79) Einrücken v. Junot. (November 1807) 29 Nov. (1807) enters (Junot Lisbon) [92] Division des Span *General Carraffa* entered mit Junot ... [107] the flower of the Portuguese army marched into France ... [125]

1808 Bonaparte marches his armies into Spain. [154] "the occupation  
30 of Portugal had been the first pretext; and when Junot had taken possession of that country with one army, the possibility that the English would attack him there was a sufficient plea for having another near at hand to support him." (162) |

[8] On the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup> March (1808) the emigration v. Spain  
35 nach America beschlossen durch die königl. Family. Aufruhr in Aranjuez. Ferdinand at that hour das idol der unreflecting multitude, and not a thought was expressed or felt of effecting any other change than that of removing the one king to make room for another. (169) Nach der abdication des Charles IV "at Salamanca the monks and students danced  
40 in the market place". (173) March 3 1808. Murat enters Spain. Madrid 23 March. [176-178]



Insurrection and Military Murders at Madrid. Submission of the constituted Authorities to the Pleasure of Buonaparte. Assembly of Notables convoked by him at Bayonne. (April 1808)	5
General Insurrection. (May 1808) Proceedings in Asturias and Galicia. Juntas formed in the Provinces. Junta of Seville. Murder of Solano at Cadiz. Capture of the French Squadron in that Harbour. Massacre of the French at Valencia. Proclamations of the Patriots. Movements of the French against them.	10

"The seizure of the fortresses, and the advance of the French troops, had roused the spirit of the Spaniards; their hopes had been excited to the highest pitch by the downfall of Godoy and the elevation of Ferdinand; and in that state of public feeling, the slaughter at Madrid, and the transactions at Bayonne, were no sooner known, than the people, as if by an instantaneous impulse over the whole kingdom, manifested a determination to resist the insolent usurpation. Abandoned as they were by one part der Royal Family, deprived of the rest; forsaken too by those nobles and statesmen, whose names carried authority; betrayed by their Gov., and now exhorted to submission by all the constituted authorities civil and religious; their strong places and frontier passes in possession of the enemy; the flower of their own troops some in Italy, others in the North of Europe; and a numerous army of the French, accustomed to victory, and now flushed with Span, slaughter, in their capital and in the heart of the country; under these complicated disadvantages and dangers they rose in general and simultaneous insurrection against the mightiest military power which had ever till that time existed. (264, 5) If Bonaparte had declared war against Spain, at the beginning, no enthusiasm could have been raised in favour of the gov. ... the Spaniards, prone to admire what is romantic and miraculous, dazzled by his career etc. (266) In *Asturias* zuerst die insurrection assumed a regular form. Junta of representatives at *Oviedo*, declared that the entire sovereignty had devolved

into their hands, sent deputies to England. (25 Mai, 1808) Insurrection at Coruna ... [267] Badajoz, Sevilla ... In the sudden dissolution of government, by which free scope was for the first time given to the hopes and expectations of enthusiastic patriotism, the evil passions also were let  
5 loose, and the unreasonable people sometimes hurried into excesses ... (269) ... Crimes gen angebliche agents u. accomplices der French zu Valladolid, Cartagena, Granada, Jaen, San Lucar, Carolina, Ciudad Rodrigo etc ... The people no desire to break loose from the laws u. habits of subordination, nur to take vengeance f. their murdered countrymen u.  
10 to deliver their country v. der usurpation. Wo obstruction offered, they became impatient and ungovernable: sonst, their very zeal displayed itself in the form of obedience; ... no person thought of stepping beyond his rank to assume the direction. Because Ferdinand, when he set out upon his journey to Bayonne, had left a Junta of Gov. to Madrid, the people  
15 were familiar with that name, and Juntas, in consequence, were formed everywhere; those persons being every where appointed whom the inhabitants were accustomed to respect." (270) Formation der Junta zu Sevilla. (1. c.) the provisional governments so suddenly formed altogether independent of each other, aber certain degree of ascendancy conceded by  
20 general consent to the Junta of Seville; weil that city regarded as capital, while Madrid in the enemy's possession .. Sobald hier (Hauptaufwiegler man of low rank Nicolas Tap y Nuñez) a Junta proposed, the first thought des people was, that the parochial clergy and the heads der convents should assemble to choose the members, so little did they think of exer-  
25 cising any right of election themselves. (270) |

[9] Supreme Junta of Seville, bildet in all towns within their jurisdiction, containing 2000 householders, corresponding Juntas, who were to enlist all the inhabitants zwischen 16 u. 45 and embody them. Funds to be raised by taxes on all corporations u. rich individuals u. voluntary sub-  
30 scriptions. Krieg declared against Napoleon u. France, in the name of Ferdinand u. all the Span, nation, protesting that they would not lay down their arms till that Emperor restored to them the whole of their Royal family, and respected the rights, liberty, u. independence der nation. Durch dieselbe declaration made known that they had contracted  
35 an armistice m. England. (272, 3) (übrigens hier Initiative ganz beim Volk.) ... *Solano* zu Cadix murdered by the Mob. (May 1808) *Moria* nun gewählt als new governor by the gen. officiers, bestätigt v. der Junta v. Sevilla ... "protesting that the only desire der persons in authority was to die in the cause of their beloved Ferdinand, whom a tyrant had separated  
40 from them." (281) Nach der surrender der French Escadron, Morla's Proclamation an die v. Cadiz (June 1808): "the convulsion which Spain

has undergone, has awakened us from our lethargy, and made us feel our rights, and the duty which we owe to our holy religion and our king. We wanted an electric shock to rouse us from our palsied state of inactivity; we stood in need of a hurricane to clear the heavy and unwholesome atmosphere." (283) ... Asturias, Galicia u. Andalusia ...*In der city of* 5  
*Valencia Massacre der French. June, 5, 1808* ... (There also, in the first movements des people, the governor, D. Miguel de Saavedra, fell a victim to popular fury.) ... (P. Baltasar Calvo, Canon of the church of S. Isidro, in the metropolis.) ... [284] Palafox escapes from Bayonne to Saragossa. Insurrection in that city ... (1808 June) Palafox declares war 10  
 against France ... The Juntas every where appealed to public opinion, and the press every where the French were not present, teemed m. addresses to the people, in all which the massacre of Madrid was represented as a crime for which vengeance must be exacted ... [290-296] *Junta v. Sevilla*: "All Spain exclaims that the Span, blood in Madrid cries 15  
 out for vengeance ... we will fight... till we perish in defence of our king and our country" ... *Junta of Oviedo*: "It is better to die in defence of your religion and independence, and upon your own native soil, than be led bound to slaughter, and waste your blood for the aggrandizement of his ambition." (298) ... the popular faith as well as the patriotism der 20  
 Spaniards was roused. They were told to implore the aid of the Immaculate Conception; of Santiago, so often the patron and companion in victory of their ancestors; of our Lady of Battles, whose image is worshipped in the most ancient temple of Covadonga, and who had there so signally assisted Pelayo in the first great overthrow of the Moorish in- 25  
 vaders. The fire flamed higher for this holy oil of superstition. (301) *Proclamation der Junta v. Sevilla*: "Spaniards, your native country, your property, your laws, your liberty, your king, your religion, nay, your hopes in a better world, which that religion can alone devise to you and your descendants, are at stake ... are in great and imminent danger. ... 30  
 And a foreign power has done this, ... not by dint of arms, but by deceit and treachery, by converting the very persons who call themselves the heads of our gov., into instruments of these atrocious acts; persons who, either from the baseness of their sentiments, from fear, or perhaps from other motives, which time or justice will unfold, hesitate not to sacrifice 35  
 their country. *It therefore became necessary to break the shackles, which prevented the Spaniards from displaying that generous ardour that in all ages has covered them with glory. ...*" (303,5) Siege of Zaragoza. (June 1808) (14 August French ziehn sich zurück) ... [391] *Insurrection in Portugal*: (1808 May bis July. Arrival of a Brit, expedition v. Portugal 40  
 upon the north coast.) ... [527]

There were now as many governments as there were Juntas, each acting m. little regard to the others; every where filled by persons chosen because of their station; the gov. throughout Spain was delivered, or rather fell into the hands of the provincial nobility and gentry, with a few clergy; [611] ihre powers neither limited in extent nor duration: the people in their confidence never thought of proposing restrictions: and the Juntas, when [10] once in possession of authority, thought only of making it as extensive, and retaining it as long as they could. Some of them passed decrees bestowing upon themselves the titles of Excellencies and Highnesses, and adopted uniforms of the gaudiest fashion ... Oft, with a little decency as observed under the old system, commissions u. commands conferred upon friends, relations, parents as the enrolment was general, the armies were filled with officers who had no other pretensions to rank and promotion than what they derived from favour. (612) After the great success in Andalusia, the provincial Juntas, instead of exerting themselves to the utmost for completing the deliverance of the country, became jealous of each other. Where the rival authorities were far distant, this feeling impeded the public service; greater evils were threatened when they bordered upon each other. So contest zw. Granada u. Sevilla. (612) So Nothwendigkeit eines *central* gov. Lord Collingwood, in his first communications with Seville, had advised that a General Council, Cortes, or Congress should be appointed, and invested m. power from the several provincial Juntas to preside over and act in the name of the whole. (613) "polyarchy of Independent Juntas." (615) Aug. 4, 1808: The council of Castille advise a central Junta ... Many Juntas u. many military commanders dieselben Wünsche ... [617] Die supreme *Junta v. Sevilla* sagt in einer Proclamation: "Who was to convoke the Cortes? It was the peculiar and exclusive prerogative of the King to summon them; the provinces would not submit to any other authority etc ... the *kingdom found itself suddenly without a king and without a gov.* ... a situation unknown in its history, and to its laws. The people legally resumed the power of appointing a government. They created Juntas without any regard to *the cities which had votes in the Cortes.* The legitimate power was therefore deposited with the Juntas. It was therefore incontestable that the sole and exclusive right of electing those who were to compose the supreme gov. was vested in the supreme Juntas. And whom should they elect? *Most certainly individuals of their own body* ... The Junta of Seville was therefore of opinion that the supreme Juntas, meeting on the same day, should each elect, from its own members, 2 deputies; and the persons so elected, from that moment, be acknowledged as governors-general of the kingdom. The supreme

Juntas ought nevertheless to be continued till the termination of the present state of things, being invested with the internal management of their respective provinces, but under due subordination to the General Government..." [616-619] The Provincial Juntas assert to it. ... 35 deputies zu der *Central Junta* ernannt... (Still it was a great object with many 5 der provincial Juntas to retain their power. So that of Valencia u. die of Sevilla drew up secret rules f. their deputies, worin sie sie unter ihrer direction behalten u. reserved to themselves the power of displacing their deputies at pleasure.) ... [620] Aranjuez chosen als place for meeting der Central Junta, die *Sept. 26, 1808* zusammenkommen, schwören "that 10 they would preserve and extend the holy, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, defend their Sovereign Ferdinand, their rights, privileges, laws, and usages, and especially those relating to the succession in the reigning family, promote every thing conducive to the welfare and improvement of the kingdom, keep secret every thing which ought not to 15 be divulged, maintain the laws, and resist the enemies of the country at all hazards". ... quiet but malevolent submission des Council of Castille ... The Leonese deputies arrested by Gen. Cuesta. [627-629] Upon the assumption that the Juntas in Castille and Leon derived their authority from him and not from the people, Cuesta made the Junta of Valladolid, 20 who had assembled in Leon, sent a representative to the Central Junta. The assembly refused to admit him, and ordering Cuesta to set his prisoners at liberty, summoned him also to Aranjuez, that all parties might be heard. Cuesta's Plan: the restoration der authority des Capt. General u. der Royal Audiences u. 2<sup>te</sup> die exercise of military influence over the 25

- Junta, to make them elect an Executive Council, of 3 or 5 members, each of whom should be placed at the head of one branch of the gov., and
- responsible to the nation only. ... [632] Die Central Junta erkennt die Nationalschuld an, verspricht to simplify, as far as possible, the revenue system, gradually suppress useless offices, establish economy in all the 30 branches of financial administration, and remove the abuses introduced into it by the old gov. ... In ihrer address an die nation heißt es u. a. "A tyranny of 20 years, exercised by the most incapable hands, had brought them to 1111 the very brink of perdition; the nation was alienated from its gov. by hatred od. contempt: every thing favoured the perfidious plot 35 which Bonaparte had formed against them, when they rose to vindicate their rights, and became at once the admiration of Europe" ... [634] The Junta believed it would be necessary to maintain 500,000 men in arms, besides 50,000 cavalry ... [635] *the last gov., which was one continued and monstrous dilapidation had exhausted all the sources of prosperity ... the 40 defence of the kingdom, and the means of providing for it, must necessarily*

*be the first duty of the gov. ...* Andererseits: a little time only had passed since, oppressed and degraded, ignorant of their own strength, and finding no protection against these evils, neither in the institutions nor in the laws, they had even regarded foreign dominion as less hateful than the  
5 wasting tyranny which consumed them. The dominion of a will always capricious, and most often unjust, had lasted too long: their patience, their love of order, their generous loyalty had too long been abused: it was time that law, founded on general utility, should commence its reign. This was the desire of their good and unfortunate King Ferdinand ...  
10 Daher Reform in all branches ... [636, 637] the Junta would form different Committees, each entrusted with a particular department, to whom all writings on matters of gov. and administration might be addressed ... Die Central Junta war for a national assembly too few, and for an executive Gov. too many.  
15 Jovellanos proposes a Regency of 5 persons, die Central Junta zu reduciren to half its number, retaining 1 member only of each deputation, als Council of the Regency, bis zu the meeting der Cortes, die zu berufen sobald der enemy driven out of Spain, or, at all events, in 2 years from the present time ... [638] Jovellanos expected the greatest benefit from a  
20 Cortes; but he apprehended great evil if it were hastily convoked, and without due preparation. That party, später genannt *Liberales* ihn getadelt dafür. They were then a very small, but active minority, consisting chiefly of *physicians, lawyers, and unbelieving* priests, whose little knowl- • •  
25 were for hurrying on to a Jacobinical revolution, and were impatient for a Cortes as the first great means of embodying that democracy which they expected to govern. Aber auch many der best Spaniards betrachteten Cortes as the surest means of delivering their country, and restoring it to its former dignity and power; the same views very generally entertained  
30 in England and by the Brit. Gov. In fact, the assembling der Cortes had been proposed by our first authorized agent, Mr. Stuart, to the Juntas of Galizia and Asturias ... [639] Florida Blanca averse to them ... Die final discussion v. Jovellanos proposal vertagt zum Nov. 7. (Dieß beschlossen Sept. 7) Thus the minority averted a measure which shocked their pre-  
35 judices as much as it alarmed their fears... [640] "... October 1808 ... the II Central Junta called upon the Generals to hasten their operations. Sent Commissioners to the Span, armies ..." [669] In den Bonapartisti- II  
sehen frz. Blättern: "the Insurrection was ascribed entirely to the artifices and bribes of England, assisted by the monks and the Inquisition ..."  
40 [674] Napoleon wieder nach Spain ... 8 November 1808 he reached Vitoria ... [701,702] *The Central Junta (November 1808), while Blake's*

army was fighting, without clothing, food, reinforcements to recruit its ranks, passed a decree for the establishment of a special tribunal, to try all persons accused of treason; its object being not more to bring such as were guilty to deserved punishment, than to rescue from suspicion u. danger die unjustly suspected. ... [708] By another decree, dated on the day when 5 Castaños was defeated at Tudela, they resolved that honorary militias should be formed in all towns which were not in the scene of war, in order to prevent disorders, and to arrest robbers, deserters, ill-disposed persons ... they repealed the banishment der Exjesuits ... [709] none dieser measures well-timed; but the Central Junta still pursued the fatal system of deceiv- 10 ing the people as to the extent and imminence of their danger. *Falsche Proclamations an das Volk zu Madrid* ... Nov. 30 (1808) Pass of Somosierra forced. Now the way to Madrid was open. The Central Junta retire from Aranjuez. Florida Bianca schlug Cadix vor. Jovellanos dagegen, auf s. Vorschlag Badajoz bestimmt als ihr place to meet... [710-712] Surren- 15 der of Madrid (December) ... [718] Before the Central Junta left Aranjuez, a commission of 6 members appointed to transact business during their journey, and official intelligence of their removal was communicated to the Foreign ministers. Assembled zu ||12| Seville on the 17' December. Address der Junta to the people of Madrid. ... [735, 736] 20 Edict der Junta gegen Deserters, sentence of death u. confiscation of his property. ... [744]

## T. II.

January 1809. Florida Bianca, der president der Central Junta f at 81 Jahre. He was succeeded as president by the Marques de Astorga, 25 a grandee of the highest class. ... [32, 33] Second siege of Zaragoza. (1808 December sqq.) [101] February an address der Central Junta an die Nation über den Fall Zaragozas; u. v. ihr Honours decreed to the Inhabitants ... [155,157] April 1809. Appeal der Central Junta to the People, (nach den defeats des Cartaojal u. Cuesta had set on foot 30 2 armies for the defence of the Andalusias, consisting of 50,000 men and nearly 12,000horses) ... Correspondence on the intruder's part with the Junta (April 12 sqq) ... [234,235] The Junta (v. Badajoz) informed the Gov., that, in consideration of the sacrileges which the enemy committed wherever they went, they were enlisting the peasantry under the banner 35 of the Crusade with which the misbelievers in old times had been pursued and conquered. The gov. approved this measure; they directed that the persons who should be embodied in these new corps should be distin-

guished by wearing a red cross on the breast ... It did not spread ... the officers dagegen u. might have raised a temper in the men unfavourable to any expected co-operation with their Brit, allies. ... Regulations des Gov. in Bezug auf die ejected Religioners. The same calamities which had  
5 set them loose in every part of the country which the enemy had overrun, deprived them also of their accustomed means of subsistence.... [239, 240]  
*June 1809.* The Central Junta, upon the deliverance of Galicia, addressed one of their animated proclamations to the inhabitants. ... [338] At this time also that system of Guerillas warfare began which soon extended  
10 throughout Spain, and occasioned greater losses to the French than they suffered in all their pitched battles. The first adventurers who attracted notice by collecting stragglers from their own dispersed armies, *deserters from the enemy*, and men who, made desperate by the ruin of their private affairs in the general wreck, were ready for any service in which they  
15 could at the same time gratify their just vengeance and find subsistence, were *Juan Diaz Porlier in Asturias*, u. *Juan Martin Diaz in Old Castille*, the latter better known by his appellation of the Empecinado. A lawyer, by name Gil, commenced the same course in the Pyrenean valleys of Navarre and Aragon ... *Ebenso D. Mariano de Renovales* gave employ-  
20 ment to the French in Navarre. [383] *Aug. 29, 1809.* Renovales capitulates for the valleys. *Ebenso Xavier Mina*, (son of a landholder who cultivated his own estate and was deputy for one of the valleys of Navarre); student at Pamplona when the revolution began. ... [391, 392]

*Sept. 1809.* The Central Junta announce that the Cortes will be assem-  
25 bled. It was not till 8 months after their installation that a decree came forth for re-establishing the legal representation of the Monarchy in the ancient Cortes. Sagen: "the Spain, people must leave to their posterity an inheritance worthy of the sacrifices which were made for obtaining it." ... [420] In der ursprünglichen Declaration, welche die Junta bei Seite legte  
30 at the objections des Engl. Chargé d'affaires, Mr. Frere, heißt es: "*Our detractors say that we are fighting to defend old abuses, and the inveterate vices of our corrupted government; let them know that your struggle is for the happiness as well as the independence of your country; that you will not depend henceforward on the uncertain will or the variable temper of*  
35 *a single man etc*" [479-482] ... Unpopularity der Central Junta. The disappointment der nation was in proportion to its hopes, and the gov. became equally the object of suspicion and contempt. ... When, after the bitter experience of 12 months, no measures had been adopted for improving the discipline of the armies, or supplying them in the field,  
40 the incapacity der Junta became glaring, and outcries against them were heard on all sides ... I



[13] Ihnen vorgeworfen, daß sie nicht die versprochenen 500,000 men  
u. 50,000 cavalry ins Feld gebracht. Granada the only province die ihren  
contingent u. mehr geliefert. Aber dieß depended more upon the provin-  
cial Juntas than the Central Gov. ... Die most important errors der Junta  
waren the delay in convoking the Cortes, and their conduct towards Sir 5  
Arthur Wellesley's army. ... Difficulties der Central Junta ... 34 men, to  
govern a nation in the most perilous crisis of its history ... [485-488] the  
Junta acted in constant fear and suspicion of those whom they employed.  
Their sense of weakness and their love of power increased the evil ...  
Some odium they incurred by permitting a trade with towns which the 10  
enemy occupied ... Some of its members were suspected of enhancing  
the price of necessaries for the army, by their own secret monopolies;  
others were said to be surrounded by venal instruments, through whom  
alone they were accessible ... never had any gov. fewer friends. Men  
of the most opposite principles were equally disaffected towards it ... 15  
Scheme in Sevilla to overthrow them. Dieß dem Engl. Ambassador  
(Marquis De Wellesley) anvertraut v. ihnen. Er enabled the Junta to pre-  
vent the intended insurrection. General wish less for the convocation  
der Cortes als f. das establishment of a regency, from which more unanim-  
ity and more vigour was expected ... [489-491] Die Central Junta admit- 20  
ted that the existing gov. not suited to the state of affairs, and nomi-  
nated a commission for the purpose of inquiring in what manner it  
might best be replaced. Romana included in the commission; delivered  
Oct. 4 an address in proof of his hostility gegen sie in their own unstable  
tenure ... [492] Sie berufen die Cortes 1810 im document vom 25  
28 Oct. 1809, - worin sie zugleich den giftigen Angriffen des absolutisti-  
schen Romana antworten. Darin u. a.: "It has seemed good to Prov-  
idence that in this terrible crisis you should not be able to advance  
one step towards independence, without advancing one likewise toward  
liberty. *An imbecile and decrepit despotism prepared the way for French 30*  
*tyranny.* Political impostors, (Bonaparte) then thought to deceive you by  
promising reforms, and announcing, in a constitution framed at their  
pleasure, the empire of the laws." [497] Aber die Junta zugleich betrayed  
their undue desire of retaining their power; gegen Romana's Vorschlag  
"that the existing gov. should be converted into a regency of 3 or 5 per- 35  
sons". The Junta wished to evade the law of the Partidas. Erklären aber  
zugleich that they had "concentrated" their own authority; and that  
"from this time those measures which required dispatch, secrecy, and  
energy would be directed by a section *formed of 6 members*, holding  
their office for a time", "the Gov. would adapt the Cortes, in its num- 40  
bers, forms, and classes to the present state of things." ... "to leave the

state sunk in the sea of old abuses, would be a crime as enormous as to deliver you into the hands of Bonaparte." ... "When war has exhausted all the ordinary means, when the selfishness of some, and the ambition of others, debilitate and paralyse the efforts of gov.; when they seek to  
5 destroy from its foundations the essential principle of the monarchy, which is *union*; when the *hydra of federalism*, so happily silenced the preceding year by the creation of the central power, dares again to raise its heads, and endeavour to precipitate us into anarchy; when the subtlety of our enemies is watching the moment of our divisions to destroying the  
10 state; this is the time, then, to collect in one point the national dignity and power, where the Span, people may vote and call forth the extraordinary resources which a powerful nation ever has within for its salvation." [498-501] "General Cortes *daher to be convoked on January 1, 1810, to enter on their function the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1810* ..." Had the  
15 nation been more alive to such hopes as were thus held out, the pressure of events and the presence of imminent danger would have distracted their thoughts from all speculative subjects. Die such hopes as were thus held out, the pressure of events and the presence of imminent danger would have distracted their thoughts from all speculative subjects. Die  
20 Spaniards thought lightly of every disaster, exaggerated every trifling success; die defeats of Arzobispo u. Almonacid less felt or thought of by the body of the people, than the successful exploits of those predatory bands, who, under the name of Guerillas, were now in action everywhere. Das Gov. partook of this disposition. Daher the official u. provincial  
25 journals published every adventure of this kind more fully and circumstantially than some of those actions wherein their armies had disappeared. The example which Mina and the Empecinado had set was followed with alacrity and tempting success, rich opportunities being offered by the requisition of plate from churches and from individuals, which the  
30 intrusive gov. was at this time enforcing. The guerillas were on the watch, and intercepted no trifling share of the spoils. One party surprised a convoy with 80 quintals of silver near Segovia ... the guerillas depended for information, shelter, every thing which could contribute either to success or safety, upon the good will of their countrymen. D. Julian  
35 Sanchez began at this time to be distinguished unter den Guérilleros. Raised a company of lancers in the district of Ciudad Rodrigo, acted with much effect against the enemy in the plains of Castille. ... [502-504] Belagerung v. Gerona, heroischer Widerstand, capitulation. ... [558] Fearful pause after the defeat of the Span, armies at Ocaña and at Alba  
40 de Tormes, when the peace m. Austria left Bonaparte at leisure to direct his whole force against Spain. ... Address der Central Junta to the

nation ... U.A.: "Shall we ... submit also to the destruction of our religion; ... forsake the [14] sanctuary which during 7 centuries, and in a  
 \* 1000 and a 1000 battles, our forefathers maintained against the Saracens?" ... "the Span, people will stand alone and erect amid the ruins of  
 ^ the Europ. continent." ... In Spain, the mountains form a chain of for- 5  
 ^ tresses running through the whole Peninsula and connecting all its provinces with each other. Dieß f. den Guerillakrieg, when the war ceases to be carried on by army against army, and becomes the struggle of a nation against its oppressors. ... [566-571] 1810. The Central Junta manifested  
 „ none of that energy after the rout at *O caña* which they had so successfully 10  
 exerted after the battle of Medellin ... they suffered a fallacious hope to be held out ... fuller accounts were given in the official Gazette of an affair of guerillas than of the battle of Ocaña; and details were published of their victory at Tamames, after the army by which it was  
 gained had been routed at Alba de Tormes. General discontent. Ausser 15  
 Romana's declaration against them, the Conde v. Noroña being at this time removed from the command in Galizia, addressed a proclamation to the Galicians, telling them that the country was in danger, daß er had given up all dependence upon the existing gov. His repeated applications  
 / for money u. arms had never obtained the slightest notice. Er advised 20  
 them to form a separate Junta for their own kingdom, and be governed by it. A similar disposition prevailed in many der provinces, Spain seemed on the point of relapsing into that state from which the formation of the Central Junta had delivered it. They were saved from it only by the progress of the enemy. ... [594, 595] Erklärn Isle de Leon f. das fittest 25  
 \ place for the Cortes to hold its sittings. Durch decree of the preceding year declared that at whatever place the Cortes should be convoked, to that place the gov. must remove its seat. They gave notice, therefore, that  
 \ o n February 1 (1810) they should meet in the Isle of Leon; and they made immediate preparations for the removal. Wirklicher Grund: Gen. *Arei-* 30  
 ' s *zaga* had made known his utter hopelessness to the Junta ... Murmurs at  
 \* Seville. Those persons who could command the means of removal hastened to secure themselves in the sea-port ... Invasion of Andalusia [598-600] pass of Almadén forced ... 20 January (1810) False hopes held  
 \* s out to the people (of Sevilla) by the Central Junta. Verrückte orders an 35  
 ^ den Duque v. Alburquerque:—his vacillation was imputed to treason, especially as the war minister, D. Antonio Cornel, had long been suspected by the people. Certain it is, that if Alburquerque had obeyed these  
 > orders, his own army must have been cut off, and Cadiz would inevitably have been taken by the enemy, according to their aim and expectation: 40  
 but the error of the Junta accounted for their incapacity and their alarm

The Junta were hastening their departure for Cadiz: their equipages were conveyed to the quays, and the papers from the public offices were embarked on the Guadalquivir; 24 Jan. Insurrection at Sevilla against the Central Junta ... The Central Junta were hastening how they could to  
5 Cadix ... [602-606] Cadiz saved by Albuquerque. (entered 2 Febr. 1810 die Isle of Leon.) ... [609] Resignation der Central Junta. Appoint a regency in ihrem letzten Decree vom 29 Jan. 1810 (v. Cadiz): *Regents* Don Pedro de Quevedo y Quintano, Bishop of Orense; D. Francisco de Saavedra, late president der Junta of Sevilla; General Castaños; Don Antonio  
10 de Escaño, minister of marine; u. D. Esteban Fernandez de Leon, a member of the council of the Indies, as representative of the colonies. The Central Junta transferred dieser Regentschaft its authority; providing, however, that they should only retain it till the Cortes were assembled. ... [611, 612] Don Leon declines, statt seiner appointed D. Miguel de Lardizabal y Ariba, a native of the province of Tlaxcalla, in New Spain. ... Rigorous treatment der Ex Central Junta durch die Regents das work of their implacable enemy, the *council of Castille*, a body which they ought to have dissolved and branded for its submission to the intruder u. der Junta of Cadiz ... [618, 619] The *Regency* was acknowledged without hesitation  
20 in those provinces which were not yet overrun by the enemy, and every where by those Spaniards who resisted the usurpation; yet with the authority which they derived from the Supreme Junta a portion of its unpopularity had descended upon them. Like their predecessors, they were in fact surrounded by the same system of sycophancy and intrigue which had  
25 subsisted under the monarchy. The same swarm was about them: it was a state plague with which Spain had been afflicted from the age of the Philips. Hence it came to pass that the national force, instead of being invigorated by the concentration of legitimate power, was sometimes paralysed by it. For if a fairer prospect appeared to open in the provinces where the  
30 people had been left to themselves and to chiefs of their own choosing, too often, when a communication was opened m. dem seat of gov., this unwholesome influence ||15| was felt in the appointment of some insufficient general, perhaps a stranger to the province which he was sent to command. A central gov. however indispensable, as a means of commu-  
35 nication first m. England, and eventually m. other states, but more especially as keeping together the whole body of the monarchy both in Europe and in America ... [631, 632] The Spaniards suffered as much from the confusion which insubordination u. dem total want of method occasioned, (in ihren armies) as from the neglect on the part of the local author-  
40 ities and the provincial gov. Owing to these combined causes their armies were often in a state of destitution. Unanimous as Spain was in its feeling

etc at the insolent usurpation of Bonaparte, it was divided against itself whenever provincial interests appeared to clash. Neither Catalonia nor Valencia would at this time make common cause m. Arragon. Valencia would spare f. die Arragonese troops none of its own ample resources, and the Catalan gov. even stopped the supplies which were intended for 5 Arragon. ... [677]

*t. III.*

*October 1810.* Trotz der vielen losses u. disgraces, the Spaniards continued to pursue that system of hostility which was carried on wherever the French were nominally masters; a mode of war destructive to the 10 invaders against whom it was directed, but dreadful also in its effect upon the people by whom it was waged ... irregular and universal warfare. (41) This character on the part of the Spaniards the war had now assumed in all parts of Spain ... the best u. worst characters (ruffians) verbunden in diesem life of outlawry and adventure (to surprise posts, 15 cut off escorts or convey, put some detachment to death, intercept despatches, recover plunder, and vor allem vengeance) ... Unter ihnen die eigentlich popular héros: El Frayle, El Cura, el Medico, el Manco, El Cantarero, el Cocinero, el Pastor, el Abuelo, el Chaleco etc ... A large portion der men who engaged under these leaders *soldiers* who had es- 20 caped in some of the miserable defeats to which the rashness des Gov. u. die incapacity der generals exposed them; or who had deserted from the regular army to this more inviting service. *Smugglers*, deren old occupation destroyed. Aber vor allem labourers, ruinirte retainers grosser Häuser, provincial tradesmen. ... Auch Monks u. friars, frocked u. 25 unfrocked. Wherever die convents suppressed u. their members forbidden to wear the habit on pain of death, wie in all the provinces that the French overran, the young took arms, the old employed themselves in keeping up the spirit of the people. ... [42-45] In New Castille there were some of the vilest depredators who under the name of guerillas infested 30 Spain. These banditti plundered and murdered indiscriminately all who fell into their hands. So D. Juan Abril. ... [52,53]

*April 18. 1810.* Joseph verspricht in der Gazeta die convocation der Cortes. "It was long", his partisans said, "since the Junta had amused the nation with vain hopes of this benefit, for which Spain was to be indebted 35 to her new sovereign." ... Die Cortes zusammenberufen nach einem der letzten decrees der Central Junta v. Sevilla in folgender Form: ((Erst hatte die Central Junta asked the advice der Span, universities u. public bodies

über die forms der old Cortes. Die university of Seville remarked, that these things were matters of historical research, not of practical importance: there was now neither time nor necessity for the inquiry; the present business was to convene representatives, according to the general  
5 principles of representation, and leave them, after they had saved the country, to determine the peculiar forms of the general Span. Cortes.) Cities which had sent Deputies to the last Cortes, were each to send one to this, and each superior Junta one also. The provinces one for every 50,000 heads, according to the census of 1797. Parochial Juntas to be  
10 formed, composed of every housekeeper, (m. exact der Ausnahme, die später in der Constit. der Cortes) As soon as the Justicia received instructions from the corregidor, or alcalde mayor of the district (Partido) a parochial meeting was to be held, and the Sunday following appointed for the business of the primary election. Nach dem Gottdienst u. return-  
15 ing zum Wahlplatz the parishioners, one by one, were to advance to the table at which the parochial officers u. die priests presided, and there name an elector for the parish: the 12 persons who obtained a majority of names should go ||16| apart and fix upon one. etc (fast ganz wie in der Constit.) Within 8 days afterward, the parochial electors should assemble  
20 in the principal town of the district, and form a Junta, over which the corregidor and the ecclesiastic of the highest rank in the place presided. The testimonials der electors were to be scrutinised; religious ceremonies; 12 persons chosen in the same manner, to appoint 1 or more electors for the district, according to its extent. Brauchten nicht zu wählen out of  
25 their own number. The business was to be transacted in the consistory, a record of its proceedings deposited among the archives, and a copy sent to every parish, and to the capital of the province, where the final election took place. Here the electors of the district were to assemble. A Junta should have been previously constituted, consisting of the presi-  
30 dent of the superior Junta of the Province; the archbishop or bishop, regent, intendant, and corregidor of the city, and a secretary. It was presumed that these persons would all be members of the provincial Junta; if not, they were called to this duty by virtue of their rank, and an equal number of members of the Junta added ... the board thus ap-  
35 pointed, was to see that the primary and secondary elections were made throughout the province. After the same observances and scrutinies as on the former occasions, the final election was to be made. The person proposed must be a native of the province: nobles, plebeians, secular priests equally eligible; no other qualification required, than that he  
40 should be above 25, of good repute, not actually the salaried servant of any individual or body. In this final election, the first step was to elect

3 persons successively. A simple majority was not sufficient here; more than half the electors must vote for the same person, and the voting be repeated till this should be the case: 3 having thus been chosen, their names were to be placed in an urn, and he whose lot was drawn was the deputy to the Cortes. A fourth was then to be elected, ebenso s. name m. 5  
den 2 undrawn in die Urn geworfen u. dieß repeated till the number of deputies for the province was made up. Dann supplementary deputies chosen, in the proportion of 1 to 3. The number of provincial deputies amounted to 208; that of the supplementaries to 68. The Provincial Juntas were to choose their members according to the rules der final elee- 10  
tions; die person chosen mußte auch native der province sein. F. die city elections: wo die *regidores* were proprietaries, or held their office during life by the king's appointment, the people should elect an equal number of electors, in the manner of the municipal elections. These electors, m. den *regidores*, dem *syndic*, u. den officers who are called the *Personero y* 15  
*Diputado del Común*, were to meet in the consistory, where the *corregidor* should preside, and there choose 3 persons out of their own body, the final decision being by lot. All the elections were to be made m. open doors. 26 members were added for the Span, possessions in America u. den Philippines. But during the long interval which must elapse before 20  
these representatives could reach Europe, supplementaries for their respective provinces were to be chosen from natives resident in Spain. A circular notice was issued, requiring that all American or Asiatic Spaniards then in the country would send in their names, ages, employments, places of birth and of abode. This being done, and lists made out accord- 25  
ingly, a Junta was to be formed, consisting of the members der Central Junta, who should at the time be acting as deputies for the colonies, or 4 ministers of the council of the Indies appointed by the Junta, and of 4 distinguished natives of the colonies, to be chosen by the other members; this Junta was to direct and superintend the election. 12 electors for 30  
each province were to be chosen by lot from among the natives of that province then resident in Cadiz; but if it so happened that they did not amount to 18, that number was to be filled up by members of the other provinces. The 12 then chosen were to choose their deputies, in the manner of the final provincial election, "first by nomination, and then by lot. 35  
The archbishops, bishops u. *grandees* were to meet in an upper house: the *grandees* zu sein the heads of their respective families u. über the age of 25 u. die nobles u. *prelates* who had submitted to the French Gov., excluded." Such der plan which the commission der central Junta |  
|17| decided upon, and which the (Sevilla) Junta adopted. The commis- 40  
sion was composed of 5 members: the Archbishop of Laodicea, Jovella-

nos, Castañedo, Caro u. Riquelme; but the 2 latter members being appointed to the executive committee, their places were supplied by the Count de Ayamans u. D. Martin de Garay. D. Manuel Abella u. D. Pedro Polo de Alcocer, were secretaries to the commission. The  
5 details were formed, and the official instructions drawn up by Garay. In their general principles the commissioners chiefly guided, as was expected u. desired, by Jovellanos, the best and the wisest der Spaniards.

Difference of opinion in der commission upon 3 points of considerable importance, (siehe p. 76)

10 Riquelme u. Caro would have had only one house of assembly: Jovellanos referred to the English constit. He proposed also, that certain qualifications of property, situation, u. acquirements should be required of the deputies. Riquelme opposed this restriction. Jovellanos yielded. ... The last act der central Junta, Jan. 29, 1810 had been to consign to the  
15 Regency the charge of seeing the Cortes assembled, according to these rules. In this final decree, provision was made for choosing deputies to represent the provinces occupied by the enemy; they were to be chosen in the same manner as the colonial deputies. Here also the important point of the *veto* was determined. If the Regency refused its assent to a measure  
20 which had passed both houses, the measure was to be re-considered; and unless repassed by a majority of  $\frac{2}{3}$ , in each house it was lost, and could not be brought forward again in that Cortes: but if both houses, by such a majority, ratified their former determination, 3 days were then allowed to the Regency, and if within that time the royal sanction was not given,  
25 the law was to be promulgated without it. The Junta declared that the executive power appertained wholly to the Regency, and the legislative to the Representative body. Schließlich die Regency was empowered to fix any time *for the* dissolution der Cortes, provided it were not before the expiration of 6 months. ... The regency *did not publish* this decree.  
30 The Council of Castille, or rather the Consejo-reunido, in which such of its members were incorporated as had followed the legitimate Gov. in Andalusia, hinted, in a memorial full of calumnies against the ex-Junta, that the Cortes ought not to be convoked. *Edict der Regency v. Febr. 11, 1810*, putting off the meeting der Cortes: "this means of preserv-  
35 ation had been too long delayed. ... The Isle of Leon, where the national congress ought to assemble, was at this time besieged by the enemy ... necessity compels us to delay the celebration der Cortes ... meantime the elections are to proceed ... the Cortes shall meet as soon as the circumstances of the war permit." Notwithstanding this language, it is possible  
40 that Spain was indebted for its Cortes more to the annunciation from Seville that the Intruder was about to convoke one, than to the inclina-



tion of its own rulers ... as soon as it was ascertained that Cadiz might  
 defy the enemy there ought to have been no delay. That was ascertained  
 in February, as soon as the Isle of Leon was secured from a coup-de-  
 main. Erst middle of June a decree issued ordering the elections to be  
 completed as soon as possible u. requiring the deputies to assemble in the 5  
 island during the month of August, that as soon as the greater part of  
 them were met the sessions might begin. Der plan der Central Junta  
 altered in one most material point: only one house being convoked; nor  
 the privileged orders summoned to meet apart from the 3<sup>e</sup> estate, nor  
 with it, nor devised any plan for representing them; so that 2 der 3 estates 10  
 were excluded as such from the national representation. Bishop of  
 Orense, president der Regency. ...24 Sept. 1810 die Cortes commenced  
 their proceedings ... Mußten schwören in die Hand des Orense "to  
 preserve the Holy Cath. Apost. Rom. Religion in these realms, without  
 admitting any other; to preserve the Span, nation in its integrity, and to 15  
 omit no means for delivering it from its unjust oppressors; to preserve to  
 their beloved sovereign, Ferdinand VII, all his dominions, reclaiming him  
 from captivity, placing him upon the throne etc." ... Upon the motion of  
 Torrero, deputy for Estremadura, the plan of a decree read, prepared by  
 his colleague Luxan ... adopted ... they declared themselves legally con- 20  
 stituted in a general u. extraordinary Cortes, wherein the national sover-  
 eignty resided ... swore anew that Ferdinand VII their only lawful king;  
 null the cession der crown, weil violent u. consent ||18| der nation want-  
 ing. Reserved to themselves the exercise v. legislative power in its full  
 extent, the persons, to whom they should delegate the executive power, in 25  
 the absence des king, *responsible* to the nation according to the laws.  
 They authorised einstweilen die Regency to continue exercising the ex-  
 ecutive power, aber vorher sollten sie acknowledge the national sover-  
 eignty der Cortes u. swear obedience to the laws u. decrees which it  
 should promulgate ... The Cortes confirmed for the present the estab- 30  
 lished tribunals, and the civil and military authorities, declared the per-  
 sons of the deputies inviolable ... between 10 u. 11 at night this decree  
 passed ... In derselben Nacht deputation sent to the Regents sofort den  
 Eid zu schwören ... [77-83] About midnight, 4 of the Regents entered the  
 hall, and took the oath. Bishop of Orense did not come. Wollte nicht 35  
 acknowledge die sovereignty der nation, from that hour he ceased to act  
 as one of the Regency ... Sept. 25 Cortes ordered that the style in which  
 they were to be addressed should be that of Majesty; highness that der  
 executive power, during the absence of Ferdinand ... They ordered also,  
 that the commanders in chief, captains-gen. der provinces, archbishops, 40  
 bishops, tribunals, provincial Juntas, all other authorities, civil, military,

ecclesiastic, should take the oath of obedience to the Cortes. *Sept. 26* The decree, by which the Regents were declared responsible, produced a memorial from them, requesting to know what were the obligations annexed to that responsibility, and what the specific powers which were  
5 given them, da in den ancient laws drawn no line of distinction between the 2 powers ... [84] Cortes antworten, "they had not limited the proper faculties der executive, and the Regency was to use all the power necessary for the defence, security, u. administration des state, till the Cortes should mark out the precise bounds of its authority." ... [85] Some of the  
10 members were of the French school of philosophy. Hated England ... Decreed the separation der executive, legislative, u. judicial powers ... *Oct. 11/1810*: A commission appointed to prepare a report upon the best means of speedily terminating criminal causes. ... [86] The Duke of Orleans had offered his services den Spaniards; die Central Junta had  
15 declined, die Regency, a few weeks after their installation, invited him to take the command in Catalonia; accordingly he sailed from Sicily in the beginning of June, touched at Tarragona, continued his voyage to Cadiz, where he landed under a salute of artillery; the Cortes held a private sitting upon the subject, and the result was, that the Duke re-embarked  
20 for Sicily ... *Oct. 28, 1810*. New Regency appointed, consisting of Blake, D. Pedro Agar (naval captain u. director general der academies der royal marine guards) u. D. Gabriel Ciscar, governor of Carthagen. Die erste Regierung auch disappointed the hopes des people. *Nov. 28, 1810 decree passed*, that die Exregents should give in an account of their admin-  
25 istration to the Cortes, within 2 month, with a view to some future process. *Decemb. 17, 1810*, in consequence of a secret sitting ordered to retire from the Isle of Leon u. der place where each was to reside, appointed arbitrarily ... [87-89] Blake u. Ciscar being absent, the Marquis del Palacio u. D. Jose Maria Puig appointed to act in their place till they  
30 should arrive. *Oct. 28* Palacio refuses the oath, the Marquis was ordered into custody, the Cortes met again that night to deliberation. Voted after a long discussion, that the Marquis had forfeited the confidence der nation; f. ihn Marquis de *Castelar* chosen ... Einige Tage nachher beschlossen that both his case (des Palacio) u. des Bishop of Orense be  
35 referred to judges appointed by the Regency. Einstweilen prisoner at large in Leon, upon his parole ... *Sept. 29 1810* selfdenying ordinance der Cortes, während ihrer functions od. 1 J. afterwards, accept for himself, or solicit f. any other person, pension, favour, reward etc. ... [90, 91] 2 subjects occupied much of the time der Cortes: *Colonies u. liberty of the press*.  
40 ... Heftige Debatte über letzten Punkt. Pfaffen erklären die liberty der press "contrary to Religion". Nach langer Discussion: "After declaring

that all persons were at liberty to publish their sentiments without any license, the Cortes unanimously admitted an amendment which, by inserting the word political, curtailed this liberty of half its extent: and all writings upon religious matters were left subject to the previous censure der ecclesiastic authorities, according to the decree of the Council of 5 Trent." ... For the purpose of securing the freedom der press, and providing ||19| against its abuse, the Cortes was to appoint a supreme board of censure, composed of 9 individuals, who were to reside near the Gov.; and a similar board of 5 members in every provincial capital; 3 of the nine, and 2 of the 5, being secular clergy. The business der provincial 10 boards to examine such works as were denounced; and upon their sentence the judges were to suppress the book, and call in the copies which might have been sold; but their sentence was not definitive. Supreme board als Appellinstanz ... Thus having admitted public opinion as the proper check upon the proceedings of Gov.; the Cortes instituted a board 15 nominated by Gov. to be a check upon public opinion, which, if the measure had not been merely nugatory, would have virtually destroyed the freedom it pretended to establish. Aber die press, like other prisoners, had broken loose when the old system was overthrown. It had roused u. continued to keep up the spirit der nation. The Spaniards had taken 20 arms to defend their institutions, to which with all their enormous abuses the people was devoutly attached. Die best men wollten reform those abuses, aber scrupled at any evil means for bringing it about. Aber auch party who were for destroying root and branch. Despotism had made them republicans, u. an abominable superstition driven them into unbe- 25 lief. Few, aber more numerous als die "rational" reformers, bold u. indefatigable ... [96] Even in the Cortes there were some who looked to the most dreadful stage der French Revol. rather as an example than a warning ... A Journal published under the title: "El Robespierre Español". 1 of its numbers suppressed. Dieser writer cast into prison, and left there, 30 it was said in the Cortes, till he was half rotten, waiting indefinitely for the decision of his case, which they who prosecuted him were never likely to think of more. ... *Decree* that they would never lay down the arms, bis zur recovering the absolute integrity ihrer monarchy in both worlds, u. their king. Aber though the restoration of Ferdinand was thus spoken 35 of in this decree, many fürchteten die evils s. Rückkehr. The most cautious reformers, however loyal, wußten daß s. presence impediment to reformation. Aber at this time Ferdinand's Rückkehr schien bevorzustechn unter circumstances which all true Spaniards regarded m. equal apprehension. The accounts which had been officially published in 40 France of Kollis's adventure represented Ferdinand as still soliciting to be

adopted by marriage into the family des tyrant who had betrayed him. Furcht daß Ferdinand might be now made the instrument of Bonaparte ... Against this it was necessary to be prepared. Long and animated discussions held upon this matter. The Cortes faithfully represented the  
5 nation in their feelings on this subject; accordingly issued a decree, declaring null and of no effect all treaties or transactions of any kind which Ferdinand should authorise while he remained in duresse, whether in the enemy's country or in Spain, so long as he was under the direct or indirect influence des Usurper. The nation would never consider him free,  
10 nor render him obedience, till they should see him in the midst of his true subjects, and in the bosom of the national congress: nor would they lay down their arms, nor listen to any proposal for an accommodation of any kind, till Spain had been completely evacuated by the troops which had so unjustly invaded it ... Damals Fortress after fortress fallen, the  
15 Spaniards in the field nur noch die force under Romana m. Lord Wellington; the enemy surrounded the bay of Cadiz, u. were masters des adjacent country. ... Yet in the sight of these enemies, from the neck of land which they thus beleaguered, the Cortes legislated for Spain; and its proceedings, though the Intruder and his adherents affected to despise  
20 them, were regarded m. der deepest anxiety throughout die Peninsula u. wherever the Span, language extends. ... Spain had endured all the evils of revolution without acquiring a revolutionary strength; and none of those commanding spirits which revolutions usually bring forth had arisen there ... there were deputies who sometimes had not wherewith to buy  
25 oil for a lamp to give them a light. ... Die Cortes faithfully represented die virtues u. die defects der nation, the majority as bigoted as the most illiterate ihrer countrymen. Die liberal minority 18' Jhh. French philosophy. This party, far inferior in numbers, took the lead, m. der activity u. zeal of men who had embraced new opinions ... [97-102] the Cortes  
30 weakened u. embarrassed die executive by perpetually intermeddling with it; so that, under their Control, die Regency more inefficient than the Central Junta. Instead of making the deliverance des country their paramount object, they busied themselves in framing a constitution. Day after day these abstractions were debated, while the enemy was besieging  
35 Cadiz. Meantime no measures were adopted for bringing the army into a better state ... | [103]

|20| du Casse.  
Mémoires et Correspondance Politique  
X · \* · · · · · · · · · ·  
et militaire du Roi Joseph etc.  
6 vol. *In progress*. Paris. 1853-54.

t. IV

5

fameux aber nicht ganz sicher traité secret de Tilsit (1807), publié en 1812 dans la *Gazette de Madrid* (numéro du 25 août.) «En supposant son existence authentique, il serait le véritable point de départ de l'histoire de la guerre d'Espagne depuis 1808» .. liée à un système général de partage de l'Europe entre la France et la Russie, système qu'Alexandre aurait 10 alors embrassé dans toutes ses conséquences, (p. 246, 7) «*Art. 1* La Russie prendra possession de la Turquie européenne, et étendra ses possessions en Asie autant qu'elle le jugera convenable. *Art. 2* La dynastie des Bourbons en Espagne, et la maison de Bragance en Portugal, cesseront de régner. Un prince de la famille Bonaparte succédera à chacune de ces 15 couronnes. *Art. 3* L'autorité temporelle du pape cessera; Rome et ses dépendances seront réunies au royaume d'Italie. *Art. 4* La Russie s'engage d'aider la France de sa marine pour la conquête de Gibraltar. *Art. 5* Les Français prendront possession des villes situées en Afrique, telles que Tunis, Alger etc; et, à la paix générale, toutes les conquêtes que les Fran- 20 çais pourront avoir faites en Afrique seront données en indemnité aux rois de Sardaigne et de Sicile. *Art. 6* L'île de Malte sera possédée par les Français ... *Art. 7* Les Français occuperont l'Égypte. *Art. 8* La navigation de la Méditerranée ne sera permise qu'aux navires et vaisseaux fran-

çais, russes, espagnols et italiens; toutes les autres nations en seront exclues. *Art. 9* Le Danemark sera indemnisé dans le nord de l'Allemagne par les villes hanséatiques, sous la clause cependant qu'il consentira à remettre son escadre dans les mains de la France. *Art. 10* Leurs Majestés  
5 les Empereurs de Russie et de France conviendront ensemble d'un règlement d'après lequel il ne sera permis, à l'avenir, à aucune puissance de mettre en mer des navires marchands, à moins qu'elle n'entretienne un certain nombre de bâtiments de guerre.» Ce traité, dit-on, signé par le prince Kourakin u. le prince Talleyrand. (247)  
10 *traité de Fontainebleau, 27 Oct. 1807: «Art. 6* Qu'une armée française de 25,000 hommes, soutenue par 3 divisions espagnoles, ferait exécuter le traité. *Art. 7* Qu'une autre armée française de 40,000 hommes serait réunie à Bayonne, et se tiendrait prête à entrer en Espagne pour marcher sur le Portugal, si les Anglais y envoyaient des renforts.»... [256] Als die  
15 französische Armee zuerst in Spanien einrückt, le peuple, persuadé que les Français n'avaient d'autre dessein que celui de renverser le favori, et d'assurer à Ferdinand ses droits à la succession de son père, les accueillait avec l'amitié la plus cordiale. (263) 17-18 mars 1808 Tumult zu Madrid gegen Godoy. (264) 19 mars abdication de Carlos IV en faveur  
20 des Ferdinand. (I.e.) le peuple porta en triomphe le buste du nouveau souverain, livra aux flammes celui de Godoy. Les provinces suivirent l'exemple de la capitale: partout même enthousiasme pour Ferdinand, même haine pour Godoy. (266) Murât occupa militairement Madrid le 23 avril. (267) Bonaparte schickt Rovigo nach Madrid. Er selbst arriva à  
25 Bayonne dans la nuit du 14 au 15. (I.e.) Aranjuez, 21 mars 1808. Rücknahme seiner Abdankung durch Carl IV ... [268] La reine affirme dans sa correspondance que le prince des Asturies prépara l'insurrection du peuple à Aranjuez, fit distribuer de l'argent aux troupes, donna le signal de l'explosion. (270) ;211 Ferdinand verläßt Madrid 10 April (1808), après  
30 avoir créé une junte de gouv. pour expédier les affaires les plus pressées. Ferdinand findet Bonaparte nicht, wie er erwartet, in Burgos, setzt s. Reise fort, 14 zu Vittoria, kommt nach Bayonne 20 Avril ... [273-276] 5 mai (1808) Carl IV cedirt seinen Thron an Bonaparte. Bestätigt v. Ferdinand. 10 May ... [280] Arrivé à Bayonne, *Joseph* trouva tous les mem-  
35 bres de la junte réunis au château de Marrac. 100 membres about. Servile Sprüche an ihn durch duc de l'Infantado u. M. Cevallos qui passaient pour les partisans les plus chauds de Ferdinand ... [287] tous les membres de la junte, sans exception, donnaient à Joseph l'assurance que son acceptation devait calmer tous les troubles ... Bonaparte hatte convoqué  
40 à Bayonne une assemblée f. den 15 Juin dite *junte constitutionnelle*, composée de personnages marquants de divers ordres de l'Etat. Zu Bayonne

7 Juni der Duque d'Infantado im Namen der grands d'Espagne: «On désire ardemment votre présence en Espagne ... Sire, les grands d'Espagne se sont toujours distingués par leur fidélité envers leurs souverains; Votre Majesté l'éprouvera, ainsi que notre affection personnelle» ... Selbe Servilität der deputation du *conseil royal de Castille* ... ebenso der *Duc del Parque* an der Spitze einer Deputation qui représentait l'armée ... [288-291] Ouverture der session der junte 15 juin, sous la présidence de M. Azanza. (91 membres présents) Constitution acceptirt 7 Juli 1808. Dieselben Minister ernannt wie unter Carl IV. Auch la maison du roi fut composée des mêmes hommes qui naguère servaient Ferdinand. Joseph quitta Bayonne den 9 Juli um nach Spanien zu gehn ... [293] In den classes supérieures viele fürchteten die anarchie mehr als die Franzosen, hielten auch Widerstand gegen Napoleon f. unmöglich, den Versuch f. den ruine de leur pays... [299] Joseph arrive à Madrid, 20 juillet 1808 ... [303]

[t.V]

(capitulation de *Baylen* ...) 2Dec. 1808 Napoleon vor Madrid ... «Les propriétaires, commerçants, généralement tous les habitants riches et aisés, et même les magistrats et les chefs militaires, se montraient assez disposés à écouter les propositions de l'Empereur» (der es f. wichtig hielt den Schein einer soumission volontaire der capitale zu haben); mais, dominés par le peuple, qui menaçait de se porter aux dernières extrémités, ils n'osaient manifester leurs sentiments. (203)

(t. V.) Decrete in Bezug auf das Innere v. Bonaparte: Cour de cassation; Abschaffung des tribunal de l'inquisition comme attentatoire à la souveraineté et à l'autorité civile; die biens dieses tribunal to be réunis aux domaines d'Espagne. Il enjoignit à tout individu possédant plusieurs commanderies, de désigner celle qu'il préférait conserver, et de se dessaisir des autres, qui devaient revenir à la disposition du roi; réduit nombre des couvents au tiers, verbietet toute admission aux noviciat et toute profession religieuse, jusqu'à ce que le nombre des religieux de l'un et de l'autre sexe fût réduit au tiers; promet une pension de 3 à 4000 réaux à tous ecclésiastiques religieux qui sortiraient de leurs maisons; il ordonna qu'il fût prélevé sur le montant des biens des couvents supprimés tant pour les curés, tant à garantir les valès et autres effets de la dette publique, et l'autre moitié à rembourser aux provinces et aux villes les dépenses occasionnées par la nourriture des armées françaises et des armées insurrectionnelles u. villes u. campagnes f. die dégâts des guerre zu indemniser; il abolit les droits féodaux de toute nature; il prononça la

suppression de toutes barrières existantes de province à province; aile  
individus en possession quelconque des impositions civiles ou ecclésiastiques,  
cessassent d'en jouir; enfin, il abolit toute justice seigneuriale.  
(V.212, 13)|

5 |22| Les Espagnols étaient trop irrités contre l'Emp. pour apprécier  
les bienfaits des salutaires réformes que Napoléon venait de donner.  
D'ailleurs ne les a-t-on pas vus, au retour de Ferdinand, rejeter une légi-  
slation semblable donnée par les cortes, et accourir vers ce prince pour lui  
demander à grands cris les *couvents* et la *servitude!* Il y avait alors  
10 en Espagne une classe de citoyens très-instruite, mais peu nombreuse.  
(V, 215) Deputation v. Madrid bei Napoleon 15 Dec. 1808. ... [216]

[t. VI]

Le 18 Août, 1809, Joseph u. s. Staatsrath fassen folgende Decrete: 1) sup-  
pression totale de tous les moines; défense f. sie de porter aucun habit  
15 religieux, ordre de se retirer dans le lieu de leur naissance. 2) suppression  
des titres de Castille u. de toutes les dignités de grands d'Espagne non  
confirmées par le roi. 3) hebt auf die conseils de guerre, de marine, des  
ordres, des Indes et autres; en un mot, toutes les anciennes administra-  
tions, de quelque nature qu'elles fussent. 5) confiscirt die biens der pro-  
20 priétaires absents, ou servant dans les armées de la junte. 6) mettait à la  
disposition du ministre des guerre u. dem des intérieur 20 millions de  
réaux, à distribuer en indemnité. (264, 5 VI)



Constitution  
Décrétée par l'assemblée Constituante.  
3 sept. 1791.

*Déclaration des droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen.*

*Constitution.* 5

Im allgemeinen Eingang ni noblesse, ni pairie, ni distinctions héréditaires, ni distinction d'ordres, ni régime féodal, ni justices patrimoniales, ni aucun des titres qui en dérivait, ni aucun ordre de chevalerie ... ni jurandes, ni corporations de professions, arts et métiers. La loi ne reconnaît plus ni vœux religieux etc (ursächlich l'assemblée nationale ... abolit, 10 irrévocablement les institutions qui blessaient la liberté et l'égalité des droits.) ...

*titre II*

7. la loi ne considère le mariage que comme contrat civil.

*titre III. Ch. I sect. II.* 15  
Assemblées primaires.

*Art. 6 les assemblées primaires nommeront des électeurs, id. id. sect. III.*  
*Art. 1* les électeurs nommés en chaque département se réuniront pour élire le nombre des représentans dont la nomination sera attribuée à leur département, et un nombre de suppléans égal au tiers de celui des 20

Aus Constitution décrétée par l'assemblée constituante

représentans. *Art. 2* Die représentans u. suppléans ne pourront être choisis que parmi les citoyens actifs du département.

*Ch. III Sect. III*  
*de la Sanction royale.*

5 *Art. 2.* Dans le cas où le roi refuse son consentement, ce refus n'est que suspensif. Lorsque les 2 législatures qui suivront celle qui aura présenté le décret, auront successivement représenté le même décret dans les mêmes termes, le roi sera censé avoir donné la sanction. (Der Abschnitt über die Ayuntamientos u. Provincial Deputations ganz originell den Cortes, 10 nicht in dieser Const.) |

|23| Southey. Continuation

... General Lapeña ...

*January. 1812.* New Constitution der Cortes. The public were far more interested in a change of the Regency, for the removal of Blake after his manifold misfortunes was considered as a gain, even though accompanied with the loss of an army. The new regency: Duque del Infantado (damals ambassador in England); D. Joaquin Mosquera y Figueroa; D. Juan Maria Villavicencio; D. Ignacio Rodriguez de Rivas, the Conde de la Bisbai... [364] *1811.* the legitimate gov. not less distressed than that of the Intruder. ... [384] 5 10

*1812, Aug. 10* the enemy retire from Madrid. *12 Aug.* the Allies enter. The new constitution proclaimed at Madrid. The act received m. exultant delight... [517-519] *Aug. 14.* Churches in every parish of Madrid opened for administering the oath of fidelity to the new constitution. ... [522]

*1813 December.* As it became an object of great importance for Bonaparte to bring to his assistance Suchet's army, and the troops who were shut up in the remaining garrisons in Valencia u. Catalonia, he thought he might effect this by dictating a treaty to his prisoner Ferdinand. Accordingly he sent the Comte de Laforest to Valençay, to negotiate with Ferdinand, saying, that under the existing circumstances of his empire and his policy, he wished at once to settle the affairs of Spain; that England was encouraging Jacobinism and anarchy there, for the purpose of destroying the nobility and the monarchy, and erecting a republic; that he could not but grievously feel the destruction of a neighbouring state, connected by so many maritime u. commercial interests with his own; that he desired to remove every pretext for English interference, and to re-establish these ties of friendship u. good neighbourhood by which 15 20 25

Spain u. France had been so long connected. ... [783, 784] Treaty concluded m. ihm at Valençay Decemb. 11, 1813 ... *St. Carlos sent to the Regency. (Dec. 8, 1813. Brief des Ferdinand an die Regency) ... Secret instructions from Ferdinand. ... [789-791] Reply des Span.Gov. 1814*>. 5 Jan. 28 ... Secret sitting der Cortes, deliberated upon the measures to be taken in case the king should pass the frontiers. It was proposed, by a commission appointed to report upon this emergency, that he should not be considered as being free, nor should obedience be rendered him, until he should have sworn to the Const, in the bosom der Cortes; that if he 10 were accompanied by any armed force, that force should be repulsed,<sup>n</sup> should it consist of Spaniards, they were to lay down their arms. No foreigner should be allowed to accompany him, not even as a domestic or servant; no Spaniard who had filled any office, received any pension, or accepted any honour from Bonaparte or Joseph, etc. Febr. 11814 The 15 Council was of opinion that the king ought not to exercise any authority till he should have taken the oath before the Cortes ... [794-796]S 1814 March, the French Gov. were not without hope that the presence of I Ferdinand in his own country might lead to a civil war, which would have the effect of at least embarrassing the English, and probably of 20 impeding their operations in Gascony ... [866] Daher Ferdinand u. die Infantes set at liberty ... On the 13 March Ferdinand u. die Infantes commenced their journey towards Perpignan ... 22<sup>e</sup> he re-entered Spain ... [868-870] Ferdinand fand bald, daß das people cared for the constitution as little as they understood it, that they execrated the *Libe-* 25 *rales*, and hated the Cortes for their sake. *Nobles*: a sweeping decree had abolished those feudal rights u. customs from which a large portion of their hereditary revenues was derived. *Clergy*: suppression der Inquisition. Suppression der monasteries. Dadurch monks u. friars ihre enemies. As a measure of finance worse than a failure. Purchasers could not be 30 found for church property, people revolted at this species of sacrilege, the estates daher administered for the government, aber generally found that the costs of management consumed the whole proceeds. The necessity of raising money to support the war was the plea for this suppression; yet the pay der armies always greatly in arrear: suffered for want of proper 35 clothing u. sufficient food: these evils imputed to the gov.; the Cortes had, in fact, assumed the gov.; daher as unpopular m. den soldiers als m. dem great body des people. ||24| Nothing but the army could support them if the King should refuse to take upon himself the yoke which they had prepared for him; yet such was the infatuation der *Liberales*, that 40 one of their most influential members said the liberties des country could never be safe if there were even 4 paid soldiers u. 1 corporal in it;

u. another described the army as composed of privileged mercenaries  
u. hired assassins ... Yet this party courted popularity; and while they  
declaimed in the hall of the Cortes fancied that they enjoyed it. The  
galleries were filled m. their admirers; u. they had active partizans who  
could at any time raise tumult enough out of doors to carry violent 5  
measures by intimidation. Durch dieß system of terror die serviles  
beherrscht. ... (Aug. 18, 1813 a law passed, by which any person who  
should affirm, either by word of mouth or by writing, that the consti-  
tution ought not to be observed, was to be punished m. perpetual banish-  
ment u. the deprivation of all offices, pay, u. honours. An demselben Tag 10  
another law was passed declaring, that whoever should conspire to estab-  
lish any other religion in Spain than the Catholic-Apostolic-Roman, or  
to make the Span, nation cease to profess it, should be prosecuted as a  
traitor, and suffer death, the established law concerning offences against  
the faith remaining in full force.) ... [897-900] Some of the Guerrilla 15  
chiefs are said at this time to have tendered their services to the Cortes.  
... [901] *April 16 1814.* When Ferdinand entered Valencia *"the joyous  
people yoked themselves to his carriage, and testified by every possible  
expression of word u. deed their desire of taking the old yoke upon  
themselves"* ... *"Long live the absolute King. "* *"Down m. der Constitution. "* 20  
General Elio u. s. officers swear dem Ferdinand fidelity (*April 17*)  
without mentioning "the Constitution" u. die "Cortes" ... [904,905]  
Jl Memorial der Serviles. Deputation of 72 to Valencia ... In most der large  
'towns, the Plaza Mayor, or Great Square, had been named Plaza de la  
'. Constitución u. a stone with these words engraven on it erected there: in 25  
% Valencia dieß removed, a "provisional" stone of wood set up in his place,  
Γ m. den words: "Real Plaza de Fernando VII" ... The news of  
Bonaparte's deposition and the consequent termination of hostilities,  
reached Ferdinand during his tarriance at Valencia ... his declaration.  
*1814, 4 May.* Darin u. a. den Cortes auch vorgeworfen: "that the army u. 30  
navy u. other establishments which used to be called royal, had been  
renamed national" ... [907-910] *Madrid. May5, 1814.* The Cortes, as  
Ferdinand approached, could no longer dream of resistance; the decree  
which abrogated their const, and put an end to their authority was  
posted in the streets of Madrid, countersigned by Gen. Eguia, as Capt.- 35  
Gen. of New Castille, u. Polit, u. Military Governor v. der Province, now  
by the King appointed ... such members der Cortes as marked for the  
King's displeasure arrested on the night before the King's arrival  
(May 12) by Gen. Eguia ... [914] The word Liberty (Libertad) appeared  
in large bronze letters over the entrance of the Hall of the Cortes in 40  
Madrid. The people of their own impulse hurried thither to remove it;

Aus Robert Southey: History of the Peninsular war (Fortsetzung)

they set up ladders, forced out letter by letter from the stone, and as each was thrown into the street, the spectators renewed their shouts of exultation ... Wenn Ferdinand VII s. Versprechen v. Mai 4 nicht hielt, weil das temper der nation unequivocally such, that no purpose was to be  
5 gained by it. They collected as many of the Journals of the Cortes, and of the papers u. pamphlets der *Liberales*, as could be got together; formed a procession in which the religious fraternities, and the clergy regular u. secular, took the lead; piled up these papers in one of the public squares, and sacrificed them here as a political auto-da-fé, after which high mass  
10 was performed and the Te Deum sung, as a thanksgiving for their triumph. The Stone of the Constit. was everywhere removed u. replaced as it had been at Valencia. The people of Sevilla deposed all the existing authorities, elected others in their stead to all the offices which had existed under the old regime, and then required those authorities to re-  
15 establish the Inquisition. In re-establishing that accursed tribunal by a formal act of gov., in suppressing the freedom of press, and in continuing to govern as a despotic monarch, Ferdinand undoubtedly complied m. den wishes der Spanish nation. | [915, 916]

|25| Bigland John.  
Histoire d'Espagne  
depuis la plus ancienne époque  
jusqu'à la fin de 1809,  
traduite de l'anglais, 5  
continuée etc par le Comte  
Mathieu Dumas etc.

3 vol. Paris. 1823.

*Vol. III.*

Après tous les revers de fortune éprouvés par les Espagnols vers la fin de 10  
1809, ils se convainquirent par des expériences multipliées, que leurs  
armées étaient absolument hors d'état de se mesurer avec les Français en  
bataille rangée, et ils eurent de nouveau recours à ce système de guerre  
irrégulière, recommandé par la junte de Seville au commencement de la  
révolution, et qui avait été suivi durant quelque temps avec succès. (171) 15  
Ordres bezüglich darauf der Juntas v. Badajoz, Galice, Asturies. Dans  
toute l'étendue de l'Espagne, même dans les provinces les plus fréquem-  
ment parcourues, et en partie occupées par les Français, comme celles  
de la Vieille-Castille, de Léon, Navarre, Arragon, Catalogne, Valence,  
Murcie, Grenade, on forma, sans l'intervention d'aucune autorité publi- 20  
que, solche bandes armées pour tomber à l'improviste sur les Français et  
leurs partisans etc. (172) Chefs les plus renommés des partis de guérillas:

Longa in Galicia u. Asturias, Mina im nord v. Castille, Santochilaes in Leon, Don Juan Sanches près de Salamanque, baron d'Eroles in Aragon, l'Empecinado in der voisinage v. Madrid ... (173)

L'élection des députés aux cortes eut lieu même dans les provinces  
5 occupées par les Français; cette élection s'opérât au milieu des commo-  
tions de la guerre. Dans la Manche, plusieurs partis s'étant réunis, et  
ayant à leur tête l'intendant Herro, marchèrent successivement à l'œuvre  
des élections, attaquant les Français dans quelques villes, se défendant  
dans d'autres pendant la durée de ces opérations et obtenant partout  
10 l'objet désiré. La même chose eut lieu dans le *Guadalaxara* u. dans  
d'autres provinces. (178)

1811. Décembre. Cortes: Décrets gegen die actes d'oppression gegen  
die indigènes primitifs de l'Asie et de l'Amérique ... ebenso aboli das  
monopole du vif-argent ... torture abolie u. tous autres moyens d'op-  
15 pression illégaux u. barbares, tels que menottes, chaînes etc; ebenso die  
traite des noirs (April 1811) ... Aug. (1811) Beschlossen, auf den Antrag  
des Comité des finances u. des affaires, d'appliquer aux hôpitaux mili-  
taires les sommes destinées aux confréries religieuses, aux prébendes et  
autres usages pieux ... 5 Août. 1811 décret portant abolition de toutes les  
20 juridictions seigneuriales; l'usage des mots de *Vassaux* et de *Vasselage*  
devait entièrement cesser, ainsi que tous paiements qui avaient pour  
origine un titre seigneurial, à l'exception de ceux qui résultaient d'un  
contrat libre. Les seigneuries territoriales rentraient, quant aux droits qui  
y étaient attachés, dans la classe des propriétés particulières, si elles  
25 n'étaient pas de nature à être abolies et réunies au domaine national. Les  
privilèges appelés exclusifs, privatifs u. prohibitifs, tels que ceux de  
chasse, de pêche, de moulins, de forêts etc, étaient abolis; mais ceux qui  
les avaient achetés à titre onéreux, devaient être remboursés du capital  
réellement avancé par eux, et recevoir jusqu'à ce remboursement un inté-  
30 rêt de 3% (+90).. (242, 3) ... 18 mars 1812 les Cortés tinrent une séance  
solennelle dont l'objet était de signer les articles de la constitution ...

20 mars die Const, proclamirt ... Juin 1812 les Cortes adoptèrent un  
décret où se trouvait détaillé le mode d'application aux besoins de l'état  
de la partie du produit des dîmes qui excédait la somme nécessaire à  
35 l'entretien de ceux en faveur de qui ils étaient perçus ... October 1812  
mitas, (wonach in den colonies d'Amérique chaque district requis de  
fournir un certain nombre d'hommes pour la culture des terres, l'exploit-  
ation des mines et autres travaux) pour toujours abolies ... Wellington  
commandant-en-chef des armées espagnoles ernannt ... | [280-283]

40 [26]... neue Régence: Cardinal de Bourbon, Don P. Agar, u. D. Gabriel  
Ciscar ... L'on découvrit bientôt que la résistance du clergé espagnol au



décret des cortes (v. 8 Mars 1812, wonach das décret über Abschaffung der Inquisition zu lesen lors de la célébration de l'office divin) était soutenue u. fomentée durch die influence puissante du nonce du pape, Pierre Gravina, archevêque de Nicée, alors résidant à Cadix. Diese circonstance rendue publique par un manifeste der régence, adressé aux prélats u. chapitres de l'Espagne. (309) Déclaration des Gravina. 7 Juli die Régence lui envoya un passeport pour sortir sans délai du royaume. Il se rendit en Portugal, où il continua ses incitations. (311) Die époque arrivée wo die cortés extraordinaires devaient résigner leur autorité entre les mains des cortés ordinaires. Le 14 sept, le décret des cortes extraordinaires relatif à la clôture de leur session lu. (311) Dans l'intervalle entre la dissolution der cortés extraordinaires u. der réunion der Cortés ordinaires, il resta une deputation permanente. (312) 14 Mai 1814. La populace traîna sa (Ferdinands) voiture depuis Aranjuez jusqu'à Madrid. (320) Adresse der Université v. Salamanque an den roi, fort différente de ces tributs d'adulation. (322) 21 Juli 1814. Inquisition retablirt. (323) In diesem Décret erwähnt der roi unter den Ursachen «qui ont altéré la pureté de la religion en Espagne ... le séjour des troupes étrangères de différentes sectes, presque toutes infectées des sentiments de haine contre la St. Eglise Romaine» ... [324] Province de Navarre théâtre d'une violente insurrection. Espoz y Mina ... [327] 19 Avril 1810: die confédération américaine de Venezuela.

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Von demselben (1814) Napoleon der true Don Quixote of Europe.

W. Walton. Esq.  
The Revolutions of Spain.  
Von 1808-1836.  
2 vol. London. 1837.

vol. I.

5

As the commoners became rich and powerful, they united in brotherhoods for mutual protection ... useful instruments in the suppression of anarchy u. checking the arrogance der nobles. (13) They sat zuerst at the Cortes of Leon, in 1188; u. at those of Benavente, in 1202, in the character of delegates from cities and towns. (I.e.) 1295, 32 cities of Leon u. 10 Galicia confederated in support of their rights, mutually pledged against den despotism des sovereign u. die encroachments der aristocracy. In 1315, a new confederation formed by upward of 100 cities u. towns, when the resolutions der old league were adopted. Die minorities v. Ferdinand IV u. Alonzo XI further strengthened den influence der commons 15 ... FerdinandIV always had m. ihm 12commoners, designated v. den cities of Castile, to serve as councillors in financial u. other affairs. For Alonzo XI<sup>134</sup> minority, the Cortes named the regency, composed of 4 bishops and 16nobles u. commoners. ... [13,14] FerdinandIV convened them in large numbers to the Cortes of Valladolid, in 1309. At those of 20 Seville, in 1340, a large proportion took their seats; and when assembled at Madrid, in 1390, 128 deputies represented 48 cities u. towns ... The popular deputies were members of, or elected by, the municipalities, in some places by lot, and provided m. regular powers. ... [15] In the early part of the reign of Henry III, the commons enjoyed the highest consid- 25 eration, declined, owing to their refusal to vote all the supplies required

for the Moorish war. In 1419 the delegates complained that their 4 commissioners no longer ||27| admitted into the king's council. ... When the influence der commons declined, the constituencies objected to pay the expenses of their delegates. At the Ocaña Cortes, held in 1422, the cities remonstrated m. John II, alleging that they could no longer bear the charge of sending up deputies; in consequence of which he ordered them to be paid out of the treasury: a measure which afterwards proved fatal to public freedom; for on the oath of allegiance being taken to his son Henry (IV), no more than 12 delegates were present, the rest having been instructed to send up proxies, by which means an expedient originally suggested from motives of economy became a dangerous precedent ... [16,17]

According to the ancient ordinances, and particularly the *Leyes de Foro*, the assemblies appointed for municipal purposes consisted of a mayor, aldermen, jurats and elders (Alcaldes, regidores, jurados y elúdanos cadañeros (common councilmen)), annually elected. From the accession of the Austrian dynasty, the Foreign wars in which the Spaniards became involved, pressed so heavily upon the resources of the country, that almost every situation of trust or emolument was offered for sale, or bestowed upon favourites. By this means the municipal offices in many instances became hereditary, and the people lost that share which they [were] accustomed to have in the national representation, which fell into the hands of nobles, or became the patrimony of powerful families ... the nobles sunk into the slothful enjoyment of pleasure, under the protection of their exemptions. The people, or the *estado llano*, were thus left to bear the burdens and carry on the drudgery of the public cause ... this change dates from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century ... The comuneros of Castile did not demand new systems or new laws. Their complaints were directed against abuses of a modern kind. (89-91) The Cortes, in 1812, in an old and prejudiced country, abounding with privileged orders, they rushed into all the follies of republican liberalism, at the same time that they appealed to ancient precedents. (93)

Godoy, in 1784, simple garde du corps; in 1792, a lieut.-general, an admiral, a duke, a knight of the Golden Fleece, and minister of Foreign Affairs. Easy advance of the French army to Miranda de Ebro, in 1794. 1795 *treaty of Basle*. 1796 *treaty of St. Ildefonso*, (among other things binding Spain to furnish a fleet provisioned for 6 months.) Godoy was first noticed at court as a good player upon the guitar, and singer of *seguidillas graciosas y picantes* ... obtained the king's niece in marriage, though he was wedded to another by whom he had children ... endeavoured to secure the regency for himself ... *treaty of Fontainebleau* ...

Ferdinand arrested (the Court was at the Escorial) 27 October. (1807) ... the Prince had consulted Napoleon on a marriage project... Infante Don Antonio the king's brother ... demonstrations der guards u. der Jeromite monks des Escorial convent ... Isquierdo reached Madrid from Paris, informed Godoy that Napoleon had resolved to seize upon Spain; the 5 royal family would do well to retire to Mexico, as the Prince Regent had done to Brazil ... (Isquierdo was the Span. Cons.-Gen. u. Godoy's private agent in Paris) ... the French agents suddenly gave out that their troops were coming to dislodge the unworthy favourite, by raising the prince to the head of the gov. ... Sudden order v. Charles IV (17 March 10 1808) to hold the travelling coaches ready etc ... (in Aranjuez) ... Eindringen in die Wohnung des Godoy in Aranjuez durch die Manchegans. ... *Popular commotion at Madrid in the afternoon of the 19<sup>th</sup> March 1808* (gegen Godoy's most obnoxious satellites) *muera el Choricero* (the sausage-maker) Godoy a native of Estremadura famed for its good sausages. 15 (95-116)

The day after the tumult at Aranjuez, Charles IV, in the presence der ministers, grandees, u. prelates, abdicated in favour of his son; and 2 days afterwards, *privately* protested against his own act ... (March 19, 1808 Abdication. *March 21 1808 Protest.*) ... Charles IV crossed the 20 Bidassoa on the 21<sup>st</sup> April 1808 ... On the 23<sup>rd</sup> March (1808) Murat (kam nach Madrid v. Valladolid, on his way to Portugal) in Madrid enthusiastisch empfangen. Volk glaubte he came to support the young king ... 24 March (1808) Ferdinands entry into Madrid. When first proclaimed at Aranjuez, he issued a decree reviving the ancient laws, annulling various 25 acts der last administration, recalling all persons banished since the time of Florida Blanca, and enjoining that the *Cortes should be forthwith convened* ... Godoy had been confined at Villa Viciosa, 3 leagues from Madrid, and legal proceedings instituted against him at the suit of aggrieved parties ... with a large French army occupying the frontier 30 fortresses and even the capital nothwendig to conciliate the French Emperor ... |

[28]... After establishing a *supreme junta* of gov. under the presidency of the Infante Don Antonio, Ferdinand VII left Madrid for Burgos ... 20\* April Godoy set at liberty (released) auf die Drohungen Murats ... 35 The French at this moment had 25,000 men in Madrid; at Aranjuez, Toledo, and the Escorial, 10,000 more. All the heights u. commanding points in possession of their artillery. The Span, garrison did not exceed 3000, mostly recruits. ... Ferdinand VII fell into the snare, *treaty v. Bayonne, May 5, 1808* ... 2 May 1808 rising der inhabitants of Madrid. ... 40 The Queen of Etruria, who had also been dispossessed of her crown,

being still at Madrid with her only son, arrangements were made for them to proceed to France. Dieß erster Anlaß des Tumults. An attempt was made to cut the traces der carriage etc. ... 2 decrees reached Madrid v. Ferdinand VII, 5 Mai, "the one addressed to the supreme junta, directing its members to remove to a secure place u. exercise the functions of sovereignty; u. to commence the war sobald he was sent into the interior of France; das andre, to the royal council, commanding cortes to be assembled in any place deemed expedient. Cortes only to occupy themselves in organising a gov., and in obtaining means for the defence of the kingdom." The supreme Junta war also schon dissolved u. its members dispersed ... 8 June. *Bayonne exhortation, enjoining submission*, signed by a number of influential Spaniards ... 23<sup>d</sup> May (1808) *Valencia* ceased all communications m. Madrid; as did *Seville* on the 26<sup>th</sup> u. *Aragon* on the 27<sup>th</sup> ... juntas formed in most der provincial capitals ... 15 Joseph Bonaparte zu Madrid. 20 July 1808. ... The attack upon Zaragoza was gallantly repelled, the French were driven from the gates of Valencia, on the 28 July [news of] Dupont's defeat reached Madrid, Joseph retired beyond the Ebro. Then it was that the Convocation of the Cortes was thought of, u. deputies were elected by the provincial Juntas to meet at 20 Madrid. Met at Aranjuez. the 34 deputies declared themselves a Central Junta. ... The provincial juntas did not wish to dispossess themselves of any particle of that sovereignty which, they contended, had been conferred upon them by the people; and thus a kind of federative gov. was established. To a want of unity in the command, opposite interests, local 25 jealousies, u. rival influences added, and it became impossible to combine the operations of a campaign ... Twice did the Council of Castile remonstrate against these idle proceedings ... Although the middle u. lower orders, generally speaking, were eager to appeal to arms in the cause of national independence, numbers der higher u. educated class felt dis- 30 posed to compromise ... the Pyrenees had not presented a barrier sufficiently strong to prevent the doctrines of the French school from reaching the provincial capitals u. maritime towns ... numbers looked up to Napoleon as the future regenerator of Spain, (z.B. Gen. Alava himself) ... Die Bayonne Const, signed by 91 Spaniards of the highest 35 distinction; among them, dukes, Counts, and marquises, as well as several heads der religious orders. ... Seit der capitulation of Dupont's army u. der following evacuation of Madrid, public opinion nahm a new turn, u. induced many to join the popular cause die früher abgeneigt. ... 40 When Joseph Bonaparte reached Madrid, a deputation of grandees, offering their congratulations, addressed him thus: "Sire—The grandees of Spain have at all times been celebrated for loyalty to their sovereigns,

and in them your Maj. will now find the same fidelity and adhesion." *The Council of Castile* assured him "that he was the principal *branch of a family destined by Heaven to reign*" ... Don Melchior Gaspar de Jovellanos (March 1798 Minister) ... Florida Blanca their proclamations were vigorous and their measures weak ... continued merely to wage a war of edicts from the royal palace of Aranjuez, while the armies of France were assembling on the Ebro. (117-143) ... Besides the titles of Majesty u. Excellency which the members der Central Junta voted for themselves, they adopted a species of gay uniform, resembling that of the generals ... Madrid was sacrificed through the errors u. jealousies der central Junta ... Wellington schreibt an s. Bruder, den Marquis of Wellesley, Sept. 1 1809: "I am much afraid, from what I have seen of the proceedings der central junta, that in the distribution of their (military) forces they do not consider military defence, and military operations, so much as they do political intrigue, and the attainment of trifling political objects". ...| 15 1291... Diese central Junta, nicht Monarchy, though it assumes, in a collective body, to represent the person u. exercise the prerogative of the sovereign. ... 27Mai 1809 decree for the convocation der Cortes; darin angekündigt das "*re-establishing der fundamental laws of the monarchy*". It was decreed "that the legal and known representation der monarchy in *ancient Cortes* should be established by their convocation next year, or sooner if circumstances allowed". ... Die Central Junta had put off das meeting der Cortes so lang als möglich. Sie wollten nicht "loosen their hold upon power. The opportunity of bestowing offices u. commands to friends u. flatterers was with them as inviting as in Godoy's time. The sweets of patronage were equally alluring—honours u. titles even more seductive at Seville than at Aranjuez" ... the loss of the battle of Ocaña threw fresh discredit upon the individuals der central junta, who were treated m. pasquinades u. rough music, after the Sevilla fashion. The forcing der passes der Sierra Morena sealed their doom ... these valuable positions were no better defended than those of Somosierra had been. ... On the 13<sup>th</sup> January (1810) notice was given that "his majesty proposed to remove to the Isla de Leon, and there establish himself on the approaching 1<sup>st</sup> Feb." In the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 8 days before the period appointed, a general *saue qui peut* nevertheless took place. ... The Central Junta reappeared in der *Isla de Leon*. Decree v. 29 Jan. ... The inhabitants of Seville wished to defend their city, u. m. this view took up arms in the morning of the 24 (Jan. 1810), forbidding all persons to leave the place. It was however too late—the French were close upon them, and Cadiz only presented an asylum; yet, under these circumstances, the central junta ordered the Duke de Albuquerque's corps to proceed to Cor-

dova. If the duke had not disobeyed their orders by going to Cadiz, all would then have been lost ... 18' April 1809 Joseph Bonaparte convened Cortes, this example served to stimulate the central Junta to perform their long forgotten promise. ... 24 Sept. 1810 die new-fashioned Cortes  
5 opened ... they at once declared themselves a constituent assembly. (144-163)

they began by a vote similar to that passed by our H. of C. in 1648, whereby they declared that the sovereign power exclusively resided in them, and, consequently, that whatever they enacted was law, without  
10 the consent of either king, peers, or clergy. ... Owing to the approaches der French, die Cortes removed their sittings from the Isla de Leon to Cadiz, pursuant to a resolution taken Feb. 18, 1811. ... Nearly the whole  
of 1811 was spent in metaphysical discussions on the scheme of a constit., the sovereignty des people, the liberty of the press etc. ... Decrees fol-  
15 lowed decrees in rapid succession, at a moment when it was impossible for the people to know anything of their contents. ... The French did not evacuate Madrid till August 1812; and in the course of the same month, Andalusia and the Castiles were abandoned. The invaders still lingered in the northern provinces, and did not quit them till the end of 1813:  
20 what interest then could the inhabitants of these sections take in the transactions of the Cortes? ... The invitation der central junta to send over deputies was acquiesced in by the South Americans, and several arrived after the opening der Cortes; when they found that substitutes or nominees had usurped their seats. ... 19 March 1812 Const, proclaimed,  
25 subscribed by 184 members, of whom 133 Spaniards u. 51 South Amer-  
icans ... Gen. Castaños Sieger bei Baylen (22 July 1808). ... 23 persons (nach dem décret des Regents v. 10 Sept. 1810) should be picked up to  
represent the places held by the French, and 30 for the Indies... v. denen who may happen to be in La Isla u. Cadiz, ... die natives u. emigrants\*  
30 der provinces, occupied by the French, to appear for the purpose of forming lists u. afterwards electing deputies f. Avila, Madrid, Segovia, X Toledo, Alava, Aragon, Guipuscoa, Navarre, Soria, Biscaya, Cordova, Granada, Jaén, La Mancha, Seville, Asturias, Burgos, Leon, Valencia, Salamanca, Toro, Valladolid u. Zamora. Total:23 ... the representative  
35 principle was so entirely lost. ... Valencia m. 1,040,740 souls allowed 19 deputies; Granada, m. Malaga—1,100,640 nur 2 etc etc (164-182) |  
1301 Ebenso f. die Asiatic u. Southamerican provinces. ...

As the French retired, a host of petty tyrants was sent forth to the provinces, where they established their proconsular authority. Ambitious  
40 of power and eager for revenge, they began by inquiries, prosecutions, prison, inquisitorial proceedings.... The Cadiz Code deprived the King of



the power of dissolving or proroguing the Cortes ... It was a sweeping proscription of every privileged u. corporate body in the country. ... The Cortes suppressed the Council of Castile. ... M. de Pradt, in his *Mémoires Historiques sur la Révol. d'Espagne* says, that in March 1811, the Cadiz Cortes sent deputies to Joseph Bonaparte, then in Andalusia, 5 and that these deputies stopped at Seville on learning the result of the battle of Albuera, gained over Soult by Beresford on March 27. ...

\ So great was the apprehension of disturbances entertained by the government itself, that within a month after its (der Constit.) promulgation, they prevented arms from being entrusted to the Galician peasantry. 10 Having launched the new code, encouraged by success, ... abolition der tithes. ... The battle of Vitoria broke Napoleon's sceptre in Spain. ... 11 Dec. 1813 treaty Napoleon's m. Ferdinand... its ratification refused by the regency—The Cadiz Cortes closed their sittings 14 Sept. 1813, 3 years all but 10 days from the period of their opening. The Cortes as- 15 ssembled in Madrid were composed of fresh deputies, excepted those from the ultramarine provinces. ... Décret der Cortes u. Regency v. 2 February 1814: "that the king should not be acknowledged as free, u. therefore not obeyed, until in the midst des national congress he had taken the oath v prescribed by the 173<sup>d</sup> article of the constit.; i. e., to keep u. observe it".... 20

In a word, he was required to receive the Crown from the Cortes. ... Manifest der Cortes to the Span, people, d. d. 19 Febr. 1814 ... Gegen die *Afrancesados* ... Spain during the king's absence had unquestionably undergone a change ... Ferdinand reached Catalonia 24 March 1814. \*~ Von Catalonia nach Saragossa, dann nach Teruel, v. da nach Valencia, 25 ^ avoiding Madrid. This delay u. hesitation gave a stimulus to public opinion ... number of 69 members der antiliberalen Opposition der Cortes \*~ met privately ... April, 22, 1814, signed an address to the king, pointing out die defects der Const., the dangerous tendency of its principles, the illegality der powers under which it was framed u. advised him to reject it. 30 ... Dieß paper afterwards printed unter dem title: "Address, signed at Madrid by some of the deputies to the extraordinary Cortes in the most difficult moments of their oppression, having for object to make known to H. M., on his entry into Spain, the state of the nation, the wishes of the provinces, and the remedies which they deem most suitable for existing 35 evils".... die liberals were concentrated in Madrid, some show of military preparations made, Gen. Lacy appointed to command their forces. ... Equia, who had been appointed Capt.-Gen. of Castile, took the king's edict (Mai, 4) to Madrid, where he arrived on the 11<sup>th</sup>, and immediately announced the suppression der regency u. dissolution der Cortes. On the 40 10<sup>th</sup> of May the sun thus set, for the last time, during the period of the

2<sup>nd</sup> experiment at least, upon Constitutional Spain. Die members, as far as outward appearances went, preserved their consistency, or rather their delirium, till the close. ... Ferdinand entered Madrid on the 14 May, 1814. ... When the king alighted, the people took him up in their arms u. triumphantly showed him to the immense concourse assembled in the front des palace, u. in their arms conveyed him to his apartments. From Aranjuez to Madrid, his carriage had been previously drawn by the people. (183-201)

... the troops der capital were damals commanded by officers der movement party ... they (die Cortes) had ordered lapides, or commemorative monuments, to be raised to the constit. in every town and village ... Theil des Volks consoled durch die promises (in dem Manifest v. May 4, 1814) which had just emanated from the throne, the king did not redeem his pledge ... A general reaction followed the fall der Cortes; the acts emanating from them were rescinded, u. everything restored to its ancient footing ... Ferdinand VII had solemnly promised to convene Cortes under the legal u. national forms. That's nicht. ... Upwards of 10,000 families, mostly in exile, compromised by adhering to the French, or labouring under suspicion on account of absence. *Afrancesados*. Daher limited amnesty f. diese on 30 May, 1814 ... In some of the provincial capitals, maritime towns, u. among den officers der army u. navy, disaffection prevailed to a considerable extent. Mina gave the first signal for resistance, by an ¡311 appeal to arms. Trusting to his popularity in Navarre, he collected a party and succeeded in entering the fortress of Pampeluna; but finding that the soldiers who followed him could not be trusted, he withdrew to France. Dieß on 25 Sept. 1814. Mina gesteht "that his object was to proclaim the Constit. u. die Cortes". ... 18 Sept. 1815: *Portier*, gain over the garrison of Coruna, arrested the local authorities; dann took possession of Ferrol, issued a proclamation, hopes der nation disappointed, f. reassembling der Cortes. Nach 4 Tagen his troops abandon him ... (D. Juan Diaz Porlier, Guérillero, Capt.-Gen. of Asturias zur Zeit v. Ferdinands return from France.) Porlier was denounced by some person who had entered into his views u. possessed his secrets. Among those who at the moment hastened up to court m. den news of his arrest, was *Capt. Quiroga*, who for some service or other performed on this occasion advanced 2 steps u. made a lieut.-colonel. Später der hero der Isla v. Leon ...

Vidal's conspiracy was equally unsuccessful. Similar attempts successively made in the course of 4 years, only added to the list of victims u. exasperated the ruling power. Still conspiracies continued; and in order to promote them, secret societies were formed which corresponded

m. den emigrants abroad ... *Gen. Lacy* was induced to join the confederacy of *Gen. Milans*, an old comrade, u. several others, u. a plan laid for him to raise the Constitutional standard, on April 5, 1817. Betrayed by some person initiated into the secret, fled, overtaken by *Llauder*, conducted to Barcelona, tried, taken to Majorca, shot there, July 5, 1817. ... 5

Dec. 1819 a large force was assembled in Lower Andalusia, destined for America. Insurrection. Die Insurrectionary Army, 1 Jan. 1820, die Constit. of 1812 proclaimed. *Mina* at this juncture appeared in Navarre, ... a proclamation f. Const, u. Cortes. *Agar*, the late regent, also raised the standard of revolt, u. soon the flame spread to Aragon, as well as Cata- 10

*Ionía*. *Abisbal's* defection. It reached Madrid. 6' March (in the Morning), there appeared an order f. die convocation der Cortes ... too late ... *Don A. M. Alcalá Galiano*, one of the projectors, damals at Cadix, sagt in s. "Sketch der Origin der Revolution etc", führt an als facilities f. die new enterprise: "a respectable army on a war-footing—the daring ideas of its 15

officers—the remains of the fleet assembled on one point—a large supply of funds—the position of Cadiz, strong by nature, and proud of having been a barrier to the French, as well as the cradle of liberal ideas". *D. Evaristo San Miguel*—the other historian, alluding to the failure upon Cadiz, writes thus: "the hopes of gaining the most important 20

point of Cadiz gradually vanished. By force it was considered impossible to do anything; and negotiations, intrigues, u. conspiracies no longer produced effect. Our situation was truly extraordinary; and the revolution, stationary for 25 days, without losing or gaining an inch of ground, presented one of the most singular phenomena in politics." *Riego's* sortie 25

towards Malaga was unsuccessful, u. während der months of January u. February das people looked on as indifferent spectator. A military movement at Coruna on the 22 Febr., u. *Mina's* appearance in Navarra, turned the scale; otherwise the La Isla mutiny would have been defeated ... Decree v. 7 March 1820 ... Towards the end of February (1820), nearly 30

2 months after the 1<sup>st</sup> movement der mutineers Ferdinand wished to go down to the army; dissuaded by his minister, the Duke de San Fernando. *Elio*, capt.-gen. of Valencia, bat den king to allow him to proceed to Andalusia u., jointly m. *Gen. Freyre*, adopt some plan of pacification. Auch Infante *D. Carlos* nicht erlaubt to set out for the army in order to 35

quell the mutiny. 2 months passed in inactivity ... *Gen. Ballesteros*, who in the previous year, and while acting as war-minister, filled die army m. officers of dubious character, had just been appointed to the military command of Madrid. Was deep in the plot. *Ballesteros* m.... dem king, in the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup>, when a concourse of riotous persons assembled 40

in front of the palace. (202-223)

Don Rafael del Riego ... 9 July 1820 Cortes meet... Castro (ex-deputy  
der Cortes v. 1812), ebenso Garcia Herreros, ebenso A. Arguelles ...  
Ein der earliest measures des new Cabinet to disband the new force which  
had raised the standard of Liberty at La Isla u. restored them to power.  
5 Erst, in the way of experiment, der war-minister removed Col. Alexandre  
O'Donnell u. several of his officers from their regiment, which had early  
declared f. die constit. at Ocaña. Dann orders issued to separate the  
army of San Fernando, till ||32| then concentrated in Andalusia. Its com-  
mander, Riego, was directed to proceed to Galicia, Espinoza to Tortosa,  
10 Arco-Aguero u. Lopez Baños were taken away on separate commissions.  
Riego v. dem war-ministre nach Madrid invited whence, together m.  
Governor Velasco, he was some time afterwards exiled to Oviedo. Several  
other officers were also sent into banishment, u. among them Evaristo  
San Miguel, Manzanares u. Nunez ... So die La Isla officers banished  
15 without the formality of a legal process ... Schon March 1820 reactionäre  
Szenen, einzeln, in Saragossa, Galicia, Estremadura ... the law of entails  
altered, to the great offence der nobles ... Decree v. October 1, 1820, the  
monasteries suppressed, excepting a certain number, u. also several der  
military orders, the revenues of which should be set apart f. das payment  
20 der national debt, after pensions secured to Riego, Quiroga u. the other  
leaders des La Isla mutiny. The inmates der suppressed convents were to  
receive Stipends from the gov. etc. Diese ganze Maßregel, weil, from  
financial distress, the expedient of a Foreign loan was adopted ... At the  
end of a month der king gab reluctantly his signature u. den next day  
25 departed for the Escorial ... "Coxes Mémoires of the Kings of Spain of  
the House of Bourbon" by Don Andres Muriel ... It appears strange  
that the patriotic senators of 1820 should have thus braved the anger of  
so powerful a body as the clergy. ... Ferdinand VII pleads illness not to  
be present at the closing der Cortes, 9<sup>th</sup> November 1820. Tag vorher pri-  
30 vately agreed by the deputies that no more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of their number  
should quit the capital during the recess, in order that a majority might  
be present in case of any emergency. Ferdinand, without any ministerial  
intervention, directed Gen. Vigodet to give up the command of New Ca-  
stile to Gen. Caravajal, which led to an immediate meeting der perma-  
35 nent deputation, remonstrance from the ministers, tendering their res-  
ignation. The royal order was signed Nov. 16, 1820, and the expectation  
of a rupture caused the garrison to be put under arms. Clubs in readiness.  
Dann die ministers u. permanent deputation forwarded stronger repre-  
sentations to the king, advising him to return to the capital. ... Experi-  
40 enee had shown that the new order of things had given rise to an earnest  
struggle between the prejudices u. habits der ancient monarchy, u. den

maxims u. policy of a new one ... Ferdinand gave notice of his immediate return to the capital, as well as of the removal of several obnoxious persons from his palace. 21 Nov. (1820) he arrived. Riego made capt.-gen. of Aragon, Velasco received the command of Estremadura u. Espinosa that of Old Castile. O'Donoju, Mina, Doaiz, Lopez Baños u. Arco- 5 Agüero equally raised to separate commands; Quiroga retained his seat in the Cortes ... Royalistische Flugschrift des Vinuesa, formerly curate of Tamajon u. one of the King's honorary chaplains. Eingesperrt, the ardent spirits frequenting the Puerta del Sol rushed in a crowd to the prison, forced open the door, entered the curate's cell u. with a blacksmith's 10 hammer beat out his brains. This deed celebrated in songs, sung about the streets u. in the guard-houses ... the *martillo* or hammer faction ... the ejected monks called the peasants to arms, the habits of insurrection u. irregular warfare had become so familiar to the Spaniards, that armed bands easily collected, which at first had the appearance of a church 15 militant, being chiefly headed by monks or secular clergymen. The curate *Merino* of these der most distinguished. War wieder curate zu Villabiao in Castile, in 1821, when the cry against the constit. was raised ... the large cities waren, in a contrary sense, agitated by clubs u. debating societies ... 4 Febr. (1821) the king complained, wegen menace u. personal insult, to 20 the municipality, u. policemen stationed in front des palace. The next afternoon he took his usual ride, again assailed m. offensive vociferations, blended m. cries of *Tragala* (Song in favour der Const. Tragala, perro! Swallow it down dog.) A party of lifeguards, irritated by these indignities, rushed out sword in hand, u. dispersed the populace. Several 25 wounded; people returning m. increased numbers, the guards driven | 1331 back to their barracks. Disbanding der guards demanded. Militia put under arms, the liberals flew to their respective posts. Municipality interposes, the offending regiment einstweilen disarmed. Tumult subsided, aber die position der royal family continued precarious, owing to the 30 indiscreet zeal der royalists, which it became impossible to control. 1 March (1821) second session der Cortes opened ... new ministry ... Disposition der Continental Powers to interfere. The alarm caused by the events of La Isla had been increased by the contagious effects produced in Portugal u. Naples, where the liberals, not having the time to frame 35 new institutions of their own, provisionally proclaimed the Span. Const, as the law of the land. ... The French for some time had been collecting near the Pyrenees a large military force, equipped for active service, the advanced line of which, under pretext of guarding against epidemic contagion, was employed as a *cordon sanitaire*. ... Numbers of French mal- 40 contents u. many Italians had also fled to Spain ... (Sieh Gen. *Vaudon-*

*court*) ... Im Verona Congress 3 cases specified f. French intervention:  
1) attack by Spain. 2) personal outrage on the King or the Royal family.  
3) attempt to change the reigning dynasty ... Royalist commotions at  
Seville, Barcelona, Carthagena, Zaragoza, u. in Murcia. In Alava the  
5 curate Merino had also collected 800 men, with whom he entered Sal-  
vatierra u. tore down the stone der constitution, after capturing die nation-  
al guard of Vitoria. *Lopez Baños* defeated him, took some prisoners,  
subjected to martial law u. executed. The indiscriminate severities then  
inflicted upon ecclesiastics gave rise to those dreadful acts of reprisal  
10 which marked the struggle, have continued to the present day ... Die  
Madrider seemed to have embraced extreme liberal opinions, eager  
to join in every species of tumult. Morillo just arrived v. South America,  
appointed to the command der capital, much reliance placed on his en-  
ergetic character. The cortes closed on the 30 June 1821, when the king  
15 proceeded to the baths of Sacedon, the Thermida der Romans, a town of  
about 3000, in the province of Cuenca, situated a league from the Tagus  
... some of the principal plans f. die reaction there concocted ... In the  
spring of 1822, Quesada formed a small royalist army in the Basque prov-  
inces u. Navarre. The Catalonian bands had also acquired some  
20 consistency, under the direction of the Trappist u. Baron d'Eroles. ...  
Der Trappist (Capt. Marañon, who had become Father Antonio) nimmt  
the Seo de Urgel, situated at the foot of one of the southern declivities  
der eastern Pyrenees. Here the regency established itself, under the pres-  
idency des Marquis de Mataflorida aided by the Bishop of Tarragona;  
25 u. der Baron d'Eroles took charge of the military department. ... Such  
der state der royalist cause at the close of 1822. The regency had for some  
time defied the power der Cortes. ... Von den Basque provinces Zavala  
kept up his communications m. Merino, who operated between Burgos  
u. dem Ebro; at the same time that Bessières, after holding Mequinenza  
30 for 8 months, pushed his incursions to the vicinity of Madrid ... (-260)  
30 June 1822. Cortes closed. The ceremony being over, the king was  
about to enter his carriage, when loud vociferation from the multitude  
assembled; an affray zw. dem Volk, premeditating an insult, u. den gren-  
adier guards interfering, and a few lives were lost. The same afternoon,  
35 Lieutenant Landaburu, of the guards, supposed to be a liberal, shot by  
one of his own soldiers whilst endeavouring to check their impetuosity.  
Party feeling nun zu der äussersten height... Madrid presented the spec-  
tacle of 2 armies eager to engage, auf der 1 Seite die Guards, auf der  
andern die national militia. ... Morillo appeased den tumult, als in the  
40 night, 4 battalions der guards sallied forth, completely equipped, and  
proceeded to the Pardo, a royal residence on the left bank of the Man-

zanares, 2 leagues north-west of Madrid, surrounded with woods ...  
 2nd July (1822) Riego trifft in Madrid ein ... matters in this state till the  
 4<sup>th</sup>... On the morning des 6<sup>th</sup> some of the battalions moved from the  
 Pardo towards Madrid, and after reconnoitring to Puerta del Hierro u.  
 exchanging a few shots m. den piquets, returned to their former posi- 5  
 tions. The next morning they entered battle array, u. from 3 different  
 points attacked the main square. Severe conflict, many lives ||34| lost,  
 guards overpowered, driven back to the Puerta del Sol, where they made  
 a stand and returned to the charge. Again repulsed, confined to narrow  
 streets, and exposed to the fire of artillery in their front u. their flanks, 10  
 withdrew towards the palace, where they sought shelter. Flag of truce,  
 terms not accepted, the implicated guards fled towards the interior, being  
 pursued, several put to the sword, others capitulated ... (At this period a  
 plan existed to produce a reaction by the introduction of 2 chambers.  
 This, it was thought, would lead to a kind of *juste milieu*, Martinez de la 15  
 Rosa, Sierra Pambley u. several other members, both of the Cortes u. der  
 administration, had joined in the scheme, supported by Gen. Morillo u.  
 Ballesteros, as well as by several other officers opposed to Riego u. the  
 La Isla party; the opposite party apprised of what was going on ... the  
 national guards, all flaming Constitutionalists. Some desperate move- 20  
 ment on the part der life-guards hovering about the Pardo being antici-  
 pated, Riego was privately called up to Madrid to command the Militia  
 in case of an emergency; both Morillo u. Ballesteros being distrusted ...  
 Mina Sept. 1822 appointed to command Catalonia, to put down the  
 Army of the Faith, u. dislodge the regency from Seo de Urgel ... at this 25  
 period the war of extermination commenced which has raged ever since  
 ... Aehnlich Gen. Villacampa at Seville ... Mina took the fortress of  
 Urgel 3 Febr. 1823 ... Romagosa einer der royal Guérilleros in Catalonia,  
 während des Kriegs gegen die Franzosen Hauptguerillaman. General at  
 the close of the war ... the Span, constitutionalists, at the time greatly 30  
 misled by Mr. Canning's professions ... 28 Jan. (1823) Rede v. Engl, king  
 on the opening der Chambers ... 15 Febr. (1823) vote passed the Cortes,  
 authorising the ministers to remove the gov., leaving to the king the  
 choice of place. 19<sup>th</sup> the session closed; in the afternoon the king signified  
 his intention of changing the ministry. In the evening large concourse 35  
 assembled in the front of the palace, seditious cries, demanding the rein-  
 statement des ministry, others a regency, several even the king's death,  
 the uproar was tremendous. Municipalities interposed, king widerruft die  
 Absetzung der Minister ... 1 March 1823 die Cortes again opened. ...  
 By the end of March the French had assembled an army of 80,000 men 40  
 under the orders des Duke of Angoulême; the centre commanded by

Oudinot, the right by Molitor, the left by Moncey. With this force, the army of the Faith, under Eróles, Quesada, u. dem Trappist, was to cooperate. 1<sup>st</sup> proclamation des Angoulême v. 2 April (1823); auch die provisional Span. Regency—Eguia, Erro u. Calderón—address v. 6 April...  
5 Calderón auch war v. den 69 *Persas* who signed the address presented to the king at Valencia ... (-285)

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of Aug., the Duke d'Angoulême, after an uninterrupted march from the capital, reached Port St. Mary's, announcing durch Brief dem king that the rest des country delivered v. dem revolutionary yoke  
10 u. recommending the convocation der ancient Cortes ... The French army crossed the Bidassoa on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April . . . .When the French entered Spain, the constitutionalists, according to their own confession, had an efficient army of 96,750 men, not to mention the volunteer corps in every part des kingdom, companies formed by the provincial députations u. other scattered troops, ready to act. This M. Calatrava, one of the ministers, admits, in his answer to Flores Estrada, d. d. London Nov. 16, 1825 ... die frzs. Armee made up of recruits without experience u. veterans of doubtful fidelity ... (100,000men) ... 18 Mai die capitulation of Madrid signed, 20<sup>th</sup> die French entered ... Riego undertook the  
20 task, and on quitting the harbour (of Cadiz) eluded the vigilance der blockading force. He reached Malaga on the 5<sup>th</sup> Sept., where he found Gen. Zayas at the head of 4000 men, the remnant of the reserve lately under the orders of Gen. Villacampa. Of this force Riego took the command, u. with it proceeded towards the positions held by Ballesteros.  
25 Reaching Priego, 16 leagues north of Malaga, he found himself in front of his rival's lines, who received him with a fire of musketry. Riego demanded an interview, ||35| which being granted, he proposed that Ballesteros should resume his operations against the French, and tendered his own services to act in a subordinate command. The proposal was  
30 rejected u. Riego conceived the bold project of seizing Ballestero's person. With this view he ordered the general's escort to be dismissed: but one of the prisoner's officers escaping from the house where the interview was held, harangued the troops, informed them of the treacherous manner in which their general had been entrapped, and led them on against  
35 Riego. Dieser was glad to give up his captive, hastily retreated towards Jaen, near which place he u. his band on the 15<sup>th</sup> [were] made prisoners by one of Molitor's corps, sent to intercept their retreat. Riego was first confined at Carolina, thence conveyed to Madrid, where he was tried u. executed by the orders of the prov. gov. on the 7<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1823. (-311)



## Marliani (contin.)

1 Januar. 1820, el comandante de batallón Riego, con alguna tropa, proclama la Constit. de 1812, en las Cabezas de San Juan, sale y sorprende el cuartel general, prendiendo al jefe y á todo su estado mayor; se lleva á los 5  
3 batallones de guardia y se encamina á la isla de León, á donde llega el 7, á las ocho de la mañana, después de alguna mansión en Jerez, el 4, y el 5 en el Puerto de St. María. Ya lo está esperando el colonel Quiroga en San Fernando con otros 3 batallones, y como todos ellos estaban completísimos y al pié de guerra, componían reunidos un cuerpo efectivo de 10  
6000 men ... In Madrid dem Gen. Don Manuel Freiré plenos poderes gegeben, übernimmt den Oberbefehl der Operationsarmee gegen Riego ... [65] *Martignac* sagt: «Ciudades mayores, comercio, industria, profesiones liberales, el ejército y los proletarios recibieron con entusiasmo el nuevo sistema ... Miraron el clero y los monacales aquella mudanza con 15  
desconsuelo, y los campesinos m. zozobra» ... [68] Seit dem 5 Sept. 1820 Spaltung der Constitutionalisten in moderados u. exaltados u. Rückgehn der movement... Se vota la expulsion de los jesuítas ... Prohibe otra ley los votos en los conventos franqueando á los frailes su permanencia en comunidad, con tal que lleguen á doce; y siendo menos, debían incor- 20  
porarse con las comunidades inmediatas, quedando los bienes de todo convento vacante en beneficio del estado ... [69, 70] fiebre amarilla in Cataluña, Cordon sanitario v. Frankreich ... Cortes v. 1822 ernennen den General Riego zum Präsidenten ... [72] Dos alborotos en un mismo dia, el uno en Aranjuez, residiendo el rey, y el otro en Valencia, y en la misma 25  
ciudadela que encerraba al gen. Elio größten Feind der Const. | [73]

|36| Conde de Toreno.  
Historia del Levantamiento,  
Guerra, y Revolución de España.  
(Erste v. 5 Tom. Madrid. 1835-7)

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Fue muy util que en el primer ardor de la insurrección se formase en cada provincia una junta separada. Esta especie de gobierno federativo ... dobó entonces y aun multiplicó sus medios y recursos; excitó una emulación hasta cierto punto saludable, y sobre todo evitó que los manejos  
10 del extranjero, valiéndose de la flaqueza y villanía de algunos, barrenasen sordamente la causa sagrada de la patria. Un gobierno central y único, antes de que la revolución hubiese echado raices, mas facilmente se hubiera doblegado á pérfidas insinuaciones. (283) Autoridades despar-  
15 ramadas como las de las juntas, ni ofrecían un blanco bien distinto contra el que pudieran apuntarse los tiros de la intriga. (284) Acompañó al sentimiento unánime de resistir al extranjero otro no menos importante de mejora y reforma. Ciertó que este no se dejó ver ni tan clara ni tan umversalmente como el primero ... Sin embargo apenas hubo proclama, instrucción ó manifiesto de las juntas en que lamentándose de las máxi-  
20 mas que habían regido anteriormente, no se diese indicio de querer tomar un rumbo opuesto, anunciando para lo futuro ó la convocación de cortes, ó el restablecimiento de antiguos fueros, ó el desagravio de pasadas ofensas. Infiérase de aqui cuál seria sobre eso la opinion general cuando asi se expresaban unas autoridades que compuestas en su mayor parte de  
25 individuos de clases privilegiadas, procuraban contener mas bien que estimular aquella general tendencia. (I.e.)

## II

Verdad es que Madrid ni por su población ni por su riqueza no habiendo nunca ejercido, como acontece con algunas capitales de Europa, poderoso influjo en las demás ciudades, hubiera necesitado de mayor esfuerzo para atraerlas á su voz y acelerar su ayuntamiento y concordia. 5  
(83) a) Intriguen des Royal Council v. Madrid. (l. c. sqq.) Quien opinaba por cortes (zur Zeit der Bildung der Centraijunta) y quien soñaba un gobierno que diese principio y encaminase á una federación nacional.  
/’ Adhería al primer dictamen Sir Carlos Stuart representante del gobierno inglés ... Pero las novedades introducidas en las constituciones de aquel 10  
b cuerpo durante la dominación de las casas de Austria y Borbon, ofrecían para su llamamiento dificultades casi insuperables; pues al paso de ser  
V. muchas las ciudades de Leon y Castilla que enviaban procuradores á cortes, solo tenia una voz el populoso reino de Galicia y se veia privado de ella el principado de Asturias, cuna de la monarquía. (91) Habíase en 15  
Vizcaya levantado Bilbao al anunciarse la victoria de Bailen, y en Aug. 6 escogiendo su vecindario una junta, acordó un alistamiento general, y nombró por comandante militar al coronel Don Tomás de Salcedo. Sobremanera inquietó á los franceses esta insurrección, ya por el ejemplo y ya también porque comprometida su posición en los márgenes del Ebro, 20  
pudieran verse obligados á estrecharse mas contra la frontera. Creció su recelo á mayor grado con asonadas y revueltas que hubo en Tolosa y pueblos de Guipúzcoa, y con las correrías que hacían y gente que allegaban en Navarra Don Antonio Egoaguirre y Don Luis Gil. Habían estos salido de Zaragoza, am 27 Juni para alborotar aquel reino. (97, 98) 25  
16 Aug. (1808) die Biscaier Insurgenten zusammengehaun v. den Franzosen unter Merlin, Bilbao con rigor tratado ... «apagado la insurrección con la sangre de 1200hombres» ... El contratiempo de Bilbao que en Madrid provocaba las reclamaciones de muchos, difundándose por las provincias aumentó el clamor ya casi universal contra generales y juntas, 30  
reparando que algunos de aquellos se entregaban demasadamente á divertimientos y regocijos, y que estas con zelos y rivalidades retardaban la instalación de la junta central. Deseando el consejo (royal v. Castilla) aprovecharse de la irritación de los ánimos, y valiéndose de los lazos que le unían con Don Gregorio de la Cuesta su antiguo gobernador, se con- 35  
cordò con este y discurrieron apoderarse del mando supremo. Cuesta, der sich nicht stark genug fühlt, schlägt den Castaños vor; dividir en dos partes el gobierno de la nación, dejando la civil y gubernativa al consejo, y reservando la militar al solo cuidado de ellos dos en union con el duque del Infantado. (98, 99) 40

*Centrajunta.* Por fin el 25 de setiembre en Aranjuez y en su real palacio instalóse solemnemente el nuevo gobierno ... Compuesto entonces de 24 individuos creció en breve su número, y se contaron hasta 35 nombrados en su mayor parte por las juntas de provincia, erigidas al alzarse la nación en mayo. De cada una vinieron dos diputados. Otros tantos envió Toledo sin estar en igual caso, y lo mismo Madrid y reino de Navarra. De Canarias solo acudió uno á representar sus islas. Fue elegido presidente el Conde de Floridablanca. (108) Los vocales pertenecían á honrosas y principales clases del estado, contándose entre ellos eclesiásticos elevados en dignidad, 5 grandes de España, varios títulos ||37| de Castilla, antiguos ministros y otros empleados civiles y militares. Sin embargo casi todos antes de la insurrección eran como repúblicos, desconocidos en el reino, fuera de Don Antonio Valdés, del Conde de Floridablanca y de Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. El primero muchos años ministro de marina mereció, al lado de leves defectos, justas alabanzas por lo mucho que en su tiempo se mejoró y acrecentó la armada y sus dependencias. (108, 9) Floridablanca: Afecto en su ministerio á ensanchar mas y mas los límites de la potestad real rompiendo cuantas barreras quisieran oponérsele, habia crecido con la edad el amor á semejantes máximas, y quiso como individuo de la central que sirviesen de norte al nuevo gobierno, sin reparar en las mudanzas ocasionadas por el tiempo, y en las que reclamaban escabrosas circunstancias. (111)

Fija de antemano la atención nacional en los dos respetables varones (Floridablanca u. Jovellanos), siguieron los individuos de la central el impulso de la opinion, arimándose los mas á uno ú á otro de dichos dos vocales. Pero como estos entre sí disentían, dividiéronse los pareceres, prevaleciendo en un principio y por lo general el de Floridablanca. Con su muerte y las desgracias no dejó mas adelante de triunfar á veces el de Jovellanos, ayudado de Don Martin de Garay, cuyas luces naturales, fácil despacho y práctica de negocios le dieron sumo poder é influjo en las deliberaciones de la junta. Pero á uno y otro partido de los dos, si asi pueden llamarse, en que se dividió la central, faltábales actividad y presteza en las resoluciones. Floridablanca anciano y doliente, Jovellanos entrado también en años y con males, avezados ambos á la regularidad y pausa de nuestro gobierno, no podían sobreponerse á la costumbre y á los hábitos en que se habían criado y envejecido. Su autoridad llevaba en pos de sí á los demás centrales, hombres en su mayoría de probidad, pero escasos de sobresalientes ó notables prendas. Dos ó tres mas arrojados y atrevidos entre los que principalmente sonaba *Don Lorenzo Calvo de Rozas*, acreditado en el sitio de Zaragoza, querían en vano sacar á la junta de su sosegado paso. No era dado á su corto número ni á su

anterior y casi desconocido nombre vencer los obstáculos que se oponían á sus miras. Asi fue que en los primeros meses siguiendo la central en materias políticas el dictamen de Floridablanca, y no asistiéndole ni á él ni á Jovellanos para las militares y económicas el vigor y pronta diligencia que la apretada situación de España exigía, con lástima se vio que el nuevo gobierno obrando con lentitud y tibieza en la defensa de la patria, y ocupándose en pormenores, recejaba en lo civil y gubernativo á tiempos añejos y de aciaga recordación. (113, 14) Tampoco faltaron como era de temer desavenencias con el consejo real. 26 September le habia dado cuenta la junta central de su instalación, previniéndole que prestado que hubiesen sus individuos el juramento debido, expidiese las cédulas, órdenes y provisiones competentes para que obedeciesen y se sujetasen á la nueva autoridad todas las de la monarquía. Por aquel paso, desaprobado de muchos, persuadido tal vez el consejo de que la junta habia menester su apoyo para ser reconocida en el reino, cobró aliento, y después de dilatar una contestación clara y formal, al cabo envió el 30 con el juramento pedido una exposición de sus fiscales, en la que estos se oponían á que se prestase dicho juramento, reclamando el uso y costumbres antiguas. Aunque el consejo no habia seguido el parecer fiscal, le remitió no obstante á la junta acompañado de sus propias meditaciones, dirigidas principalmente á que se adoptasen las 3 siguientes medidas: 1) Reducir el número de vocales de la central, por ser el actual contrario á [la] Ley 3, Partida 2, título 15, en que hablándose de las minoridades en los casos en que el rey difunto no hubiese nombrado tutores, dice: «que los guardadores deben ser uno ó 3, ó 5 e non mas». 2) la extinción de las juntas provinciales; y, 3) la convocación de cortes conforme al decreto dado por Ferdinand VII en Bayona. (115, 16) 7 October (1808) Jovellanos schlägt vor im Schoß der Junta que se anunciase inmediatamente «á la nación que seria reunida en cortes luego que el enemigo hubiese abandonado nuestro territorio, y si esto no se verificase antes, para el octubre de 1810, etc.» (118) Die Central se dividió en [otras] tantas secciones cuantos ministerios habia en España, á saber: estado, gracia y justicia, guerra, marina y hacienda, resolviendo en sesiones plenas las providencias que aquellas proponían ... se creó una secretaría general á cuya cabeza se puso al célebre literato y buen patriota Don Manuel Quintana ... er schrieb ihre proclamas y manifiestos. (119) Desgraciadamente estas no correspondieron den Ideen des government durante los primeros meses. Por de pronto y antes de todo ocupáronse los centrales en honores y condecoraciones. Al presidente se le dio el tratamiento de alteza, á los

demás vocales ||38| de excelencia, reservándose el de majestad á la junta en cuerpo. Adornaron sus pechos con una placa que representaba ambos mundos, se señalaron el sueldo de 120,000 reales, é incurrieron por consiguiente en los mismos deslices que las juntas de provincia, sin ser ya 5 iguales las circunstancias. ... Mandóse suspender la venta de manos muertas, y aun se pensó en anular los contratos de las hechas anteriormente. Permittedse á los ex-jesuitas volver á España en calidad de particulares. Restablecieronse las antiguas trabas de la imprenta, y se nombró inquisidor general... manifiesto der Junta d. d. *Nov. 10. 1808* trataba u. a. 10 de mantener para la defensa de la patria 500,000 infantes y 50,000 caballos, mencionaba auch los remedios prontos y vigorosos que era necesario adoptar. ... Mas había corrido el mes de octubre, entrado noviembre, comenzado las desgracias, y no por eso se veía que los ejércitos se proveyesen y aumentasen.... Vorher schon 5 Sept. Generalmilitärjunta 15 zu Madrid einen Plan gefaßt... Estos (die Truppen) habían sido divididos por decreto suyo en 4 grandes y diversos cuerpos. 1) Ejército de la izquierda que debia constar del de Galicia, Asturias, tropas venidas de Dinamarca, y de la gente que se pudiera allegar de las montañas de Santander y pais que recorriese. 2) Ejército de Cataluña compuesto de tropas 20 y gente de aquel principado, de las divisiones desembarcadas de Portugal y Mallorca, y de las que enviaron Granada, Aragon, y Valencia. 3) Ejército del centro que debia comprender las 4 divisiones de Andalucía y las de Castilla y Extremadura con las de Valencia y Murcia, que habían entrado en Madrid con el general Llamas. 4) Ejército de reserva, compuesto de las 25 tropas de Aragon y de las que durante el sitio de Zaragoza se les habían agregado de Valencia y otras partes. Auch ernannt Junta general de guerra, president davon Castaños, aunque por entonces debia seguir al ejército. Dieser Plan nie ausgeführt völlig ... *Baco*: «me venga la muerte de España, porque vendría tarde» (So sprichwörtlich schon damals die 30 spanische Langsamkeit) ... estas mudanzas y trasiego de gefes menguó y desconcertó la tropa ... Engländer schlagen vor den Castaños zum Generalísimo zu machen, á su cumplimiento se oponían las rivalidades de otros generales, las que reinaban dentro de la misma junta central... el total de soldados españoles, avanzados á mediados de octubre hasta Vizcaya y 35 orillas de Ebro no llegaba á 70,000 hombres, teniendo Blake 30,000 asturianos y gallegos, y Castaños unos 36,000 entre castellanos, andaluces, valencianos, murcianos y aragoneses. ... Das Heer des Joseph en los primeros tiempos de su retirada había caido en gran desánimo, y los mas de sus soldados, excepto los del mariscal Bessiéres, iban al Ebro casi sin 40 orden ni formación. Perseguidos entonces é inquietados, fácilmente hubieran sido del todo desranchados y dispersos, ó por lo menos no se hubieran

detenido hasta pisar tierra de Francia. Pero los españoles descansando sobre los laureles adquiridos, flojos, escasos también de recursos, les dieron espacio para repararse ... Derrotados ó dispersos los ejércitos de la izquierda, Extremadura y centro, creyó Napoleon poder sin riesgo avanzar á Madrid, mayormente cuando los Ingleses estaban lejos para estorbárselo, y no con bastantes fuerzas para osar interponerse entre él y la frontera de Francia. Urgíale entrar en la capital de España, así porque imaginaba ahogar pronto con aquel suceso la insurrección, como también para asombrar á Europa con el terrible y veloz progreso de sus armas ... José's Ministère schreibt an die Junta (Floridabianca) u. den consejo real u. den corregidor de Madrid. An alle 3 denselben Brief, sollten José anerkennen, evitasen mayores males etc 24 November central decretó que dichos escritos fuesen quemados por mano del verdugo etc ... 1 Dec. muy de mañana súpose lo acaecido en Somosierra (zu Madrid) ... Central verläßt Aranjuez en la tarde y la noche del 1 Dec. ... (Hatten beschlossen nach Badajoz zu gehn)\_\_\_\_\_El hambre, los combates, el cansancio, voces de traición, la fuga, ausserdem im Heer discordias y conspiraciones ... Central Junta arrivirt zu Sevilla 17 Dec. Floridabianca | zu Sevilla 28 Dec. ... de los ejércitos no quedaban sino tristes reliquias en Galicia, Leon y Asturias, en Cuenca, Badajoz y Sierramorena. Algunas otras se habían acogido á Zaragoza ya sitiada; y Cataluña aunque presentase una diversion importante, no bastaba por sí sola á impedir la completa ruina y destrucción de las demás provincias y del gobierno. (119-196.)

Parthei des Joseph vermehrt sich m. dem Glück der frz. Waffen. Congratulationsdeputationen an ihn. Bes. auch los cabildos eclesiásticos y los regulares, varios obispos (*gegen sie* (diese Pfaffen) v. 12 Abril 1809 Décret der Junta central.) Beweis daß Theil dieser Pfaffenclasse nicht por la causa de la independencía ... Joseph will *spanische* Regimenter bilden. La derrota de Uclés y las que la siguieron, proporcionaron á las banderas de José algunos oficiales y soldados. Pero los madrileños miraban á estos individuos con tal ojeriza y desvio, tiznándolos con el apellido de jurados, que no pudo al principio el gobierno intruso enregimentar ni un cuerpo completo de españoles. Apenas se veía el soldado vestido y calzado y repuesto de sus fatigas, pasaba del lado de los patriotas, y no parecía sino que se habia separado temporalmente de sus filas para recobrar fuerzas, y empuñar armas que le volviesen la estimación perdida ... 76 Februar. 1809. das gov. v. Joseph stiftet Junta criminal gegen asesinos, ladrones u. patriotas. Strafe f. die leztern die horca ... José erschien den Spaniern als un rey de bálago, poco respetado de los generales franceses, y desairado con frecuencia por su hermano ... José Bonaparte no era dueño sino de los pueblos en que dominaban las tropas francesas: la

central éralo de todos aun de los ocupados por el enemigo ... Versamm-  
lung in Mexico. 9 Aug. 1808. Die Amerik. u. asiat. Provinzen erklären  
sich unanimously f. die causa peninsular ... Dazu cuantiosos donativos  
que fueron de gran socorro en la deshecha tormenta de fines del año de  
5 8 y principios del 9 ... no menos que 284 millones de reales vinieron para  
el gobierno de la central en 1809. De ellos casi la mitad consistió en dones  
gratuitos ó anticipaciones ... Décret der Central v. 22 January 1809,  
wodurch die amerik. Spanier convocirt para representarlos á individuos  
que debían ser nombrados al efecto por sus ayuntamientos. Dieß Décret  
10 kam zu spät als daß sie oportunamente acudiesen á Sevilla. ... Décret der  
Central, wonach v. 1 Januar 1809 limitirt die powers der Provinzialjun-  
tas, y se dejaba solo á su cargo lo respectivo á contribuciones extraor-  
dinarias, donativos, alistamiento, requisiciones de caballos y armamento.  
Reducíase á 9 el número de sus individuos, se despojaba á estos de parte  
15 de sus honores, y se cambiaba la antigua denominación de juntas supre-  
mas en la de *superiores provinciales de observación y defensa*. Nach  
Art. 10 dieses règlement se prohibía el libre uso de la imprenta ... Albo-  
rotáronse varias juntas con la reforma, y la de Sevilla se enojó sobre-  
manera, y á punto que suscitó la cuestión de renovar cada 6 meses uno de  
20 sus individuos en la central, y aun llegó á dar sucesor al conde de Tilly.  
Encendiéndose mas y mas las contestaciones, suspendióse el nuevo reg-  
lamento, y nunca tuvo cumplido efecto ni en todas las provincias ni en  
todas sus partes ... *Vertrag m. England 9 Januar 1809 ... Subsidios de  
Inglaterra ... (small, very) ...* A modo del tribunal criminal de José creó  
25 asimismo la central uno de seguridad pública que entendiase en los deli-  
tos de infidencia ... tampoco reportó provecho el enviar individuos de la  
central á las provincias. La junta intitulándolos comisarios, los autorizó  
para presidir á las provinciales y representarla con la plenitud de sus  
facultades. Los mas de ellos no hicieron sino arrimarse á la opinion que  
30 encontraron establecida, ó entorpecer la acción de las juntas, no saliendo  
por lo general de su comisión ninguna providencia acertada ni vigorosa.  
Verdad es que siendo pocos entre los individuos de la central los que se  
miraban como prácticos y entendidos en materias de gobierno, quedá-  
ronse casi siempre los que lo eran en Sevilla, yendo ordinariamente á las  
35 provincias los mas inútiles y limitados. So der marqués de Villel: enviado  
á Cádiz para atender á su fortificación, y desarraigar añejos abusos en la  
administración de la aduana, provocó por su indiscreción y desatentadas  
providencias un alboroto que á no atajarse con oportunidad, hubiera  
dado ocasión á graves desazones. ... Aufruhr in Cádiz 22 Feb. 1809 (con  
40 la entrada de un batallón de extrangeros compuesto de desertores pola-  
cos y alemanes) Dauert fort 23 Feb. ... La central ponía gran diligencia



en reforzar y dar nueva vida á los ejércitos que habiéndose acogido al mediodía de España le servían de valladar. En febrero del apellidado del centro y de la gente que el marqués del Palacio y después el conde de Cartaojal habían reunido en la Carolina, formóse solo uno, unter den 5 orders des Cartaojal. In Estremadura prosiguió der Cuesta juntando dispersos y restableciendo el orden y la disciplina. ... Das Heer unter Cartaojal, ahora llamado de la Mancha, aus 16,000 infantes u. mas de 3000caballos. ... Die generales entregáronse á zelos y rencillas. El de Alburquerque fundadamente insistía en que se hiciesen correrías y expediciones para adestrar y fogear la tropa, mas inquieto y revolvedor 10 sustentaba su opinion de modo que enojando á *Cartaojal*, mirábale este con zelosa ojeriza. So stieg entre ambos die enemistad, daß sie acudieron con sus quejas á la central ...

28 march 1809 Schlacht v. *Medellin* (unter Cuesta. Spanier verloren an 15 muertos, heridos u. prisioneros an 10,000 hombres) ... Die Central erhebt Cuesta zum Capt.-General, repartió mercedes á los que se habían conducido honrosamente, no menos que á los huérfanos y viudas de los muertos en la batalla. Ebenso das ejército der Mancha unter die orders des Cuesta gestellt, obgleich ernannt para mandarle de cerca Don Francisco Venegas statt Cartaojal, dessen conducta apareció muy digna de 20 censura por lo ocurrido en *Ciudad Real* (26 März), pues allí no hubo sino desorden y confusion, y por lo menos en *Medellin* se habia peleado. ... La Francia, la Holanda, los Estados-Unidos, todas las naciones en fin que se han visto en el caso de España, comenzaron por padecer descalabros y completas derrotas, hasta que la continuación de la guerra con- 25 virtió en soldados á los que no eran sino meros ciudadanos ... Al empezar la insurrección en Mayo Spanien 40,000 Soldaten escasos, inexpertos u. mal acondicionados; dueños los franceses de muchas plazas fuertes, y teniendo 100,000 hombres en el corazón del reino ... Im ]|40| Januar 1809 embarcados los ingleses, solos los españoles teniendo contra sí mas de 30 200,000 enemigos ... Cometiéronse graves faltas, descubrióse á las claras la impericia de varios generales, lo bisoño de nuestros soldados. ... Nach den jornadas v. *Ciudad Real* u. *Medellin* klopft das gov. v. José wieder bei der Central in Sevilla an. Korb (12 April) ... Die guerra de las partidas cundió á todas las provincias nacido de las circunstancias y por 35 acomodarse muy mucho á la situación física y geográfica de esta tierra de España, entretegida y enlazada con los brazos y ramales de montañas y sierras que como de principal tronco se desgajan de los Pirineos y otras cordilleras, las cuales aunque interrumpidas á veces por parameras, tendidas llanuras y deliciosas vegas, acanalando en unas partes los ríos, y en 40 otras quebrando y abarrancando el terreno con los torrentes y arroyadas

que de sus cimas descienden, forman á cada paso angosturas y desfiladeros propios para una guerra defensiva y prolongada. No menos ayudaba á ella la índole de los naturales ... Hubo sitios en que guerreaba toda la población: así acontecía en Cataluña, así en Galicia, así en otras comarcas. En los demás parages levantáronse bandas de hombres armados, á las que se dio el nombre de *guerrillas*. Al principio cortas en número crecieron después prodigiosamente, y acaudilladas por gefes atrevidos recorrían la tierra ocupada por el enemigo y le molestaban como tropas ligeras. Sin subir á Viriato ... los españoles se mostraron siempre inclinados á este linage de lides, que se llaman en la 2 Partida correduras y algaras, fruto quizá de los muchos siglos que tuvieron aquellos que pelear contra los moros, en cuyas guerras eran continuas las correrías á que debieron su fama los Vivares etc En la de sucesión ... aparecieron cuadrillas en algunos parages, y con tanta utilidad á veces de la bandera de la casa de Borbon, que el marqués de St. Cruz de Marcedo en sus reflexiones militares las recomienda por los buenos servicios que habían hecho los paisanos de Benavarre ... *Don Juan Diaz de Porlier* (Beiname: El Marquesito) ... *Don Juan Echavarri* ... *Don Juan Martin Diez* (el Empecinado) ... *Don Gerónimo Merino*, cura de Villoviado ... Ayudaron al principio mucho á estas partidas, amparándolas en sus apuros las plazas y puntos que todavía quedaban libres. So der Empecinado se abrigó á Ciudad Rodrigo ... *Asturias* damals, despues der invasion v. Galicia, die sola libre provincia entre las del norte, energische Junta (Dieselbe wie die v. 1808); allgemeines alistamiento ohne excepción der clase od. persona, repartimiento extraordinario á toda la provincia v. 2,000,000 reales u. el de otras sumas entre los mas ricos capitalistas y propietarios, la rebaja de sueldos á los empleados, el haber mandado á las corporaciones eclesiásticas que tuviesen á su disposición los caudales que existieran en sus depósitos ... profusion de grados que se concedieron in der Armee. Gen. Ballesteros im östlichen Asturien; Worster im westlichen. Asturias, si bien libre, se habia mantenido como aislada y sin comunicación con las otras, bis in die primavera v. 1809 pisó su suelo por primera vez el marqués de la Romana ... *Guerrillas levantamiento de Galicia*. Geklopft v. Soult *Romana* nach Oviedo. Streit zw. ihm u. der Junta, deren energische Maßregeln ihr Feinde, bes. unter den Privilegirten gemacht. Er löst sie auf. Invade Ney, sabedor de la discordia suscitada entre la junta de Asturias y Romana, á Asturias. 19 May (1809) rückt Ney in Oviedo ein ... saco during 3 Tagen ... Luego que Soult hubo pasado de Orense via de Portugal, la insurrección del paisanage gallego se aumentó ... Romana genannt v. den Soldaten marqués de las Romeñas: porque en efecto si bien era loable su constancia nunca se habia

visto salir de su mente otra providencia que la de marchar y contramarchar, y las mas veces á tientas, de improviso y precipitadamente, falto de plan, á la ventura ... Solo en su ausencia y en los puntos en que no se hallaba peleábase ... 22 April (1809) Ney resolvió salir de *Galicia*, 22 evacuó la Coruna. So daß reino wieder libre nach 5 meses de ocupación, 5 durante los cuales perdieron los francés la mitad de la tropa con que habían penetrado en aquel suelo, ya en las acciones con los ingleses, ya en la terrible guerra con que les habían continuamente molestado los ejércitos y población de Galicia y Portugal. ... So im Juni frei Asturias y Galicia. Romana in Coruna, sus providencias y negligencia etc etc. Entró 10 (Romana) en la Coruna. Reasumió en su persona toda la autoridad, *suprimió las juntas de partido* que se habían multiplicado con la insurrección, y nombró en su lugar gobernadores militares; trató de examinar con severidad la conducta der individuos der juntas, mostró suma benignidad con los que habían abrazado el bando de los enemigos; por lo 15 demás sus providencias en todos los ramos adolecieron de aquella dejadez y negligencia característica de su ánimo. Mehr als ein Monat that gar nichts. Por fin reunió la flor del ejército de Galicia y trató de salir á Castilla ... 8 meses nun ¡411 corridos después de la terrible invasion en noviembre des Bonaparte, y sus huestes no enseñoreaban todavía ni un 20 tercio del territorio peninsular. Inutilmente daban y ganaban batallas, inutilmente se derramaban por las provincias, de las que ocupadas unas levantábanse otras, y yendo al remedio de estas, aquellas se desasosegaban y de nuevo se trocaban en enemigas. Cuan diferente cuadro presentaba por aquel tiempo el Austria! (291-394) 25

### III.

*Décret der Centrajunta v. 18 Abril 1809* que nunca «mudaría su residencia, sino cuando el lugar de ella estuviese en peligro ó alguna razón de pública utilidad lo exigiese». ... Die Anhänger des Floridabianca widersezten sich jeder energischen Maßregel, der Zusammenberufung der Cor- 30 tes, u. dem desatar algunas de las muchas trabas de la imprenta, murmuraciones generales. Selbst englische Regierung. Nota dagegen v. 20. Juli, 1809 «temeroso de que se ahogase el entusiasmo público». Diese universales clamores u. die desastres gaben mayor fuerza u. influjo der partido de Jovellanos, dem sich anschloß die partido de Calvo de Rozas 35 menor en número pero mas enérgico é igualmente inclinado á fomentar y sostener convenientes reformas. ... Calvo de Rozas schlägt 15 abril (1809) vor daß die nación convocase á cortes (in der Central-

5 junta). Aparece en el *Semanario patriótico* (en Madrid empezado  
v. Quintana) por Don I. Antillon y Don J. Blanco, gran influencia de  
periodico; tratado en toda libertad y por primera vez en España  
graves y diversas materias políticas ... En las Debates de la Central-  
10 junta sobre las Cortes dice el conde Don Antonio Valdés que salvo la  
religion católica y la conservación de la Corona en las personas de Ferdi-  
nand VII, las Cortes no deberían dejar institucion alguna ni rama sin  
reforma, por estar todos viciados y corrompidos. ... Primer minuta de  
Décrets f. la Convocacion de las Cortes v. Valdés, como demasiado  
15 unpolitico y rechazado por el Ministro inglés Frere, 2da en su  
lugar publica el 22 Mayo (1809), en que anuncia: «el restableci-  
miento de la representacion legal y conocida de la monarquia en sus  
antiguas Cortes, convocandose las primeras en el año proximo, o antes si  
las circunstancias lo permitiesen». En que tambien se determina que la Com-  
20 mision v. 5 sea nombrada para el trabajo de la Convocacion y formar  
las Cortes, tambien se consulta sobre varias corporaciones  
etc. Como no se fija dia, el progreso de la Comision, y que  
f. la Comision sea nombrada con los señores arzobispos de Laodicea,  
Castañedo y Jovellanos y los señores Riquelme y Caro enemigos de la  
25 resolucion, para impedir el buen efecto de los Décrets, parecia solo para  
atraer y alucinar. Tambien poco despues se aprueba el Décret f.  
el restablecimiento de todos los consejos en uno solo ... la junta no  
tardó en sentir de cuanto le servia dar vida y halagar al enemigo tan  
declarado. ... Sin embargo la Central Junta v. Abril-Agosto 1809 sostuvo  
30 m. mucho sesgo y aplauso que nunca; a lo que tambien contribuyó no  
solo haber sido evacuadas algunas provincias del norte, sino el ver que  
despues de las desgracias ocurridas se levantaban de nuevo y con presteza  
ejércitos en Aragon, Extremadura y otras partes. ... *Valencia* (Reino de)  
habia quedado libre de los enemigos desde Junio 1808. Continuaba a su frente  
35 la primera Junta, Jefe militar el conde de la Conquista. Diciembre  
1808 llega Don José Caro y le es nombrado un corto dia, Caro  
2º Comandante es nombrado, quiere al conde de la Conquista reemplazar;  
Kraehl, se hace peor por el baron de Sabasona, individuo de la central  
enviado a aquel reino en calidad de comisario. Finalmente el 31 de  
40 Abril 1809 logra Caro su objeto. ... Blake al mando de toda la  
corona de Aragon ... 18 Junio 1809 Batalla de *Belchite* (Blake derrotado.  
Belchite situado en la pendiente de unas alturas que le rodean de todos  
los lados excepto por el frente y camino de Zaragoza). ... Pasa Blake a  
Cataluña ... *Partidarios de Extremadura y Toledo* ... 23 Julio (1809)  
40 Derrota Wellington a la Cuesta; pide el aplazamiento de la batalla f.  
el 24 ... los franceses se retiraron en la noche v. 23-24 y en su lugar

Madrid, nahmen den Weg por Torrijos nach Toledo. So entschlüpft Victor wenn s. forces inferiores als die der Alliirten, durch die inoportuna prudencia des Cuesta, prenda nunca antes notada entre las de este general ... Schlacht v. Talavera de la Reina 27 u. 28 July. (1809) ... En la última del 28 se comportaron los españoles con valor é intrepidez. Central Junta ernennt Wellington capt.-gen. de ejército, u. vizconde Wellington de Talavera. Erhielt der Cuesta gran cruz de Carlos III... das ejército español, tolerable en posición abrigada, pero muy imperfecta para marchas y grandes evoluciones ... Cuesta abrumado con los años, sinsabores é incomodidades de la campaña deja el mando 12 Aug. 1809. folgt ihm Eguia ... Schlacht v. Almonacidverloren v. Venegas 11 Aug. 1809. Spanier ziehn sich nach Manzanares. En esta villa corriendo entre la caballería la voz falsa y aciaga de que los enemigos estaban ya á la espalda en Valdepeñas, des 1421 rancháronse los soldados, y de tropel y desmandadamente *no pararon hasta Sierramorena, en donde, según costumbre, se juntaron despues y rehicieron.* Tan desventajosamente finalizó esta campaña de Talavera y la Mancha comenzada con favorable estrella ... Contestaciones con los ingleses sobre subsistencias, hatte particular influjo en las operaciones militares. Vorgeworfen der central mala voluntad y hasta perfidia, y calificando esta de mero pretexto las quejas á veces fundadas de los ingleses. ... Se equivocó la central en imaginar que con solo dar órdenes y enviar empleados se abastecería el ejército inglés y español. A aquellas hubieran debido acompañar medidas vigorosas de *coacción*, poniendo también cuidado en encargar el desempeño de comisión tan espinosa á hombres íntegros y capaces. Cierito que á un *gobierno de índole tan débil como la central, érale difícil emplear la coacción*, sobre todo en Extremadura provincia devastada, y en donde hasta las mismas y fértiles comarcas del valle y vera de Plasencia, primeras que habían de pisar los ingleses, acababan de ser asoladas por las tropas del mariscal Víctor. Pero hubo azar en escoger por cabeza de los empleados á *Lozano de Torres*, quien al paso que bajamente adulaba al general en gefe inglés, escribía á la central que eran las quejas de aquel infundadas: juego doble y villano, que descubierto obligó á Wellington á echar con baldón de su campo al empleado español. Engländer mußten aber noch wissen daß die ofrecimientos, buenos deseos der central nicht genug um ihr Heer vollständig zu providiren. In Portugal gelitten v. falta vieler Artikel, aunque en realidad die britische Regierung, doch mandaba, y con la ventaja de tener próxima la mar. Spain mas destruido u. maltratado, no pudiendo der patriotismo allein helfen f. tantas desgracias u. escarmientos. Creer que el gobierno español hubiera de antemano preparado almacenes, era confiar sobradamente en su energía y principalmente en sus recursos. Die

Engländer wußten por experiencia was schlechtes Commissariat. 1 August 1809 Central schickt D. Lorenzo Calvo de Rozas nach Extremadura. Trop tard. Wellington will nach Portugal zurück. Malicen zw. Eguia u. Calvo einerseits u. Wellington andererseits. Mehre hofften v. der 5 damaligen Ankunft des Marqués Wellesley (s. Bruders) als Gesandter in Sevilla, statt Mr Frere ... Wellington zieht sich nach Badajoz u. fronteras v. Portugal zurück ... Engländer auch bestimmt dazu durch die Schläge die die Oestreicher bekommen ...

*Regierung Josephs:* chicanirt s. Nichtfreunde u. destierra sie zum Theil 10 nach Frankreich. Décret de disponer de las cosechas de los habitantes sin su anuencia ... Es verpflichtet die que tuviesen hijos sirviendo en los ejércitos españoles á presentar en su lugar un sustituto ó dar en indemnización una determinada suma. Diese decrees wie die andern ó no se cumplían ó cumplíanse arbitrariamente, so daß se anadia á la propia 15 injusticia la dureza en la ejecución. Installirt einen Staatsrath u., nach der retirada der ejércitos aliados: confiscación y venta der bienes embargados á personas fugitivas y residentes in den provincias levantadas. Erkennt nur die grandezas u. Titel an die er geschaffen, alle ordenes de caballería, except la militar de España que había creado y la antigua del Toison de 20 Oro. Erlaubt weder das Tragen der andern condecoraciones noch der goce der encomiendas. 18 Aug. 1809: Décret f. die supresión de todas las órdenes monacales, mendicantes, y clericales, die Napoleon im Dec. (die conventos) nur auf  $\frac{1}{3}$  reducirt. Sein Schatz beschränkt auf die Thorsteuern v. Madrid, aumentado solo con el recargo de ciertos artículos de 25 consumo. Sein Finanzminister Cabarrus daher vertheilt Zwangsanleihe unter den Reichen v. Madrid, verlangt heraus (recoger) la plata labrada de los particulares. Die Harpyen die dabei angewandt stecken selbst überall den besten Theil ein, nicht das gov. Del palacio real se sacaron al propio tiempo todos los útiles de plata que por antiguos ó de mal gusto 30 se habían excluido del uso común y se llevaron á la casa de la moneda ... Tomáronse asimismo de las iglesias muchas alhajas, trasladándose á Madrid bastante porción de las del Escorial. Napier sagt que esta medida del intruso excitó la codicia de los españoles, y produjo la mayor parte de las bandas que se llamaron guerrillas. Aber kann bewiesen werden, daß 35 was die gefes dieser tropas davon interceptirten (v. dem nach Madrid Gesandten) por lo general restituirt á sus dueños od. nach Sevilla. Nicht so die frz. gefes. El conde de Cabarrus klagt darüber; sagt oft: Napoleon werde nie die Peninsula erobern, sino adoptaba el medio de hacer la conquista con 600 millones y 60,000 hombres en lugar de 40 600,000 hombres y 60 millones, pues solo asi podría ganar la opinion que era su mas terrible enemigo. 9 Juni: *Cédulas hipotecarias* que habían de

trocarse contra los créditos antiguos del estado de cualquiera especie, y emplearse en la compra de bienes nacionales ... schuf ausserdem Cédulas de *indemnización u. recompensa*. Eines dieser Papiere trug bei die andern zu entwerthen ... Daher wenn im Anfang einige cortesanos u. especuladores hicieron compras de cédulas hipotecarias, con que adquirieron fincas pertenecientes á confiscos y comunidades religiosas, aquel papel bald reducido á valor nominal. Napoleon mußte suministrar v. Frankreich 2,000,000 fes monatlich, siendo daß der F Krieg que en lugar de producir recursos á su erario los menguaba ... abolió ||43| el *voto de Santiago* ... Auch decrees über die enseñanza pública, milicia u. sus grados, municipalidades, y de quitar á los eclesiásticos toda jurisdicción civil y criminal. Mehre dieser u. andrer Providencias gut, no apreciadas *por falta de ejecución*, wegen der otras ruinosas die sie begleiten, der persecuciones der particulares u. der males comunes de la guerra.

*Sitio de Gerona* «Será pasado por las armas el que profiera la voz de capitular ó de rendirse.» So *Don Mariano Alvarez de Castro* Befehlshaber beim Voranrücken der Franzosen. Vom Anfang Mai. Ehrenvolle Capitulation. Die Franzosen enter den 11 December 1809 ... 7 Monate gedauert ... Spanien damals getheilt in pais libre u. pais ocupado por el extrangero. Valencia, Murcia, las Andalucías, parte de Extremadura y de Salamanca, Galicia u. Asturias unter den ersten, trabajadas solo por interiores contiendas. ... In Galicien Unmuth wegen der Maßgaben des Romana; die persecución der Patriotas. Endlich die junta provincial nach Monaten retablirt. ... In Asturias regirten Gen. Mahy u. die v. Romana geformte Junta. October der erste ersezt durch Don Antonio de Arce; m. ihm geschickt Don Antonio de Leiva, damit sie oyesen die quejas der individuos der junta disuelta por Romana. Dieß geschah mal u. lentamente; en lo demás nada adelantó el nuevo general, hombre pacato y flojo. Reportóse por tanto poco fruto en las provincias libres de las buenas disposiciones de los habitantes, siendo menester que el enemigo puzase de cerca para estimular á las autoridades y acallar sus desavenencias ... Tampoco faltaban rivalidades en las provincias ocupadas, bes. entre los gefes militares, achaque de todo estado en que las revueltas han roto los antiguos vínculos de subordinación y orden ... Wie überall die neu improvisirten Juntas sehr thätig en reunir las partidas sueltas, efectuar alistamientos y hostigar de todos modos al enemigo ... Si bien *se obedecía en todo el reino al gobierno supremo, la índole de la guerra y el modo como se empezó inclinaba á las provincias ó las obligaba á veces á obrar solas ó con cierta independencia*. ... Vivos debates in der Central seit Ende August u. Anfang September (1809). Procedieron de divisiones internas u. v. der voz pública que le achacaba el malogramiento de la campaña de

Talavera. Hervían con especialidad en Sevilla los manejos y maquinaciones. Gegen die Regierung, schon früher einige Vornehme, ... unterstützt durch den enojo der ingleses, u. die autoridad des consejo reinstalado den vorigen mes. Agirt friedlich m. ihnen Don Francisco de Palafox, selbst  
5 member der Central. Schlägt 21 Aug. (1809) vor Reconcentración del poder en un solo regente, f. welchen er vorschlägt den cardenal de Borbon. Opposition dagegen. Zu seiner Hülfe 22 Aug. (1809) consulta del *consejo* real, (greift darin an die legitimidad der Central u. der Provincial juntas, verlangt deren abolición, das restablecimiento del orden antiguo  
10 u. Ernennung einer regencia conforme á lo dispuesto en la ley de Partida.) ... discontentaban á muchos las providencias de la central: parecíanle monstruosos su gobierno; mas no querían que se atacase su legitimidad derivada de la insurrección ... la *Provincial de Sevilla* nunca olvidaba sus primeros zelos u. rivalidades. Die *Provincial v. Extremadura*  
15 movióse al ver ihr territory descubierta m. der ida der ingleses, v. deren Rückzug Schuld sie der Central gab. So auf ihre Faust sucht mit Wellington zu unterhandeln, durch den conde de Montijo. Rüffel v. der Central, fahndet auf den Montijo der sich salvó en Portugal. Nun grobe Antwort der Provincial. Contestaciones ... In *Valencia* der Krakehl steigend con el  
20 poco tino que tuvo en su comisión hier der baron de Sabasona; die provincial widersteht auch den órdenes superiores á veces desacertadas, wie die provision en tiempos de tanto apuro de las canongías, beneficios eclesiásticos y encomiendas vacantes, cuyo producto juiciosamente habia destinado dicha junta á los *hospitales militares*. Encontradas asi ambas  
25 autoridades á cada paso se enredaban en disputas, inclinándose la razón ya de un lado ya de otro. ... Durch s. schlechte Taktik zog sich der consejo Real noch diese der Central feindliche auf den Hals. Derbe Rüffel f. ihn v. der Provincial v. Valencia (25 Sept. 1809) Pidió que se le circunscribiese á solo sentenciar pleitos. Aehnlich die andern Juntas ...  
30 Plan der Parthei in Sevilla dissolver die *Central*, *transportar á Manila* algunos de sus individuos, crear una regencia reponiendo al consejo real en la plenitud de su poder antiguo y con los ensanches que él codiciaba. Habíanse ganado ciertos regimientos, repartidose dinero, prometido |  
[44] auch die convocation der cortes, weil dieß die opinion general del reino.  
35 Wäre aber nicht geschehn wenn sie gesiegt; weil die Seele der Conspirators, der consejo, tenia sobrado desvío por todo lo que sonaba á representación nacional. ... In den *Y Tagen des September* sollte der Plan ausgeführt werden. Aber der Duque del Infantado, um s. Person zu decken, theilte ihn dem engl. Gesandten freundschaftlich mit. Wellesley enthüllt  
40 der Central das project. So fällt das Project. Central ergreift Vorsichtsmaßregeln. Trata la central de reconcentrar la potestad ejecutiva. (Jovel-



lanos überzeugt sich selbst, daß die Schwätzer v. «Regentschaft» ganz  
 peligrösen Plänen umgehn.) Daher eine Comission ernannt. Calvo  
 zurückgekehrt v. Extremadura trajo hacia sí á Jovellanos y sus amigos,  
 nach heftigen Discussionen 19 Sept. (1809) 2 Beschlüsse notables: 1) La  
 formación de una *Comisión ejecutiva* encargada del despacho de lo reía- 5  
 tivo á gobierno, reservando á la junta los negocios que requiriesen plena  
 deliberación. 2) fijar f. den 1 März 1810 die apertura der cortes extraor-  
 dinarias ... Vor Veröffentlichung dieser Beschlüsse Comission ernannt  
 para formar el reglamento ó plan que debia observar la ejecutiva. Da sie  
 fast nur v. Anhängern des Valdés u. Jovellanos besteht, en el intermedio 10  
 que hubo entre formar el reglamento y presentarle, intrigirt, die Majo-  
 rität der Junta verwirft das reglamento que la comisión habia preparado.  
 Neue Zweite Commission erwählt, worin Romana. Dieser v. der facción  
 nun benutzt. Romana erneuert in der sitting v. 14 October die Question  
 der Regencia por medio de un papel esento en términos descompuestos, 15  
 y en el que haciendo de sí propio pomposas alabanzas, expresaba *la*  
*necesidad de desterrar hasta la memoria de un gobierno tan notoriamente*  
*pernicioso como lo era el de la central...* Nómbrase la comisión ejecutiva;  
 die Central ernennt absichtlich den Romana darin. Die Exekutive aus  
 6 Individuen u. dem Präsidenten der Central, renovándose á la suerte 20  
 parte de ellos cada dos meses. Ernannt ausser Romana: Riquelme,  
 D. Francisco Caro, Jócano, José García de la Torre, Marqués de Villel;  
 gehörten alle der Parthei des antiguo orden de cosas. Ihre elección würde  
 daher schlecht aufgenommen worden s. ohne den correctivo del llama-  
 miento der cortes. Anuncióse tal novedad durch Décret v. 28 Oc- 25  
 tober 1809 publizirt den 4 Nov. 1809, Cortes werden berufen werden  
 1 Jan. 1810 um zu empezar sus funciones 1 März 1810 ... In der Comis-  
 sion zur Ausarbeitung der Art des Wählens u. Constit. der Cortes  
 Riquelme u. Caro nun ersezt durch Don Martin de Garay u. den conde  
 de Ayamans dignos y zelosos cooperadores. ... Die Ejecutive se instaló 30  
 den 1 November 1809 no entendiendo ya la junta plena en ninguna mate-  
 ria de gobierno, excepto en el nombramiento de algunos altos empleos  
 que se reservó. Siguiéronse no obstante tratando en las sesiones de la  
 junta los asuntos generales, los concernientes á contribuciones y arbi-  
 trios, y las materias legislativas. Continuó asi hasta su disolución divi- 35  
 dido este cuerpo en dichas dos porciones, ejerciendo cada una sus facul-  
 tades respectivas ... Paz entre Napoleon y el Austria (15 October 1809).  
*Nutzlose sacrificios* der central en favor de Austria. Durch Art. 15 des  
 traité Oestreich verpflichtet á «reconocer las mutaciones hechas ó que  
 pudieran hacerse en España, en Portugal y en Italia». (Oestreich fürch- 40  
 tete nichts mehr als zu sehn sich manifestiren ya en la población seiner

Staaten síntomas de una guerra nacional) ... Daher Manifiesto der central worin con profusion derramó amargas quejas sobre la conducta del gabinete austriaco, language que á este ofendió en extremo ... Der Stand der Dinge u. die propias desgracias hubieran debido machen die central  
5 mas cauto, y no comprometer en batallas generales y decisivas su suerte y la de la nación. El deseo de entrar en Madrid y las ventajas adquiridas en Castilla la Vieja pesaban mas en la balanza de la junta central que maduros consejos ... *Schlacht v. Tamames* gewonnen by the Spaniards (5 Octob. 1809) durch den Duque del Parque (Ballesteros auch dabei),  
10 der den 25 Oct. entró en Salamanca ... Die actual Organisation des Heeres participirte de los males de la antigua y de los que adolecía la varia é informe que á su antojo habían adoptado las respectivas juntas de provincias ... Al paso que en Castilla debia continuar divirtiendo á los franceses el duque del Parque, y que en Extremadura quedaban solo  
15 12,000 hombres, dispúsose que lo restante de aquel ejército pasase con su gefe Eguia á unirse al de la Mancha ... Se trasladó pues Don Francisco Eguia á la Mancha vor Ende September, y estableciendo su cuartel general en Daimiel, tomó el mando en gefe de las fuerzas reunidas: 3 October s. Armee 51,869 Mann, wovon 5766 ginetes m. 55 piezas de artillería.  
20 Zieht sich vor den Franzosen nach Sierramorena zurück. Daher ersetzt in mando durch *Areizaga*. Dieser acabó de granjear en favor suyo la gracia popular proponiendo bajar á la Mancha y caer sobre Madrid, porque tal era el deseo de casi todos los forasteros que moraban en Sevilla, y cuyo influjo era poderoso en el seno del mismo gobierno. Unos suspiraban por  
25 sus casas, otros por el poder perdido que esperaban recobrar en Madrid. Nada pudo apartar al gobierno del raudal de tan extraviada opinion. Vergebens warnt Wellington der deßwegen nach Sevilla kömmt, sammt s. Bruder. Sie so blind daß die Junta Jovellanos u. Riquelme ernennt para acordar las providencias que deberían tomarse á la entrada en la capital,  
30 erwählen varias autoridades y entre ellas la de corregidor de Madrid, cuya merced recayó en Don Justo Ibarnavarro, amigo intimo de *Areizaga* y uno de los que mas le impelían á guerrear ... Movimientos inciertos y mal concertados de *Areizaga* ... 19 Nov. 1809 *Schlacht v. Ocaña*. *Areizaga* no tomó providencia para reunir las reliquias de su ejército, ni señaló punto  
35 de retirada. (Ursprünglich, bei Anfang des Zugs hatte *Areizaga* sich weniger als 20,000 gegenüber. Aber á causa seiner detenciones, marchas u. contramarchas, ... 34,000 in der Front gegenüber, ohne zu zählen die 14,000 des Corps v. Victor colocados hacia su flanco derecho, so zus. 48,000 combatientes, fuerza casi igual á la suya en número, y superiorí-  
40 sima en práctica y disciplina.)... En 2 meses no pudieron volver á reunirse á las raices de Sierramorena 25,000 Mann. Conservó por algún tiempo el

mando Don Juan Carlos de Areizaga sin que entonces se le formase causa, como se tenía de costumbre con muchos de los generales desgraciados: tan protegido estaba. Aber wozu formarle causa? Habíanse estas convertido en procesos de mera fórmula, de que salían los acusados puros y exentos de toda culpa ... terror y abatimiento sembró por el 5 reino la rota de Ocaña. Triumphaleinzug des Joseph in Madrid. Die Thore v. Andalusien so geöffnet. Joseph vielleicht rascher dahin, wenn nicht die Engländer in den cercanías de Badajoz, juntamente m. dem Heer mandado ahora durch Alburquerque in Extremadura, u. Anwesenheit des Parque in Castilla la Vieja. Unter Alburquerque 12,000 Mann. 10 Operirt gut. Nach der Geschichte v. Ocaña zieht sich zurück u. no paró hasta Trujillo ... Der Duke del Parque, um zu coadyuvar á la campaña de Areizaga movióse con su ejército, y el 19 (Nov.) intentó atacar en *Alba de Tormes* 5000 French que advertidos se retiraron. Dann voran. Einige nicht unglückliche rencontres. 26 Nov. hören s. Soldaten das Pech v. 15 Ocaña. 28 November. Spanier geklopft. Seine Truppen careciendo de órdenes precisas se alejaron de aquel punto y se repartieron zw. Ciudad-Rodrigo, Tamames u. Miranda del Castañar. Semejante y no calculado movimiento excéntrico salvó al ejército ... Anfang December (1809) der Duque del Parque sentó su cuartel general en el Bodón 2 Meilen v. Ciudad-Rodrigo, m. 3000 Mann weniger als vorher ... con tales desdichas destruidos ó menguados unos tras otros los mejores ejércitos españoles, debieron naturalmente los ingleses, meros espectadores hasta entonces, tomar en su extrema prudencia medidas de precaución. Wellington, in den ersten Tagen December zieht sich zurück v. den orillas des Guadiana 25 u. pasa al norte del Tajo ...

*Flaqueza de la comisión ejecutiva.* Diese consternirt. Entonces se vio que no basta reconcentrar el poder para que aparezca en sus efectos vigoroso y pronto. Keiner der bedeutenden Leute der central in dieser Commission. Nach dem saberse der derrota v. Ocaña quedó die comisión como 30 aturdida u. aplanada ... Palafox u. Montijo eingesperrt wegen ihrer manejos, da Herr Romana diese gegen sich (er Mitglied der Executiven) gerichtet sah. ... Andererseits die Intrigen des Romana u. s. Bruders Caro (der bes. die Valencia Junta bearbeitet, will s. Bruder zum Regenten machen etc) ... La central en cuyo cuerpo no habían en un principio 35 reinado otras divisiones sino aquellas que nacen de la diversidad de dictámenes, se vio en la actualidad combatida por la ambición y frenéticas pasiones de Palafox (Don Francisco de), de Romana y sus secuaces, convirtiéndose en un semillero de (/46/ chismes, pequeneces y enredos improprios de un gobierno supremo, con lo cual cayó aun mas en tierra su 40 crédito y se anticipó su ruina ... Die comisión ejecutiva, deren Seele der-

selbe Romana, nada pues de importante obró, poniéndose de manifiesto lo nulo de aquel general para todo lo que era mando. Die Junta in ihrem Kreis, animirt v. Jovellanos, Garay etc, einige gute measures, obgleich zu spät, wie el aplicar á los gastos de la guerra los fondos de encomiendas, 5 obras pías; ebenso die rebaja gradual de sueldos, exceptuándose á los militares que defendían la patria. Kurz vor dieser Periode hatte Calvo de Rozas Präposition wegen der Preßfreiheit gemacht; die Junta gab es á consulta del consejo, der dagegen. Central remittirt es dann der Comisión der cortes que á su vez la pasó á otra comisión creada bajo el nombre de 10 instrucción pública, corriendo por aquella inacabable cadena de juntas, consejos y comisiones á que siempre se recurrió en España. En estos pasos, idas y venidas December geschlossen u. die desgracias hinderten jede Resolución ... Modo de convocarse las Cortes ... Die convocatorias damals expedirt fueron solo las que iban dirigidas al nombramiento der 15 individuos que habían de componer la cámara electiva, reservando circular las de los privilegiados para mas adelante. Motivó tal diferencia weil im ersten Fall Zeit nöthig fürs Wählen, im Zweiten nicht, wo el llamamiento habia de ser personal. V. dieser tardanza kam's, daß zu den Cortes später nur die miembros elegidos durchs Volk kamen, quedando sin 20 efecto la formación de una segunda cámara ... *Denselben Tag* wo die convocatorias expedirt, 3 neue Individuen in der Executive. F. den Romana, Riquelme u. Caro traten ein der conde de Ayamans, der marqués del Villar u. Don Felix Ovalle. Todo presagiaba den Fall der Executiven u. der Central y todo una próxima invasion der Franzosen en las 25 Andalucías. Para no ser cogida tan de improvisio como en Aranjuez, Décret der Junta v. *13 Januar (1810)*, wonach sie sich zu vereinigen *1 Februar (1810)* in der isla de Leon um zu arreglar die apertura der cortes señalada f. den 1 März. Dieß Décret erschien ein hijo solo del miedo. ... Anfang 1810 schickt Napoleon Verstärkung nach Spanien. ... 30 20 Jan. 1810 die Frz. atacan y cruzan Sierramorena. ... Entran en Jaén u. Cordoba ... Schon nach dem 20 Jan. (1810) verschiedene v. der Central nach der Isla de Leon auf dem Weg; fast alle in der Nacht von 23 u. morgens des 24 (Jan. 1810), unos por el rio abajo y otros por tierra. Los primeros viajaron sin obstáculo, die andern nicht á quienes rodearon 35 muchos riesgos alborotados los pueblos del tránsito, que se creían con la retirada del gobierno abandonados y expuestos á la ira é invasion enemigas. Bes. Gefahr der President, damals der Erzbischof v. Laodicea u. der conde de Altamira marqués de Astorga, salvándose en Jerez ellos y otros compañeros suyos como por milagro de los puñales de la turba 40 amotinada ... Aseguróse que contando m. der Inquietud der pueblos, Emissäre v. Sevilla ausgesandt que aumentasen aquella u. sie gegen die Centralen richteten. (1-190) |

**[Manuel de Marliani (Fortsetzung)]**

[46] Napoleon.

«El portador de la carta del emperador para Fernando fué el conde de Laforest. En su arenga al rey, todavía preso en Valençay, sobrepujó en su tema al emperador. Fué repitiendo su acusación contra los Ingleses que <todo lo habían trastornado introduciendo la anarquía y el jacobinismo en España, cuyo solar yace talado y exhausto, la religion destruida, el clero desamparado, la nobleza abatida, la marina solo de nombre ((d. h. Trafalgar por la Francia!)), las colonias de América desmembradas, y en fin todo el pais cubierto de ruinas.) En fin, continúa M. de Laforest, la anarquía está sajando á los Españoles, puesto que los Ingleses, mientras están celebrando cortes en Cádiz, y aparentan apetecer un rey, su ánimo en suma es plantear una república. Siéntenlo en el alma los verdaderos Españoles, quienes están llorando tamaña desdicha, y ansiando ver rayar el orden en su patria acosada, y tener afianzadas sus haciendas. Tan sumo desconcierto ha movido al emperador, qien me envia á enterar á V.A.R. del estado aciago de los negocios.» (Marliani. p. 52)

**(Heft 3)**  
**Exzerpte zur Geschichte Spaniens**

|1| (January 1809 Florida Bianca f)

**A) Centralj unta**

26 September 1808 (aranjuez)—29 January 1810./

[Siehe MEGA® 1/13. S. 466-470.]

**[Dominique de Pradt:  
Mémoires historiques sur la révolution  
d'Espagne.  
Paris 1816]**

[3] Als Napoleon zuerst s. Truppen nach Spanien schickt, il se lança en 5  
Espagne avant d'avoir rassemblé ses forces; ses troupes nicht in nombre  
suffisant pour dépasser les Castilles. Quand le maréchal Moncey fut  
dirigé sur Valence, il dut reculer devant la population de cette ville.  
In Andalusien Dupont capitulirt. La Galice, les Asturies ne furent pas  
même entamées. Cette première apparition des Français ne servit donc 10  
qu'à montrer leur faiblesse, et à enhardir leurs ennemis. (Dieß v. 2 Mai -  
19 Juli 1808) Fehler Napoleon's in s. 2<sup>ter</sup> Zug. Soldaten partis des bords  
du Niemen le 15 Août, se trouvaient le 20 novembre, transplantés au  
centre de l'Espagne. Diese troupes nicht aussi nombreuses pour couvrir  
un pays aussi vaste als Spanien, insurgée toute entière. ... 15

Spanien zählt über 100,000 Mann Linie. 15,000 in Dänemark, 35,000  
sur la frontière de Portugal. 15,000 aux Présides, îles Baléares et Cana-  
ries, 10,000 au camp de St. Roche; 10,000 en Galice; 15,000 réparties sur  
les côtes et en Catalogne. (*Azanza.*) «Die généraux espagnols n'avaient 20  
d'autorité que lorsqu'ils agissaient dans le sens et l'opinion de ceux qu'ils  
commandaient. Ils ne pouvaient ni arrêter leurs soldats dans leurs succès,  
ni les contenir au milieu des revers; et ces bandes indisciplinées entraî-  
naient avec elles leurs chefs à la victoire ou à la fuite... Les Espagnols  
étaient un peuple religieux et guerrier, mais non pas militaire; ils dé-  
testaient et méprisaient même tout ce qui tenait aux troupes de ligne: 25



Aus Dominique de Pradt: Mémoires historiques sur la  
révolution d'Espagne und Heinrich von Brandt: The two Minas  
and the Spanish guerillas.  
Exzerpte zur Geschichte Spaniens. Heft 3. Seite 3



aussi manquaient-ils de bons officiers, de sous-officiers, et de tous les  
moyens qui constituent une armée bien réglée.» (*Rocca*) ... L'Espagne  
imitait la manœuvre de ces bataillons qui, désespérant de soutenir un  
choc, s'entr'ouvrent pour donner passage à l'ennemi, et qui, se reformant  
5 derrière lui, font pleuvoir une grêle de coups, tandis que la rapidité de sa  
course l'entraîne ... Die Français étaient les maîtres du lieu qu'ils occu-  
paient, de la tête de la colonne au dernier rang; les ailes ne leur appar-  
tenaient pas: on fuyait à leur approche, on revenait à leur sortie; leur  
petit nombre, comparé à l'étendue du terrain qu'ils avaient à couvrir, ne  
10 leur permettait pas de dépasser la ligne du Tage. Il fallait qu'ils fussent  
toujours en mouvement pour s'opposer à un ennemi toujours vaincu,  
mais toujours renaissant; toujours fuyant, mais aussi toujours présent  
partout. ... Ce ne sont pas les combats qui les (die Français) ont accablés,  
sondern die configuration montagneuse du pays, la difficulté des com-  
15 munications, l'isolement des habitations, le défaut d'abris sûrs, de subsi-  
stances assurées, les hostilités permanentes der population, die inutilité  
des victoires u. die continuité des courses à la suite d'un ennemi qui ne  
paraissait que pour disparaître ... (... 182-209 Pradt)

**[Heinrich von Brandt:  
The two Minas  
and the Spanish guerillas.  
London 1825.]**

In Spanien günstig f. national armament: smuggling, the chase, the cus- 5  
torn, or rather necessity, of being armed when travelling, their native  
poverty u. hardiness, the physical peculiarities of their country u. finally,  
the institutions of their ancestors, such as the Somatenes, Miquelets,  
Alarmas etc with their gradations in the different provinces. *Diod. Siculus*  
V, 34: "People in their best years, generally poor, but of great bodily 10  
strength and tried courage, assemble in the most inaccessible mountains,  
provided with nothing but their arms and their bravery. From hence they  
make incursions in every direction, defy all counter-preparations, and  
collect great treasures in a short time; and also look upon these rough  
and inaccessible mountains as their country and their home" ... A single 15  
call in Sierra Morena alone, assembled a corps of 3000 smugglers  
u. highwaymen. (Brandt.)

De Pradt.  
Mémoires historiques  
sur la Révolution d'Espagne.

Paris 1816

5 L'orgueil national des Espagnols était si grand, qu'ils ne voulaient jamais attribuer leurs revers à leur manque d'expérience, ou à la supériorité militaire de leurs ennemis. Dès qu'ils étaient battus, ils accusaient leurs chefs de trahison. Le gén. St. Juan fut pendu par ses soldats à Talavera; le gén. la Penna fut destitué par les divisions d'Andalousie; le duc d'Infan-  
10 tado forcé de prendre à Cuença le commandement de l'armée. (Rocca) |  
|4| Die Soldaten die das 2<sup>e</sup> mal nach Frankreich geschickt: Parties des bords du Niémen, de l'Oder, de la mer Baltique, ces troupes traversèrent la France sous des arcs de triomphe, au milieu des banquets préparés sur leur route. (193) L'entrevue d'Erfurt venait d'avoir lieu. Napoléon reprit  
15 la route d'Espagne, le 30 Octobre (1808): son armée l'y avait précédé ... Napoléon joignit l'armée le 6 novembre ... l'on arriva devant Madrid, le 2 décembre. Le siège, ou plutôt l'attaque des défenses que les habitants avaient élevées à la hâte devant les portes de la ville, dura 36 heures. ... Dans les Asturies, les maréchaux Lefebvre et Victor avaient gagné les  
20 batailles de Reynosa et d'Epinoso, et parcouru cette province en vainqueurs, sans que cela servît à rien. Le siège de Sarragosse était commencé, la bataille de Tudéla avait dispersé la plus grande armée espagnole; Roses était pris, Gironne aussi. Le maréchal Gouvion St. Cyr avait détruit au combat de Wals les vainqueurs de Baylen: et cependant  
25 les affaires n'étaient pas plus avancées ... l'Espagne n'est pas fait comme un autre pays; elle est coupée de montagnes qui entourent quelques-unes

de ses parties d'une manière régulière: cette configuration a produit sa géographie politique et sa division en états distincts, à laquelle cette séparation naturelle se prêta très-bien. Les montagnes offrent des difficultés aux assaillans, des appuis ou des refuges a ceux qui défendent le pays, *et de plus, des rideaux derrière* lesquels on ne voit rien, ce qui est de 5 la plus grande conséquence. Les habitations sont réunies en corps de villes ou de villages, de façon à laisser entre elles de grands espaces déserts. On ne trouve pas en Espagne comme dans le reste de l'Europe cette suite d'habitations répandues dans les campagnes ou sur les grands chemins, qui présente des asiles et des moyens de subsistance. Si les routes principales sont excellentes, celles de traverse sont très-difficiles; le bois, l'ombre, l'eau manquent, les moyens de transport sont faibles et rares, les grands charrois, qui abondent en France et en Allemagne, sont inconnus en Espagne; tout, ou à peu près tout se fait par des bêtes de somme, moyen pauvre et lent. ... Napoleon's forces disséminées sur la 15 surface de l'Espagne étaient si peu proportionnées avec les besoins que comportait le maintien d'un aussi grand pays. ... Was Napoleon's Krieg gegen Spanien hauptsächlich vereitelte: 1) l'Angleterre. 2) l'Autriche. 3) la division entre Joseph et Napoleon 4) les nouveaux plans de Napoleon sur l'Espagne ... c'est surtout la guerre dont l'Autriche menaçait 20 alors la France qui a fait la diversion décisive en faveur de l'Espagne... 28 Janv. 1809 Napoléon reprit la route de Paris. Les Espagnols soupiraient après cet éloignement de Napoleon Seul, ils le redoutaient autant qu'une armée. *Quand ils le virent partir ils triomphèrent, interprétant son éloignement comme l'abandon de l'entreprise même...* c'était plus que 25 cela, c'était la perte même de l'entreprise. ... Bonaparte ne s'apercevait pas qu'en se bornant à effleurer cette guerre en personne, il la rendait infaisable à l'avenir; que manquée dans son début on n'y reviendrait qu'avec les plus grandes difficultés ... Joseph ne possédant pas l'Espagne, ne pouvait ni faire payer, ni payer pour elle; il n'y avait de revenu assuré 30 que les perceptions faites aux portes de Madrid. Les pays insurgés n'envoyaient pas leur argent à Joseph; les pays occupés étaient dévastés, foulés de mille manières, et ne pouvaient pas donner ce qu'on leur avait déjà pris. *D'ailleurs les armées étant toujours en mouvement, la domination du jour n'était pas celle de la veille ni du lendemain, et la finance vit de fixité.* 35 // n'y avait donc rien à percevoir pour le compte de Joseph, et c'était à Napoléon à couvrir le déficit. Ainsi la division entre les 2 frères était extrême. ... Span, gefiel dem Napoleon. Ainsi il avait changé tout le plan qui l'avait amené en Espagne, et au lieu de se borner à en faire un apanage de sa famille... il avait passé à l'idée de se l'approprier... 40 ce peuple (Spain sagt Pradt zu Napoleon zu Valladolid) *était comme la*

*femme de Sganarelle, qui voulait être battue...* Napoleon sprach ihnen  
v. partage v. Spain in 5 grandes vice-royautés. On l'a vu préluder à leur  
établissement, par la création des gouvernemens militaires, qui ont régi ce  
pays pendant plusieurs années. ... Depuis le 2 Mai 1808 époque de  
5 l'émeute de Madrid et du premier combat livré en Espagne, jusqu'à la  
bataille de Toulouse, le 10 Avril 1814, qui a terminé la guerre, il y a eu  
6 campagnes pleines. Point d'armistices, de quartiers d'hiver. En Espa-  
gne, espèce de Vendée, les attaques partielles, les surprises, les enlève-  
ments des convois, des postes isolés, des courriers et des escortes étaient  
10 journaliers. On n'a pas cessé de combattre, pas un jour ne s'est écoulé  
sans que sang coulât, et cela sur toute la surface de l'Espagne, depuis  
Cadiz jusqu'à Pampelune, depuis Grenade jusqu'à Salamanca. Dazu  
l'usage de faire des prisonniers, avait disparu. On ne connaissait que la  
destruction et la mort. Pendant 6 ans la pitié a été bannie de cette terre.  
15 Les hommes surpris dans les attaques partielles, les hôpitaux, sur les  
chemins, sur les derrières ou sur les ailes des corps armés, les employés au  
service des postes, des administrations, officiers, étaient traités comme les  
combattants. Ingénieuse férocité, ζ. B.: «Des femmes, ou plutôt des furies  
déchaînées, se précipitaient ||5j avec d'horribles hurlements sur nos bles-  
20 ses, et elles se les disputaient, pour les faire mourir dans les tourmens les  
plus cruels: elles leur plantaient des couteaux et des ciseaux dans les yeux,  
se repaissant avec une joie féroce de la vue de leur sang. (*Mémoires de  
M. de Rocca.*)» ... Les Espagnols ont livré un nombre infini de batailles.  
Il n'en a pas été en Espagne comme dans les autres pays, où l'on était sûr  
25 de voir arriver les pacificateurs à la suite d'une ou 2 batailles perdues ...  
*s'ils perdaient le champ de bataille, ce qui ne leur faisait rien du tout, en  
revanche ils perdaient peu de monde.* (193 sqq.)

The Two Minas  
and The Spanish Guerrillas.  
Extracted and translated  
from a work "On Spain",  
written by Capt. H. v. Brandt, 5  
a Prussian Officer, who served  
in one of the Polish Regiments  
attached to the Fr. Army  
during the Peninsular War.  
By a British Officer. 10

London. 1825.

[Fortsetzung]

Preface.

"General Espoz y Mina's recent publication of an Extract from his life ..."  
Mina hier set forth a splendid array of "143 regular or occasional 15  
actions (without reckoning small encounters)" in which he states himself  
to have "given battle, or sustained the attack",—defeats are, with him,  
out of the question—der Leser wird hier nicht find any mention of the  
General having broken the enemy's square upon 3 different occasions,  
one of which was at Placencia where he says: "Notwithstanding the supe- 20  
rior numbers of the enemy, I made 1200 infantry prisoners, and put

to the sword the whole of his cavalry." Neither does the escape which Gen. Mina effected from Robres, assume, in the ensuing work, that miraculous character which it bears in the General's own statement. Above all, the reader will in vain look for such particulars as might tend to confirm  
5 the assertion, that "the issue of the decisive battle of Vittoria would *have been very doubtful*", if Wellington had not been supported by Mina and his band of Guerillas. (I-IV)

inclination for a roving life. (8) lay in ambush for the escort in the road between Irozin u. Sanguessa. (Mina um die mules, laden m. dem money  
10 der taxes abzufassen). (10) lurking-place in the mountains. (1. c.) battalion of students, which was formed at Saragossa, from the seminaries of that place, as well as from those of Pampeluna, Huesca, Logronno etc. (11) In 1809 a great part of the French army quitted Spain and Portugal. (12) Und dann die Partidas formed in Navarra, at the head of which  
15 Mina, whom the people only distinguished by the name of *el estudiante*, suddenly appeared. (13) He recommenced action in the wood of Tafalla, by the capture of some waggons laden with money, and his enterprises followed each other rapidly. (13) More than 20 times defeated and dispersed by detachments, he was often ready again to show front to his  
20 enemies, and not unfrequently, after a defeat, he re-appeared with increased strength. From that time no individual ventured to leave the walls of Pampeluna. (14) ruses de guerre. (15) Mina's corps amounted, for a length of time, to about 1200 men. (17) Dieser junge Mina, der wirklich famoser Guérillero, gefangen u. erschossen v. den Franzosen.  
25 (21) He was on the way to become a second Viriatus. (22) The troops raised by Mina were, therefore, at the beginning of March, 1810, without a leader. 4 competitors for this honor presented themselves ... lastly a certain *Francisco Espoz* (armer Bauer v. Navarra), an uncle of Mina ... he carried the day, for he was in possession of the money which Mina  
30 had captured, or received ... without any talent for war ... his sole efforts directed to conciliate his followers, and to establish his authority. 1) by means of his cruelty towards his prisoners, he turned the war into one of extirpation, and thus prevented the possibility of any reconciliation with the French ... was an excellent Machiavellist... Whoever complied with  
35 a French requisition was shot; whoever was found with a *requisitoriale* in his possession lost either a hand or both ears; every *Afrancesado* was hanged. In short, the guerilla war in Navarre assumed, under him, that sanguinary character which reduced the once high-minded mountaineers to a level with savages ... By means of a regular supply of provisions,  
40 together with good payment and clothing, which were rendered practicable by his very heavy contributions, his numbers rapidly increased to

several thousands. The little bands of Pastor, Pesaduro, Mal-Carao, Sarto, etc, were forcibly disbanded, and embodied in his own. He treated the proprietors of estates and other rich people with the greatest haughtiness, and woe to him who dared to utter complaints or menaces; he was sure to hang the next hour as an *Afrancesado* at the first convenient tree. 5  
 The most perfect terrorism suppressed every complaint... His whole sphere of action at first confined to the high road from Pampeluna to Tafalla; upon which all military supplies were attacked, but that courage which had so distinguished them under the younger Mina soon began to fail among his troops. Their fighting mostly degenerated into unprofit- 10  
 able firing, and it was frequently the case, that a handful of the French succeeded in making a stand against 10 times their number of Spaniards. It really bordered on the ridiculous to see how a 100 of the allies often attacked from 6 to 800 of these guerillas with their *vincer or morir* upon their hats, and drove them from hill to hill. Selbst upon the Spaniards 15  
 damals oft forced the question: «Que vale Francisco Mina?»... at Tudela ... several 1000s attacked 200 French u. fought most miserably ... (avoiding to meet his enemy in large bodies, nourishing everywhere the seeds of insurrection, surprising the weaker parties, showing himself everywhere, and at the same time concealing his movements)... statt 20  
 dessen he only exerted himself in forming troops, the number of which soon exceeded all that the French could collect together in Navarre... Er mit his 4000 men (soviel in dem 2<sup>ten</sup> year) did nothing which deserves to be mentioned. Aber Junta promotes him zum colonel u. knight of the order of Charles III. ... on his junction with the Engl. army after the 25  
 battle of Vittoria, he fell into a sort of contempt, in which he remained during the rest of the war. ... It is generally understood, that the guerillas took from the French 27 ammunition waggons, burnt 32, besides several others laden with flour and clothing, killed or took prisoners about 3000 men, and captured from the state nearly a million and a half 30  
 of fcs. Now, if we consider that, in 1810, Mina had about 3000 men, in the following year, above 6000, and in 1812 upwards of 10,000; it is really inconceivable how the French, who were generally only from 2000-3000 strong in Navarre, could hold out there even a single month. It was only when either Porlier or Longa was forced also to take refuge 35  
 in Navarre, that Gen. Reille received support in Pampeluna from Cafarelli, Sabatier, or Suchet; otherwise from 1200 to 1500 men generally sufficed to *battre les montagnes*, and Mina never ventured to make a stand against them ... (Sieh - Capt. Rigel: Der 7jährige Kampf auf der pyren. Halbinsel) ... misery which the guerillas occasioned. ... If we 40  
 compare Mina with Porlier, with the indefatigable and enterprising Laci,



or with the daring Eróles, what a miserable creature he appears!... Had the guerilla-chiefs of the northern provinces been true patriots, or, at least, soldiers, they would have formed a junction during the siege of Valencia, have thrown themselves upon Suchet's lines of communication, and have commenced operations with light troops upon an extensive scale. A junction could have been made of 30,000 guerilla troops. Mina, Mendizabel, Durand, Empecinado, Freiré, and Montijo, had together 30,000 men, and wandered during this time without any fixed object in view, about Jaca, Sanguessa, Teruel, and Albanacin. Had Suchet advanced upon them, it was then their proper business to scatter themselves in all directions, and the moment he commenced his retreat to Valencia, to appear upon the scene re-united. As it was, the brave Joachim Blake suffered similar disasters to those which happened to the unfortunate Contreras when forsaken by Campoverde, Eróles, and Miranda. The highly praised guerilla-chiefs had *courage to pursue single corps, to intercept couriers, to attack detached posts of 20-30 men with thousands,* when 100 or 200 men would have been sufficient; but to forego secondary views in the hour of decision, to renounce a contemptible egotism, and to attempt, under the proper banners, the preservation of one of the bulwarks of their oppressed country; this was a height to which none of them aspired. Independent of one another, each would move in the direction he pleased; and their harassed country might sink into the lowest state of misery, provided they were able to preserve their power. In a word, the extolled patriotism of these people amounted to nothing more than an *egotism widely disseminated and echoed by their admirers.* It was the progress of events of that important period, which liberated Spain; the battles of Salamanca and Vittoria drove the French across the Pyrenees ... Capt. Wezyk was in Almunia, where he had only 100 men, and was besieged by about 4000 under Empecinado; in Calatajud, an Italian battalion of 400 men was taken by 6000; in San Par de Calanda, Lieut. Borakowski, who had only 80 men, was besieged by 2000 under José Palafox. I could add innumerable examples of a still more ill-judged distribution of the troops. (22-45) |

[7] influence der guerillas upon the liberation of Spain should become the object of peculiar inquiry ... it is pretty generally believed, that, had it not been for the guerillas, Spain would have been subdued by the French ... the Guerillas, says Col. Jones, in the "History of the War in Spain u. Portugal", left to themselves, would have very soon "dwindled into banditti" ... they had too little weight to produce great results, or even to afford well informed men the least hope of seeing Spain liberated through their means ... we shall not be surprised to see the elements of

the armament of the people in the last war, formed precisely in the way described to us by Diodorus V. 34. ... At the time of the Revolution, there were confederations throughout the whole country for plundering-excursions and enterprises, which were ready, at a nod, to step forward for him who was able or willing to give them good pay ... The Supreme 5 Junta v. vorn deeply impressed with the opinion, that nothing but a temporising conduct, and the active operations of light troops, could save the affairs of Spain ... the Span, armies perfectly unfit to contest the palm of victory with the French in an open field of battle. Unter den 10 prevenciones which the Supreme Junta made known upon this head, through Don Juan Pardo heißt es u. a.: Art. 1) "the most important object is to avoid every general battle ..." "the operations" heißt in art. 2 "of small corps composed of light troops are best adapted to our purpose of *harassing the enemy, by cutting off his supplies, destroying his bridges and roads, etc.* The local peculiarities of Spain, its numerous hills, 15 its passes, streams, and even the situation of the provinces, invite us to carry on this kind of warfare." ... *disgust at those scenes of savage cruelty, which characterize and disfigure this contest...* The Junta had certainly issued orders respecting the organization der Guerillas, but these were not attended to, even where the Gov. authorities were directed to put 20 them into execution ... it will therefore not be surprising to see an Eróles, a Porlier, and a Lacy, in the same circumstances with a Mina, an Empecinado etc. The party-chiefs paid no attention to the gov. except when it *required their services*, or when they claimed rewards ... Local causes, added to hatred, revenge, and other passions, but *particularly the hope of 25 plunder*, brought the *mountaineers* together; who, besides from their mode of living, were not disinclined to military enterprises. From corps thus formed, which were augmented by good, and as easily dispersed by bad, fortune, the boldest and most determined stepped forward as leaders; and upon their talents depended the finding out the means of 30 attaching the irregular mass to their persons. A *relaxed discipline, superfluity of provisions, good pay, and an unrestrained liberty, generally sufficed to effect* this object. Once arrived at some degree of importance, these men thought proper to conduct themselves in the way prescribed by the Junta, in order to gain strength and solidity. But, in this, the will of 35 the guerilla-chiefs passed for the *suprema lex*. The chiefs of such bands adopted a peculiar warfare. They carried on the war *as their own cause*, independently of every foreign influence, and *agreeably* to their own interest. Fortunate events and circumstances frequently brought whole districts under their colours; but, on the first inducement, such combatees 40 returned home, in order to convey, under the character of peaceable

inhabitants, their produce to French. As long as the guerillas were thus constituted, they made no formidable appearance, as a body; but were, nevertheless, extremely dangerous to the French. They formed the basis of an actual armament of the people; and were seen upon every road and  
5 path, vigilantly guarding all belonging to them, and eagerly seeking for plunder. As soon as an opportunity for a capture offered itself, or a combined enterprise was meditated, the most active and daring among the people assembled, and joined the guerillas. They rushed with the utmost rapidity upon their booty, or placed themselves in order of battle,  
10 according to the object of the undertaking. It was not uncommon to see them standing out a whole day in sight of a vigilant enemy, in order to intercept a courier, or any other individual, or to capture supplies. It was in this way that Mina captured the Viceroy of Navarre appointed by José Napoleon, and that Julian made a prisoner of the commandant of Ciudad-Rodrigo. As soon as the enterprise were completed, ||8| every one  
15 went his own way, and armed men were seen scattered in all directions; but the members of the levy, as I may call it, quietly returned to their common occupations, without their absence having been noticed: *Thus the communication upon all roads was closed. Thousands of enemies were*  
20 *on the spot*, though not a single one could be discovered: no courier could be despatched without being taken; no supplies could set off without being attacked; in short, no movement could be effected without being observed by a hundred eyes. At the same time, there existed no means of striking at the root of a combination of this kind ... The French were  
25 obliged to be constantly armed against an enemy, who, continually flying, always reappeared; and who, without being actually seen, was everywhere. It was neither battles nor engagements which exhausted their forces, but the incessant molestations of an invisible enemy, who, if pursued, became lost among the people, out of which he reappeared  
30 immediatly afterwards m. renewed strength. The lion in the fable, tormented to death by a gnat, gives us a true picture of the French army at that period ... "Guerillas of this kind," says the *Austrian Military Journal*, article upon the Guerillas, 1 vol., for 1821, "carry their *basis* in themselves as it were; and every operation against them terminates in the  
35 disappearance of its *object*." But, even in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the rise of these bands, they lost this character, and absurdly aped the regularity and economy of the military profession ... *lost the activity* which they had shown in the earlier part of their formation, gave their enemies, by means  
40 *der heaviness* to which the regular form of their altered system had accustomed them, a 1000 opportunities of combating them m. success. *They ceased to become the concern of whole districts, and fell into the hands of a*

*few leaders, who made such use of them as was most suitable to their own views. In other respects, like the ancient Iberians, every one took part in the excursions; each came, and went away at pleasure. No progressive subordination secured the will of the guerilla: any attempt at this would have cost the leader his life. The good fortune of the chief was all that* 5  
*gave him authority over this turbulent host; a few unsuccessful enterprises placed him again on a par with his comrades ... If, at the immediate commencement of the war, Napoleon had made his appearance with his old troops (which did not enter until the end of 1808;) they quitted the Niemen in the middle of August, and arrived in Madrid on Nov. 20), it* 10  
*would not have been in the power der Spanier to make so successful a début, the legions of reserve, the troops of the departments, and the provisional regiments, could certainly give the Spaniards no favourable opinion of our army ... Col. Jones says that the government, through its interference, stifled the fiery spirit and activity der guerillas. Dieß falsch. By* 15  
*bestowing military rank upon their leaders, or sending them "gaudy uniforms", they conferred upon them a greater degree of authority and importance, and, at the same time, raised the institution in the estimation of the people ... Besides, it is not true that they were subordinate to the generals of the line stationed in their provinces. 1" there were none in* 20  
*most of the districts partly possessed by the enemy. Mina, Longa, and the Empecinado etc were perfectly independent; Porlier, Lacy, Eróles and Villacampa, were themselves officers of rank in the line ... Villacampa resembled Blake, though on a smaller scale, that is, he was constantly presenting himself at all points, and yet was everywhere defeated... O'Don-* 25  
*nel united the Miquelets, Quintas, Tercias, Somatenes, Guerillas u. Partidas into legions, and gave away officers' appointments for arms and other military requisites, considering the cooling zeal of the people ... The reason why the guerillas, at a later period, modelled themselves after the standing army, will be found in the nature of military subordination ... A* 30  
*country, which has been for some years the theatre of sanguinary contests, will always contain a number of men, who are ready, in the name of its cause, and under the pretext of defending it, to revel in murder, rapine, and devastation ... Der change in dem system of the guerillas gave den French, in their ||9| contests with them, considerable advantages.* 35  
*Rendered incapable by their great numbers to conceal themselves from the observation of a vigilant enemy, and suddenly to disappear from him, without giving battle, as they had formerly done, they were now frequently overtaken, defeated, dispersed, and disabled, for a length of time, from offering any further molestation... Wherever the enemy was seen* 40  
*concentrating his troops, or approaching in great force, the French*

advanced upon, and dispersed them; by which means the movements on both sides became more decisive, but not to the advantage of Spain, since the tactics of the French always procured them the victory. Even the most hazardous engagements terminated in the French becoming masters  
5 of the field, provided no infinite superiority of numbers rendered this honor a matter of doubt ... the country always the greatest sufferer; it not unfrequently happened, that the party-chiefs designedly compromised whole districts, either on account of some private offence, or on the supposition, that they were unfavourable to their cause. Towns, vil-  
10 lages, and farms, which had witnessed so long a succession of these contests, stood empty and deserted, and the country, which had been visited by all the horrors of war, was now a picture of desolation ... the cultivation of the talents der insurgent-leaders did not keep pace mit dem  
15 increase of their strength. During the whole war, and under all circumstances, their tactics remained unaltered... If the strength of the contending parties was equal, i. e., in the proportion of 2:4, for otherwise the guerillas did not stand the test, they descended from their mountains, and, by numerous provocations, soon forced the French to seek them. An ambush, placed with great caution for the purpose of surprising the  
20 advanced guard, opened the day. Generally after the first attack, these *enfants perdus* sought the plain, and fell back upon the main body; which, as soon as it perceived our troops, raised a dreadful cry, and usually commenced a sharp fire, without paying any regard to the distance which might separate it from us. I recollect instances in which we pursued the  
25 terrible Mina from hill to hill, without firing a single shot, whilst his men uselessly expended several 1000 cartridges. When the ground favoured the operation, the French always made an impetuous charge upon their opponents, who generally retreated after a feeble resistance. If, in the meantime, an opportunity presented itself of laying a snare for the  
30 rapidly pursuing victors, it was seized, and every possible advantage taken of the ground, but, with their usual want of perseverance and courage. They then disappeared among the mountains, and generally, on the following day, distanced us by 10 or 12 *leguas*. No troops in the  
35 world could have been able to overtake them ... Small elevations of ground lining the road, commanded by another row of hills at a short distance, frequently intersected by rugged hollows, appeared to be their favourite resource. When we had thus fallen into the snare, which, considering the very peculiar formation of the ground, could not be avoided in perhaps 10 cases out of a 1000, at first some riflemen made their  
40 appearance on our flanks; the number of which gradually increased; and finally rendered a counter-movement on our part necessary. This was

generally the signal for the enemy's grand attack; and we soon saw ourselves surrounded by an impenetrable chain of riflemen, whose vast superiority in numbers drove our skirmishers back upon the column, on which a heavy fire was then directed from all points. Let any one imagine a corps of from 12-1400 men in a mountainous tract of country, in which 5 the formation of the ground is such as to preclude all possibility of a regular movement, and which is intersected by deep ravines and hollow-ways occupied by the enemy; surrounded by from 6-7000 insurgents swarming about them like bees, and he will be enabled to form a correct idea of the embarrassment which we were in the almost daily habit of 10 encountering. If we advanced, the enemy retired, and the flanks and rear of the column were assailed; which was also the case whether we attacked their flanks, or retired. Nowhere did we meet with resistance, but everywhere a shower of bullets; nowhere a resolute opposition, but from all sides a tremendous fire kept up just within gun-shot. After having 15 fought for a length of time in this way, during which we had generally lost 1/3 of our numbers, and left no means untried which offered any chance of repelling the enemy, it became necessary to think of effecting an escape. On our retreat we frequently found the country in a state of insurrection, and while the inhabitants obstructed our passage, we 20 became surrounded, and even cut off, by means of powerful movements on our flanks, from every new line of march. If a column, thus situated, did not find the ground particularly favourable to its retreat, or if it was at the distance of more than 1 march from the main support, not even the best dispositions of its commander, nor the utmost steadiness and per- 25 severance of the men, could save it. It was precisely in this way that the attacks were made upon our supply, only that, in general, unless a very considerable escort made the attack problematical, whole districts took up arms, dug ditches across the wood, and, by rolling down pieces of rock, rendered the defiles impassable ... the traditions of the guerillas will 30 be preserved, like those of the combats with the Moors, and will keep alive in the minds of the people, how they once defended their liberty ... Without taking into consideration, that this war "commencée à la légère et conduite de loin", as Monsieur de Pradt says, was conducted by Napoleon in a somewhat spiritless manner, it is certain, that the war with 35 the combined Germans and Russians, together with England unexampled support, contributed more to the liberation der Peninsula, than all the sacrifices u. efforts der nation. Napoleon himself says, that the Peninsula was only saved through the energy of Great Britain. (46-77) I

|i| Torreno. Suite.

t. III

24 Jan. 1810 Emeute in Sevilla (por la mañana), declarándose la junta provincial á sí misma suprema nacional (Palafox, Montijo, Gen. Eguía, 5 Marquis Romana entraron en la junta). Ihre Junta weiter (an der Spitze Romana) ernennt Romana statt des Duque del Parque, que destinaba á Cataluña, u. Don Joaquin Blake f. das ejército del centre Später das wirkliche gov. supreme conformirte sich m. dieser resolución der Sevilla junta ... 31 Jan. (1810) Sevilla capitulirt. 1 Febr. Franzosen rücken ein. 10 ... Vor Ende Januar viele der Centralen in der *Isla de Leon* versammelt, la tormenta que habían corrido, la voz pública, los temores de no ser obedidos, todo en fin los compelió á hacer dejación del mando antes de congregarse las cortes, y á substituir en su lugar otra autoridad... excluyéndose á sí propios de ser nombrados para el nuevo gobierno ... 15 Reglamento das sie der Regency giebt... Su último decreto sobre Cortes (29 Januar 1810 nie durch die Regenten publizirt). ... Diese ocultación provenia de los que aborrecían toda especie de representación nacional - In der Nacht v. 31 Januar 1810 löst sich die Central auf u. sezt die Regenten ein: Don Pedro de Quevedo y Quintano obispo de Orense, Don 20 Francisco de Saavedra consejero de estado, General Don Francisco Javier Castaños, General der Marine Don Antonio Escaño u. Don Miguel de Lardizabal y Uribe, natural de Nueva España ... *Junta in Cadiz* gewählt (29 Jan. 1810)...

*Die Central:* In der hacienda casi nada innovó ni en el género de contribuciones, ni en el de su recaudación, ni tampoco en la cuenta y razón. 25 Tratq á lo último de exigir una contribución extraordinaria directa que en pocas partes se planteó ni aun momentáneamente. No gravó la nación

m. empréstitos pecuniarios, reembolsándose en general las anticipaciones del comercio de Cádiz ó de particulares m. den caudales que venían de América ú otras entradas; dennoch stieg die deuda m. den suministros que los pueblos daban á las partidas y á la tropa. In der milicia machte sie keine Reformen. Was darin geschah, durch die Provincial Juntas, 5 debiéndose á ellas el haber quitado en los alistamientos las excepciones u. privilegios de ciertas clases, y el haber dado á todos mayor facilidad para los ascensos. In den tribunals keine Aenderung außer daß reunido en uno todos los consejos ó sean tribunales supremos. Weder in der Prozedur noch Criminal- u. Civilgesetzgebung wesentliche Aenderung. In 10 ihren relaciones m. den extrangeros nacional u. independiente. Pocos meses vor ihrer disolation erklären die guerra (nula en la realidad) an Dänemark, weil dieß die span. Gefangenen hält, die sich nicht m. Romana einschiffen konnten. Antwortet nobel den propuestas u. insinuciones der invasores etc desesperanza nunca ... War gobierno desdichado. 15 Wäre sie Aug. (1809) den Tag v. Talavera abgetreten u. dann die Cortes berufen, all right. Verfolgt die Individuen der Junta, bes. el conde de Tilly u. Don Lorenzo Calvo de Rozas. Decree der Regency, wonach die Centralen zu «trasladarse á sus provincias, excepto á América, se les dejaba á la disposición del gobierno bajo la vigilancia y cargo especial de los 20 capitanes generales, cuidando que no se reuniesen muchos en una provincia». ... Diese Verfolgungen bes. wegen der inclination der Central á mudanzas en favor de la libertad. ...

*Die V Regency.* Sehr f. das Alte. Daher die consejeros, die empleados de palacio, los que echaban de menos los usos de la córte y temían las 25 reformas, ensalzaron á la regencia, y asiéronse de ella hasta querer restablecer, ceremoniales añejos y costumbres impropias... Der consejo in einem Manifest v. 2 Febr. 1810 (an die Regency) (en su felicitación) behauptet que las desgracias habían dependido de la propagación de «principios subversivos, intolerantes, tumultuarios y lisonjeros al inocente 30 pueblo» u. recomendando el que se venerasen «las antiguas leyes, loables usos y costumbres santas de la monarquía».

*Junta de Cadiz* Im Ganzen honett. El querer sujetar á regla á los dependientes de la hacienda militar, á los gefes y oficiales de los mismos cuerpos y á todos los empleados, clase en general estragada, zog der Junta sin- 35 sabores u. enconadas Feindschaften zu... (21 Januar 1810 Don Henri O'Donnell v. der Central zum ||2| General v. Catalonien ernannt. ... 29 Mai 1810 El consejo de regencia v. Leon nach Cadiz. ... Partidas de Cazorla y de las Alpujarras ... los gallegos que se habían esmerado tanto en defender sus propios hogares, mostráronse perezosos en cooperar 40 fuera de su suelo al triunfo de la buena causa.... Entre los que empezaron



en el reino de Granada á levantar cabeza durante la ausencia del general francés, señalóse el alcalde de Otivar, de nombre Fernandez, quien entró en Almuñecar y Motril, y aun se apoderó de sus castillos. Estas y otras empresas que propagaron la llama de la insurrección por las sierras y por  
5 varios pueblos de la costa, á pesar de algunos amigos que tuvieron allí los enemigos, bewogen die Engländer á dar cierto apoyo á aquellos movimientos (in Granada) ... Henri O'Donnell f. die sorpresa gloriosa de la Bisbai (wo er zwang Gen. Schwartz zu capituliren) Conde de la Bisbai ...

10 *Partidas en lo interior de la España.* En el riñon de España, junto con las provincias vascongadas y Navarra, se aumentaban las partidas, y en 1810 llegaron á formar algunas de ellas cuerpos numerosos y mejor disciplinados; pues en tales lides, como decía *Fernando del Pulgar*, «crece  
15 interés». Proseguían también allí en algunos parages gobernando las juntas, las cuales, sin asiento fijo, mudaban de morada según la suerte de las armas, y ya se embreñaban en elevadas sierras, ó ya se guarecían en recónditos yermos. La regencia de Cádiz nombraba á veces generales que  
20 tuviesen bajo su mando los diversos guerrilleros de un determinado distrito, ó ensalzaba á los que de entre ellos mismos sobresalían, autorizándolos con grados y comandancias superiores. Igualmente envió intendentes ú otros empleados de hacienda que recaudasen las contribuciones, y llevasen en lo posible la correspondiente cuenta y razón, invirtiéndose los  
25 productos en las atenciones de los respectivos territorios ... Die Franzosen trugen auch viel dazu bei die llama der insurrección aufrecht zu erhalten... Sus extorsiones pasaban la raya de lo hostigoso é inicuo. Vivian en general de pesadísimas derramas y de escandaloso pillage, cuyos excesos producían en los pueblos venganzas, y éstas crueles y sanguinarias medidas del enemigo. Qué pábulo no daban diese arbitrarie-  
30 dades y demasías al acrecentamiento der Guerrillas! Asaltados por ellas en todos lugares tuvieron los enemigos que establecer de trecho en trecho puestos fortificados, valiéndose de antiguos castillos de moros, ó de conventos y casas-palacios. Por este medio aseguraban sus caminos militares, la línea de sus operaciones, y formaban depósitos de víveres y apres-  
35 tos de guerra. Su dominio no se extendía generalmente fuera del recinto fortalecido, teniedo á veces que oír mal de su agrado y sin poder estorbarlo las jácaras patrióticas que en su derredor venían á entonar mit den habitantes los atrevidos partidarios. Conservar so die comunicaciones kostete den Franzosen suma vigilancia u. mucha gente ... An 200 chefs  
40 mas conocidos dieser partidarios, apareciendo y desapareciendo otros muchos con las oleadas de los sucesos. Los que andaban cerca de los

ejércitos en la circunferencia peninsular, permanecían mas fijos en sus respectivos lugares, como dependientes de cuerpos reglados. Die andern, si bien de preferencia tenían determinada vivienda, trasladábanse de una provincia á otra al son de las alternativas y vueltas de la guerra, ó según el cebo que ofrecía alguna lucrativa ó gloriosa empresa ... *Regencia* 5  
*remittirt zu convocar las Cortes.* Die Regentschaft erwähnt das Wort *Cortes* höchstens in algunos papeles que circuló á América um halagar die ánimos der habitantes de Ultramar. Wuchsen die Clamores públicos. Vereinigten sich damit varios ||3| diputados v. algunas juntas de provincia, los cuales residían en Cádiz, y trataron de promover legalmente asunto 10  
de tanta importancia. Temerosa die *regencia*, 14 Juni 1810 berief Don Martin de Garay, angeblich damit er aufkläre ciertas dudas über den modo der convocación der Cortes ... No por eso desistieron de su intento los diputados der provincias u. den 17 Juni (1810) comisionaron á dos de ellos para poner en manos der Regency una exposición enderezada á 15  
recordar la prometida reunion de cortes. (190-371) Dieß desempeño erfüllt v. Don Guillermo Hualde député f. Cuenca u. conde de Toreno, député v. Leon, (*autor de esta historia.*) ira locuaz y apasionada des Bischof v. Orense. Endlich repuesta satisfactoria, Beifall in Cadiz, auch der Junta, die diese Exposición den folgenden Tag m. einer andren unter- 20  
stützt. Fermentación. 18 Juni. 1810 (Denselben Tag wo die Vorstellung der Junta v. Cadiz.) *Décret f. die Zusammenberufung der Cortes.* Kein Tag bestimmt, aber verordnet elecciones, noch nicht verifizirt, sollten sich beschleunigen. Wenn im August der groeßte Theil in Cortes Isla de Leon, zu eröffnen. Júbilo general en la nación. Beschleunigen sich die Provin- 25  
zen, die noch nicht gewählt... Die Juntas hatten nie veröffentlicht den Schluß des Décrets der Central v. 1 Januar daß «igual convocatoria se remitiría á los representantes del brazo eclesiástico y de la nobleza», é ignorándola los electores, habían recaído ya algunos de los nombramientos en grandes y en prelados. Regencia begann darüber die Principal 30  
corporaciones des reino zu consultiren ... Nur in Navarra noch proseguía die costumbre de convocar á sus cortes particulares el brazo eclesiástico y el militar, ó sea de la nobleza... In den provincias vascongadas umgekehrt, en cuyas juntas del todo populares no se admiten ni aun los clérigos ... Die nobleza u. clero habían obrado antes bien como particulares 35  
que como corporaciones, y lo mas elevado de ambas clases, die grandes u. prelados no habían por lo general brillado ni á la cabeza de los ejércitos, ni de los gobiernos, ni de las partidas. Dazu die tendencia der nación desafecta á gerarquías ... Diese Meinung so allgemein, daß nicht nur v. den Demokraten unterstützt, sondern v. den Feinden der Cortes 40  
u. jeder Representativregierung. Die lezteren por no contrarestar el modo

de pensar de los naturales. So in Sevilla in der Comisión der Junta central Riquelme u. Caro f. 1 cámara indivisa u. común gegen Jovellanos f. 2. Los primeros seguían la voz común, die 2<sup>ta</sup> England. Unter den comisionados der juntas residentes in Cádiz der eifrigste f. Eine Kammer Don 5 Guillermo Hualde, Canonicus u. großer Gegner der Neuerungen. ... elevada y orgullosa igualdad que ostenta la jactancia española ... Die Mayoritát des Consejo real erklärt sich f. Eine Kammer... (Die Minorität, darunter Decan José Colon, Conde del Pinar, die señores Riega, Duque Estrada, Don Sebastian de Torres dagegen; verlangen strenge Bestrafung 10 der Juntas die f. die Zusammenberufung der Cortes committirt; bekommen Scheißangst als dieß bekannt, u. erpressen flehentlich v. der regency daß ihr Gutachten nicht publicirt wird. Später Hauptreactionäre.) Ebenso der consejo de estado f. 1 Kammer. Auch hier Don Benito de Hermida, Reactionär, dafür; Don Martin de Garay dagegen. Regent- 15 schaft entscheidet daher daß nur 1 Kammer zusammen gemäß dem Décret der Regentschaft vom 1 Januar (1810).

Indirecte Wahl, pasando su elección por los 3 grados de juntas de parroquia, de partido y de provincia ... quedando elegido diputado el que saliese de una urna ó vasija en que habían de sortearse los 3 sujetos que 20 primero hubiesen reunido la mayoría absoluta de votos ... Lord Oxford al principio des XVIII Jhh. daß die Cortes v. Aragon u. Castilla solo eran ya magni nominis umbra ... Erhalten absolute Poderes der Diputados ... f. America u. Asia 26 individuos escogidos entre los naturales de aquellos países residentes en Europa ... Nach Décret der Regency *Februar 1810* 25 in America die ayuntamientos zu wählen in ihren Provinzen, 1 f. jede ... Sodaß nach u. nach bastante numerosa la diputación americana que poco á poco fue aportando á Cádiz, aun de los países mas remotos... Einstweilen in Cadiz suplentes gewählt, sowohl f. die provincias de Ultramar als die v. Spanien, die gänzlich gehindert zu wählen... In Cadiz 30 gewählt, como refugio del mayor número de emigrados ... Die Reactionäre hatten gehofft sich hier aufzudrängen als *suplentes*, aber Jugend siegt. Nicht nach Würden gewählt in Cadiz. Reformer gewählt. Wahl begann 17 Sept. 1810. Enojo de los enemigos de las reformas. De casi ninguna provincia de España hubo menos de 100 electores, f. Madrid 35 4000, immer vollständiger als die Wahl der alten ciudades de voto en cortes, en que solo tomaban parte 20 ó 30 privilegiados, vid. die regidores ... Temores der Regencia. Restablece alle consejos *durch Décret v. 16 Sept. 1810*. Sie sollten ihr Stützen sein. Der Consejo real desvivióse por obtener que su gobernador ó decano presidiese las cortes, que la 40 cámara examinase los poderes de los diputados, y también que varios individuos suyos tomasen asiento en ellas bajo el nombre de asistentes ...

Regency durch pressure from without gezwungen zu fixiren Tag f. Installation der Cortes 24 Sept. 1810 Dieser 24 setiembre ... verdadero comienzo de la revolución española. (371-87) |

I |4| «Rex eris si recte facias, si non facias, non eris» ... En el reducido I ángulo de la isla gaditana como en Covadonga y Sobrarve ... Die pub- 5  
 licadas der sesiones war Neuerung ... Die regencia hatte die Cortes be-  
 rufen mal de su grado ... Señor Muñoz Torrero proposiciones, (in Form  
 v. Decreten gefaßt) Don Manuel Lujan Souveränitätsdecret, Responsibil-  
 ity der potestad ejecutiva etc. Unverletzlich die Deputirten etc. Sitzung  
 dauert bis Mitternacht. Alle Artikel angenommen... Wir sehn 10  
 aus «Manifiesto que presenta á la nación Don Miguel de Lardizabal y  
 Uribe, impreso en Alicante año de 1811» (Er einer der damals schon  
 iixregenten:) «Vimos claramente (die Regenten) que en aquella noche no  
 podíamos contar ni con el pueblo ni con las armas, que á no haber sido  
 así, todo hubiera pasado de otra manera.» ... Mit dem Akt des Schwurs 15  
 der Regenten schloß sich die 1<sup>te</sup> Sitzung der Cortes ... Desde los primeros  
 dias de la instalación der cortes se halló completa die Representación  
 v. Galicia, Cataluña, Extremadura, asistieron varios diputados der pro-  
 vincias des Inneren trotz dem Feinde gewählt; 3 Monate später u. schon  
 nahmen Sitz die diputados v. Leon, Valencia, Murcia, Islas Baleares, 20  
 u. selbst diputados v. Nueva España ... Regency will die Deputirten  
 durch Aemter bestechen. Geheim gehaltene Ernennungen ... Proposición  
 des Capmany daß die Deputirten keine Aemter nehmen dürfen etc...  
 Durch Décret v. 25 Sept. alle autoridades eclesiásticas, civiles, militares  
 denselben Eid zu machen, wie die Regency ... Bishop v. Orense schwört 25  
 3 Febr. 1811 ...

*Revue de América:* Tuvieron principio las alteraciones de América  
 al saberse en aquellos países la invasion de los franceses en las Andalu-  
 cías, y el malhadado deshacimiento de la junta central. Españoles é  
 indios. Se multiplicó infinito en seguida la division de castas. Criollos. 30  
 Mestizos. Negros u. die diversas tintas der aus ihrer Vermischung m. den  
 andren Racen entstandenen Schattirungen, (mulatos, zambos etc) Unter  
 diversos títulos de vireyes, capitanes generales y gobernadores, ejercían el  
 poder supremo gefes militares, (daneben audiencias)... repartimientos ...  
 19 Abril 1810 Aufstand in Venezuela (Caracas Hauptstadt) ... Folgten 35  
 bald die andren Provinzen v. Venezuela ...13 May. 1810 Aufstand in  
 Buenos-Ayres. beim Erfahren der desastres der Andalucías... Nuevo  
 Reino de Granada. 20 Juli. 1810... Peru hielt sich einstweilen ruhig.  
 Mexico ... 17Mai. 1810 Décret der Regency v. Cadiz, autorisirt el  
 comercio directo de todos los puertos de Indias con las colonias ex- 40  
 tranjeras y naciones de Europa ... Der comercio de Cádiz interesado mas

que nadie en el monopolio de ultramar ... Den 4 Juli erfuhr die Regencia die revueltas v. Caracas, u. Ende August die v. Buenos Aires ... *Décret der Cortes vom 15 Oct. 1810*, worin anerkannt die igualdad der Rechte der Americaner m. den Europäern ya sancionada; 2) Amnistía general  
5 sin límite alguno ... Die Cortes geben sich viele Mühe para grangearse el ánimo de aquellos habitantes, y acallar los motivos que hubiera de justa queja ... *General discussion der Preßfreiheit vom 15-19 October (1810)* Am 19'der erste Artikel genommen... Einer der Deputaten Don Franc. Maria Riesco, diputado f. die Junta v. Extre-  
10 madura, Inquisidor des tribunal de Llerena. Von demselben *Lujan* (Liberaler) ... 10 November 1810. *Décret* über die Preßfreiheit promulgirt...

*Partidos en las cortes*, liberales... serviles ... 3' Parthei der americanos: meist f. die liberales, gegen sie in einigen cuestiones de ultramar, u. immer que se quería dar vigor y fuerza al gobierno peninsular ...

15 *Liberales*: An der Spitze *Don Agustín de Arguelles*,... *Herreros* (Manuel García), *Don José María Calatrava*, Don Antonio Porcel; Don Isidoro Antillon; Conde de Toreno. Unter den Pfaffen v. derselben Partei: Don Diego Muñoz Torrero; Oliveros; Gallego; Espiga; Joaquin de Villanueva ... Fürs Geschäftliche in dieser Partei sehr nützlich Perez  
20 de Castro, Lujan, Caneja u. Don Pedro Aguirre (Finanzkundig).

*Serviles*: Gutierrez de la Huerta, Don Jos. Pablo Valiente, Don Francisco Borrull, Don Felipe Aner. *Pfaffen*: Creus, Inguanzo, Cañedo.

*Americaner*: Don José Mejía; Lei va, Morales Duarez, Felio u. Gutierrez de Teran. *Pfaffen*: Alcocer, Arispe, Larrazabal, Gerdoa y  
25 Castillo ...

Cortes wüthend, weil die Regentschaft, um sie in Verruf zu bringen, gab orden al gobernador de la plaza de Cádiz y al del consejo real, «para que se celase sobre los que hablasen mal de las cortes» ...  
28 *October 1810 Neue Regentschaft*... En 24 May, vor Eintritt des Bi-  
30 schofs v. Orense, hatte die (P) Regency beschlossen que se reservase para las urgencias públicas la mitad del diezmo. Ließ es wieder bald fallen, in Folge der representation der Pfaffen... Die Armee, fast aufgelöst beim Beginn der Regentschaft zählte Juni schon 140,000 Mann u. wuchs bis 170,000..'

35 *1 Dec. 1810 Décret* der Cortes f. suspension des nombramiento de todas las prebendas eclesiásticas, außer den de oficio u. wo anexa cura de almas, t

[5] *2 Dec. 1810 Décret* f. Reduction der Gehalte auf Maximum v. 40,000 reales, m. Ausnahme der Regentes, Minister, Gesandten, Generale, Admírale.

23 Dec. 1810 Commission gebildet f. Bereitung eines Projects der Constitution.

In Folge v. Correspondenz gedruckt in dem Moniteur gewußt daß Ferdinand sich verheirathe m. der Imperial family, dann restituirt, so Spanien ganz unterworfen unter dem étranger. 5

10 Dec. 1810 (Capmany schlägt vor: Kein rex v. Spanien darf sich heirathen ohne Einwilligung der «nación española, representada legítimamente en las cortes». Aehnliche Proposición des Borrull (antiliberal), daß gefangne Könige nichts thun können. Die Antiliberalen ganz auch auf dieser Seite ... Décret darüber in diesem Sinn v. 1 Januar 1811. (unanimime) 10

Unterdessen griff die Revolte nach Paraguay um sich u. al Tucuman por Buenos Ayres. Alborotos en Nueva España ...

Décret v. 9 Februar 1811 «daß die americanische Representation in den künftigen Cortes ganz gleich, in modo u. forma der que se estableciése in der península». ... Die span.Americaner dürften alle Früchte bauen, (Wein u. Oliva ihnen früher untersagt.)... Die Indígenas v. dem Tribut befreit; abolition der repartimientos abusivos que consentía la práctica en algunos distritos; Abschaffung der mita ó trabajo forzado der indios in den minas (war nur noch damals permitida in einigen Theilen v. Perú)... 15 20

15 November 1810. Cortes autorisiren die Regencia zu lever 80,000 Mann que sirviesen de aumento al ejército, tomando oportunas disposiciones sobre el modo é igualdad de los alistamientos ... Ebenso beschloßen la fabricación de fusiles m. otras providencias bezugs des armamento u. municiones ... (la central no había pensado en trasladar á tiempo el parque de artillería de Sevilla, ni su maestranza, ni su fundición, ni la sala de armas ... Alles dieß nun in der Isla v. Leon etablirt.) ... 25

20 Februar 1811 schließen die Cortes ihren Sitz in der Isla, eröffnen sie den 24 wieder in Cadiz. Fiebre amarilla ... (393-498) 30

#### t. IV.

Ende 1810 u. Anfang 1811. Fzs. Armee in Portugal in Front den Engländern; 2<sup>te</sup> in Andalusien u. Extremadura; 3<sup>te</sup> in Catalonien u. mojoneras de Aragon u. Valencia. Außerdem einzelne Corps u. die Truppen im Nord u. centre als Schild f. die gobierno intruso de Madrid ... 15 35  
15 Mai 1811 (Sieg bei Albuera) (Castaños, Beresford, Blake etc)... En estos 6 ó 7 meses primeros del 1811 hubo desde Tarifa corriendo por el mediodía y ocaso hasta el Duero plazas perdidas y tomadas, batallas

Aus José MariadeToreno: Historia del levantamiento, guerra, y revolución (Fortsetzung)

ganadas, fieros trances. Aliirten verliren bei Badajoz, aber recobran Almeida, befreien Portugal. ... Hätte viel geschehn können in Galicien, Asturias, Granada u. Murcia, aber Ciñéronse solo los esfuerzos á divertir la atención del enemigo, y á ponerle en la necesidad de emplear tropas  
5 que bastasen á observar y contener de las nuestras ...14 Juni 1811 Feinde räumen Asturias ... *Cataluña, Aragon, Valencia* (Suchet etc.)... Tortosa genommen ...

27 Februar 1811 Finanzminister schlägt vor ausserordentliche Kriegsteuer auf das capital existimativo de cada contribuyente u. zugleich 30,  
10 45, 50, 60 u. aun 65% auf die diezmos eclesiásticos y la partición de frutos ó derechos feudales ... Commision ging nicht auf letzteres ein. Dafür aber Art steigender *Progressivsteuer*. Bewilligt v. den Cortes 24 März 1811 ... Represalias u. confiscos an den Gütern der Afrancesado, schon vor der Central, ebenfalls ... En España nützen die Repressalien u. confiscos nur  
15 zum Ruin v. Familien u. zu alimentar la codicia de gente rapaz y de curia ... 30. März Cortes erkennen die deuda publica an. ... 18 März. 1811 Reglamento de Juntas provinciales ...22 April 1811 abolición de la tortura ...

*Décret über die Abschaffung der señoríos jurisdiccionales u. otras*  
20 *reliquias del feudalismo*: (nämlich derechos u. privilegios anexos an die jurisdicciones feudales. Dann über die bienes raices ó fincas enagenados de la corona. Vorschlag des Herreros. 4 Juni (1811) Representación dagegen v. varios Grandes ... *Décret v. 6August 1811*: Abolíanse en él los señoríos jurisdiccionales, los dictados de vasallo y vasallage; las prestaciones f61 asi reales como personales del mismo origen: dejábanse á  
25 sus dueños los señoríos territoriales y solariegos en la clase de los demás derechos de propiedad particular, excepto en determinados casos, y se destruían los privilegios llamados exclusivos, privativos y prohibitivos ... Con la publicación del decreto mucho ganaron en la opinion las Cortes  
30 ... *Franzosen können Tarifa Ende 1811 nicht nehmen*. Zweites günstiges Ereignis Einnahme v. Ciudad Rodrigo durch Wellington ... (-342)

## [t. II]

*Der Consejo de Castilla*: Cuerpo autorizado con excesivas y encontradas facultades, (el consejo destruyendo el impulso que Madrid hubiera debido  
35 dar, acrecentó con sus manejos y pretensiones los estorbos y enredos.) habia en todos tiempos causado graves daños á la monarquía, y se imaginaba que no solo gobernaría ahora á Madrid, sino que extendería á todo el reino y á todos los ramos su poder é influjo ... Nacido el

consejo, sagten Einige, en los flacos y turbulentos reinados de los Juanes y Enriques, tomó asiento y ensanchó su poderío bajo Felipe II, cuando aquel monarca intentando descuajar la hermosa planta de las libertades nacionales, tan trabajados ya del tiempo de su padre, procuraba sustentar su denominación en cuerpos amovibles á su voluntad y de elección 5 suya, sin que ninguna ley fundamental de la monarquía ni las cortes permitiesen tal como en su establecimiento, ni deslindasen las facultades que le competían. Desde entonces el consejo, aprovechándose de los calamitosos tiempos en que debiles monarcas ascendieron al solio, se erigió á veces en supremo legislador formando en sus autos acordados 10 leyes generales, para cuya adopción y circulación no pedia el beneplácido ni la sanción real. Ingirióse también en el ramo económico y manejo á su arbitrio los intereses de todos los pueblos, sobre no reconocer en la potestad judicial límites ni traba. Asi acumulando en sí solo tan vasto poder, se remontaba á la cima de la autoridad soberana; y 15 descendiendo después á entrometerse en la parte mas ínfima, sino menos importante del gobierno, no podia construirse una fuente ni repararse un camino en la mas retirada aldea ó apartada comarca sin que antes hubiese dado su consentimiento. En union con la inquisición, y asistido del mismo espíritu, al paso que ésta cortaba los vuelos al entendimiento 20 humano, ayudábala aquel con sus minuciosas leyes de imprenta, con sus tasas y restricciones. ... Era el consejo un cuerpo de solo 25 individuos, los cuales por la mayor parte ancianos, y meros jurisperitos, no habían tenido ocasión ni lugar de extender sus conocimientos ni de perfeccionarse en otros estudios. Ocupados en sentenciar pleitos, responder á 25 consultas y despachar negocios de comisiones particulares, fehlte den Meisten Wissen u. Praxis f. Gesetzgebung, auch Zeit, sodaß sie dejaban á subalternos ignorantes ó interesados la resolución de importantísimos expedientes. Mal grave y sentido de todos tan de antiguo, que ya en 1751 propuso al rey el célebre ministro marqués de la Ensenada despo- 30 jar al consejo de lo concerniente a gobierno, policía y economía, dejándole reducido a entender en la justicia civil y criminal y asuntos del real patronato, (t. II, 84-88)

#### [t. IV]

«Que precediese el establecimiento de las leyes entre nosotros á la 35 creación de los reyes», díjolo ya con respecto á Aragon el historiador Jerónimo Blancas. ... 1 u. 2 Theil der Constit. v. der Comission den Cortes vorgelegt 18 Aug. 1811; 3'Theil 6 November 1811; 4' u. lezter



Theil 26 December 1811;... Das Dictamen der Commission begleitet v. discurso elocuente; ausgearbeitet u. vorgelesen v. Don Agustín de Arguelles; vorlas den Text Don Evaristo Perez de Castro ... Discussion über den Constitutionsplan begann 25 August 1811 ... Borrull, Inguanzo 5 y Cañedo inclinábanse á la formación de las cortes divididas por brazos ó estamentos ... Se conocieron por lo común 3 estamentos en Cataluña u. Valencia, 4 in |10/ Aragon, en donde no asistió el clero hasta el siglo XIII, y en donde ademas estaba tan poco determinado los que de aquel brazo y del de la nobleza debían concurrir á cortes ... En Castilla y 10 Leon celebráronse cortes, aun de las mas señaladas, en que no hubo brazos .... (in den Provinzen des Nordens, wo die número des Adels no tiene límite, y otras como algunas del mediodía y centro en que es muy escaso). ... En España sentábanse los brazos en diversos lados de una sala, no en salas distintas; y si alguna vez para conferencias preparatorias 15 y examen de materias se segregaban, ni eso era general ni frecuente; y luego por medio de sus tratadores deliberaban unidos y votaban juntos. De lo que nacia haber en realidad una cámara sola, excepto que se halaba compuesta de personas á quienes autorizaban privilegios ó derechos distintos. ... Damals estancada todavía casi toda la propiedad entre 20 mayorazgos y manosmuertas ... exigir desde luego para la diputación la calidad de propietario, como única, antes que nuevas leyes de sucesión y otras distribuiesen con mayor regularidad los bienes raices, hubiera sido exponerse á defraudar á la nación de representantes muy recomendables. ... Unter den señores die impugnaban u. repelían die sanción 25 real con *veto* absoluto ó suspensivo, auch Reactionäre, Deputirte die wie ζ. B. Terreros, muy aferrados en las eclesiásticas, eran de los primeros á escatimar las facultades del rey, y á contrastar á los intentos de la potestad ejecutiva. (345-372) |

|11| In Spanien cierta *igualdad* no popular, sino, digámoslo así, 30 *nobiliaria*, difundida en casi todas las provincias y ángulos de la Monarquía. (363) Diputación permanente de cortes. ... Antiguamente se conocía un cuerpo parecido en los reinos de Aragon, y en la actualidad en Navarra, y juntas de las provincias vascongadas y Asturias. Nunca en Castilla hasta que se unieron las coronas y se confundieron las cortes 35 principales de la monarquía en unas solas. Entonces apareció una sombra vana, compuesta también de 7 individuos que se nombraban y sorteaban por las ciudades de voto en cortes. ... Tuvieron conveniente las cortes respetar reliquia tan antigua de nuestras libertades, conñándole también la policia interior del cuerpo, y la facultad de llamar en determinados casos á cortes extraordinarias ... Nach dem *fuero antiquísimo de Sobrarve konnte der König nicht Krieg od. Frieden erklären ohne*

*intervention der cortes* ... Felipe V de Borbon hatte sin necesidad trató de alterar la antigua ley de sucesión, und de introducir la ley sálica de Francia. ... En las cortes de 1789 ventilóse también el negocio y se revocó la anterior decision: mas muy en secreto. ... Die Cortes restituirten la primitiva ley y costumbre. ... Die Reactionäre damals hierbei bes. thätig. 5

Esto en parte pendía del ansia por colocar al frente de la regencia y aproximar á los escalones del trono á la infanta Doña María Carlota Joaquina, casada con Don Juan príncipe heredero de Portugal, e hija mayor de los reyes Don Carlos IV y Doña María Luisa, en quien debía recaer la corona á falta de sus hermanos, ausentes ahora, cautivos y sin 10 esperanza de volver á pisar el territorio español. Habia en ello también el aliciente de que se reuniera bajo una misma familia la península entera ... Der neuconstituirte Consejo de Estado zugleich die propuesta zu haben por ternas para la presentación de todos los beneficios eclesiásticos y para la provision de las plazas de judicatura. Prerogativa de que habían 15 gozado las antiguas cámaras de Castilla y de Indias; porción integrante y suprema de aquellos dos Consejos ... Por de pronto apartábase de la incumbencia de los tribunales lo gubernativo y económico en que antes tenían concurso muy principal, y se les dejaba solo la potestad de aplicar las leyes en las causas civiles y criminales. Prohibíase que ningún español 20 pudiese ser juzgado por comisión alguna especial, y se destruían los muchos y varios *fueros privilegiados* que antes habia, *excepto el de eclesiásticos y de los militares*. No faltaron diputados como los señores Calatrava y García Herreros que con mucha fuerza y poderosas razones atacaron tan injusta y perjudicial exención; mas nada por entonces con- 25 siguieron. ... Für die provincial tribunales die mejora de que todos los asuntos feneciesen en el respectivo territorio; cuando antes tenían que acudir á grandes distancias y á la capital del reino, á costa de muchas demoras y sacrificios. Mal grave en la península, y de incalculables perjuicios en ultramar... Die Bestimmung wegen der Schiedsgerichte: 30 «Cortáronse al nacer muchas desavenencias mientras se practicó esta ley, y por eso la odiaron y trataron de desacreditar ciertos hombres de garnacha» ... En España, sobre todo en Castilla, habia sido muy democrático el gobierno de los pueblos, siendo los vecinos los que nombraban sus ayuntamientos. Fuese alterando este método en el siglo XV, y del 35 todo se vició durante la dinastía austríaca, convirtiéndose por lo general aquellos oficios en una propiedad de familia, y vendiéndolos y enagenándolos con profusion la corona. En tiempo de Carlos III, dispúsose en 1766 que estos nombrasen (die pueblos) diputados y síndicos, con objeto en particular de evitar la mala administración de los abastos; teniendo 40 voto, entrada y asiento en los ayuntamientos, y dándoles en años posteri-

ores mayor extension de facultades. Mas no habiéndose arrancado la raiz del mal, trató la constitución de descuajarla etc ... In der gobierno der provincias ein gefe superior, llamado gefe político, de provision real, á quien estaba encargado todo lo gubernativo, y un intendente que dirigia la hacienda. Er präsidirte die diputación v. 7 individuos ernannt durch die electores de partido ... Dieser Körper in den Provinzen dieselben facultades que los ayuntamientos en sus respectivos distritos, ensanchando su círculo en la política general y mas allá de lo que ordena una buena administración ... Se formaron estas diputaciones á ejemplo de las 5 de Navarra, Vizcaya y Asturias, las cuales, si bien con facultades á veces muy mermadas, conservaban todavía bastante manejo en su gobierno interior, especialmente ||12| las dos primeras. Todas las otras provincias del reino habían perdido sus fueros y franquezas desde el advenimiento al trono de las casas de Austria y de Borbon ... donde no era lícito desde 10 el último rincón de Cataluña ó Galicia hasta el mas apartado de Sevilla ó Granada, construir una fuente, ni establecer siquiera una escuela de primeras letras sin el beneplácito del gobierno supremo ó del consejo real, en cuyas oficinas se empezaban frecuentemente las demandas, ó se eternizaban los expedientes con gran menoscabo de los pueblos 15 y muchos dispendios... Militärdienst allgemein. Quitábanse asi constitucionalmente los privilegios que eximían á ciertas clases del servicio militar: privilegios destruidos ó en parte modificados, por disposiciones anteriores, y abolidos de hecho desde el principio de la actual guerra ...

25 *Descontentos fuera de las Cortes*, un escrito publicado en Alicante, *September 1811*: «Manifiesto que presenta á la nación el consejero de estado Don Miguel de Lardizábal y Uribe, uno de los cinco que compusieron el supremo consejo de regencia de España é Indias, sobre su política en la noche del 24 de setiembre de 1810.» Comenzó en octubre á circular el papel en Cádiz. 14 October einige Deputirten lenken darauf die Aufmerksamkeit des Congresses. Era su contenido un ataque violento contra las cortes, dirigido «á persuadir la ilegitimidad de estas; y asentando que si el consejo de regencia las reconoció y juró en la noche del 24 de setiembre, fue obligado de las circunstancias, por hallarse el 30 pueblo y el ejército decididos en favor de las cortes». Beschlossen zu arretiren u. nach Cadiz v. Alicante den Lardizábal zu bringen. ... 15 October (1811) die anderen Ex-Regenten, Don Antonio de Escaño, Saavedra u. Castaños: Lardizábal lüge quant á eux. Consejo real wird angegriffen, habe m. dem Lardizábal conspirirt, habe en secreto extendido recientemente una consulta comprensiva de varios particulares relativos á lo mismo, y contra la autoridad de las cortes. Auch sprach Lar-

dizabal v. einem protesta remitida durch den Bischof v. Orense bei dem consejo real. ... Fr. Benito de la Soledad (unter Philipp V) sagte schon: «todos los daños de la monarquía española habían nacido de los togados ... ellos han malbaratado los millones y nuevos impuestos ... Ellos han quitado la autoridad á todos los reinos de la monarquía, y desvanecídoles las cortes ...» Cortes ernennen Spezialtribunal gegen den Consejo, ebenso gegen den Autor der «*España vindicada en sus clases y gerarquías*» (In Cadiz erschienen, Verfasser Don José Colon, decano del consejo real) Era esta producción una larga censura de todos los procedimientos del congreso, ... excitaba contra las cortes á los clérigos y á los nobles... tuvo el negocio incidentes muy desagradables, siendo el campo de lides del partido reformador, y del antireformador ... enardeciéndose las pasiones se llegó al extremo de que las galerías hasta entonces tranquilas, y que escuchaban con respetuoso silencio las demás discusiones, tomaron parte y se excedieron. Creció el desasosiego el 26 octubre en cuyo dia continuó el debate, dando ocasión á ello un discurso pronunciado por *Don José Pablo Valiente*. Verhaßt dem pueblo de Cádiz, weil es sich einbildete 1809, bei s. Rückkehr v. Havannah habe er die Fiebra nach Cadiz gebracht; porque patrocinaba el comercio libre con América á causa de sus relaciones y amistades en la isla de Cuba; die er, enemigo constante de las reformas, sostenía con fuerza, al paso que los vecinos de Cádiz muy adictos á todas las otras, era la sola á que se oponían como interesados en el comercio exclusivo. Von Valiente war ferner bekannt, daß er das einzige Mitglied der Constitutionscommission que habia rehusado firmar el proyecto. In dieser Sitzung sprach er sehr provocirend, um hervorzurufen, u. so dem Reglement gemäß die Verwandlung der öffentlichen Sitzung in eine geheime zu veranlassen, al primer leve murmullo de las galerías reclamó el cumplimiento de aquel artículo reglamentario. Spricht v. gente pagado. Großer Tumult. Dann geheime Sitzungen. Sobald die Gallerten geräumt, mantuviéronse die espectadores en la calle y puertas del oficio. Sammelt sich v. allen Enden der Stadt. Herr Valiente verlangt, que se llevase al navio de guerra Asia fondeado en bahía. Blieb allí u. dann in Tánjer muchos meses por voluntad propia ... Dieser incidente dio armas á los que después quisieron quejarse de falta de libertad. ... Lardizabal knüpft Anfang November in Cadiz an, arretirt etc. ... á los consejeros procesados, 14 en número, absolviólos de toda culpa en 29 Mai 1812 el tribunal especial. Gegen den Lardizabal verlangt der Fiscal Todesstrafe. Das Gericht verurtheilt ihn 14 August 1812 Expulsion, Kosten, Verbrennung s. Pamphlets. ... Dann die Antiliberales causaban neue turbaciones, bes. ||13[ mit querer poner al frente de la regencia á una persona real. Viele Prätendenten. (Oestreich... Sicilien

Orleans) Sogar die antigua casa v. Saboya, cuyo príncipe reinante moraba en la isla de Cerdeña ... bes. mächtig u. zahlreich die Parciales der infanta Doña *María Carlota*. Queríanla los antireformadores como apoyo de sus pensamientos. Ebenso die antiguos palaciegos u. eine *kleine*  
5 Zahl Liberale wegen der Incorporation v. Portugal in Spanien. Die meisten Liberalen dagegen, persuadidos de que el bando contrario á las libertades públicas adquiriría notable fuerza con la ayuda y prestigio de una persona real. Sostenía la idea Don Pedro de Sousa, ahora marques de Pálmela, ministro entonces del reino de Portugal y de la córte del  
10 Brasil en Cádiz, hombre diestro y muy solícito en el asunto, si bien le oponía resistencia su compañero el ministro británico Sir Henry Wellesley ... Carta á las cortes der señora Carlota... Der diputado Laguna, 8 Dec. 1811, schlägt vor que «se eligiese nueva regencia compuesta de 5 personas, de las que una fuese la persona real á quien tocase». ... Nicht  
15 einmal admitida dieß á discusión. Wenige Tage nachher, erst in geheimer Sitzung, dann 29 Dec. 1811 in öffentlicher, dieselbe Frage (ähnlicher Vorschlag) v. Don Alonso Vera y Pantoja vorgebracht. ... Dagegen angenommen Contrapropositionen des Arguelles, 1 Januar 1812 wovon una que «en la regencia que ahora se nombrase para gobernar el reino con  
20 arreglo á la constitución, no se pusiese ninguna persona real» ... Por lo demás urgía nombrar regencia: era en eso unánime la opinion de los diputados. La antigua estaba ya usada y como manca. (Don Joaquín Blake fast immer abwesend, zuletzt gefangen bei der Einnahme v. Valencia.) ...21 Januar 1812 Neue Regenten: «el teniente general, duque del  
25 Infantado; Don Joaquín Mosquera y Fygueroa, consejero en el supremo de Indias; el teniente general de la armada Don Juan María Villavicencio; Don Ignacio Rodríguez de Rivas, del consejo de S. M., y el teniente general conde del Abisbal;» entre los cuales debia turnar la presidencia cada 6 meses por el orden en que fueron elegidos, que era el que va  
30 indicado. Außer dem Infantado, zu London als außerordentlicher Gesandter, schwuren den Cortes el 22 Jan. 1812 (demselben Tag die Ernennung)... Die Wahl größtentheils durch die serviles gemacht, m. denen die Americanos sich verbunden, confiados estos en que así serian mejor sostenidas sus pretensiones y sus candidatos, en lo cual se enga-  
35 ñaron. Recibióse mal en Cádiz el nombramiento. ... Continuaba siendo varia é incierta la entrada de caudales en las provincias, pero crecieron sus recursos en especie con una providencia que dieron las cortes 25. Jan. 1811, mandando que para la manutención de los ejércitos y formación de almacenes de víveres, ademas de los frutos que pertenecían al  
40 erario por excusado, noveno y demás ramos, se aplicase la parte de diezmos, aunque con calidad de reintegro, que no fuese necesaria para la

subsistencia de los diversos partícipes, habiéndose despues prevenido que fuesen las juntas de provincias las que determinasen la cuota de dicha subsistencia. Aquellas corporaciones se habían propagado más y más, formándose hasta en los territorios de Toledo y Avila, y en otros nuevos de los ocupados. ... Se firma, ura y promulga la constitución el 18 y 5 19 de Marzo (1812.) ... (en Feb. 1812 hasta 20 consejeros de estado gewählt v. den Cortes)... In Cadiz, der Isla, den otras provincias u. ejércitos de España die Constitution m. Jubel aufgenommen. Lo mismo hicieron las corporaciones civiles, eclesiásticas, große Zahl auch v. particulares que á competencia enviaban al congreso sus parabienes y 10 felicitaciones. Los diarios, las gacetas y los papeles del tiempo comprueban la verdad del hecho ... *sueño de sombra* (372-416)

#### T. V.

1812. *Catalonien*: Don Luis Lacy ...26 Jan. Napoleon theilt Catalonien, gleich einer fzs. Provinz in Departamente. Suchet Obercommando über 15 ganz Catalonien, wie er es schon hatte v. einem Theil davon, v. Aragon u. Valencia ... *Valencia*. Von span. Seite hingeschickt als General Don Francisco de Copons y Navia, quien gozando de buen nombre por la reciente defensa de Tarifa ... Rehicíanse en *Murcia* el 2 u. 3 ejército, todavía al mando de *Don José O'Donnell*, beide zus. 18000 Mann. 20 Limitáronse sus operaciones á varias correrías, ya por la parte de Granada, ya por la de la Mancha, ya en fin por la de Valencia,... no muy importantes ... Partidarios ...4\*Heer in der *Isla de Leon*. Ballesteros ... 5\*Heer Estremadura. bei Badajoz fest. Sozusagen linken ||14| Flügel v. Cadiz ... El ejército del 6º distrito contribuyó con sus movimientos á 25 acelerar la evacuación de Asturias verificada nuevamente á últimos de Enero, en virtud de órdenes de Marmont, apurado con el sitio y toma de Ciudad Rodrigo. ... Mitte *Mai* Franzosen besetzen Asturias wieder, *Juni* verlassen sie wieder, wegen der movimientos der anglo-portugueses. ... «Las guerrillas» (1812) «obran muy activamente en todas las partes de 30 España, y han sido felices muchas de sus últimas empresas contra el enemigo.» (*Wellington*) ...

*Geheime Gesellschaften*: Freimaurerei kaum gekannt in Spanien vor 1808, perseguida, v. dem government u. der Inquisition. Weder sie noch andere geheime Gesellschaft trug bei zum levantamiento gegen die 35 franceses, ni tuvieron parte. Derramados los franceses por la península fundaron logias masónicas en las ciudades principales del reino, convirtieron en instrumento que ayudase á su parcialidad. Trataron luego

de extender las logias á los puntos donde regia el gobierno nacional. Fué Cádiz uno de los sitios en que mas paró la consideración el gobierno intruso para propagar la francmasonería... Erst seit um 1814 Despotism hergestellt, spielen in Spain gran papel las sociedades secretas  
5 en las repetidas tentativas que hubo después ... Hungersnoth in Spanien, bes. in Madrid. La mortandad subió por manera, que desde Sept. 1811 que comenzó el hambre hasta el Julio 1812, sepultáronse en Madrid unos 20,000 cadáveres. ... En las provincias sometidas á los franceses, sobre todo en las centrales, la carestía y miseria corría parejas  
10 con la de Madrid ... Abundancia en Cádiz ... Diccionario manual, y Diccionario crítico-burlesco ... tentativa para restablecer la Inquisición. (22 April 1812) (veranlaßt v. Don Francisco Riesco, inquisidor del tribunal de Llerena u. Deputirter)... Seit 1810 das tribunal der Inquisition wie suspendirt; trotz dem Versuch der Junta central es wiederzubeleben,  
15 durch Ernennung por inquisidor general al obispo de Orense. ... Von der 1 Regency auch wieder retablirt. Mas los ministros de este tribunal prudentes, conociendo quizá ellos mismos su falta de autoridad, (der alte Arce resignirt 1808 in den Händen der Franzosen) y columbrando á donde inclinaba la balanza de la opinion, mantuviéronse tranquilos sin  
20 dar señales de vida, satisfechos con cobrar su sueldo y gozar de honores en expectativa quizá de mejores tiempos... Schon den 25 März 1812 hatten die Liberalen ein Gesetz passirt: «Quedan suprimidos los tribunales conocidos con el nombre de Consejos». ... 25 April 1812, die comisión de Constitución schlägt vor que deberían reunirse las cortes  
25 ordinarias en 1813 (f. den 1 October), y no disolverse las actuales antes de instalarse aquellas ...

*Campaña de Salamanca u. Schlacht v. Salamanca. 22 Juli. 1812* ... Allirten ziehn in Madrid ein; y el 13 por orden de Lord Wellington conforme á lo dispuesto por la Regencia del reino se proclamó la Constitución der  
30 Cortes ... se prestó el juramento el 14 por parroquias... Freude in Madrid gestört durch die Inquisition des Don Carlos de España (gefe político) gegen die Josephiten. También el no sentir inmediato alivio en la miseria y males que los abrumaban ... Destemplaron asimismo la alegría varias medidas de la Regencia y de las Cortes. Tales fueron las decretadas  
35 sobre empleados y sus purificaciones ... tales igualmente las que se publicaron acerca de las monedas de Francia introducidas en el reino, y de las acuñadas dentro de él con el busto del rey intruso ... (Die Franzosen hatten Commission ernannt; diesen Tarif aufgestellt f. die fzs. u. span. Münzen. Siguióse de esta tarifa en adelante para los españoles  
40 en las monedas de plata un quebranto de 9 y 11 %, y en las de oro de 1 y 2 %: de manera que en las provincias ocupadas apenas circulaba mas

cuño que el extranjero.) Durch orden gemacht, 4 April 1811 u. 16 Juli 1812, *erste* verboten der curso de las piezas acuñadas en España con busto de José, previniéndose á los tenedores las llevasen á la casa de la moneda, en donde recibirían su justo valor en otras legales y permitidas. Das Circular v. 1812 verbot die moneda francesa, especificándose 5 lo que en las tesorerías se habia de dar en cambio; á cuyo fin se acompañaba una tarifa apreciativa del valor intrínseco de dicha moneda, y por tanto bastante diverso del que calcularon en 1808 los ensayadores nombrados al intento ... Uebrigens die v. Joseph geprägten hatten denselben peso y ley que los precedentes de América... Estas dos pro- 10 videncias... excitaron clamor general, lo mismo en Madrid que en los demás puntos á medida que se evacuaban, por el quebranto insinuado arriba que de súbito resultó, mayormente pesando las pérdidas sobre los particulares y no sobre el erario, y alterándose repentinamente por sus disposiciones el valor de las cosas. En muchos parages suspendieron 15 sus efectos las autoridades locales, y representaron al gobierno legítimo, bis er Sept. gezwungen (1813) die Josephmünzen anzuerkennen; ebenso die ||15| fzs. nach der tarifa de 1808, perjudicialísima ésta en sí misma, mas de difícil derogación, weil nicht der erario sondern die particulares zu ertragen la pérdida ó diferencia que existia entre el valor real ó intrínseco 20 de la circular de 1812, y el supuesto de la tarifa de 1808. Habiendo tardado algún tiempo en efectuarse la suspension, aun por las autoridades locales, de las órdenes de 1811 y 1812, el trastorno que ellas causaron fue notable y mucha la desazón, encareciéndose los víveres en lugar de abaratare, y acreciéndose por de pronto el daño con las especulaciones 25 lucrosas é inevitables de algunos tragineros y comerciantes. ... (Las cargas in *Andalusien* llegaron á ser mas sensibles en 1811. Hasta entonces los ayuntamientos buscaban recursos para los suministros en los granos del diezmo, exigiéndolos de los cabildos eclesiásticos, ya como contribuyentes en los repartimientos comunes, ya por via de anticipación con 30 calidad de reintegro. Pero en aquel año dispuso Soult que los granos procedentes del diezmo se depositasen en almacenes de reserva para el mantenimiento del ejército... Dieß cuando el hambre producía los mayores estragos, y cuando el precio del trigo se habia encarecido á punto de valer á mas de 400 reales la fanega.) ... Wegen dem Pech bei 35 Castalia, H. O'Donnell tritt aus der Regency; an s. Stelle *Villamil* (Don Juan Perez), Reactionäre. ... Wellington v. den Cortes zum general en gefe ernannt. Er ya á la cabeza de las tropas británicas y portuguesas, convertidas por sus victorias en principal centro de las operaciones activas y regulares de la guerra. Widersezten sich bes. varios diputados 40 de Cataluña, y entre ellos Don Jaime Creux, mas adelante arzobispo de



Tarragona, é individuo en 1822 de la que se apellidó regencia de Urgel. Nació principalmente esta oposición del temor de que se diesen ensanches en lo venidero al comercio británico en perjuicio de las fábricas y artefactos de aquel principado, en cuya conservación se muestran siempre tan celosos sus naturales. Décret der Cortes wegen des Wellington v. 22 Septembre 1812 ... Desobediencia de *Ballesteros* (Francisco). (Damals Capt. Gen. de Andalucía, grade in Granada al frente de 4<sup>o</sup> ejército, mal avenido en todos tiempos con el freno de la subordinación. Sein oficio dirigido al ministro de la guerra con fecha 23 Oct. 1812, en cuyo contenido, haciendo inexacta y ostentosa reseña de sus servicios en favor de la causa de la independencia antes y después del 2 de Mayo de 1808, que se hallaba en Madrid, y no hablando con mucha mesura de la fé inglesa, requería que antes de conferir el mando á Lord Wellington, se consultase en la materia á los ejércitos nacionales y á los ciudadanos etc ... Abgesezt Ballesteros, v. der Regency ... 2 Nov. 1812 Joseph wieder in Madrid. Verläßt es den 7 November wieder. Kehrt den 3 Dec. 1812 wieder nach Madrid. ...

Cortes maßregeln de reducir á propiedad particular los terrenos de baldíos ó realengos u. die Frage de propios y arbitrios de los pueblos, se empezó á ventilar en abril (1812). Al examinarla llevaron las Cortes el propósito de fomentar la riqueza agrícola, aumentando el número de propietarios. Cretan muchos y no infundadamente que el atraso de la agricultura en España y la despoblación de sus campos, no tanto pendía de los baldíos y los propios, como de otras diferentes y complicadas causas. Décret über den Gegenstand, publizirt *Januar 1813*. Darin beschlossen: 1) reducir los terrenos baldíos ó realengos y de propios y arbitrios así en la Península como en Ultramar á propiedad particular. 2) Hälfte davon zur Zahlung der Nationalschuld 3). Vertheilen in suertes als premio patriótico unter den v. Unabhängigkeitskrieg Entlaßnen, vom Hauptmann ab. 4) repartir gratuitamente y por sorteo las tierras entre los vecinos que las pidiesen, y no gozasen de propiedad. ... Ofrecíanse asimismo para la ejecución de la medida tales obstáculos que hubo de dejarse al arbitrio de las diputaciones provinciales señalar el tiempo y los términos de llevarla á cabo ... *abolición por las cortes del voto de Santiago*. Dábase tal nombre á un antiguo tributo de *cierta medida del mejor pan y del mejor vino* que pechaban los labradores de algunas provincias de España para acudir á la manutención del arzobispo y cabildo de Santiago y hospital de la misma ciudad; percibiendo también una porción, aunque muy corta, otras catedrales del reino. *März 1812* dieß Décret ... 27 *Juin. 1812*, die Cortes durch Décret erklären patrona de las Españas, despues del apóstol Santiago, á St. Teresa de Jesus. (1-175) |

**[Diodorus Siculus  
Bibliothecae historicae V, 34]**

/10/ «Qui florida inter illos aetate rei familiaris inopia maxime premuntur, robore tamen corporis et fiducia praestant; fortitudinis et armorum viatico instructi, in aspretis montium congregantur, validisque collectis 5 agminibus, Iberiam incursantes, praedando divitias corradunt. Et hoc perpetuo magno periculorum contemptu facitant. Cum enim levi armatura utantur, agilique sint corpore et veloces, non facile ab aliis expugnari queunt. Difficultas equidem locorum et asperitudo illa, patria ipsis habetur. Haec, quia magnis et impeditis exercitibus via illuc non patescit, 10 refugium illis praebent. Ideo Romani saepe illos armis adorti, etsi nimiam illorum audaciam compescuerunt, latrocinia tamen omnino tollere, saepe numero enixe id conati, non potuerunt.» (Diod. Sic. V, 34.) |

|i6| De Pradt.  
Mémoires historiques.  
[Fortsetzung]

«l'ouvrage publié par M. M. Azanza et Offaril.» «l'ouvrage de M. de  
5 Cevalhos, pub. à Madrid 1 Sept. 1808.» Ebenso die ouvrages v. Escoï-  
quiz, Nelerto; M. de Rocca. Correspondance de la reine d'Espagne ...  
Le comte de Floridablanca, qui, dans ce temps, fut nommé pour présider  
la junte centrale, laissa une protestation secrète dans la municipalité de  
Murcie, portant qu'il obéissait à la force, et dans la crainte des assassi-  
ni nats populaires, et qu'il le déclarait pour que, dans aucun temps, le roi  
Joseph ne pût le lui reprocher ... *Izquierdo* (conseiller d'etat, directeur du  
jardin botanique à Madrid) agent des Godoy, hatte négocié le traité de  
Fontainebleau, sans aucune participation avec le ministère espagnol...  
Le 18 mars (1808) das mouvement (v. Aranjuez) n'avait eu pour but que  
15 le prince de la paix; le mouvement des 19 bezweckte de faire abdiquer  
Charles IV ... 26 April (1808) trifft Godoy in Bayonne ein, précédant les  
vieux souverains de quelques jours. Sie arrivèrent le 1 Mai ... Die erste  
Armee, die Napoleon nach Spanien schickte «s'élevait tout au plus à  
80,000 hommes, encore une partie était-elle composée des conscrits, qui,  
20 dès qu'ils avaient reçu en France des armes et des habits, se rendaient  
en Espagne, et s'y formaient aux exercices militaires. La montre de ces  
soldats novices, aiguillonnant l'audace des Espagnols, et blessant leur  
orgueil, les révolta contre un joug imposé par des enfants ...» qu'importe  
qu'on ait abandonné le champ de bataille, la veille, si l'on s'y retrouve  
25 encore le lendemain ... l'Espagnol est le Parthe de l'Europe ... Le clergé  
(span.) est le seul grand propriétaire qui vive au milieu des peuples.

Ce séjour perpétuel au milieu des peuples, cette restitution habituelle faite aux lieux mêmes, des fruits qu'on en a tirés doivent donner beaucoup d'influence. ... In Spanien hatten 1789" Ideen «le haut tiers» - toutes les classes adonnées aux arts, au commerce, aux lettres, aux professions libérales ... span, people pense en imaginant, s'exalte en sentant, chez 5 lequel la louange devient un hymne et l'admiration une extase ... «Notre Espagne était un édifice gothique, composé de Morceaux, avec autant de forces, de privilèges, de législations et de coutumes qu'il y a presque de provinces; l'esprit public n'existe point; ces causes empêcheraient la formation d'un gouv. solidement constitué pour réunir les forces.» 10 (lettre v. Urquijo an Cuesta d. d. 13 April 1808)

De Pradt.  
De la Révolution actuelle de l'Espagne  
et de ses Suites.  
Paris. 1820.

5 Le prince de Ligne répondit aux Belges qui le sollicitaient en novembre 1789 de se mettre à la tête de leur armée contre le emp. Joseph, *qu'il pense révoltait jamais pendant l'hiver* ... Porlier, Mina, Lacy, Milans u. O'Donnell avaient frayé la route ... la révolution et la guerre ont refondu et faire disparaître tout ce qui paraissait à la surface, il a fallu  
10 arriver jusqu'au fond de la nation: de là sont sortis une foule d'hommes dont on ne soupçonnait pas l'existence, qui, sans la révolution, n'eussent jamais paru au grand jour, et qui, comme en France, se sont, par la force des choses, trouvés portés à toutes les places, surtout dans le militaire. L'armée espagnole actuelle n'est plus l'ancienne armée d'Espagne; c'est  
15 l'armée de la révolution et de la résistance aux Français ... «une restauration était la plus mauvaise des révolutions». (*Fox*) ... «Votre Majesté sera dans l'heureuse impuissance d'imposer ses peuples»... En Espagne les embarquements des troupes ne se sont jamais faits sans difficulté par l'Amérique: il était reconnu dans cette armée, qu'aller en Amérique ou  
20 bien au tombeau, étaient synonymes... des régimens envoyés en Amérique, jamais l'Espagne n'a rien revu *que les drapeaux*: personnel et matériel, tout y restait, des expéditions espagnoles ne ressemblent pas à celles v. England od. Holland. Vielmehr: tout y manque; rien n'est jamais prêt; la saleté y produit l'infection; la parcimonie et la fraude président aux  
25 approvisionnement; une partie est plus propre à donner la mort qu'à soutenir la vie; tous les soins de la santé manquent. ... Seit 1814 America

hatte absorbé 40,000 hommes envoyés d'Espagne ... au mois de juillet 1819, die embarquements ont exité un soulèvement dans l'armée, il a fallu qu'une partie de l'armée marchât contre l'autre; et la poussât à bord des vaisseaux. 3000 hommes ont été embarqué comme des moutons, écrivait O'Donnell ... Wellington (en 1814) soutenait devant moi, que Ferdinand avec ses moines et sa populace, régnait par la partie forte de l'Espagne ... Ferdinand s'est livré à un conseil secret; ses membres n'étaient à distinguer que par leur bassesse: là se trouvait le vrai gouv. de l'état, c'étaient les hommes les plus abjects de l'Espagne ... In Spanien 1820 das mot d'ordre «la Constitution! la Constitution!» voulait dire seulement: Défaites-nous d'un gouvernement insupportable et dont nous ne voulons plus ... Die Cortes brachten alte «formules résultantes de la féodalité, de l'état égalitaire des grands d'alors avec les petits souverains de ces pays...» l'admission de la caution en matière criminelle élève la const, espag. ... beaucoup au dessus de celle de la France... Ils rappellent ces rois de l'Orient qui, pour éprouver la sagacité de leur esprit, s'adressaient mutuellement des énigmes à résoudre ... |

## 171 Toreno. Schluß.

La naturaleza misma ha puesto estorbos en el suelo peninsular á la extension del cultivo; pues en medio de comarcas y valles fértísimos y amenos, abundan los montes y las sierras peladas, los declives de capa vegetal muy somera, y las desnudas y pedregosas llanuras que al paso que desadornan y afean la tierra, conviértienla á veces en árida y de poco provecho. Aumentan el daño la escasez de caudal de aguas en muchas provincias, y las frecuentes sequías que agostan los campos prematuramente. Además hanse confundido en repetidas ocasiones terrenos incultos pertenecientes á particulares con los baldíos; exagerando la importancia de estos, cuando aquellos quedaban eriales por la incuria de sus dueños ó por la dificultad de romperlos y desbrozarlos. (170, 7.1)

*Afrancesados.* (Españoles comprometidos con el gobierno intruso.) *Décret, v. 11 August 1812*, in Bezug auf die provincias liberadas. Alle Beamten, (Pfaffen, Richter auch) aufhören zu functioniren, die nombrados od. consentidos por el gobierno intruso. Regency durfte Ausnahmen machen, wo sie der «guten» Sache gedient. Auch die Prélats suspendiren, «hasta que se purificasen». Por vivo y áspero que pareciese este decreto, nichts gegen das, was v. einigen Seiten verlangt u. das Reglement das die Regenten den Cortes vorgelegt, die, wie ein Deputirter sagte, tiraban á que «decayese el ánimo de los pueblos, y á que se transformase en aversion el amor que entonces tenían al gobierno legítimo». Das Décret der Cortes no aquietó la impaciencia pública, ni la satisfizo. Erschien zu moderirt. Aufulk noch grösser in Cadiz al leer la proclama tolerante y conciliadora beim Einmarsch der Alliirten in Madrid des General Alava. Heftige Debatten in den Cortes. *Décret v. 21 Sept. 1812*, severísimo en cuanto á empleados y ciertas clases. Pero este decreto expedido por las Cortes en virtud de peticiones y repetidas instancias de

ayuntamientos y personas de cuenta de los pueblos que según iban quedando libres solo hablaban de rigores y persecución, desazonó sobremanera, y valió á la representación nacional censuras y sinsabores. Los cuerpos mismos y los individuos que antes se habían desbocado contra la conducta del general Alava, y contra las mismas disposiciones de las Cortes que graduaron de blandas, pidieron luego se modificasen éstas, y aún que se derogasen, viendo las dificultades con que se tropezaba en la práctica, y los muchos á quienes se podía extender la aplicación severa de las medidas promulgadas. *Décret v. 14 November 1812.* Alle Beamten wieder eingesezt die, según declaración expresa y formal der respectiven ayuntamientos, leal u. patriotisch sich bewiesen. Ausgenommen: Magistrate, intendentes, otros individuos de las oficinas generales del reino u. die Erwerber v. bienes nacionales. *8 Abril 1813 Décret über die Militärs, die unter den Franzosen.* Diese langen Debatten erspart od. abgekürzt, wenn die Regencia f. die Provinzen que se desocupaban, ernannt hätte autoridades prudentes y conciliadoras, las hubiera facultado con adecuadas instrucciones, y encargádolas no confundiesen á los vecinos pacíficos y á los empleados de honrado porte con los ayudadores oficiosos y aun delinquentes del gobierno intruso. Tomó la Regencia desgraciadamente diverso rumbo, mostrándose desacordada y escudriñadora, y dando pábulo á pesquisas y purificaciones; manantial este cenagoso y hediondo de manejos injustos y descarados sobornos, movido ya en tiempo de la central, y peor mil veces que el de las llamadas *epuraciones* (*epuratiom*) en las oficinas de Francia, yendo las primeras acompañadas de los abusos y cavilaciones propias del foro, que no conocían las últimas, y destituidas de los medios de defensa y amparo que sugieren las leyes en los delitos comunes. ... *Mediación inglesa para arreglar las desavenencias de América.* Schuftiges Benehmen der Engländer. *Vertrag zw. Russland u. Spanien.* Habíale ajustado D. Francisco de Zea Bermudez de vuelta á Rusia. Gezeichnet zu Weliky-Louky. *20 July 1812.* Art. 3) «S. M. el emperador de todas las Rusias reconoce por legítimas las Cortes generales y extraordinarias, reunidas actualmente en Cádiz, y la Constitución que éstas han decretado y sancionado.» ... Potencia esta la primera que reconoció solemnemente las nuevas y liberales instituciones españolas, la primera fue también que en adelante las desechó, apellidando guerra para destruirlas. ... *Stockholm. 19 March 1813 treaty m. Schweden* (selben Termsbrüche)... Felicitación der princesa v. Brasil Doña Carlota d. d. 28 Juni 1812. Rio Janeiro ...

*Caída del Santo oficio de la Inquisición. 22 Januar, 1813.* (Commission war zugleich gezwungen gewesen vorzuschlagen Art v. neuen tribunales protectores de la religion.) Geschlossen die discussion *5 Februar 1813,*



publicirt 22 Feb. 1813 ... dieß zu sein (die neuen tribunales) Das Décret debía leerse por 3 domingos consecutivos en las parroquias de todos los pueblos de la monarquía antes del ofertorio de la misa mayor, abolición der Inquisición war paso previo á toda reforma fundamental en España ...

5 *Conventos y monasterios:* Durante estos meses, y conforme se fueron evacuando las Andalucías y gran parte del país ocupado, tratóse largamente en el gobierno y en las Cortes de las providencias que convenia adoptar acerca de las comunidades religiosas. Las habia suprimido Napoleon en parte, y después José en su totalidad. Coyuntura por tanto  
10 favorable ésta. ... Im 16 Jhh. u. Anfang des 17'Kloster bes. vermehrt in Spain in Folge der Inquisition, die Schätze die dahin flössen v. America «invertidos con larga mano en dotar establecimientos piadosos en expiación á veces del modo como se adquirieron y por la dificultad también de hallar sino imposiciones seguras y lucrativas», die diligencia  
15 u. apresuramiento con que se agolparon á vestir el hábito religioso las clases inferiores atraídas por el cebo de cautivar la veneración de la muchedumbre y lograr entrada y aún poderoso influjo en las moradas de los grandes y hasta en los palacios de los reyes; so der peninsular Boden überschwemmt m. conventos y monasterios, santuarios y ermitas con  
20 séquito de funciones y aniversarios, de hermanos y cofrades que ahogando la reproducción útil, dejaron brotar casi exclusivamente punzantes y estériles matorrales no menos dañosos al estado etc Damals häufig in den testamentos die extraña cláusula de que se *dejaba por heredera ä su alma*, und *alles* der Kirche vermachen für misas u. obras  
25 piadosas. Petitionen u. Reclamacionen dagegen beständig z. B. durch die Cortes v. Valladolid (1518), ebenso Schriftsteller der damaligen Zeit; Representation der Universität v. Toledo, gebildet v. dem Duke of Lerma para examinar los medios de restablecer la nación; famosa consulta del Consejo de 1619 etc Cortes zu Madrid v. 1626 ||17[a]|| Vor 1808 in Spanien  
30 2051 casas de religiosos, 1075 de religiosas; Zahl der Individuen beider Geschlechter, inclusos legos, donados, criados y dependientes, á 92,727. Mit der Invasion hielten sie sich nur wo die Provinzen frei oder die ocupación nicht duradera. Mehrzahl dieser casas destruidas, y destinadas otras á objetos de pública utilidad ... Im Décret der Cortes  
35 v. 17 Juni 1812 über die confiscos u. secuestros, bestimmt in Art. 7: «que tendría lugar el secuestro y la aplicación de frutos á beneficio del estado cuando los bienes, de cualquiera clase que fuesen, pertenecieran á establecimientos públicos, cuerpos seculares, eclesiásticos ó religiosos de ambos sexos, disueltos, extinguidos ó reformados por resultas de la invasion enemiga, ó por providencias del gobierno intruso; entendiéndose lo  
40 dicho con calidad de reintegrarlos en la posesión de las fincas y capitales

que se les ocupasen, siempre que llegara el caso de su restablecimiento; y con calidad de señalar sobre el producto de sus rentas los alimentos precisos á aquellos individuos de dichas corporaciones que debiendo ser mantenidas por las mismas se hubiesen refugiado á las provincias libres, profesasen en ellas su instituto, y careciesen de otros medios de subsistencia.» Die Regency macht zuerst als wolle sie dieß Décret ausführen; befiehlt den Intendentes in einem Circular v. August, *cerrasen* los conventos y tomasen oportunas medidas para estorbar el deterioro der edificios u. de sus enseres, que debían quedar á disposición del gobierno. Aber sie bestand nicht darin, cediendo al clamor de muchos religiosos y de algunos pueblos que pedían su restablecimiento; aber hauptsächlich ihrer eignen inclination, seit Abisbai durch Villamil ersetzt, der sostenedor activo y centro firme de los desafectos á novedades. Neue Debatten. Deputirte im Einverständniß m. der Regency wissen sie hinzuziehen u. mientras que negocio tan grave estaba aun pendiente en las Cortes, y sobre todo despues que se traslució que las comisiones reunidas se inclinaban á una reforma algo lata, empezó la Regencia á permitir el restablecimiento de varios conventos, y á fomentar bajo de mano la pronta ocupación de otros: siendo de notar circulase estas disposiciones por conducto del ministerio de Hacienda, diverso de aquel en que habia radicado el expediente, y era el de Gracia y Justicia. Especie de dolo ... que excitó enojo en las Cortes y reñidos debates. Acordámonos que en los dominados mucho tiempo por el invasor habíanse las gentes desacostumbrado en tan gran manera á ver el hábito religioso tan venerado antes, que los primeros regulares que se pasearon así vestidos en las poblaciones grandes como Madrid y otras, tuvieron que esconderse para huir de la curiosidad y extrañeza con que los miraba y seguía el vulgo, en particular los muchachos que nacieran ó habían crecido durante la ocupación francesa. Por tanto las peticiones sobre restablecer las comunidades procedieron tan solo de manejos de los ayuntamientos ó de algunos interesados. ... Pero restablecidas ya varias casas, y tomadas por la Regencia otras providencias, ofrecía obstáculos retroceder y desbaratar lo hecho. ... *Décret der Cortes v. 18 Febr. 1813* (considerósele como *provisional*): 1) permitir la reunion de las comunidades consentidas por la Regencia, con tal que los conventos no estuviesen arruinados, y vedando pedir limosna para reedificarlos. 2) Rehusar la conservación ó restablecimiento de los que no tuviesen 12 individuos profesos. 3) Impedir que hubiese en cada pueblo mas de uno del mismo instituto. 4) Prohibir que se restableciesen mas conventos, y se diesen nuevos hábitos. ... Die Regencia casi nunca conforme en sus procedimientos con los deseos de las Cortes, desvióse cada vez mas y se apartó del todo seit

der Villamil statt des Abisbal (seit Sept. 1812), was coincidió con los importantes acontecimientos que sobrevinieron en la propia sazón. Ibase en ella desembarazando de enemigos nuestro territorio ... plantear la administración en todas sus partes etc... In den pueblos evacuados  
5 3 Partheien: 1) die des Joseph aus Furcht se descubriesen compromisos etc. Nicht sehr zahlreich 2) *Opuestos á las reformas*. Zahlreichste u. stärkste. Warfen den Cortes vor, ihre Reformen hätten Aehnlichkeit m. denen des Joseph etc Interessen. 3) *Amiga der Reformas*. Nicht so zahlreich, aber mächtig. Mocedad u. die hombres ilustrados. Die  
10 Regency erklärt sich fast offen f. Parthei N. II tirando á incomodar á los comprometidos con José, y desatendiendo indebidamente á los que pertenecían al tercer partido. Zu Empleados u. jueces nicht gewählt hombres poco discretos que atizaban el fuego en lugar de apagarle, y desunían los ánimos lejos de concordarlos. Nacieron de aquí universales  
15 quejas... Dazu die esperanzas sobrado lisongeras que se formaban los pueblos con la evacuación enemiga ... la muchedumbre irrefleja, propensa en demasía a esperar venturas, y á que se cicatricen añejas llagas con *solo cambiar de gobierno*, enfurécese al verse chasqueada, y se desalienta en igual proporción y en contrario sentido de aquello mismo que primero le  
20 daba bríos ... Die Regency: Al ruido de las ||18| representaciones y lamentos, antes de examinar bien el origen de ellos y de apurar si provenían de determinaciones equivocadas ó de desmaño y manejos torcidos de sus empleados, ó bien de males inherentes á los tiempos etc ... achacando á las trabas que se ponían al gobierno por las nuevas instituciones los  
25 desmanes y osadía de muchos y la culpa del desasosiego y daños que aquejaban á los pueblos, pidió á las Cortes se suspendiesen varios artículos de la Constitución, (cuyos efectos ventajosos ó perjudiciales no podían todavía sentirse.) ... Pläne der Regency gegen die Cortes: el acercarse al puerto de St. María tropas bajo pretexto de que se fuera  
30 formando el ejército de reserva llamado de Andalucía: die presencia des Abisbal «morbo proditor». Dazu in der Nacht v. 7 März 1813 Don Cayetan Valdés, der gobernador v. Cadix, exonerado v. s. Posten durch die Regency. Der mando político u. militar v. Cadix wiedergegeben dem *Don José María Alas*, gobernador de Ceuta, Reactionist, eben an-  
35 gekommen, lange conferences m. der Regency. ... Centrum der Intriguen der nunciis Seiner Heiligkeit *Don Pedro Gravina*, Bruder des General Don Frederic der die span. Squadron bei Trafalgar commandirt u. starb an den dort erhaltenen Wunden ... Den 7 März (Sonntag) sollte zuerst in den Kirchen v. Cadiz das Manifest u. die Decrete wegen der Inquisition  
40 verlesen werden. In der Nacht v. 6 durch Valdes abgesetzt. Den 7 blieben silenciosos los templos, nichts verlesen über die Inquisition ... Auf den

Vorschlag des Arguelles, der sich auf Artikel 189 der Constituí, bezog, die 3 ältesten consejeros de estado presentes in Cadiz gewählt f. die «Regencia provisional». Diese: Don Pedro Agar, Don Gabriel Ciscar, y el Cardenal Don Luis de Borbon, hijo del infante Don Luis, hermano que fué del rey Carlos III. Die 2 ersten schon früher Regenten. Präsident der 5 Regency der Cardinal gewählt. Ihre Installation 8 März 1813 ... 22 März fällt weg die condición transitoria de provisional. ...

*Administración de la Regencia cesante.* Man nannte sie la del *Quintillo* *Oposición de prelados y cabildos à la publicación de decretos sobre Inquisición. Pastoral v. Mallorca, 12 Dec. 1812* gezeichnet v. den Bischöfen 10 v. Lérida, Tortosa, Barcelona, Urgel, Teruel u. Pamplona, acogidos á aquella isla huyendo de la invasion francesa. *In Coruna*, der Bischof v. Santander. Die Pfaffenchefts in Cadiz in geheimer Correspondenz m. denen v. Málaga, Córdoba u. Jaén ... 4 Canónigos in Cadiz v. der neuen Regency suspendirt... (v. den pulpitos der span. Kirchen se lejan 15 á veces hasta los reglamentos penales sobre tabacos.) *7 Juli 1813* der Nuncius erhält s. Pässe. ... Zog sich zurück nach Tavira en Portugal, punto cercano á España, y desde donde no cesó de atizar el fuego de la discordia sacerdotal ...

*Napoleon v. Rußland zurück in Paris Ende 1812 ... Während des 20 invierno v. 1813 im allgemeinen quietos los ejércitos aliados, no separándose de sus respectivas provincias y estancias ... Napoleon zieht Theil s. Truppen aus Spain ... März 17, 1813 José verläßt Madrid ... Schlacht v. Vittoria. 21 Juni. 1813 ...*

... Así fue que Valencia (unter dem *Suchet*) formaba contraste notable 25 con lo demás del reino, en donde no se descubría ni tráfico ni rastro alguno de bienestar ni de prosperidad, al paso que allí, seguros los habitantes, aunque sobrecargados de impuestos, entregábanse tranquilamente al trabajo. ... Oestreich schließt sich der europ. Confederation an u. erklärt Napoleon den Krieg *12 Aug. 1813* ... in den provincias que 30 /'iban quedando libres de la dominación extraña una porción considerable de las clases se creían perjudicadas por las reformas ó recelaban del porvenir ... Sprechen v. dem influjo pernicioso de los moradores de Cádiz declarados del todo en favor de mudanzas y nuevos arreglos ...

*Décret der Cortes v. 6 Juni 1813:* «se permitió cerrar y acotar libre- 35 mente á los dueños las dehesas, heredades y demás tierras de cualquiera clase que fuesen, dejando á su arbitrio el beneficiarías á labor ó pasto como mejor les acomodase.» Igual licencia y franquía se dio respecto de los arrendamientos, pudiendo concluirse éstos á voluntad de los que contrataban, y obligando su cumplimiento á los herederos de ambas par- 40 tes, während früher die fuerza u. conservación der escritura ó contrato no

dependían de la ley, sino de la vida del propietario y del buen ó mal querer del sucesor ... Abgeschafft die pena de horca, substituirt die de garrote, con supresión total de la de azotes ... Sehr verschieden die Steuern in Spanien: 1) *Las eclesiásticas*, así llamadas, no porque en realidad lo fuesen, sino por traer origen de las destinadas á mantener el culto y sus ministros. 2) Las de aduanas que se distinguían bajo el nombre de rentas generales, (verte) [[19] 3) las provinciales ó sean alcabalas, cientos y millones. 4) Las estancadas. (3) u. 4) fast unbekannt in den provincias Vascongadas u. in Navarra: ebenso 3) in Aragon, supliéndose el hueco en cada uno de sus reinos respectivamente con la contribución real, el catastro, el equivalente y la talla. Die Cortes unterdrücken 3 u. 4 (reformiren etwas 1 u. 2), y se establecía en lugar de las primeras una contribución única y directa, debiéndose reemplazar las segundas con un recargo á la entrada y salida de los géneros en las costas y fronteras, y con un sobreprecio al pié de fábrica cuando estas fuesen propiedad del estado. Dieß nicht sehr gut aufgenommen por los pueblos. Acrecíanse en el plan de la comisión los males inherentes á los tributos directos por recaer el suyo no solo sobre la renta de la tierra, sino también sobre las utilidades de la industria y del comercio, enmarañada selva de dificultades averiguaciones: dazu noch falta de un catastro bien individualizado u. exacto, einstweilen angenommen der censo de la riqueza territorial é industrial de 1799, publicado en 1803, imperfectísimo y muy desigual. Nach langen Debatten der Plan der Commission im Ganzen angenommen v. den Cortes. Pero al establecerle tocáronse de cerca las dificultades, tantas y tan grandes que nunca fué dado superarlas del todo; acarreado á las Cortes la nueva contribución directa, malquerencia y mucho desvío en los pueblos. ... 7 Sept. 1813 Nach Vorlegen v. den Cortes den total de gastos (f. 1814 veranschlagt): 950,000,000 de reales, consumiendo solamente el ejército 560,000,000 y 80,000,000 la marina. Veranschlagt das total der Armee: 150,000 infantes u. 12,000 caballos. ... 8 Sept. 1813 ernennen die Cortes ihre diputación permanente ... Schließen ihre Sitzungen den 14Sept. ... (Gelbes Fieber zu Cadiz) Dieselben wiedereröffnet den 16, halten Sitzungen den 17, 18, 20, wenn (20) definitiv geschlossen.) ...

35 *Bei den Cortes zu unterscheiden 3 Perioden:* 1) el inmediato á su instalación, wo die Reformer kämpfen, aunque á veces con inferioridad. 2) el de más adelante, wo sie triumphiren, Mayorität, immer ihr dictamen vorherrschend. 3) al cerrar de las Cortes, y en ocasión en que acudiendo muchos diputados de lo interior, equilibráronse las votaciones, ganándolas no obstante en lo general los liberales ...

26 Sept. 1813 constituiren sich die Cortes ordinarias, 1 October installiren sich in Cadix, 13 Oct. verlegen sich nach der Isla de Leon, wo sie ihre Sitzungen am 14 Oct. wieder eröffnen ... Wahlen nicht auf Reaccionare gefallen. Coadjuvaron á esto los que se creían ofendidos en sus personas y cercenados en sus intereses por las alteraciones y nuevos 5 arreglos, y que oteaban mayores daños en un porvenir no lejano. So algunos individuos de la nobleza, bastantes magistrados, muchos cabildos eclesiásticos y casi todo el clero regular; los que juntos ó separados influyeron sobradamente y cada uno á su manera en las elecciones, ayudados de una turbamulta de curiales y dependientes de justicia que vivían 10 de abusos: siendo éstos y los religiosos mendicantes los mas bulliciosos é inquietos de todos ... habiendo los últimos llegado á formar en parte del pueblo, de cuya plebe comunmente nacían, una especie de singular demagogia pordiosera y afrailada, supersticiosa y muy repugnante. Sirvió á todos de fiel instrumento para sus fines la misma ley electoral, que 15 adoptando un modo indirecto de elección que pasaba por nada menos que por 4 grados ó escalones, favorecía sordos manejos y muy deplorables amaños... (Da aber die Neuerwählten aus Furcht vor dem gelben Fieber nicht auf einmal kamen, statt ihrer einstweilen Deputirte f. ihre Orte aus den Cortes extraordinarias) Durch letzteres einstweilen die Par- 20 theien fast wie in den früheren Cortes, yendo desapareciendo poco á poco el de los americanos, die sich nun ganz vereinigen, ihre chefs muertos, m. den Liberalen, amenazados como ellos en su suerte futura si llegase á triunfar del todo el bando contrario. ... Unter den neuen Deputirten Don Francisco Martinez de la Rosa. Suspendiren ihre Sitzungen 29 Nov. 1813 25 in der Isla de Leon, zu eröffnen wieder 15 Januar, 1814, in Madrid.

.. ' 16,17,18,19 Oct. 1813 Schlacht bei Leipzig. Napoleon 8 Nov. 1813 in Paris zurück. ... Ueberau auf der Reise nach Madrid (v. der Isla) Regency u. Cortes gut aufgenommen ... Ende 13, Anfang 14 die Allirten des Nordens über den Rhein ... Antwort der Regencia an Ferdinand v. 30 8 Jan. 1814 ... Décret der Cortes v. 2 Febr. 1814 «worin, nach dem Décret der Cortes v. 1 Januar 1811, König nicht f. frei erkannt bis er im Schoß der Cortes geschworen etc.» 19 Feb. (1814) Manifest bezüglich darauf v. den Cortes ... ||20| Ligas y manejos contra las nuevas reformas (in Sevilla, Cordova, Madrid; Abisbai damals auf Urlaub in Cordova.) 35 Extraño discurso des Deput. Reina (f. Sevilla) 3 Feb. (1814) in den Cortes (expulsirt v. denselben er) ... 19 Feb. 1814 schliessen die ordenti. Cortes ihre Sitzung, eröffnen sie wieder 1 März ... Vertrag m. Preussen v. 20 Januar 1814 ... 10 April 1814 Schlacht v. Toulouse ... Abends 31 März 1814 (ab Abend) Einzug der Allirten in Paris ... Sturz Napoleons ... 40 Ferdinand 11 April in Dar oca hielt er geheimes Council wegen der Con-

stitution in der Nacht v. 11, wo der Conde de Montijo, bes. gegen die  
Constit. ... Quien mas que todos imprimió impulso y determinado  
rumbo á los negocios, fue el *capí. gen. de Valencia Don Francisco Javier*  
*Elio*, desafecto á las reformas y agraviado por lo que de él se dijo en las  
5 Cortes, y en los diarios, después de la segunda acción de Castalia ... der  
rey rückt den 16 April in Valencia ein; 17' abends präsentirt ihm General  
Elio la oficialidad del ejército que mandaba, á la cual preguntó estando  
delante de S. M. «Jurán VV. sostener al rey en la plenitud de sus dere-  
chos?» Respondieron todos: «Si Juramos». So empezó Fernando á ejer-  
10 cer en Valencia la soberanía sin miramiento alguno á lo que las Cortes  
habían resuelto ... Representación de los diputados llamados persas.  
(Chef davon *Don Bernardo Mozo Rosales* der m. dem Abisbal früher  
intrigirt) Dieses datirt d. d. *12 Abril 1814*. Hiessen Persas weil ihre  
Representación so anfängt: «Era costumbre en los antiguos persas.» Im  
15 Anfang diese Repräsentacion nur v. wenigen unterschrieben, endlich bis  
69, unos por temor, por ambición otros y bastantes por irse al hilo de la  
corriente del dia ... Desapareció de las Cortes Don B.M. Rosales, lle-  
vando en persona á Valencia la representación ... andando como unida  
con el nombre del emperador francés la suerte y desgracia de España ...  
20 Von der Nacht v. 10 auf 11 May (1814) eingesperrt Regenten, Minister,  
u. diputados de ambas Cortes Don Diego Muñoz Torrero, Don Agustín  
Arguelles, Martinez de la Rosa, Don Antonio Oliveros, D. Manuel  
Lopez Cepero, Don José Canga Arguelles, Don Antonio Larrazabal,  
Don Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, Don Miguel Ramos Arispe, Don José  
25 Calatrava, Don Francisco Gutierrez de Teran u. Don Dionisio Capaz;  
Don Manuel José Quintana u. der Graf, heute Duke de Noblejas. Dieß  
exequirt v. D. Francisco Egúía nombrado al propósito de antemano  
u. heimlich por el rey capt. gen. de Castilla la nueva ... El nombre de  
Fernando obraba por aquel tiempo en la nación mágicamente ... Tam-  
30 poco era dable contar mucho con los ejércitos. (1-550) Dudamos tam-  
bién ... que hubieran podido las Cortes, aun permaneciendo muy unidas,  
resistir al raudal arrebatado que de Valencia vino sobre ellas. Nicht thu-  
lich zu contar mucho con los ejércitos. Mantúvose el llamado primero fiel  
á las Cortes, pero tibio; y declaróse en contra el segundo. Empleó en el de  
35 reserva de Andalucía juego doble, conforme á costumbre antigua, su gefe  
el del Abisbal, enviando para complimentar al rey á un oficial de gra-  
duación con dos felicitaciones muy distintas y en sentido opuesto, lle-  
vando encargo de hacer uso de una ú otra, según los tiempos y el viento  
que corriese. Formaron algunos oficiales en el tercer ejército bando ó liga  
40 contra el príncipe de Anglona por creerle afecto á las Cortes y sobre todo  
fiel á sus juramentos; hecho muy vituperable, pero que descubría desa-

venencia allí en cuanto á opiniones políticas, y por el cual reprendió ásperamente lord Wellington en Oyárun á los principales fautores. Hubo sí señales mas favorables á la causa de las Cortes en el cuarto ejército; mas entre oficiales subalternos, no entre los gefes. De aquellos abocáronse algunos con su general Don Manuel Freiré fiados en la cono- 5 cida honradez de este que no dismintió, haciéndoles juiciosas reflexiones acerca de los impedimentos que presentaría la ejecución de la empresa, siendo en su entender el mayor de todos el soldado mismo, de propension dudosa, si no contraria á lo que ellos premeditaban. Esto y lo que de súbito se fué agolpando, desvió á todos de proseguir por entonces en el 10 intento de sostener abiertamente á las Cortes y la Constitución. (550, 51) |



[2i] Jovellanos.  
Obras. Barcelona 1839-40. VIII volum.  
(hrsggb. v. D. Venceslao de Linares y Pacheco.)  
v. VII (? Bd.)

s *Informe de la Sociedad económica de Madrid  
al Real y Supremo Consejo de Castilla  
en el expediente de Ley Agraria,  
extendido por el Autor á nombre de la Junta  
encargada de su formación.*

10 Span. Agricultur zwar Aufschwung unter den Römern seit dem paz v.  
Augustus. Pero en él la inmensa acumulación de la propiedad territorial,  
y el establecimiento de las grandes labores, el empleo de esclavos en  
su dirección y cultivo, y su consiguiente abandono, y la ignorancia y el  
vilipendio de la profesión inseparable de estos principios, ruinierend. (31)  
15 (Schon unter Vespasian, Plinius der Aeltere: «Modum agri, in primis  
servandum antiqui putavere: quippe ita censebant, satius esse minus  
serere, et melius arare: qua in sententia, et Virgilium fuisse video. Verum-  
que confitentibus, latifundia perdidere jam Italiani, vero et provincias.  
Sex domini semissem Africae possidebant, cum interfecit eos Nero prin-  
20 ceps: non fraudando magnitudine hac quoque sua: Cn. Pompejo, qui  
nunquam agrum mercatus est conterminum.» (H.N. 1.18, c. 7) Este mal  
duraba aun á los fines del siglo IV. «Probus claritudine generis et poten-  
tia, et opum magnitudine cognitus orbi romano, per quem universum

pene patrimonia sparsa possedit.» (Amm. Marcelli. 27, 11)) Después de aquel tiempo el estado de la agricultura fué necesariamente de mal en peor, porque España, sujeta como las demás provincias al canon frumentario, era por mas fértil, mas vejada que otras con tasas y levadas, y con exacciones continuas de gente y trigo, que los pretores hacían para 5 completar los ejércitos y abastecer la capital. Estas contribuciones fueron cada día mas exorbitantes bajo los sucesores de Vespasiano, al mismo tiempo que crecieron los impuestos territoriales y las sisas, particularmente desde el tiempo de Constantino (31) «Nec post haec reor intemperantia coeli nobis ista, sed nostro potius accidere vitio, qui rem rusticani 10 pessimo cuique servorum, velut camitici noxe dedimus quam majorum nostrorum optimus quisque optime tractaverit.» (*Columela in praef.*) *Agricultura de la época visigoda*: Nämlich viel schlechter als die röm. Epoche. Außer den estragos de la horrenda conquista que la precedió, solo el despojo de los antiguos propietarios, la adjudicación 15 de los dos tercios de las tierras á los conquistadores, bastaban para turbar y destruir el mas floreciente cultivo. Diese bárbaros überlassen theils den Ackerbau den Sklaven, theils le anteponían la cria y granjeria de ganados, como única riqueza conocida en el clima en que nacieron, y de ambos principios debió resultar necesariamente una cultura pobre y 20 reducida. Tal cual fué, toda pereció en la irrupción sarracénica. ... Wenn wiedererobert una gran parte del territorio nacional, fué para nosotros muy difícil restablecer su cultivo. Hasta la conquista de Toledo apenas se reconoce otra agricultura que la de las provincias septentrionales. La del país llano de Leon y Castilla, expuesta á continuas incursiones de parte 25 de los Moros, se veía forzada á abrigarse en el contorno de los castillos y lugares fuertes, y á preferir en la ganadería una riqueza movable, y capaz de salvarse de los accidentes de la guerra. Después que aquella conquista la hubo dada mas estabilidad y extension á la otra parte del Guadarama, continuas agitaciones turbaron el cultivo, y distrajeron los brazos 30 que le conducían. La historia representa nuestros solariegos, ya arrastrados en pos de sus señores á las grandes conquistas que recobraron los reinos de Jaén, Córdoba, Murcia y Sevilla hasta la mitad del siglo XIII, y ya volviendo unos contra otros sus armas en las vergonzosas divisiones que suscitaron las privanzas y las tutorías. Agricultur daher schlimm im 35 XV Jhd. ... Nun hätte können sehr günstige Periode folgen. Aber auswärtige, die Population u. Reichthum schwächenden Kriege; expulsiones religiosas; la protección privilegiada de la ganadería, que asolaba los campos; la amortización civil y eclesiástica, que ||22| estancó la mayor y mejor parte de las propiedades en manos desidiasas; y por último, la di- 40 version de los capitales al comercio y la industria ... tantas causas

influyeron en el enorme desaliento en que yacía nuestra agricultura á la entrada del presente siglo ... Von nun an besser. In der Mitte des siglo Frieden. Legislation auch vernünftiger etc ... Mit ihr wachsen población u. industria (-32-34) el cultivo se ha acomodado siempre á la situación política que tuvo la nación coetáneamente. (34) Das Gesetz hat blos zu protéger «la libre acción del interés privado». (38) «toda la protección de las leyes respecto de la agricultura, se debe cifrar en remover los estorbos que se oponen á la libre acción del interés de sus agentes dentro de la esfera señalada por la justicia» (I.e.) «el único medio de proteger este interés es remover los estorbos que se oponen á la tendencia y movimiento natural de su acción» (39) Diese estorbos sind: políticos, morales y físicos, porque solo pueden provenir de las leyes, de las opiniones ó de la naturaleza. (I.e.)

#### *Primera Clase.*

15 *Estorbos políticos ó derivados de la legislación.* Muchedumbre der leyes über die Agricultur. la mayor parte de ellas han sido y son, ó del todo contrarias, ó muy dañosas, o por lo menos inútiles á su fin. Hízolas la jurisprudencia por sí sola:

##### 1) *Baldíos:*

20 ... han dejado sin dueños ni colonos una preciosa porción de las tierras cultivables de España ... Su origen viene no menos que del tiempo de los Visigodos, los cuales ocupando, y repartiendo entre sí dos tercios de las tierras conquistadas, y dejando uno solo á los vencidos, hubieron de abandonar y dejar sin dueño todas aquellas á que no alcanzaba la población, extraordinariamente menguada por la guerra. A estas tierras se dio el nombre de campos vacantes y estos son por la mayor parte nuestros baldíos. ... Außerdem: prefirieron la ganadería á las cosechas, y el pasto al cultivo. Fué pues consiguiente que se respetasen los campos vacantes, como reservados al pasto común y aumento del ganado, y de esta policía rústica hay repetidos testimonios en nuestro Fuero Juzgo. Esta legislación restaurada por los reyes de Asturias desde Alonso el Casto, adoptada para la corona de Leon por Alfonso el V, trasladada después á Castilla, y obedecida hasta san Fernando, difundió por todas partes el mismo sistema rural, tanto mas respetado en la edad media, 35 cuanto su carácter se había desviado menos del de los Godos, y cuanto

hallándose el enemigo en el corazón del imperio, y casi siempre á la vista, era preciso librar sobre los ganados gran parte de las subsistencias, y multiplicar la riqueza pública con una granjeria menos expuesta á la suerte de las armas. Aun después de conquistada Toledo, los territorios fronterizos, que se extendían por la Extremadura, la Mancha y Castilla la Nueva, fueron mas ganaderos que cultivadores, y sus ganados se apacentaban mas bien en terrenos comunales y abiertos, que en prados y dehesas particulares, que solo se pueden cuidar á la par del cultivo ... Nachdem die Moros expelidos, hätten die baldíos reducirt werden sollen á labor. Aber die Gesetzgebung machte de los baldíos una propiedad 10 Jj exclusiva de los ganados; la piedad, mirándolos como el patrimonio de los pobres, se empeñó en conservárselos ... Wenn in Privateigenthum verwandelt, werde Agricultur u. Zahl der Schafe sich haben vermehren lassen. Aber supóngase por un instante das Gegentheil: podrá negarse, que es mas rica la nación que abunda en hombres y frutos, que la que 15 abunda en ganados? ... necesidad de acordar la enagenacion de todos los baldíos del Reino ... los países mas ricos en baldíos son al mismo tiempo los mas despoblados ... Redúzcanse á propiedad particular los baldíos ... Vendidos á dinero ó á renta ... Das Ausschlagen dieser baldíos je nach den Eigenheiten der verschiedenen Provinzen zu machen ... los baldíos 20 de Andalucía son inmensos ... Die se podrán vender en suertes de diferentes cabidas, desde la mas pequeña á la mas grande: primero á dinero contante ó á plazo cierto, bajo de buenas finanzas, y las que no se pudieren vender así, á censo reservativo ... las dos Castillas haben weder tantos baldíos, noch sind sie tan despobladas; aber in diesen Provinzen 25 weder la falta de comercio é industria, y por consiguiente de capitales, nunca proporcionará las ventas al contado. Hier werden daher fehlen compradores á dinero ó á plazo, convendría repartir las tierras sobrantes en suertes acomodadas á la subsistencia de familias pobres, bajo el pie de los censos reservativos que van propuestos; y otro tanto se podría hacer 30 en Extremadura y Mancha. Pero las provincias septentrionales (wo indeß escasez de fondos,) que corren desde la falda del Pirineo á Portugal, donde por una parte hay poco numerario y mucha población, y por otra son pocos y de mala calidad las tierras baldías, los foros otorgados á 35 estilo del país, ||23| pero libres de laudemio, y con una moderada pension en grano, serán los mas útiles ...

2) *Tierras concejiles.*

Gemeindeländereien? Länder, deren renta está destinada á la conservación del estado civil y establecimientos municipales de los concejos ... Las tierras concejiles divididas y repartidas en enfiteusis ó censo reservativo, sin dejar de ser el mayorazgo de los pueblos, könnten ofrecer establecimiento á un gran número de familias ... Schon durch providencias v. 1768 u. 1770 accordirte der consejo el repartimiento de las tierras concejiles á los pelentrines y pegujareros de los pueblos ...

3) *Abertura de las heredades.*

10 el vergonzoso derecho que en ciertos tiempos y ocasiones convierte la propiedad particular en baldíos. Una costumbre bárbara ha introducido la prohibición de cerrar las tierras, y menoscabando la propiedad individual en su misma esencia, ha opuesto al cultivo uno de los estorbos que mas poderosamente detiene su progreso ... Das interés de los ricos  
15 ganaderos haben sie podido introducir en los tribunales, y elevarla al concepto de derecho no escrito, contra la razón y las leyes ... Bajo los Romanos no fué conocida en España la costumbre de aportillar las tierras alzado el fruto, para abandonar al aprovechamiento común sus producciones espontáneas ... los Visigodos de España adoptaron en este  
20 punto, como en otros muchos, la legislación romana ... Ursprung des costumbre wahrscheinlich en aquellos tiempos, wo der cultivo unsicher, beständig v. den Feinden gestört: cuando los colonos, forzados á abrigarse bajo la protección de las fortalezas, se contentaban con sembrar y alzar el fruto: cuando por falta de seguridad ni se poblaban, ni se cer-  
25 raban, ni se mejoraban las suertes, siempre expuestas á frecuentes devastaciones: en una palabra, cuando nada habia que guardar en las tierras vacías, y era interés de todos admitir en ellas los ganados. Tal fué la situación del país llano de Leon y Castilla la Vieja hasta la conquista de Toledo: tal la de Castilla la Nueva, Mancha, y parte de la Andalucía  
30 hasta la de Sevilla, y tal la de las fronteras de Granada, y aun de Navarra, Portugal y Aragon, hasta la reunion de estas coronas; porque el ejercicio ordinario de la guerra en aquellos tiempos feroces, sin distinción de moros ó cristianos, se reducía á quemar las mieses y alquerías, talar las viñas, los olivares y las huertas, y hacer presas de hombres y ganados  
35 en los territorios fronterizos ... Aber dieß nicht general, weil nicht gekannt en los países de montaña ni en los de riego. Gesetze (Fuero de

Leon, Fuero viejo de Castilla, die legislación alfonsina, die Ordenamientos generales) schweigen darüber. Cómo pudo prevalecer un abuso tan pernicioso? das erste der Gesetze dafür promulgirt in Cordoba, por los señores Reyes Católicos, á consecuencia de la conquista de *Granada*, 3 Nov. 1490. Los nuevos pobladores que habían obtenido cortijos ó heredamientos en el repartimiento de aquella conquista, trataron de acortarlos y cerrarlos sobre sí para aprovecharlos exclusivamente. El gran número de ganados que habia entonces en aquel país, por haberse reunido en un punto los de las dos fronteras, hizo sentir de repente la falta de pastos. Parecían nuevos en aquel tiempo y en aquel territorio los cerramientos, antes desconocidos en las *fronteras* ... los ganaderos alzaron el grito, y las ideas coetáneas, mas favorables á la libertad de los ganados que á la del cultivo, dictaron aquella ley prohibitiva de los cerramientos. War aber kein ley general, sondern nur una ordenanza municipal, ó bien una ley circunscripta al territorio de Granada, y á los cortijos y heredamientos repartidos despues de su conquista ... Ges. v. 5 Juli 1491 widerrief die *ordenanza v. Avila* (die erlaubte d. «cotos redondos, favorecía la acumulación de las propiedades, y la ampliación de las labores, y estorbaba la division de la propiedad y del cultivo; útil á los grandes, dañosa á los pequeños labradores. Además establecía un monopolio vecinal, mas útil á los ricos que á los pobres, y notoriamente pernicioso á los forasteros, cuyos ganados excluía hasta del uso del pasto, y de las aguas y brevaderos. Por último, conspiraba á la usurpación de los términos públicos, confundiéndolos en los acotamientos particulares, derogando el derecho de *monte y suerte*, tan recomendado en nuestras antiguas leyes, y provocando al establecimiento de señoríos, á la impetración de jurisdicciones privilegiadas, y á la erección de títulos y mayorazgos») Das Gesetz revozirend diese famosa ordenanza de Avila (su disposición prohibirt... Recht der formación de cotos redondos, y esto en el territorio de Avila) ausgelegt v. den Gerichten als enthaltend la prohibicion general de los cerramientos ... ||24| nuestros pragmáticos han hecho prevalecer esta opinion, y los tribunales lo han adoptado. Großen Einfluß hierin *la mesta*. Este cuerpo, siempre vigilante en la solicitud de privilegios, y siempre bastante poderoso para obtenerlos y extenderlos, fué el que mas firmemente resistió los cerramientos de las tierras. No contento con el de *posesión*, que arrancaba para siempre al cultivo las tierras una vez destinadas al pasto; no contento con la defensa y extension de sus inmensas *cañadas*: no contento con la participación sucesiva de todos los pastos públicos, ni con el derecho de una vecindad *manera* ... quiso invadir también la propiedad de los particulares. Los mayoresales cruzando con sus inmensos rebaños desde Leon á Extremadura, en una

estación en que la mitad de las tierras cultivables del tránsito estaban de rastrojo, y volviendo de Extremadura á Leon cuando ya las hallaban en barbecho, empezaron á mirar las barbecheras y rastrojeras como uno de aquellos recursos sobre que siempre ha fundado esta granjeria sus enormes provechos. Esta invasion dio el golpe mortal al derecho de propiedad. La prohibición de los cerramientos se consagró por las leyes pecuarias de la Mesta. El tribunal trashumante de sus *entregadores* la hizo objeto de su celo: sus vejaciones perpetuaron la apertura de las tierras; y la libertad de los propietarios y colonos pereció á sus manos. ...

5 Der Consejo auch schon durch Real cédula vom 15 Juni 1788 beschützt los cerramientos de las tierras destinadas á huertas y plantaciones. ... Diese prohibición de los cerramientos frustrirte die plantación von árboles... Es natural que la pequeña cultura se prefiera en los países frescos, y en los territorios de regadío, donde convidando el clima ó el riego á una

10 continua reproducción de frutos, el colono se halla como forzado á la multiplicación y repetición de sus operaciones, y por lo mismo á reducir la esfera de su trabajo á menor extension. Es otro acaso el que las suertes ha reducido al mínimo posible en Murcia, en Valencia, en Guipúzcoa, y en gran parte de Asturias y Galicia? Pero es igualmente natural que los

15 países ardientes y secos prefieren las grandes labores. Las tierras de Andalucía, Mancha y Extremadura nunca podrán dar los frutos en el año; por consiguiente, ofreciendo empleo menos continuo al trabajo, obligarán á extender su esfera. Aun para lograr una cosecha anual, tendrán los colonos que alternar las semillas débiles con las fuertes, y las

20 mas con las menos voraces. Lo mas común será sembrar de año y vez, y reservar algún terreno al pasto, que sin riego es siempre escaso. Será por lo mismo necesaria mayor cantidad de tierra para proporcionar este producto á la subsistencia del colono. Y he aquí porque en los climas ardientes y secos los suertes y labores son siempre mas grandes. ... la *cultura*

25 *immensa*, cual es, por ejemplo, la de gran parte de la Andalucía, es siempre mala y ruinosa ... buen cultivo gewinnt sich nur cuando la esfera de la codicia del colono está proporcionada á la de sus fuerzas ... No es cosa por cierto dolorosa ver labradas á tres hojas las mejores tierras del Reino, y abandonadas alternativamente las dos? ... el inmenso producto de las

30 tierras de Guipúzcoa, de Asturias y Galicia, se debe todo á la buena division y población de sus suertes ... Gefördert die Begünstigung der cerramientos, f. bes. species v. Eigenthum od. Cultur: «Tierras de labor, prados, huertas, viñas, olivares, selvas ó montes, todo debe ser comprendido en esta providencia, y todo estar cerrado sobre sí» ... tengan los

35 dueños el libre y absoluto aprovechamiento de sus maderas y la nación logrará muchos y buenos montes ... las leñas y maderas han llegado á un

grado de escasez, que en algunas provincias es enorme; pero la causa de esta escasez no se debe buscar sino en las mismas providencias dirigidas á removerla ... Also zu reducir los montes á propiedad particular. (40-65)

4) *Protección parcial del cultivo.*

Immer begünstigt con preferencia aquellos ramos que prometían momen- 5  
táneamente mas utilidad. De aquí nacieron tantos sistemas de protección  
particular y exclusiva, tantas preferencias, tantos privilegios, tantas  
ordenanzas, que solo han servido para entorpecer la actividad y los pro-  
gresos del cultivo. (Bezieht sich auch auf A. Smith) Diese Gesetze que  
prohiben convertir el cultivo en pasto, ó el pasto en cultivo; ponen limite 10  
á las plantaciones, ó [25] prohiben descepar las viñas y montes... Un  
nuevo ramo de comercio fomenta un nuevo ramo de cultivo, porque la  
utilidad que ofrece, una vez conocida, lleva los agentes de la agricultura  
en pos de sí... La introducción del lujo en Roma, después de la conqui-  
sta de Asia cambió enteramente el cultivo de Italia ... en las cercanías de 15  
aquella gran capital, las frutas, las hortalizas, y señaladamente la cria  
de aves y animales, arrebataron la primera atención de los labradores ...  
Advierte Salustio que el soldado romano, antes frugal y virtuoso, se dio  
por la primera vez al vino y los placeres, relajada por Sila la disciplina  
de los ejércitos. La consecuencia fué crecer en tanto grado la utilidad 20  
del cultivo de las viñas, que ... era el mas lucroso de cuantos abrazaba  
su agricultura ... la policía alimentaria de Roma pudo tener gran parte  
en esta preferencia. Las largiciones de trigo, traído de las provincias  
tributarias, y distribuido gratuitamente, ó á precios cómodos á aquel  
inmenso pueblo, debia naturalmente envilecer el precio de los granos, no 25  
solo en su territorio, sino en toda la Italia, y distraer el cultivo a otros  
objetos. Así fué: llenáronse de viñas la campaña de Roma, la Italia, y las  
provincias con tal exceso, que Domiciano no solo prohibió en Italia  
las nuevas plantaciones, sino que mandó descepar la mitad de las viñas  
por todo el imperio ... «Ad summam quamdam ubertatem vini, frumenti 30  
vero inopiam, existimans nimio vinearum studio negligi arva, edixit:  
nequis in Italia novellaret, atque in Provintiis viñeta succiderentur. relicta  
ubi plurimum dimidia parte.» (Sueton, in Domic.) Dies Gesetz revozirt  
zur Zeit des Probus. «Para ganar» sagt Mariana «las voluntades de las  
provincias, revocó y dio por ninguno el edicto de Domiciano, en que 35  
vedaba á los de la Galia y de España plantar viñas de nuevo.» ... Qué se  
ha hecho de los abundantes vinos de Cazalla? Apenas se ve una viña en  
aquel territorio, antes célebre por sus viñedos: todos se han desceparado y



convertido en olivares, ó entrado en cultivo, desde que el comercio de América, que antes prefería aquellos vinos y fomentaba sus plantaciones, despertó la atención de los propietarios mas inmediatos á la costa. Llenáronse de viñas los términos de Sevilla, Sanlúcar y Jerez, prefiriólos el  
5 comercio por mas inmediatos, y los vinos de Cazalla vinieron á tierra. La misma causa, unida á la desmembración de Portugal, llenó aquella costa de plantaciones de naranja y limon, cuyo comercio fué poco á poco pereciendo en los territorios de Asturias, Galicia y Montaña, que hasta la mitad del siglo pasado abastecían de estos preciosos frutos á Inglaterra y  
10 Francia. Entre tanto las huertas de naranja de Asturias, y aun muchos prados y heredades se convirtieron en *fumaradas* por el aumento del consumo y precios de la *sidra*, y se destinaron en Galicia á otros mas útiles cultivos ... Wahr daß die Rente in vielen span. Gegenden excessiv gestiegen. Aber «Freiheit» der Contracte ... Wo die Rente steigt, die  
15 Eigenthümer arriendan por poco tiempo para alzar las rentas en su renovación. Por este medio los propietarios de cortijos del término de Sevilla han doblado sus rentas en el corto período que corrió desde 1770 á 1780. ... Cualquiera necesidad impuesta por la ley seria dañosa á la propiedad, y por lo mismo injusta ... Es ist esta libertad que de tiempo inmemorial  
20 ha constituido las rentas en porciones fijas de grano en nuestras provincias septentrionales, en mitad de frutos en Aragon, y á dinero en Andalucía, y en gran parte de Castilla y Mancha?

##### 5. *La Mesta.*

los monstruosos privilegios de la ganadería trashumante ... Es ciertamente digno de la mayor admiración ver empleado el celo de todas  
25 las naciones en procurar el aumento y mejoras de sus lanas por los medios mas exquisitos ... Los Ingleses han logrado sus excelentes y finísimos vellones, cruzando las castas de sus ovejas con las de Castilla, bajo de Eduard IV, Enrique VIII u. Elisabeth. Los Holandeses, estable-  
30 cida la república, mejoraron también las suyas, acomodando á su clima las ovejas traídas de sus establecimientos de oriente: Schweden seit der Christine, Sachsen, Preußen, Rußland (Catherine II) etc dito ... Unter Alfonso XI fangen die Spanier an ihre Schafe m. englischen zu mischen. Nach dem padre Sarmiento die so geschaffenen ovejas finas heißen  
35 marinas, später corrupirt in merinas ... Las leyes que prohiben el *rompimiento de las dehesas* han sido arrancadas por los artificios de los mesteños ... El privilegio de posesión roba al propietario el derecho y la libertad de elegir su arrendador ... el privilegio de tasa se ha inventado

para alejar el equilibrio de los precios en el único caso en que, faltando el privilegio de posesión, pudieran buscar su nivel; puesto que la tasa toma por regla unos valores establecidos, y no los que pudieran dar las circunstancias contemporáneas á los arriendos. Qué se dirá de las leyes que han fijado inalterablemente el valor de las yerbas al que corría un siglo ha? ... los *tanteos*, alenguamientos, la exclusion de pujas, los fuimientos, los amparos, acogimientos, reclamos etc. (que definen otros tantos arbitrios dirigidos á envilecer el precio de las yerbas, y hacer de ellas un horrendo monopolio en favor de los trashumantes. (66-76) | 5

**(Heft 4)**  
**Exzerpte zur Geschichte Spaniens**

[[1]] (barata) (abaratar)

London. October 185[4]

[Jovelljanos (Suite)]

[5] la M]esta. (Cont.)

5 die Mesta concejo pastoril ... Los moradores de las sierras que arrancando del Pirineo se derraman por lo interior de nuestro continente, forza[dos á buscar por el invjerno en las tierras llanas el pasto y abrigo de sus ganados, que las nieves arrojaban de las cumbres, sintieron la necesidad de congregarse - para asegurar aquella protection que las leyjes  
10 habían ofrecido á todos, y que los ricos dueños de cabanas riberiegas empezaban á usurpar para sí solos. Así es como la historia rústica presenta estos dos cuefrpos de s]erranos y riberiegos en continua guerra ... Coalición ó solemne liga que en 1556 reunió en un cuerpo á los serranos y riberiegos. Esta liga, aunque desigual é [inh'usta para los primeros, que  
15 siempre fueron á menos, mientras los segundos siempre á mas, fué mucho mas injusta y funesta para la causa pública ... Dieser hermandad pastoril überlebte all die andren ähnlichen hermandades, worin in den tristes tiempos die ciudadanos se veian como forzados á reunir sus fuerzas ... las cañadas (*calles pastorum*) nöthig. Consta de Cicerón que esta servi-  
20 dumbre pública era respetada en Italia con el nombre de *calles pastorum*. De ellas hace también memoria Marco Varron refiriendo (lib. 2 cap. 2), que las ovejas de Apulia trashumaban en su tiempo á los Samnites, distantes muchas millas, á veranear en sus cumbres. ...

*la amortización.* Während nuestras leyes facilitaban de una parte la acumulación de la riqueza pecuaria en un corto número de cuerpos y personas poderosas, no favoreciesen por otra la acumulación de la riqueza territorial en la misma clase de personas y cuerpos ... *Siehe conde de Campomanes: Regalía de la amortización.* (1765 publicirt) ... In einer 5  
Schrift: «*La razón natural por el reino de Galicia*» heißt es u. a.: «casi todo el suelo de Galicia, con la jurisdicción en primera instancia se halla desmembrado de la corona: casi todo viene á estar en poder de comunidades, iglesias, monasterios y lugares pios, y el resto en el de grandes títulos y caballeros de dentro y fuera de la provincia.» Und diese pro- 10  
vincia alimenta la décima parte de la población del reino ... las tierras han llegado en España á un precio escandaloso ... este precio ... efecto natural de su escasez en el comercio, y esta escasez se derive principalmente de la enorme cantidad de ellas que está amortizada ... wenn der 15  
rédito der Ländereien se reduce al mínimo posible (wegen ihrer Theuerkeit), ó nadie hace semejante imposición, ó se hace solamente como una especulación de orgullo y vanidad, como en España. ... Der ilustrísimo Manrique sagt (1624) que en los últimos 50 años se habían tres doblado los conventos: habian emigrado muchas familias: crecido los sacerdotes: multiplicádose las capellanías y los conventos; y aumentado el número de 20  
sus moradores. Calcula la mengua del vecindario en siete décimas partes y señaladamente dice, que Burgos bajó de 7000 vecinos á 900, Leon de 5000 á 500, y que muchos pueblos pequeños se despoblaron del todo. Añade que solo se sostenía Valladolid por su cnancillería, Salamanca por sus escuelas, y Segovia por sus telares, aber seit 1624 hasta fin del siglo la 25  
despoblación fué siempre en aumento. ...

a) *Eclesiástica (amortización)* diese amortiz. eclesi. entgegen der alten castil. Gesetzgebung. Antigua máxima suya que las iglesias y monasterios, no [pudiesen] aspirar á la propiedad territorial. Esta ley solemnemente establecida para el reino de Leon en las Cortes de Benavente, para 30  
el de Castilla en las de Nájera, se extendió con las conquistas á los de Toledo, Jaén, Córdoba, Murcia y Sevilla en los fueros de su población etc. ...

Vom X-XIV Jhh. die reyes u. Cortes del Reino trabajaron á una en fortificar die propiedad contra las irrupciones de la piedad ... 35

*Clero Regular*, los bienes del clero regular eran mas bien un patrimonio de la nobleza que del clero, y [que] pertenecían ... al Estado mas bien que á la Iglesia. La [mayor] parte de los antiguos monasterios fueron fundados y dotados para refugio de las familias, y les pertenecían en propiedad. Die nobles inhábiles für die milicia estaban condenados al celibato y 40  
la pobreza, y arrastraban por consiguiente á la misma suerte una igual

porción de doncellas de su clase. Para asegurar la subsistencia de estas víctimas de la política, se fundó una increíble muchedumbre de monasterios, que se llamaron *dúplices*, porque acogían á los individuos de ambos sexos, y de *herederos*, porque estaban en la propiedad y sucesión de las familias, y no solo se heredaban [s]ino que se partían, vendían, cambiaban y traspasaban por contrato ó testamento de unas en otras. Verschwanden nach u. nach, sus edificios y sus bienes [se] incorporando y refundiendo en las iglesias y en los monasterios libres. ...

[*Clero Secular*. Las adquisiciones del clero secular fueron mas legítimas y provechosas en su origen, aunque también funestas á la agricultura en su progreso.

[*b*] *Civil*. *M*ayorazgos. la acumulación entra necesariamente en el plan de institución de las familias; porque la riqueza es el apoyo principal de su [esplendor] ... la mas antigua memoria de los mayorazgos de España no sube del siglo XIV, y aun en este fueron muy raros ... Entonces los letrados empezaron [á franjuear los diques que oponían las leyes á las vinculaciones: las Cortes de Toro los rompieron del todo á los fines del siglo XV, y desde los principios [del] XVI el furor de los mayorazgos ya no halló en la legislación límite ni freno. ... Der frühere Adel erwarb sich s. fortuna á punta de lanza. Los premios y recompensas de su valor fueron por mucho tiempo vitalicios y dependientes del mérito; y cuando dispensados por juro de heredad, fueron divisibles entre los hijos, siempre gravados con la defensa pública, y siempre dependientes de ella ...

7) *Circulación de los productos de la tierra.*

la «tasa de los granos» damals schon abgeschafft. ...*De las posturas* (geht aus v. den *magistrados municipales*. Era natural que diesen todo su cuidado á las conveniencias de la población urbana, único objeto de las posturas, como que prescindiesen de las del propietario de los frutos. Tal es el origen de la esclavitud en que se halla por punto general el tráfico de los [*a*] *bastos*.) Entre estos reglamentos merecen muy particular atención los que limitan la libertad de los agentes intermedios del tráfico de comestibles, [como *rega*]tones, *atravesadores*, *panilleros*, *Zabarceras* etc mirados generalmente con horror durch die Ordenanzas u. jeece xxxnd espulsion [...] as los [reglamentos y vejaciones municipales ... Daher die carestía nachher Artikel of fácil production. |

¶[2] [...]ops *tragineros*. *arde des*. *Sesta ferros*, *almacenes* [...]lar. re[...]ino. *cosecheros*, *veguadas*. [...] *potros*. as[...] *aforos*. x[...]

[Ciertamejnte que las carnes se[ri]an generalmente mas barat[as], si en todas partes se admitiesen libremente al matadero las reses traídas al co[nsumo, en vez de fiarle a]l monopolio de un abastecedor ...

[Del co]mercio interior en general.

- el monopolio (im Kornhandel) nunca ha sido en España tan frecuente 5  
ni tan escandaloso como bajo las leyes restrictivas, die dagejgen gerichtet.  
... Hecha la ley, hecha la trampa ... el monopolio de granos está natural-  
mente establecido en España, á lo menos hasta cierto p[unto.] Dadurch  
die größte Masse davon in den Händen der iglesias, monasterios u. ricos  
mayorazgos ... ya notó el político Zavala que en los años colmados de 10  
su época, los propietarios vendían cuanto tenían, se empeñaban, y gra-  
vaban sus tierras con censos, por no malbaratar los granos ... Um so  
nöthiger daher [liber]tad del comercio interior. ...

Del comercio exterior.

*a° De frutos*, la libre exportación debe ser protegida por las leyes. Gegen 15  
das bestehende Verbot od. Erschwerung der Ausfuhr v. aceites, las car-  
nes, los caballos etc

*b° De primeras materias. c° de granos.* ... En nuestra presente situación  
ni es necesaria, ni seria provechosa la libre exportación de granos, ni ab-  
soluta, ni regulada por sus precios ... Wohl aber zu erlauben die im- 20  
portación de los extranjeros ... die erstere prohibición sea limitada  
al trigo, centeno y maíz, y no comprehenda la cebada, el arroz, las habas  
etc ...

8) *de las contribuciones examinadas  
con relación à la agricultura.*

25

Dieses System de rentas provinciales beschädigt die Agricultur, no solo  
por los obstáculos que presenta á la libre circulación de los productos  
de la tierra, sino por los que ofrece en general al interés de sus propie-  
tarios y colonos. Sisas, millones, derechos de entrada, alcabala ... estos  
impuestos, sorprendiendo los productos de la tierra desde el momento 30  
en que nacen, los [persiguen] y muerden en toda su circulación, sin per-  
derlos jamás de vista, ni soltar su presa hasta el último instante del con-

Aus Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos: Informe de la Sociedad económica (Fortsetzung)

sumo daher so dagegen Závala, Ustariz, Ulloa ... exención concedida el clero secular y regular en la Contribución de rentas provinciales, puesto que, ó no la pagan, ó la recobran á título de refacción. ...

*Segunda Clase.*

5 Estorbos morales ó derivados de la opinion.

*1) De Parte del Gobierno.*

Mercantilsystem etc. Verachtung des Ackerbauers. Las pensiones mas duras y costosas refluyen cada dia sobre el labrador por un efecto de las *exenciones* dispensadas á otras artes y ocupaciones, nützliche 10 u. unnützliche. So die quintas, bagajes, alojamientos, la recaudación de bulas y papel sellado, y todas las cargas concejiles ...

*2) de parte de los agentes de la agricultura.*

*Tercera clase.*

Estorbos físicos ó derivados de la naturaleza.

15 1) falta del riego. 2) falta de comunicaciones, a) Por tierra, b) por agua.  
3) falta de puertos de comercio. 4) Medios de remover estos estorbos.

Davis (Henry Winter)  
The War of Ormuzd and Ahriman  
in the Nineteenth Century.

Baltimore. 1852.

26<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1815 treaty of the Holy Alliance ... [35] 1818 Congress of Aix la 5  
Chapelle ... [45] Congress at Carlsbad a conspiracy among the crowned  
[heads of] Germany ... [58] The adherents of the Cortes, the men who  
freed their country and secured his crown, Calvo de Rosas the hero of  
Saragossa, Alava the friend of Wellington, the moderate Martinez de la  
Rosa, the poets Quintana and Gallego ... were consigned to the galleys to  
or immured in the African prisons. The first year saw 50,000 freemen  
languishing in confinement for their political opinions ... The first effort  
of the King was to wreak his vengeance on his revolted colonies. From  
the midst of his troops assembled at Cadiz for embarkation, the smothered  
fire broke out in September, 1814. Its suppression was followed by 15  
an explosion in Navarre in 1815. The noble La[cy] paid with his blood  
for his failure at Madrid in 1817. Again in 1818 the forces destined for  
America were the forces of a [conspiracy] which cost Vidal his life. ...  
Riego before his regiment, at the solemnity of the mass, in the church  
of San Juan [on the 1<sup>st</sup>] Jan. 1820, proclaimed the constit. of 1812 ... his 20  
forces were scattered in flight—when at the other end of the kingdom the  
garr[ison] of Coruna summoned its officers to swear to the constitution  
etc. ... 7<sup>th</sup> March 1820 Ferdinand VII verspricht die Constit. v. 1812.  
On the [8<sup>th</sup>,] a provisional junta was created, before whom the King swore  
to the Const. ... 9 Juli 1820 King opens the sitting der Cortes, with a lie 25  
in his right hand and a perjury in his heart... "So soon", he said "as the



excess of undeserved suffering brought the long suppressed wishes of the people to a distinct expression, I hastened to pursue the course they indicated, and professed the oath of fidelity to the Const. of the Cortes of 1812. From this moment the King and the people entered on their  
5 *legitimate rights. My resolution was free and voluntary.*" ... [69-72] A spark blew from Spain to Italy, and in an instant an explosion ensued, 1815 forfeited die crown replaced on the head of *Ferdinand IV*, of Naples, by the Congress of Vienna. Völlige Reaction. *Carbonari* originally aimed at the expulsion] of the French. ... *1 July, 1820* Morelli, a subaltern officer at Nola beredet s. troops, announces the result to his [superior] |  
10 I[3]I officer at Avellino, brought the militia of the province to a similar declaration, the infection spread all over the country; etc. the king consigned to h[is son the] duties of gov. with the title of Regent. He proclaimed the Span. Constitution of 1812 as that of Naples. 13<sup>th</sup> Juli (1820)  
15 King u. the Princes to[ok the] oath of allegiance to the Const.; on the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1820 the Constit. Parliament der two Sicilies formally and peacefully opened] by the Regent. ... [75-77]

*October 1820* the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the representatives of Prussia and England meet in *Troppau* to consult for the cure of  
20 Eufrope.] bloody revolt at St. Petersburg. a formal protocol embodied the principle, that the allies were entitled to intervene with arms for the purpose of maintaining] not only the territorial arrangements but also the internal forms of government which the treaties of 1815 had recognized [as legitimate] in European states, "maintenance of the existing  
25 order of things." Mittel: "the alliance of the 3 despotic powers of the North." Powerless u. disregarded proto]col v. England.

*January, 1821 Congress of Laybach*,—a crowd of crowned heads and liveried slaves. Ferdinand IV (v. Naples) muß hin m. Erlaubniß s. Parlements. Neapolitaner geklopft v. den Austrians. Ferdinand resumed his  
30 throne amid the clamor of the lazaroni and the military salute of the Austrians. (Reaction.) [81-85]—The Congress of Aix la Chapelle had admitted France to the Confederation of monarchs ... The Congress of Laybach had adjourned late in 1821 with the resolution of meeting at Verona, when the results of the operations in Italy could be known—to  
35 determine on the treatment of Spain.

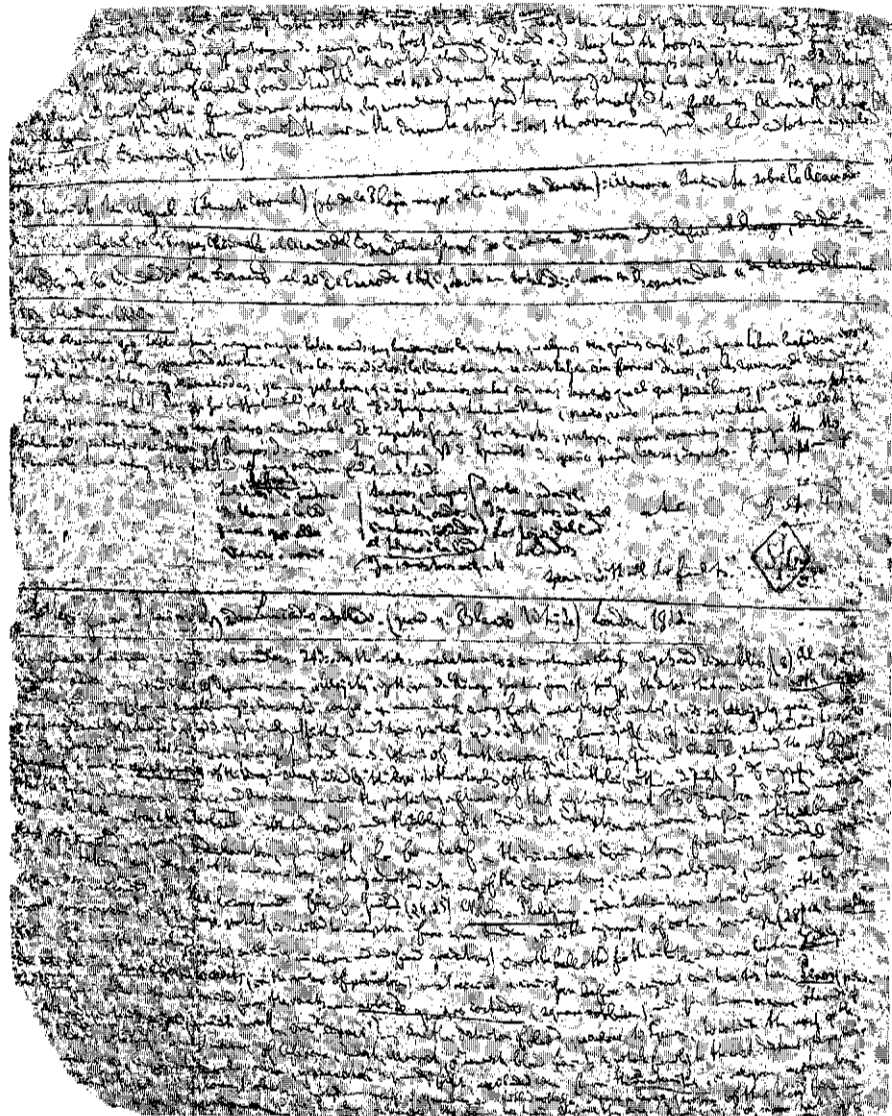
*October 1822 Congress of Verona*. Honourably seated amid the potentates of Europe the delegates der revolutionary Junta of Urgel.

*9 Juli 1820* Cortes eröffnet. *1 March 1821* Ausserordentliche Cortes. Ende 1820 der king setzt Gen. Vigodet ab vom command of the province  
40 of Madrid, gibt es dem Gen. Carvajal. Ebenso (1821) setzt er den Villalba als military commander of Madrid ab, ernennt statt seiner Murillo ...

Thus strengthened, the King strangled by his veto not only the law against political association; but fastened on the people the iron fetters of the feudal system [which] the Cortes strove to break ... [88-92]

28 Sept. 1821 Neue Sitzung der Cortes. Der king recalled from the most important military posts the friends of the const., Jauregui from Cadi[x;] Empecinado from Zamora, Velasco from Seville, Mina from Galicia. Venegas zum Commandant v. Cadix ernannt, mutiny in Cadix, Madri[d.] etc. Venegas shrank from the storm. Andilla, his successor, equally objectionable, met with an equally abrupt opposition. Daviz, intended as Velasco's substitute, was unceremoniously driven from Seville, Mina forced to resume his post in Galicia by the people ... Erst January, 1822, when the cloud was black all over Spain, the south in arms, Catalonia ready to defy his authority, that the King surrendered his advisers.

February, 1822 Neue Cortes elected in the midst of the excitement ... Strange compounds of the priest, the renegade, and the robber, united themselves in bands of defenders of the faith, swarmed through old Castile and Navarre, and infested the mountains of Catalonia; while weak[er] troops ranged over the southern provinces, drove the trade of loyal robbery, at the bidding of monks, in the cause of the King. In Valencia, the tyrannical conduct of one of his officers brought the people and the soldiery into bloody collision, and threatened to spread the flames of war throughout the land ... while the Fr. army lined the borders, instigating and aiding the outbreaks ... On the 30 März 1822, the king felt himself strong enough to venture to present himself before his people at Aranjuez. Shouts of "long live the absolute King"—but for the timely advent der National Guard of Toledo, the loyal mob, joined by the guard, would have swollen to a royal army. On the same day in Valencia, part of the garrison in like manner began the revolt, but were quelled, after sharp fighting, by their colleagues. Nun die Cortes demand the return des King to Madrid; evaded compliance till 30<sup>th</sup> June (1822) he came to close the Cortes. The excited rabble, as the procession passed, shouted huzzas for Riego. The guard u. the people stood face to face. An officer, a decided liberal, in staying the collision, was shot by one of his own men. 1000<sup>\*\*\*</sup> of people and troops surrounded the Palace, where the guards entrenched themselves [94-98] ... July events ... general massacre der guards. (7 July 1822) ... Die Cortes left the conduct of the war and the appointment of officers in the hands of the King, who was the centre of internal insurrections and of the external assault ... While the Cortes strove energetically to suppress and punish insurrections against the King—provoked and justified by his treacherous con-



Exzerpte zur Geschichte Spaniens.  
Heft 4. Seite 4

duct and scandalous appointments: he encouraged those against the Cortes even to the last moment ... die spanischen Minister: with laconic point they assured the minister of France that his master's solicitude for the welfare of Spain would be best displayed and relieved by withdrawing  
5 his army of agitation from her borders. The Austrian minister they dismissed with the cool reply, that his Catholic Maj. was indifferent whether he remained in relations or not m. dem court of Vienna. To the Russian: "You have shamefully abused (perhaps through ignorance) the law of nations, which is always respectable in the eyes of the S[panish] Govern-  
ici ment. [I transmit] by order of H. M. the passports you desire, hoping Your Exc. will be pleased to leave this capital with as little delay as possible." Sti[H the irrevocable] step was delayed, till Alexander urged France to act in the spirit of her negotiations; and Austria and Prussia promised aid in c[ase the] Spanish war should kindle domestic disturbances in the rear.  
15 Jan. 1823, Louis XVIII, in opening the Chambers, defined the purposes der [Intervention. French ministers] später acted as men who hoped for peace, if they gave no cause for war ... Of the 4 divisions of their army [3 were commanded] |

[[4]] [...]ds. *hrika. sordo, loma, colar, cerros, estrego sus pliegos, prensa.*  
20 *abonzar. sima, arrojó.*

[by persons] lukewarm in the cause, or secretly hostile to it, or despairing of its success, all of whom hastened its doom by treachery and treason. Abisbal, who commanded the capital, opened negotiations m. dem enemy on his first advance, divided u. disheartened the troops, and was  
25 removed from the [command b]y his officers. Morillo, at a critical period of the contest, abandoned the cause, and carried his troops over to the enemy; and Ballesteros, [dishearte]ned by the defection of Abisbal, conducted the war not as a desperate revolutionary struggle, but with a view to good terms [at it]s close; and finished after a few indecisive skirmishes,  
30 by surrendering upon good terms for himself and his followers. Mina in Catalonia (!) u. *Villafranca* in the South, alone conducted the war in the desperate spirit which the occasion required ... blood and torture signalized the triumph of Ferdinand. (1-116)

D. Evaristo San Miguel.  
(Teniente Coronel),  
(gefe de la Plana mayor  
de la expresada division): Memoria Sucinta  
sobre lo Acaecido en la Columna Móvil <sup>5</sup>  
de las Tropas Nacionales al Mando del  
Comandante General de la Primera Division  
Don Rafael del Riego, desde su Salida  
de la Ciudad de San Fernando  
el 27 de Enero de 1820, <sup>10</sup>  
hasta su total Disolución en Bienvenida  
el 11 de Marzo del mismo año.

Madrid. 1820.

[El] lector observará que hasta entonces ningún cuerpo habia unido sus banderas con las nuestras, [que] algunos con quienes contábamos ya <sup>15</sup> se habían batido con nosotros, que ningún pueblo se habia pronunciado abiertamente, que los mas adictos á la buena causa se contentaban con formar deseos, que las esperanzas de difundir el [fue]go de la patria estaban muy desvanecidas, y en una palabra, que no podíamos contar con mas terreno que el que pisábamos, ni con mas patria [que] nosotros <sup>20</sup> mismos. (13) Der ganze hier beschriebne Feldzug läuft auf das Jagen

Aus Evaristo San Miguel: Memoria sucinta sobre lo acaecido en la columna móvil

nach Lebensmitteln, paño pardo para un pantalon cada soldado, [li]enzo para una camisa, y un número considerable de Zapatos hinaus. [16] There exists, perhaps, no more curious campaign than this celebrated patriotic excursion of Riego's division. San Miguel ist der Herodot des  
5 paño pardo, lienzo, zapatos. Er vergißt nie zu chronicle how many they caught at any occasion. Endet m. dem Lied:

*Refrain.*

Soldados, la patria  
Nos llama á la lid  
•10 juremos por ella  
Vencer ó morir

Serenos, alegres                      Y á nuestros acentos  
valientes, osados,                    el orbe se admire,  
cantemos, Soldados,                Y en nosotros mire  
15 el himno á la lid,                    Los hijos del Cid.  
Soldados etc [27]

Spain "with all her faults".

Letters from Spain  
By Don Leucadio Doblado.  
(pseud, v. Blanco White)  
London. 1822.

The influence of religion in Spain is boundless. It divides the whole pop- 5  
ulation into 2 comprehensive classes, bigots and dissemblers. (8) Al rey,  
en viéndolo; a Dios, en oyéndolo. (10) Spanier meinen "Majesty", Gott,  
wie den König. You hear from the pulpit, the duties that men owe to  
*both Majesties* ... Kranker ward gefragt, beim swallowing des conse-  
crated wafer, von einem clerk coming forth mit a glass of water: "Is his 10  
Majesty gone down?" "Ha pasado su Magestad?" Sonst wird Wasser  
nachgeschüttet, damit kein particle v. dem "Gott" verloren geht. (11, 12)  
Wealth and splendour to which Cadiz had reached during her exclusive  
privilege to trade mit den Colonies of South America. (14) The  
Span. Gov., under Charles III, shewed the most ludicrous eagerness to 15  
have the *sinless purity* of the Virgin Mary added by the Pope to the  
articles of the Rom. Catholic faith ... Der Pabst, ohne darauf einzuge-  
hen, declared, that the Span, dominions in Europe and America were  
under the protecting influence of that mysterious event. This declaration  
diffused universal joy over the whole nation etc. Charles III instituted an 20  
order under the emblem of the Immaculate Conception—a woman dress-  
ed in white u. blue u. a law was enacted, requiring a declaration, upon  
oath, of a firm belief in the Immaculate Conception, from every individ-  
ual, previous to his taking any degree at the universities, or being admit-  
ted into any of the corporations, civil and religious, which abound in 25  
Spain. Sogar mechanics upon their being made free of a Guild. (24, 25)  
*Nobles u. Plebejans*. Jeder noble in Spain whose family, either by imme-

mortal prescription, or by the King's patent, is entitled to exemption from some burdens, and to the enjoyment of certain privileges. (28) A *Cavaliere* (name expressing the privileged gentry in all its numerous and undefined gradations) cannot be ballotted for the militia; and none but  
5 an *Hidalgo* can enter the army as a cadet. 10 cadets (in the routine of promotion) must receive a commission before a serjeant can have his turn. *Pinos* (pi[ne-trees]) Schimpfwort für die who were raised from the ranks ... *noble de quatro costados* (square noblemen), nur sie können receive the order of [knjighthood. (notaries für Geld furnish more than  
10 one "corner") ... Another distinction of blood, peculiar to Spain, to which the mass of the [peop]le blindly attached. The least mixture of African, Indish, Moorish, or Jewish blood, taints a whole family to the most distant generation. "[Christjiano viejo, limpio de toda mala raza, y mancha." Wem dieß fehlt, excluded even from the *Fraternities*, or reli-  
15 gious associations, [otherwise] open to persons of the lowest ranks. Trotzdem many der *grandees* u. titled noblesse derive a large portion of their blood from Jews and Moriscoes ... *Tizón de España* ... Höchstes Privileg des Grandee to cover his head before the king. Hence, by 2 or more *hats* in a I[5]I family, it is meant that it has a right, by inheritance, to as many titles  
20 of grandeeship. Pride having confined the *grandees* to intermarriages in their own caste, and the estates u. titles being inheritable by females, an enormous accumulation of property and honours has been made in a few hands. The chief aim of every family is constantly to increase this preposterous accumulation. Their children are married, by dispensation, in their  
25 infancy, to some great heir or heiress; and such is the multitude of family names and titles which every grandee claims and uses, that if you should look into a simple passport given by the Span. Amb. in London ... you will find the whole first page of a large foolscap sheet employed merely to tell you who the great man is whose signature is to close the whole. Diese  
30 *grandees*: gross ignorance, intolerable conceit u. sometimes a strong dose of vulgarity. Degraded by their slavish behaviour at Court, having incurred great odium by their intolerable airs abroad, ruined their estates by mismanagement and extravagance, impoverished the country by the neglect of their immense possession. ... taxes rather ill-contrived than  
35 grinding. Seigneurial rights hardly in existence, gentry u. peasantry find little to remind them of the exorbitant power which the improvident and slothful life of the *grandees*, at court, allows to lie dormant and wasting in their hands. ... *Juan Español* (the plain unsophisticated Spaniard). ... Die Church u. the great nobility will stand, in their massive  
40 and ponderous indolence, ready to slide down at every moment, and to bury the small active (reformirende) party below, upon the least division



of strength ... The mass of the people may acquiesce for a time in the new order of things, partly from a vague desire of change and improvement, partly from the passive political habits which a dull and deadening despotism has bred and rooted in the course of ages ... [28-37] As the *Hidalguía* branches out through every male whose father enjoys that 5 privilege, Spain is overrun mit *gentry*, earning their living in the meanest employments. In the province of *Asturias* hardly a nat[ive] who, even at this day, cannot shew a legal titel to honours u. immunities gained by his ancestors at a time when every soldier had either a share in the territory recovered from the invaders, or was rewarded mit a perpetual ex- 10 emption from such taxes and services as fell exclusively upon the *simple* peasantry ... Diese nobles von Asturias in Sevilla etc. have engrossed the employments of watermen, porters, footmen, those belonging to the 2 first classes formed into *afraternity*, whose members have a right to the exclusive use of a chapel in the cathedral ... "sangre azul" (blue blood). 15 the shades by which the vital fluid approaches this privileged hue would baffle the skill of the best colourist ... pervading spirit of vanity in the nation ... To call a man by the name of blacksmith, butcher, coachman, an insult. They all expect to be called by their Christian name, or by the general appellation Maestro, in both cases mit dem prefix Señor; unless 20 the word expressing the employment should imply superiority, wie Mayor (chief coachman), Rabadán (chief shepherd), Aperador (bailiff). Poverty, unless it be extreme, does not disqualify a man of family for the society of his equals. Wholesale merchants, if they belong to the class of *Hidalgos*, are not avoided by the great gentry. In *the law*, *attorneys* 25 u. *notaries* are considered to be under the line of Cavalleros. Ebenso Physicians ... string of high-flown compliments ... Alamedas (public walks) ... pelar la Pava (pluck the hen-turkey) ... some uniform, without which a well-born Spaniard is almost ashamed to shew himself. (38-58) ... Catholicism in the rank luxuriance of full growth must not be 30 confounded with that same noxious plant tamed and reclaimed under the shade of Protestantism. ... The expense, the danger, and the great inconvenience attending a journey, prevent our travelling for pleasure or curiosity. Most of our (the Span.) people spend their whole lives within their province, and few among the females have ever lost sight of the town that 35 gave them birth ... "Mata al hombre y vete a Olbera." (Andalusian proverb). ... St. Francis financial vision: "that his followers should never feel want." ... Few monks, and scarcely a friar, can be found, who by taking the cowl, has not escaped a life of menial toil ... It is a common jest among the friars themselves, that in the act of taking the vows, when 40 the superior of the convent draws the cowl over the head of the proba-

tioner, he uses the words: Tolle verecundiam ... societies of saintly paupers ... the hungry vultures of the law ... [217-222] Nach dem Census v. 1787, Spanish females confided to the cloister for life, an 32,000 ... Charles IV Frau, a daughter of the late Duke of Parma, a very ugly  
5 woman, now first approaching old age, yet affecting youth and beauty ... Florida Bianca vor dem Consejo declared guilty of embezzling 42 mill, of reals (v. dem italienischen Banker Salucci (Manca)) alle after a close confinement, allowed to reside at Murcia. Er hatte alles gethan to make the King join the coalition against France after the death of Louis XVI  
10 ... [335-337] history must content herself with conjecture, when the main springs of events lie not only behind the curtain of state, but those of a four-post bed ... Godoy, when made duke de la Alcudia u. had entered the royal family by his marriage, worunter in seinem Vministry u. a. Jovellanos: "one of the living ornaments of our literature. Educated at  
15 Salamanca in one of the *Colegios Mayores*, before the reform which stripped those bodies of their honours and influence, he was made a judge in his youth, and gradually ascended to one of the supreme councils of the nation. His upright and hon. conduct in every stage of his life, both public u. private, the urbanity of his manners, and the formal ele-  
20 gance of his conversation, render him a striking exemplification of the old Span. Cavallero. With the virtues u. agreeable qualities of that character,] he unites many of the prejudices peculiar to the period to which it belongs. To a most passionate attachment to the privilege^ und] distinctions of blood, he joins a superstitious veneration for all kinds of  
25 external forms. The strongest partialities] warp his fine understanding, confining it, upon numerous subjects, to distorted or limited views." ... As [a minister, how]ever, through whose hands all the gifts of the Crown were to be distributed to a hungry country, [where <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub>] ||[6] of the better classes look up to patronage for a comfortable subsistence, he disap-  
30 pointed the hopes of the nation. At Court, his high notions of rank converted his rather prim manner into downright stiffness; and his blind partiality for the natives of Asturias, his province—probably because he thought them the purest remnant of Gothic blood in Spain— made him the most unpopular of ministers. Instead of promoting the welfare of the  
35 nation by measures which gradually, and upon a large scale, might counteract the influence of a profligate Court, he tried to oppose the Queen's established interference in detail,—dann Petty warfare. Dann s. Krakehl m. Godoy. (will benutzen eine Kälte zwischen Godoy u. der Queen (Treating this Court intrigue as one of the regular lawsuits on  
40 which he had so long practised his skill and impartiality etc.) ... bringt ihn durch den Carthuzian convent to a fortress in Majorca Admiral

Malaspina. Sevillian Friar, called Padre Gil ... la Tudó ... [341-347]  
Mallo ... Urquijo ... Pretendientes am Hof v. Madrid ... Government  
blocked up with filth and pollution every avenue to wealth [366] ...  
Moratin, Quintana, Melendez ... *Ausführliche Geschichte der Aranjuez*  
Tage (p. 400, sqq) the true source of the enthusiasm which appeared on 5  
the accession of Ferdinand was joy at the removal of his father. (422)

Aus Christopher Clarke: An examination of the internal state of Spain

Clarke. (Christopher)  
Capt. Royal Artillery. An Examination  
of the Internal State of Spain etc.

London. 1818.

veil under which—vor den marches der contending armies through all parts of the Peninsula—the monarchy had preserved an air of fictitious grandeur, forcibly torn aside. (*Préface*) excellence of the climate, fitness of the soil for the most various productions, advantageous position for maritime commerce. (1. c.) Zur Zeit Ferdinands des Catholic, the invasion of Naples laid the foundation of the system of aggrandizement which has produced the most fatal consequences to her real welfare. (1. c.) Since the commencement of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the war of succession retained the population and capitals which had been withdrawn from the country by the endless wars for the defence of their foreign possessions; and from that time, the Spaniards concentrated their industry within their own empire.

*I.) Historical Introduction.*

*1 ) State of Spain at the Period of the Unions  
of the Crowns of Castile and Arragon.*

[2]39 A. C. Carthaginians first entered into Spain. Colonies von foreigners, since an early period at *Lisbon*, whose origin has been attributed to Ulysses; *Cadiz*, settlement of the Phoenicians. *Saguntum* (Murviedro), in the province of Valencia, founded by the Greeks. Determined resistance gegen die invaders from the warlike inhabitants; Saguntum besonders:

they nevertheless succeeded in reducing the whole of Spain, except the mountainous regions of the north, and many of the natives followed the standard of Hannibal into Italy. The Peninsula was one of the Principal scenes in which the rival Powers of Rome and Carthage contended for superiority, till, after the ruin of the power of the latter, it submitted 5 to become a Roman province. ... oft the suppressions der Rom. governors excited the people to take up arms, and the country was harassed by frequent and sanguinary wars. The Lusitanians under Viriatus: Numantia ... In the civil wars, Spain adhered to the cause of Pompey, and afterwards to that of his sons: erst nach severe contest, which re- 10 quired his personal exertions in several battles, Julius Caesar was able to establish his authority. Die inhabitants of the North, who had hitherto preserved a precarious independence in the recesses of the mountains, auch totally subdued; the whole Peninsula yielded obedience to the Imperial dominion. Römische Civilisation, the troops distributed over the 15 provinces were employed, according to the usual practice der Romans when not engaged in war, in public works, in clearing the country of forests and marshes, and in opening a communication between the different parts by a chain of well-constructed high roads. Several legions introduced, many colonies established in the most fertile parts, who inter- 20 mixed mit den native inhabitants. Military persons often rewarded mit possessions of land, their children oft became naturalized inhabitants. One of the most flourishing periods of Span, agriculture. Aqueducts, baths, works of public utility. From the fertility of the soil, and the riches diffused by the mines of gold and silver, Spain became one of the most 25 considerable provinces of the empire. 25 colonies in Spain. Pliny has exhibited a list of 360 cities in Spain under the reign of Vespasian. *Colamela*, Span, writer, (treatise on Agriculture in the reign of Tiberius) Accumulation of landed property in the hands of few; employment of slaves in der Cultur; Taxes; continual exactions of men and corn, to complete the 30 armies, and provision the capital of the empire. These contributions became more and more exorbitant, at the same time that the territorial imposts u. excises were increased. Vexations u. impunity der praetors. Italy gave fashions as well as laws to the provinces. ... So entirely were the Spaniards enervated by their subjections, that the *Vandals*, entered the 35 kingdom A. D. 409, completed the conquest mit such rapidity, daß 411 they divided it amongst them by casting lots. The *Goths* having attacked the Vandals in their new establishments, the country was plundered by both parties. *The Goths* aggravated the national calamities by the ejection der ancient proprietors, u. dem allotment of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the lands to the 40 conquerors. They abandoned the labour of husbandry to their slaves,

preferred the breeding and care of cattle as the only wealth they were acquainted with in their native country. Having permitted the vanquished to retain only  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the lands, they were compelled to leave without owners [al] those which could not be occupied by the population so  
5 greatly diminished by war. These obtained the name of vacant fields, and were reserved for [commjon pasture, and the rearing of cattle.

[Nativejs adhered to the Cathol. Church, whilst their conquerors were Arians. Daher civil wars u. mutual oppressions. Schließlich die Cathol. doctrine siegt. The monarchy, which at [the fir]st entrance of the  
10 Goths was hereditary, became elective, and Spain was involved in civil wars, which ended in the deposition or death [of many] der sovereigns. ... In the 9<sup>th</sup> century the supreme judge of the empire could not subscribe his own name ... |

[7] The Emperor Adrian having suppressed a revolt of the Jews in  
15 Palestine, transported many 1000 families into Spain, where they had established themselves in credit. *In the reign of Sisebut, 612*, decree für die total expulsion der Jews. Theil blieb doch da; Theil flieht nach Africa. Whilst they laboured under their multiplied vexations, they kept up a secret correspondence mit ihren brethren who had fled into Africa,  
20 and by their means solicited the assistance of the Mahometans, whom they excited to attempt the invasion of Spain. Detection of their conspiracy. Fresh severities, the public exercise of their religion prohibited under the severest penalties, all their children below 7 years ordered to be taken from them, to be educated in the Christian faith. ...

25 672: *Moors* attempt a descent in Spain: but their fleet, 260 vessels, entirely destroyed, u. die troops which effected a landing were put to the sword. Roderic. The sons of Witiza, the dethroned monarch, took refuge in Africa; conspirirt m. ihnen der Archbishop of Seville. 711 Araber landen under the command of Taref, immediately joined by Count Julian's  
30 vassals. Battle on the plains of Xeres: the royal army totally defeated. In 14 months every part of Spain subdued by the Arabs except the mountains of Asturias u. Navarre. Mit Roderic ceased the reign of the Goths, nearly 300 years after its commencement.

*Herrschaft der Moors*: Spaniards frequently intermixed mit their  
35 conquerors. Musarabic ritual; continued to be used after the expulsion of the Moors. Mr. Townsend, 1787, attended mass in one of the chapels of the cathedral at Toledo, where they used only the Musarabic missal. Numerous colonies in Spain, composed of Africans, u. natives of Arabia, Syria, Persia. The animosities engendered by the various interests of so  
40 many different races, gave rise to dangerous commotions u. civil wars; u. die invaders were further agitated by the contest between the rival

families der Ommiades u. Abassides for possession des Caliphate. *Abdalahman*, the last survivor der Ommiades, after their expulsion from Damascus, succeeded in establishing his throne at Cordova; u.

759 all the Moorish possessions in Spain became independent of the authority of the Eastern Caliphs. From that time the ages of magnifi- 5  
cence u. gallantry. Court of Cordova centre der civilisation. University at Cordova. Public schools in all the considerable towns. The mines in Spain, which had been the source of wealth to the Romans, were wrought mit great assiduity by the Arabs, who drew from them large quantities of gold and silver, and other metals. Berühmte Waffenfabriken 10  
in Cordova u. Toledo. Woollen cloths of Murcia; silk and woollen stuffs of Granada, eagerly sought after in Africa; the Span. Arabs carried their goods to Egypt to barter for the articles of which Spain stood in need; and the ports of the Greek empire afforded a ready market for the productions of their industry. A friendly intercourse was maintained between 15  
the Ommiades in Spain, and the Emperor at Constantinople, produced by the fears they equally felt of the power of the Caliphs of Damascus. Moors excelled in agriculture; besonders in Andalusia; oil, corn, cultivation of mulberry-trees for their silkworms, sugar-cane, rice, cotton. In Granada, irrigation was carefully attended to, and the streams which 20  
descend from the mountains were diverted into numerous channels to water their lands. "The irrigation of Granada, of Murcia and Valencia, almost the only places where it is known in Spain, is owing to the industry of the Moors." *Jovellanos*. "About the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century appeared a treatise on Nabathæan agriculture, the fruit of the United 25  
labours of the ablest experimentalists and practical cultivators of Spain. This curious work recently translated by Antonio Banqueri, one of the members of the academy of Madrid, and published at the expense des King." *Laborde's, View of Spain*. ... Luxus. Verfall der Moors. They neglected to preserve a close connexion with their countrymen in Africa, 30  
and their empire in Spain became divided into many small Kingdoms independent and jealous of each other. 1038, overthrew the throne of Cordova, destroyed the dynasty der Ommiades. Civil wars im Süden; die Christian powers in the north der Peninsula profited by the opportunity to extend their conquests. ... 6years nach der battle v. Xeres, 35  
Pelagius od. Pelayo König gewählt der to the mountains of Asturias geflüchteten Christen. Moors engaged in the invasion of France. Gleichzeitig another body of Christians had sought an asylum in the Pyrenean mountains, and under Ximenes, a native of noble birth, laid the foundations of the Kingdom of Navarre. A few years after another Christian 40  
state was formed in Catalonia, by the Counts of Barcelona; thus, in less

than 100 years after the Arabian conquests, 3 formidable states successively arose. As the Moors withdrew towards the southern parts of the Peninsula, other Christ. Powers were formed, whose territories gradually increased whilst those of their enemies continued to be diminished.

5 According to the Span, historians, 800 of almost uninterrupted wars elapsed, u. 3700 battles fought, before the last der Moorish kingdoms in Spain submitted to the Christian arms. Dieser war geführt m. burning granaries, destroying the vines, olives, and fruit-trees, and carrying away whatever flocks or people they could take upon the frontiers. In this

10 state were the plains of Leon and Old Castile, bis zur Capture of Toledo, 1085; die v. New Castile, La Mancha, u. part of Andalusia bis zur Capture v. Sevilla, 1248; die on the frontier of Granada bis zur union der several kingdoms under one head, 1492. The rearing of cattle preferred, as they could be conveyed more easily than the productions of tillage,

15 from the ravages of the enemy. The reigns of the kings of Leon in the 10, 11 u. Anfang des 13'century, u. die der kings of Castile im 13, 14', 15' centuries, remarkable for civil wars of long duration, which harassed u. depopulated this divided country. (*Campomanes: Industria Popular.*)

1481 marriage of Ferdinand u. Isabella. 1492 surrender of the city

20 of Granada, the last remnant of the Mahometan empire. The conquest of Navarre extended the dominion of Ferdinand to the foot of the Pyrenees. Gonsalvos de Cordova, the great Capt., added the Kingdom of Naples to the island of Sicily, which was annexed in hereditary succession to the throne of Arragon. Discovery of America. (1-25)

25

2. *State of Spain under the Austrian Dynasty.*

1556 Philipp II. 1598 Philipp III. 1621 Philipp IV. 1665 Charles II.

Don Miguel Osorio y Redin, who wrote in the reign of Charles II, states, that the taxgatherers entered the houses of the poor labourers and other persons, and took pledges where they could not procure money;

30 where these were not to be had, they even seized the beds. These exactions compelled the inhabitants to quit their houses, leaving the fields uncultivated. The houses that were ||8| found empty, were sold to the first purchaser; if no one could be found to buy, they took off the roofs, and sold the materials for whatever they would fetch. From this general

35 destruction, there did not remain in the towns the third part der houses, and multitudes had died of want; in consequence, there was not one half of the families that there were formerly in Spain. ... "An age in which such abuses were permitted as to ruin the houses, in order to sell the



materials, must have arrived at the extremity of misery." (26-41) "natural hatred which the Aragonese, the Catalans, and the Valencians, bear to the Castilians." (1. c.)

3) *State of Spain after the Accession of the House of Bourbon.*

*Philipp V:* manufactures established in Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia; 5  
ports u. arsenals increased along the coast, population became more  
numerous. Discontinued the farming the provincial taxes; improved the  
system of collecting revenue by taking the administration into the hands  
of the government. The provincial rents had been farmed out to  
80 persons, of whom some held the tax of the Alcala, some that of the 10  
Milliones, and others the rest. General rents—consist of the duties paid  
on the imports or exports, and in the interior,—ebenfalls reformed the  
administration.

*Ferdinand VI.* Peaceable. The principal cause of the continual dis-  
putes between the courts of Spain and England, which had produced the 15  
war terminated in 1746, by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, consisted in  
the nature of the laws u. institutions for the gov. of the Span. American  
colonies. By the treaty, of Oct. 5, 1750, the Brit. nation was restored  
to the same privileges as in the times of Charles II, in the trade to the  
Span, colonies. 20

*Charles III.* Family Compact. 1775 disputes mit England, caused by  
the long-standing jealousy of commercial intercourse; m. Portugal über  
die Limits der South American colonies. Brit. American Revolution u. in  
1779 Krieg m. England ... [41-49] Charles III. to the latest moment  
of his life repeated, with satisfaction, that he had never condescended 25  
to enter into a treaty mit den U. St. of America. (*Coxe's Bourbon Kings  
of Spain.*) ... The situation of the Span, colonies was such as to awaken  
the most serious alarms: tumults and insurrections in various parts of  
Peru and Mexico proved the impolicy of his interference in the colonial  
troubles of other nations. In Peru, particularly, discontent had shewn 30  
itself in frequent insurrections, which had more than once shaken the  
authority of the government ... treaty concluded, which terminated  
the religious u. political rivalry so long subsisting between Spain and the  
Porte ... in October 1787, Madrid, for the first time, witnessed the appear-  
ance of a Turkish ambassador ... treaties mit Marocco, Tunis, Algiers, 35  
Tripoli ... [64, 65] Attempts had been made in preceding periods to sup-  
ply the want of internal communications, which had proved one of the  
greatest obstruction to industry, but it was not till the year 1760 that a

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regular fund was established for this purpose, by a *tax on salt*. Under Florida Blanca, this fund was increased by the produce of the posts, as well as by other resources, and his "statement" presents a picture of rapid improvement in a country where the roads u. passes were the terror of 5 travellers, and where internal circulation was impeded in all its branches. Many superb roads were constructed which might vie with the finest in Europe. Equal attention was paid to the improvement of the communications by water; in the reign of Charles III, canals were constructed which combined irrigation with the facilities of transport ... numerous 10 societies formed in the various parts of Spain, for the encouragement of agriculture u. den useful arts, the promotion of public education, u. die cultivation of literature u. science ... (*Bourgoing, Modern State of Spain.* )

Charles IV. Florida Blanca, so long as he was continued at the head of 15 the administration by Charles IV, was one of the most decided enemies of the revolution; and it was not his fault that it was not crushed at its birth ... Count D'Aranda ... "The Span, army is affected by the weakness of the government: a Span, regiment, by the side of one of any other service, appears like an assemblage of beggars. These beggars, neverthe- 20 less, are the descendants of those who once ruled in Europe, and conquered America." (*Caractère milit. des armées Européennes.*) 31 March 1793 Anfang der French Campaign gegen Spain. (General Servan.) 2'Campaign begins 20April, 1794 ... [79-86] Peace at Basle, 22 July, 1795 ... *Nelerto: «Memorias para la Historia de la Revolución Española.»* 25 ... Proclamation des Prince of Peace, d. d. 3 Oct. 1806, calling upon the Spaniards to take up arms ... (92-109)

## II.) Examination of the Internal State of Spain. (meist aus Jovellanos abgeschrieben)

### 1 ) Waste Lands.

30 Legislation finding this system firmly established, favoured it so exorbitantly as to render the waste lands the exclusive property of the flocks ... the portion of land in Spain which is left uncultivated even at the present time is immensely great. The commons are so frequent, that the traveller may go 20-40 miles, without finding a trace of culture; and the rest, 35 with the exception of a few districts, presents a languid system of inefficient husbandry ... *M. Peyron. Essai sur l'Espagne:* "but few lands, except those at the distance of a league or less from the cities and

villages, are cultivated; and it is not possible to clear such as are remote, since in some places there is not a single habitation in the space of 4-6 leagues. The first care of gov. ought to be, to fix the limits of all towns, villages, and hamlets, and, instead of suffering them to extend, to oblige them to separate. Men would then cover a great space, and the waste lands would obtain a value." 5

2) *Want of Communications.*

Deficiency of roads, canals u. bridges. The greater part of the rivers and streams were destitute of bridges. Many of the Span, rivers navigable under the Romans, through neglect the navigation had become difficult, 10 and at length impracticable. Vor Charles III Canals were unknown in Spain. The expense of land carriage increased, in an extraordinary degree, the price of produce where the point of consumption ||9| was far removed. "In 1757, though the bushel of wheat was sold in Palencia at 6 reals, its price was 22 reals in Santander, though the distance is not 15 more than 40 leagues." (*Jovellanos*).

3) *Deficiency of Irrigation.*

Except in the parts which were occupied by the Moors, the Spaniards were almost totally unacquainted with the art of irrigation. The general surface des country is uneven and mountainous; and the soil, which is 20 naturally dry, is rendered more so by the great heats which parch up the springs and streams: it is necessary, therefore, that artificial irrigation should supply the water for a large portion of the lands, which either produce nothing, or only a scanty pasture. Except the northern Provinces ... hardly any part where irrigation would not increase in a threefold 25 degree the produce of the soil. The rivers are commonly deep, and their currents rapid; it is necessary to strengthen their banks, to open deep canals, to preserve their level by means of sluices, by raising valleys, levelling hills, or boring them in order to conduct the water where it is required. Andalusia, Extremadura, great part of La Mancha u. Arragon, 30 are in this situation. Dadurch better pastures would be obtained from a 100<sup>o</sup> part of the land. In the district of Lorca, in the Kingdom of Murcia, the farmers have received a hundred for one upon their wheat, when the rains have afforded a sufficient supply of water. *Peyron*: "When we recollect that in Spain there are upwards of 150 rivers, and numerous springs 35

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in the mountains, the want of moisture in the earth must appear to proceed from the indolence of the inhabitants."

4.) *Property in Mortmain.*

Von der Masse\immense portions der entailed lands folgt der enormous  
5 price der small quantity (of land) for sale. Dieses selbst is not improved,  
as the more money is laid out in the purchase, the less remains wherewith  
to make improvement. "Entail necessarily increases with the power of  
corporations and families, because, the more they acquire, the greater  
become their means of acquisition; and as they cannot alienate what they  
10 once possess, the progress of their wealth becomes indefinite; this evil  
eventually absorbs both the great and small saleable properties, because  
the former are alone accessible to opulent bodies u. families, u. die latter,  
through a great number of competitors, are raised to a more exorbitant  
price. From these reasons the national property has fallen into the hands  
15 of a small number of individuals." (*Jovellanos*) Erster effect to separate  
cultivation from landed property, for it is not possible for the great land-  
holders to cultivate all their estates, or, if they should desire it, to per-  
form it well. Was they on their own account bebauen, immense u. con-  
sequently weak u. imperfect tillage, wie in den lands u. olivegrounds  
20 der lords or monasteries v. Andalusia; od. Luxus production. Leben  
upon the amount of their rents, all their endeavours will be directed to  
raise them, as the rents have been raised in Spain as high as possible.  
Capital daher removed not only from property but also from cultivation,  
which will become feeble in proportion to the poverty of the hands  
25 employed upon it. The rich proprietors, instead of applying their money  
to the improvement of their lands, will turn it to other purposes, like  
these grandees, nobles, and monastic bodies, who possess immense  
flocks, whilst their lands remain uninclosed, unpeopled u. imperfectly  
cultivated.

30 5.) *Ecclesiastical Entail.*

*Turquet's: History of Spain.* (French) In 1787, ausser den 95,247 monks  
u. nuns, ecclesiastics u. other persons bound to celibacy, 191,996. ...  
Die höhere weltliche Geistlichkeit act as stewards to the poor, and supply  
the place of institutions till these shall supply the place of their ministry.  
35 [111-128]

6.) *Civil Entail. Communities or Free Cities.*

During the wars with the Moors, self-preservation obliged persons of all ranks to fix their residence in places of strength ... cities were the only places which afforded a prospect of safety, by the union of numbers for mutual defence. Several of these cities, at various periods, were the capitals of little states, and enjoyed all the advantages attached to the seat of government etc. From these etc causes the number of cities in Spain at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century had become considerable, and they were peopled beyond the proportion common in other parts of Europe, except in Italy u. den Low Countries. The Moors had introduced manufactures, u. die Christians, who, by intermixture, had learned their arts, continued them. Trade in several der Span. Towns carried on mit vigour. ... Many of the inhabitants were of a rank superior to those who reside in towns in other countries in Europe; from these concurrent circumstances may be derived the extensive privileges which the cities acquired, u. die extraordinary consideration to which they attained in all the Span, kingdoms, the manufactures carried on in the towns not intended merely for home consumption; auch exported to for. countries. The maritime laws of Barcelona are the foundation of mercantile jurisprudence in modern times ... Even at the present time, the Cabildos, or municipal corporations der different cities, are proprietors of large estates, which, like those of the church, are badly managed and equally inalienable.

7) *Mayorazgos, or Private Entails.*

The *Fuero Juzgo*, which regulated the public u. private rights der nation bis 13<sup>th</sup> century, does not contain a single trace of mayorazgos; ersehen erst im 14<sup>th</sup> Jhh., dennoch rar. the Cortes of Toro at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. 3 great lords, the Dukes of Osuna, Alba, and Medina Celi, cover almost the whole province of Andalusia; and the last of these claims, by inheritance, the greater part of Catalonia ... the law of Toro made an opening, by which, in the beginning of the XVI century, all the families which could command a moderate fortune entered into nobility. ... doctrine arose that the successor of a mayorazgo is not obliged to confirm the leases granted by his predecessor... [a] lease expired with him who granted it ... Daher leases reduced to short periods ... Excepting a few provinces, the lands in Spain are generally cultivated by stewards on account of the proprietors, who never reside upon their estates ... (112-142)1

1101 8) *Absence of Inclosures.*

In Spain, the absence of inclosures, except in the immediate vicinity of the houses, is very remarkable ... A custom arising in times of confusion introduced the prohibition of inclosing the lands ... origin of this custom  
5 may be referred to that period when cultivation was rendered dangerous and uncertain by the continual presence of a ferocious enemy; when the husbandmen, forced to shelter themselves in towns, could do no more than sow and reap the produce; when the lands, exposed to frequent devastations, were neither peopled, inclosed, nor improved; and when  
10 there being nothing to preserve in the vacant fields, it was the interest of all to admit the cattle ... Woods, once formed, are capable of reproduction, without other care than that of defending them. Aber no proprietor can incur the trouble and expense of making plantations in places exposed to trespass and the devastations of cattle ... Dazu das Gesetz:  
15 oppressive ordinances which compelled them to submit to the payment of a license for cutting down a tree, to adhere to certain times and rules for felling and pruning, to sell even against their will, and always at a regulated price, and to allow of registers and official visits in which they were obliged to answer für the number u. condition of their trees. Daher a  
20 scarcity of woods, which in some provinces is enormous. *Peyron.* "Several remedies might be applied to the great sterility complained of in Spain. The first would be to plant trees. Most of the provinces are well supplied with springs, but these disappear in very hot weather. Were care taken to plant trees by the sides of rivers and streams, the effect of the  
25 sun would be considerably lessened; and were others planted in the country, rain-water would remain longer upon the earth."

9) *Partial Protection of Cultivation.*

10) *The Mesta.*

The extension of the Mesta must be attributed to the calamitous time  
30 when the Kingdom was desolated by the pestilence, which in 1347, and the 3 following years, wasted the country and swept away 2 thirds of inhabitants. Thus 4 of 5 villages were destroyed, and their territory claimed by the adjacent more fortunate ones. The great space of uncultivated land u. der want of husbandmen, encouraged both shepherds u. cattle  
35 to pass their boundaries into parts where they met no impediments to

their progress ... *Cabana real* or council of the Mesta ... privilege of the Cañadas, by which the proprietors of cultivated lands were obliged to leave a path 84 yards wide, indispensable for the existence of the travelling flocks. ... The Mesta is formed by an association of proprietors, consisting of nobles, members of rich monasteries, and ecclesiastical 5 Chapters, who feed their flocks on the waste lands. The number of the sheep has varied at different periods; Cajaleruela, schrieb 1627, complained that they were reduced from 7 to 2½ millions; Ustaritz, about the end of the XVII Jhh., stated their numbers at 4 millions; before the recent invasion der French reckoned at near 5 millions. Some der pro- 10 prietors possess only 3 or 4000 sheep, while others have 10 times that number.

*Dillon's Travels through Spain*: "The Duke of Infantado's flock contained *Sheep*, about 40,000; Countess Campo de Álense Negretti, 30,000; Convent of Guadaloupe, 30,000; Paular and Escorial convents, 60,000, 15 Marquis Perales, 30,000; Duke of Bejar 30,000. Viele flocks of 20,000 each." Each proprietor has a mayoral, or chief shepherd; and to every flock of 10,000 sheep are allotted 50 inferior shepherds. The number employed in the care of the flocks which compose the Mesta, computed at about 45 or 50,000. A supreme council was established at Madrid, 20 to take cognizance of all matters relating to sheep, wool, shepherds, pastures, woods, and to superintend the preservation der privileges der Mesta. The number der stationary sheep amounts to about 8 millions ... *The export of wool*: Vor dem Krieg v. 1793, they exported annually from Bilbao, an 20-22,000 bales of wool, most of them weighing 200 pounds, 25 and some 250 pounds each; and from St. Andero about ⅓ of this quantity. These were the 2 ports from which by far the most considerable part of the Wool of the north of Spain was exported. The quantity exported from the whole of Spain was calculated at 12,500,000 lbs.—the laws prohibiting the breaking up of pasture lands have been extorted by means 30 of the Mesta ... thus an immense extent of valuable land is retained in pasturage ... The Mesta has had great influence in the prevention of inclosures. Their shepherds crossing from Leon to Extremadura at a season when half the arable lands on their passage were in stubble, and returning when they found them fallow, began to regard the stubble and 35 fallows as one of the sources of their enormous profits; and the vexations der tribunals perpetuated the prohibition of their inclosure. The cultivated lands which lie near the route of the flocks are subject to continual trespass ... The common pastures belonging to places in the direction der route are devoured, so that the flocks stationary in the vicinity can 40 scarcely find a subsistence; and as the sheep of the Mesta are never folded

upon the arable lands, they contribute nothing towards their fertility, and are consequently unprofitable for the purposes of agriculture. ... The price of the pastures has been regulated by custom, and fixed very low, without its being in the power des proprietor to raise it. So determined  
5 unalterably the value of grass, whilst that of wool has been raised enormously. Dasselbe gilt v. den appraisements u. numerous regulations established by the laws ... The proprietors der flocks, and even the shepherds, had the power of citing all persons before the tribunals of the Mesta, whose decisions were almost always in favour of their servants.

10

11) Taxes:

*Alcavala* first introduced in 1341 u. in 1349 established throughout the dominions of Castile. It was at first a tax of 10% upon every sale or transfer of property of all descriptions, whether moveable or immoveable. A similar tax was added to the *Alcavala*, called *Cientos*, of 4%,  
15 established at 4 different periods, between 1639 u. 1644; the *Alcavala* u. *Cientos* consolidated into one imposition, amounting in the whole to 14% levied, as often as the property changes hands, not according to the prime cost, but to the selling price, and therefore constantly increasing. Ecclesiastics were exempted from the direct operation of this tax, on  
20 commodities of their own growth. |

III The *Millones* established at the end der reign of Philipp II, nach dem Scheitern der expedition gen England. Granted by the Cortes 1599, on the condition that silks of foreign manufacture should be prohibited from being introduced into the Kingdom, but this condition was not  
25 observed. It is a species of excise on wine, meat, oil, and many other articles of household consumption. The *Tercias reales* consist of the  $\frac{2}{3}$ , which were levied in 1219, from all the tithes des kingdom; granted to carry on a war against the Moors, rendered perpetual in 1487. The *ordinary u. extraordinary service*: 441,176 crowns, imposed upon  
30 all (ausser den nobles) families des kingdom. The duty was fixed ohne increase or diminution. ... Alle diese Taxen heissen *Provincial Rents*. *Andrerseits*: *Duty on stamped paper* established in 1637, with the prohibition of passing any act on common paper. Die *Media Annata*, imposed in 1631: it is the amount of half a years income from all offices, dignities,  
35 and employments in the gift der crown, levied at the time of their being conferred. *Duty upon the flocks*, as often as they entered upon, or left their pastures, at the period of their summer and winter migrations, established in 1457. It is also paid by the shepherds, who either buy or sell in



fairs, markets, or any other place. *Duty on Salt* arose from the price which the king was enabled to fix by his right of monopoly. Duties also charged on the transport of salt, which considerably raised the price in many places. *Tobacco*, royal monopoly; could only be sold at particular houses, or *Estancos*. *Las Lanzas*, duty paid by titled persons, instead of 5 20 soldiers, whom they were obliged to furnish in time of war, according to the settlement made in 1631. Ausserdem, die *taxes of the Cruzada*, or the produce of the papal bulls of indulgence, paid both in Spain and America; the duties on wool; the council of Castile, and of the military orders; the posts; the excises of Madrid, and numerous other local 10 taxes ... the revenue of the customs consisted of a duty of 15% levied at the port, upon all commodities at the time of their entry or exportation. The *provincial* taxes originally raised only in the kingdom of Castile; in Catalonia replaced by the *Cadastro*, a tax of 10% on all incomes whatever, including a contribution from day labourers, and a sum for 15 every head of cattle. In Arragon u. Majorca, the *equivalent*, a tax on each family according to his means, substituted. The clergy, besides the *Media Annata*, paid the *Mesada*, or one month's income of some benefices in the gift des king; also the *Subsidio*, the 10<sup>th</sup> upon ecclesiastical property, u. die *Benevolencia* raised from all the clergy. The payment of *pensions*, 20 amounting in some instances to  $\frac{1}{2}$ , was imposed upon *sinecure benefices* above a certain value; and other supplies were derived from *the Espolios y Vacantes*, consisting of the revenues belonging to vacant bishoprics, deaneries u. other benefices of royal or ecclesiastical patronage ... *all sav-* 25 *ings* must be regarded as free from the contributions levied on consumption. ... [143-164]

12) *Restraints on Internal Commerce.*

*The Tasas* (or assizes), valuations fixed by magistrates ... *Posturas* is another branch by which an arbitrary price is fixed upon fruits, fish, birds, and eatables ... the *assize of grain* ... There are parts where, 30 without the assistance of fruits, vegetables, fowls, eggs, milk, and such other produce, the tenant could not support the increase of rent, which has resulted partly from the dearness of lands, partly from the increase of population. *Jacob's Travels in the South of Spain*, p. 169: "An ox brought to the city for the butcher, must be first carried in the public slaughter- 35 house, where it is killed by an authorized Matador. And the hide, horns, and hoofs are his fee. The duty of *Alcavala*, another called *Millones*, and some municipal taxes, must be paid; and then a permit is issued, allowing

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the meat to be sold within the walls. These duties on meat amount to rather more than the original price; and therefore, though oxen are cheap, meat is as dear at Sevilla as in London." ... Zavala relates, that in his time, in plentiful years, proprietors sold every thing they had, and  
5 burdened their lands with annuities rather than lower the price of their corn ...

13) *Restraints on External Commerce.*

*Laborde:* "The English at one period imported most of their wine from Spain. But the exportation of Span, produce into countries inimical to  
10 Spain having been prohibited by Philipp V, during the war of succession, at the commencement of the 18'Jhh., the English had recourse to Portugal for supply, and soon gave the preference to the wines of that country." ... [171-181]

14.) *Religious Persecutions.*

15 1478 Inquisition first established in Spain at Seville ... *Verdier: History of Spain* ... [190] The plan of the expulsion der Moors of Granada began in 1502, and continued till 1557, when those who had not gone over to Africa were transferred to Castile, the Kingdom of Seville u. Estremadura ... 1566 neues Edict gen die Moors. *Neue Insurrection* ... 1613:  
20 Philip III edict of banishment of all the Moors who had remained since the final conquest ... Subsequent to the expulsion der Moors, their almost incessant depredations along the coast bordering upon the Mediterranean ... By the treaty mit den Barbary states, concluded von Florida Bianca, end put to these depredations, and to the slavery of  
25 many 1000 persons. The exportation also ceased of enormous sums of money, as their ransom u. above 300 leagues of country, on the coast des Mediterranean, forsaken from the dread of those pirates, began to be peopled.

15) *The American Colonies.*

30 Under the reigns of Charles V u. Philip II, the manufactures of Spain in the Low Countries, subject to her dominions, in a most flourishing state, whilst those of France u. England were in their infancy. When the

manufactures of Spain began to decline, and the demands of America were supplied by foreigners, the original maxims u. regulations werden schädlich ... Colonial System ... So soon after the first discovery as 1500, a decree of Ferdinand forbade the Spaniards to embark their merchandise in foreign vessels ... In the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Spain is 5 said to have possessed above a 1000 merchantships, number superior to that of any nation of Europe in that age. ... Noël, *L'Amérique Espagnole* ...In proportion as the population u. manufactures des parent state declined, the demands der colonies continued to increase. ... By a decree of Charles V, 1529, permitted vessels to sail [12] from the principal 10 ports of the North, and from Carthagen and Malaga, but ordained, under pain of death, and confiscation of property, that they should return to Seville. This restriction rendered the concession unavailing to other ports of participating in this commerce, by causing the expenses of the voyage to exceed the gains. Foreign houses established themselves 15 in Seville, under the shelter of this exclusive protection, and by means of Span, agents, carried on underhand the trade mit den colonies, of which they reaped the principal advantage. The provinces belonging to the crown of Arragon were excluded from this commerce altogether. The trade being confined to a single port, almost the whole of it was 20 gradually engrossed by a small number of wealthy houses, who were able by combinations to prevent that competition which preserves commodities at their natural price. In consequence of this, the price of Europ. goods in America was always high, and often exorbitant; a profit of 100, 200, 300% was not uncommon. The wars which Spain had to 25 maintain produced an inevitable impediment to her intercourse mit den colonies. ... Buccaneers ... Revolt der United Provinces. They intercepted in every quarter the commerce, and struck at the root of the naval strength of Spain ... *galleons*, which von 1578 were armed u. sailed under a regular escort. Spain, according to Cano, (*Arte de fabricar Naves*), 30 equipped more than 200, which sailed by divisions of from 60-70 vessels. Another source of the calamities of Spain arose from the contraband trade ... It was impossible for Seville alone to supply the whole der Indies; u. die excessive duties upon articles exported to that country, totally prevented the sale of goods at moderate prices: daher die con- 35 traband increased to such a degree, that little could be carried on in a legal manner. In 1720, the exclusive privilege of American trade was transferred from Seville to Cadiz. At the same time the duties were lowered; but, instead of 20% on exports according to their value, a settled tonnage was paid according to measurement, without consideration of 40 the quality der articles. The whole trade was carried on by galleons sail-

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ing annually to Porto Bello, for the commerce of Peru, and flotas or convoys once in 3 years, to Vera Cruz, for that of Mexico. Bad effect of the system of galleons proved by the delays arising from the difficulties of loading large ships and the necessity of waiting until all had received their cargoes, and were properly manned. Previous to 1740, the freight of the galleons was reduced to 2000 tons, instead of 15,000, at which it had been calculated at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; contraband trade had therefore swallowed up 13,000 tons in Peru and Terra Firma. The substitution of register ships in 1740, caused a considerable increase of Span, commerce: these made voyages round Cape Horn in the intervals between the sailing of periodical fleets; but their departure was restricted to the port of Cadiz. 1748, the galleons finally laid aside. But as all the register ships destined for the Southseas took their departure from Cadiz, and were compelled to return thither, this branch of the American commerce continued subject to the restraints of monopoly. ... 1764 (Charles III) appointed packets which sailed monthly from Corunna to the Havannah and Porto Rico, and every 2 months to the Rio de la Plata. Each of the packets which were vessels of some considerable burden, was allowed to take in half a cargo of Span, commodities, and to return with half a cargo of American produce. 1765, Charles III laid open the trade to the islands Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his subjects in every province of Spain. He permitted them to sail from certain ports in each province, at any season, and with whatever cargo they thought proper; and this ample privilege was soon after extended to Louisiana, and to the provinces of Yucatan and Campeachy. Nun enorm rasches Wachsen des Handels in diesen Inseln ... Dadurch industry in Spain encouraged ... The numerous and oppressive duties, imposed on goods exported to America were taken off and a moderate tax substituted of 6% on the commodities sent from Spain ... Erlaubt a more liberal intercourse of one colony with another. Edict v. 1774, granting the provinces of Peru, New Spain, Guatemala, New Granada, the privilege of a freetrade with each other. ... The towns in Spain denominated the privilege of a free trade with the Colonies granted: Cadiz and Seville, for Andalusia, Alican and Carthagena, for Valencia and Murcia; Barcelona, for Catalonia and Arragon; Santander, for Castile; Corunna, for Galicia; Gijon, for Asturias. Die Nation vermehrt so ihre vessels by 200 annually ... It is common in Spain to find a good port without any internal communication, and good roads without any seaport ... (143-228)

John Bramsen:  
Remarks on the North of Spain.

London. 1823.

Frederick the Great, conversing with his War Minister, asked him, which  
country in Europe he thought most difficult to ruin. Perceiving the 5  
minister to be rather embarrassed, he answered for him: "It is Spain; as  
its own gov. has for many years endeavoured to ruin it;—but all in vain."  
(52) "*Las Cabezas*" is the name of the village, where Riego began the  
revolution. (82) Talleyrand gefragt, auf a French Ministerial Council:  
"Que s'est passé dans ce conseil?" answered: "Trois heures." [(123)] the io  
constitutional cause finds but few partizans in the villages u. small towns  
des North of Spain; ignorant, superstitious, passive observers of the ac-  
tions of either party. Others, adverse to the pursuits of industry, connect  
themselves with the various parties of Guerillas, who hover about the  
villages, and harass travellers, by extorting from them involuntary Con- 15  
tributions, under the pretext of being badly paid by their chiefs.  
Frequently it even happens, that evil-disposed peasants, in smaller par-  
ties, armed mit muskets, infest the roads, and rob all parties without  
mercy or distinction, and under the pretence of belonging to the Fac-  
tious, exercise all the privileges of warfare. (129, 30) The feelings of sol- 20  
diers are generally regulated by the conduct of their chiefs: for those who  
blindly rush to battle, obedient only to the command of a general, will  
easily imbibe the principles that general professes to espouse! (135) |

1131 The last days of Spain etc.  
By an Eye-witness.  
London. 1823.

When, in 1819, the Continental Powers of Europe were seriously oc-  
5 cupied in extending, as much as possible, the doctrine of legitimacy,  
and the unbounded extent of absolute power, the kingdom of Spain was  
presented to nations as an admirable model for imitation, if they sought  
for happiness; and to monarchs as the *caput mortuum*, on which the  
noblest of experiments had been tried. With this view, M. de Chateau-  
10 briand published a pamphlet, in which he pretended to prove, that the  
most flourishing, the most peaceful, and the most happy nation of  
the world, was Spain ... owing to her submissive obedience to an abso-  
lute monarch, and to her being governed by priests and the Council of  
Castile ... The Russian Ambassador was certainly the most prominent  
15 character in the Court of Madrid; it was he who named the ministers,  
governed them as he chose, distributed places—who, in short, was the  
invisible head of the *Camerilla*. ... Nach Ausbruch der revolution  
v. 1820, the Pavillon Marsan (Count d'Artois) became the grand centre  
of intrigues, which soon displayed themselves in all the courts of Europe  
20 ... In Paris Lieut. Gen., Count of Espagne; M.Pons, Brigadier-Gen.  
u. other span, intriguers.... Der fzs. Gesandte zu Madrid, Prince of Laval  
de Montmorenci, räth dem fzs. Cabinet to unite mit der moderate party  
im ministry u. den Cortes, in order to put a curb to the excess of liberal  
ideas, which were the more formidable in Spain, from a disposition in the  
25 inhabitants to abandon themselves to the impetuosity of their passions.  
Soon after this, M. de Laval was observed to make a closer alliance with  
these men, overwhelm them with politeness, and shew them every mark

of benevolence and esteem. Those who were the most courted u. flattered by the French diplomatists, were the ministers Arguelles u. Canga Arguelles, u. die deputies Torreno u. Martinez de la Rosa. He was seen promenading with them in the Prado of Madrid, inviting them frequently to banquets, and affecting the most cordial u. intimate friendship with them 5  
...In *the beginning of Sept. 1820*, Riego arrived at Madrid, and the enthusiasm of the people was at its height. ... The ministry viewed this overflow of public admiration as a general calamity; and the Marquis de los Amarillas, minister of war, who since has openly professed himself a zealous partisan of absolute power, disbanded the army of la Isla ... 10  
M. Arguelles, on his part, ordered a stop to be put to popular assemblies, surrounded the houses, where they were held with soldiers, and filled the streets of Madrid with artillery. Toreno u. Martinez de la Rosa warmly supported the ministerial side ... Riego proscribed, and a report purposely spread, that he was at the head of a party which aimed at the 15  
destruction der Constitution, and the foundation of a Republic. ... Die Span, catastrophe derives its origin from this fatal period. Die ruhig Constitutionellen geängstigt, alarm created at every popular assembly, patriotic song, or slightest demonstration of effervescence, ever shewn by a nation on the recovery of its liberty. Power, when aided by this unjust 20  
prepossession, could extend its influence without control. ... the erection of a species of liberal aristocracy, the weight of which has at length overwhelmed liberty in Spain. It was considered as unbecoming in society to make the eulogium of Riego and his army; such opinions were only calculated for the rabble: the higher classes looked upon the expedition 25  
of La Isla only as an act of desperation committed by a few rash and unthinking youths, not inclined to embark in the maritime expedition to which they were destined. Restrictions were even publicly talked of, to be put upon personal liberty; Riego and his party, it was said, would exceed the boundaries of liberalism; in short, some young men were imprisoned 30  
and prosecuted, for having carried in triumph the effigy of Riego ... Kaum war die army of La Isla disbanded—the only military corps in Spain, that deserved the name of army—when were seen to appear in Castile and in the North of Spain, the first bands of the Faith. An officer whom the minister of war had lately named colonel of a constitutional 35  
corps, became chief of the revolted. ... Gen. Eguia had departed from Spain, and had entered into correspondence with the Prince (of Artois). Large sums had been sent to the Peninsula; magazines for arms u. accoutrements were raised on the frontier; 2 or 3 conspiracies had been organized in Madrid u. Burgos. ... Ferdinand delegated his Power, 40  
als Représentant seiner person im Pavillon Marsan, to M. *Navarro*

*Sangran*—a Span, general, who had sided mit Napoléon u. after dessen abdication, settled at Paris. The treasurer of the palace, M. Terrones, received orders to place 25,000 piasters at the disposal of M. Navarro. ... At the time when these intrigues were carrying on, *the party which called*  
5 *itself liberal* was preparing others. The ministry had drawn on itself the hatred of the people, and that of the King; its fall therefore inevitable; aber ihre party in den Cortes were unwilling to lose their authority, being conscious of the sweets that attended it. the principal chiefs of this party could not themselves be ministers, because the Constitut. allowed not the  
10 joint discharge der 2 functions. The legislature was still to remain in force during some months; it was determined, therefore, to create a ministry which should only continue in power during this period; after which the dismissed deputies, who were at the head of the intrigue, should place themselves at the head of gov., having thereby every means in their  
15 power to carry on their enterprises. Mit dem fzs. Gesandten zusammen connected a ministry Pelegrin (formerly a member des Council of Castile, entirely devoted to the Holy Alliance) Bárdaji, (diplomatists connected mit den heads der foreign cabinets) Feliu (subtle u. artful intriguer, venal) ... a ministry was, to the great astonishment der nation named, which  
20 contained not a single individual attached to the new institutions, or who had not figured as an agent of despotism in the former government. The ministry soon began to execute the conditions secretly stipulated between them and the individuals who had proposed them. The persecution des truly liberal enforced; a veil was cast over all the conspiracies that had  
25 burst forth in the Peninsula, the authors of which were nearly all imprisoned, the army was dissatisfied; places given to men known for their hatred of the prevailing system ... irritation general, necessary to dissolve the ministry. But measures were so well taken, that the ministry was dissolved only at the period of the close der session, precisely when the  
30 deputies that came out of office could already be ministers. The king dismissed die ministers 48 hours before the opening der new Cortes ... The Chief of the Royal Guard, a grandee of Spain—Castro Torreño—strongly attached to the servile cause, had had secret intelligence mit der moderate party der former Cortes, especially his chief M. Martinez de la  
35 Rosa. Each party mutually imagined itself deceiving the other. Rosa u. his party aimed at a modification der Constitution, wished for an upper house; absolute veto in order to flatter the King; restrictions der Press. ||14| At midnight, his Maj. ordered Castro Torreno to fetch Martinez de la Rosa in one of the royal carriages. M. de la Rosa presented  
40 himself before the King, as a man who sacrificed his principles and opinions to the good of his country. Machte, artfully, als wolle er den Posten



nicht annehmen, "yielded with reluctance". He accepted the ministry of For. Affairs, and filled up the vacant places, by nominating 6 ex-deputies, who, he well knew, would slavishly execute his intentions. Um ihre Constitutions modification zu erhalten, wonach sich die moderate an der Spitze zu behaupten können meinte, free loose was to be given to the servile 5 party; all conspiracies were to be winked at, and confusion was to be suffered to reign in the state, in order, afterward, by the assistance of foreign power, to introduce order, and give the nation an aristocratical charter, capable of perpetuating power and influence in the original promoters ... secret society formed, the society of *T Anillo*, the members of 10 which were to act conjointly mit dem ministry, u. afterward obtain the first places of the State. Dem Rex wurde zu verstehen gegeben (was made to understand) that, by means of the changes that were about to be introduced in the actual system, H. M. would possess a more extensive power, the tranquillity des state would be secured, the For. Powers 15 approve of institutions which actually existed in France, and which had enabled Louis XVIII to do what he chose mit dem French people. Nun wechselt der fzs. Hof Gesandte. Statt des Prince Laval nach Madrid Count *Lagarde*, a man who had displayed his talents in operations of police. Round this new diplomatist, all the chiefs der interior conspiracy 20 ranged themselves: he, on his part, cajoled u. flattered Martinez de la Rosa, caused him to send als plenipotentiary minister nach France den Count of Casa Irujo (open partisan of despotism), replete with that demitalent of intrigue so essential in this species of entreprises. The Count was sent to Paris, wo er presented himself at the Pavilion Marsan as a 25 man initiated into all its mysteries etc ... Money plentifully scattered among the Royal Span. Guard; a few officers zugleich gained over, who were supposed deserving a direct participation. Diese corrupt distributions dem ministry von several zealous inhabitants denunciirt (durch die municipal police); sie ridiculed these informations, by treating them as 30 symptoms of radicalism u. republicanism. The canons of several cathedrals, and particularly those of Siguenza, a province bordering on that of Madrid, distributed also among the people considerable sums of money. The regiment der Royal Cuirassiers that was in Andalusia was completely seduced; alarming reports were spread in the different provinces, 35 hither were sent political chiefs, all members der society of Anillo; u. die tribunals received secret instructions to treat mit great indulgence all conspirators that might fall under their juridical power. The object of all these proceedings to excite an explosion at Madrid, which was to coincide with another at Valencia. Elio was a prisoner in this town. He was to 40 put himself at the head der Countre-revolution in the eastern part of

Spain. The garrison of Valencia composed of only 1 regiment, greatly attached to Elio, and hostile, therefore, to the constitutional system. The deputy Beltran de Lis, well acquainted with the secret aim of this combination, publicly upbraided, in the assembly der Cortes, the minister of war, for allowing such dangerous elements to exist, in so important a part der Peninsula, and entreated him to withdraw from Valencia, a body of soldiers, whose political principles were so well known. The minister was inflexible. ... The day appointed for the explosion was the last day of May, the feast of San Ferdinand. The Court was then at Aranjuez. Signal  
10 was given. Cries were shouted of "Long live our absolute Monarch—Down with the Constitution". Aber die outrages der troops soon repressed by the zeal of Gen. Zayas, failure served only to rouse the enthusiasm of Madrid, and the other principal towns. The Court returned to Madrid, and the servile faction continued their manoeuvres, while the ministry  
15 persisted in their (absichtlichen) lethargy. On all sides, the true liberals prepared for self-defence. Universal agitation was at its height; ministers alone remained passive spectators in the midst des confused noise that announced an approaching storm. General Morillo had just arrived from Terra Firma, where he had rendered himself notorious for his ferocity,  
20 want of probity, and fratricidal war, which he carried on mit fanatical enthusiasm. On his return he remained a few days at Paris, where he connected himself mit several personages, who openly ranged themselves on the side of oppression. The ultra journals of Paris were incessantly occupied in signalizing this man, as one of those who were to restore the  
25 king to his ancient rights, and destroy the influence der Cortes. Gen. Morillo appointed head-commander der city u. province of Madrid. Ausserdem das ministry lavished on him the strongest expressions of deference and respect. It was apparently this nomination which the servile party waited for all the month of June had been employed by them to prepare  
30 for this fresh eruption. In the meantime the King had associated to himself several abettors, the Duke de l'Infantado, the Marquis de las Amarillas, the Marquis de Castellar etc. These personages, as grandes of Spain had a numerous body of dependants etc. ... On the 1 July, the King was to go and prorogue the Cortes in person. On his return from  
35 this ceremony, the battalions of the guard, which were on duty at the palace, cheered him with loud cries of "Long live our absolute monarch—Down mit der Constitution". The people loudly expressed their dissatisfaction; the guards immediately fired on the assembled multitude; einer ihrer liberal officers, Landabura, assassinated von ihnen im palace  
40 court. Confusion was now at its height; the battalions des palace openly declared themselves, they closed the gates der royal residence u. shut

themselves in mit dem King u. his family. Der rest der garrison u. die national guard, were put under arms, to defend the public liberties etc., the patriots der city rushed to arms; the eminent conspirators took refuge in the palace. On this day the ministers continued going to the palace, which was the focus of rebellion, to expedite their affairs, as they would 5 have done in times der greatest tranquillity. Gen. Morillo was nominated commander der Royal guard; so that, being at once commander der garrison, u. der national guard, he was actually at the head of 2 armies hostile to each other. The other battalions der guard, that had remained stationary at their posts, neither ||15| joined the garrison, nor their com- 10 rades des palace. During the whole of this u. des following day, they gave striking proofs of insubordination u. revolt. They drew out lists of the officers of their corps, whose sentiments were in opposition to their own, and whom they intended to massacre that very day; on the approach of evening, at the usual hour of inspection, they took up their arms, and 15 under the orders of those officers who were in the plot, went to station themselves at Pardo, a small village within 2 leagues of Madrid, where they destroyed the Constitutional emblems, and proclaimed the King absolute monarch. During the 5 following days, Madrid presented an extraordinary spectacle. The King, blockaded in his palace, and sur- 20 rounded by drunken military, who spurned at all lawful subordination; the palace itself besieged by the Constitutional army, and the patriots who had taken to arms; the ministers going backwards u. forwards to the palace, as in ordinary times; Morillo giving orders, as chief commander, at one time to the legitimate troops, at another, to the rebellious soldiers; 25 the conspirators des palace preparing for the solemnity der installation des absolute monarch, and making out a list der Constitutionals that were to be immediately condemned to execution;—such was the condition der capital... The rebel chiefs of Pardo occasionally sent deputies to the government, and the permanent session der Cortes, who received 30 them as ambassadors from a foreign power. At the same time, Morillo paralyzed, with astonishing address, all the measures taken by the patriots etc. He would not even allow a single patrol, guard or sentinel, to be placed at the gates of the city ... During the night of the 6<sup>th</sup> u. 7<sup>th</sup> July, the rebels made an attack upon the capital. Some bands der 35 rebels attacked mit fury the Constitutional troops. The national guard of Madrid gained immortal glory. After a few hours, the rebels were repulsed on all sides mit considerable loss; they left the streets of Madrid strewed with dead bodies. Those who escaped death took refuge in the palace, with the other revolted battalions who had not quitted their post. 40 The ministers, during the course of this night, experienced a very convinc-

ing proof of the treachery der party which they had abetted u. encouraged. Towards evening they were all at the palace in their respective offices; on receiving the first account der attack, they wished to retire to their homes, but were stopped by the sentinels at the palace gate. Having  
5 called the officer upon duty, he replied, that he had received orders not to suffer them to leave the palace, and that they were to consider themselves as prisoners, or as hostages. They sent a deputation to the King, who returned them word, that it was no business of his. They consequently were obliged to trace their steps back to the foreign office, and on their  
10 way were insulted by the soldiers of the guard, u. the domestics des palace. V The rebels afterward declared, that if they had overcome, the ministers should have been led from the palace to the scaffold. The morning of the 7<sup>th</sup> was spent in inactive surmises of astonishment u. surprise, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the patriots attacked the guards des palace. The latter,  
15 seeing themselves closely pressed, escaped through a private passage: but when they gained the open country, the national guards fell upon them, and killed or took them prisoners. The triumph was now complete, and the King received, with a smiling countenance, the congratulations addressed to him for his happy deliverance, by the constituted authorities  
20 u. der public dignitaries. The liberals drew no advantages from their victory. They merely contented themselves mit abolishing the ministry, placing the King under the inspection der National guard, u. commencing proceedings against the principal chiefs der revolt, fallen into their hand. Aber diese judicial proceedings so geleitet v. dem presiding judge, that the  
25 guilty were instigated rather than prevented to commit fresh crimes; opposit at liberty they who had put into action the secret springs of intrigue, the Duke of Infantado, der Prince of Santo Mauro, Don Isidoro Montenegro u. several others. The former dieser grandees had even permission to reside for some time in Gallicia where he possesses very extensive  
30 estates u. daher exercises an unbounded influence, die captains of the guard etc. who had commanded to fire etc. blos angeklagt als having committed an act of military insubordination. Only one foreign officer put to death u. 2 soldiers, als assassins of Landabura. Morillo nun v. s. Posten entsetzt, obtained permission to retire to his country-house.  
35 Er machte sich auf den Weg nach Portugal. Verhaftet v. einem alcade of a village. Ministry ordered to set him at liberty. Nun *Ministry der 7patriots*. Don *Evaristo de San Miguel*, a young colonel, who had been chief of the staff in Riego's army, was named minister for foreign affairs, and became the acting member des whole cabinet. Elio was, in  
40 the mean time, put to his trial at Valencia, condemned to death; executed in the middle of a city which he had governed, during several years.

The events of the 7<sup>th</sup> July at Madrid was traversing Europe. Already had the troops of the Faith inundated die southern provinces. A shadow of countre-revolutionary Gov. was raised in the mountains of Catalonia. Ferdinand invested the members mit full power to govern in his name, ihren Chief, Gen. Eguia, a fanatic of 80 years of age, and a veteran in the 5 career of conspiracy. ... *Congress of Verona*. The first Spaniard who presented himself there, *Don José Alvarez de Toledo*, a noted intriguer, first a deserter from the Roy. Span. Marine, then leader der insurgents at Mexico afterwards speaking member der liberal clubs of Madrid ... Dann kam der *Count d'Espagne* als representative of Ferdinand, (alter 10 fzs. Emigré) ... It is worthy of notice that the Count d'Espagne acted in all this affair, in concert with the Marquis de *Casa Irujo*, ambassador from the constitutional gov. of Spain to the Fr. court ... France's first step was to establish on the frontier, a formidable army which assumed the name of *Cordon Sanitaire*. *Evaristo de San Miguel* exacted, in a very 15 feeble manner, an explanation from France. The Fr. cabinet replied, of course, by the most positive assurances of friendship, uprightness of intention etc. the yellow fever at Barcelona wäre der einzige Grund der Aufstellung der army ... The ministers slumbered on the border of the precipice; nothing was done to extricate the army from the fatal disorder, 20 into which the previous ministry had left it; the strong places were dismantled: no steps were taken to restore them. The national army of the interior required arms, u. none were given; in short, instead of making preparations to arrest the overwhelming torrent that approached mit an alarming rapidity, the ministry were only occupying themselves with 25 party quarrels, ridiculous intrigues, u. distributing places of trust to their numerous dependents. Thus, with the exception der army of Catalonia, commanded by Mina, not one effective body of troops was opposed to the army des Faith, which already ||16| occupied an extensive territory in several provinces der Peninsula ... *Evaristo de San Miguel* maintained, 30 with the greatest air of confidence, that the *Cordon Sanitaire* was only what it professed to be, and that it ought not to excite the slightest suspicion to the friends of liberty. Andere fault for which *San Miguel* and his colleagues rendered themselves answerable. It was at this epoch that the famous *O'Donnell*, count de *Γ Abisbal*, who lived in a remote village, 35 doomed to the contempt of all parties, was called to Court for the purpose of exercising the important office of *Inspector Gen. der Infantry*. Which blind infatuation!—*Henry O'Donnell* is the son of an Irishman who served mit distinction in an Irish regiment in Span. pay. Zur Zeit der Rückkehr Ferdinands nach Spain: *Abisbal* was at too great a 40 distance from the road which the King was to pursue, to enable him to

observe his motions, u. regulate his conduct according to that of the monarch. In order to obviate this inconvenience, he sent an officer of his staff with 2 letters to the King, who had stopped for a few days at Valencia. In one, on the supposition that he would take the oath to agree to the  
5 Constit., Abisbal made a pompous eulogy of this political code etc. In the other he represented the system itself as a scheme of anarchy u. confusion, congratulated him on his exterminating it, and offered himself and army to oppose the rebels, demagogues, u. enemies des throne u. altar. The officer delivered this second despatch, which was cordially received  
10 by the monarch ... Cadiz had loudly disapproved the King's conduct after his return. Doch, to put it down, Abisbal appointed vom Hof Capt. Gen. of Cadiz, with very extensive authority over all branches of administration. Abisbal, in a city, which had been the theatre of his devotedness to the Constitutional cause, invented crimes, punished ohne  
15 examination etc. He afterward persuaded the King u. gov., that by the firmness of his character, u. devotedness to the royal cause, he had prevented most alarming convulsions etc ... Recalled afterward at Madrid: loaded vom Hof mit honours; vom people mit no less equivocal marks of hatred u. contempt; he received some years after, the command of an  
20 expedition, which was to second the ferocious views of Morillo in America, and who was assembling his troops in the environs derselben city of Cadiz. In dieser army hörte er nur expressions of execration u. disgust gegen a fratricidal war u. den internal despotism. The discontent der army in accordance mit der public opinion at Cadiz. Several colonels  
25 determined to shake off the yoke u. to proclaim the Constit. of 1812. Darunter Quiroga, O'Daly, Arco Agüero, Lopez Baños etc. Abisbals conduct became now more u. more conciliating. Overtures ihm daher gemacht, um ihm das command der grand operation anzuvertrauen, (the army which he commanded, was the only military body of troops on foot  
30 in Spain.) Abisbal appeared influenced by this perspective. Sie sollten in ihren preparations fortfahren. When every thing should be ready, they had only to inform him, he would instantly put himself at the head der troops u. proclaim the Constitutional Gov. The chiefs der conspiracy, in conjunction with him, fixed fur July 9, 1819, the day on which a general  
35 review der expeditionary troops was to take place, u. in the midst of this act, the grand blow to be struck. Everything was ready für den appointed day. At the hour of the review Abisbal appeared in the midst der troops; but, instead of keeping to his word, he ordered the conspiring regiments to be disarmed, sent Quiroga u. die other chiefs to prison u. despatched  
40 a courier to Madrid, vaunting of having anticipated the most horrible of crimes, and the most alarming of catastrophes. He received, as a reward,

promotion u. decorations; but the Court, having obtained information of what was going forward, deprived him of the command der army, u. ordered him to proceed to the capital. On his return to Madrid, he lived in contempt u. obscurity. Was at Madrid January 1820, zur Zeit der Insurrection der Isla de Leon; was summoned to the King, to oppose the 5 expedition of Riego. Er not only offered to take arms against Riego, but even to annihilate his little army, and seize on his person. He demanded the command of certain troops cantoned in the province of La Mancha, u. money für his personal necessities. The king himself gave him a purse of gold u. sent the requisite orders for the troops of La Mancha to be put 10 under his immediate command. Abisbal left Madrid in the evening des-selben Tages, accompanied by some young military officers, known für the enlargement of their liberal principles. On his arrival at La Mancha, he put himself at the head of the troops cantoned in that province, and proclaimed the Constit. The news of this event roused the public spirit of 15 Madrid, where the revolution burst forth immediately on the intelligence of this event ... Aber wurde nicht getraut. Zog sich daher in village zurück, whence he was recalled by the ministry of San Miguel, as Inspector Gen. of the Infantry. Scarcely had he entered into his new office, when the Chief der Royalists, Bessieres presented himself at 20 Madrid, at the head of a considerable army. After a month (Abisbal could never come up with him, always pursuing him) consumed in marches u. countermarches, Bessieres disappeared u. Abisbal returned to Madrid with his little army, harassed by fatigue, discouraged u. discontented\_\_\_The *Cordon Sanitaire* was now metamorphosed into an army of 25 observation, u. das ministry persisted in their credulity u. supineness. When the danger approached, the Cortes quitted Madrid with the King u. dem ministry. Madrid was delivered up to Abisbal, who re-united in his person all political power both civil u. military. 50,000 piastres were the recompense of his own inactive cowardice. His army was too small to 30 defend Madrid, aber er konnte retreat into a bordering province u. form a point of resistance ... Morillo had received the command der 4<sup>th</sup> army of operations. The territory of his command extended from Castile to Galicia ... He acted in such a manner that Galicia, on which the liberals had most fully relied, was soon the theatre of anarchy u. confusion. 35 Concealed geschickt his treacherous part. Während er an die chiefs under his orders u. an Galicia, bei his entrance, pompous proclamations breathing enthusiasm for liberty etc. zu der Zeit er war bereits gained over to the Fr. party, to whom he had engaged to deliver Galicia. Ergriff die opportunity when the Cortes in their journey from Seville to Cadiz sus- 40 pended for a few days the king's exercise of his functions. He nun openly

declared that he would not submit to the new authorities. Acting in conjunction with all the servile party in Galicia, he opened the gates dieser province to the French, and placed himself under the orders of Gen. Bourke. 3<sup>d</sup> act of treachery, still more scandalous ... *Gen. Ballastews*, when placed at the head of an army of 20,000 men, at the gates of Andalusia, through which the |

[17] *solapar acotar disfraz.*

French were to pass, in order to penetrate to Cadiz, he entered into capitulation ... Zugleich, das new ministry installed at Seville, recalled 10 Quiroga v. Galicia, wo required his presence. Pampeluna, which was in a formidable state of defence, mit 500 pieces of cannon ready mounted, a numerous u. brave garrison, with provisions sufficient für several years, capitulated without firing a shot. The commander der town obtained permission to remove secretly out of the town u. introduce into France, 15 a tilted waggon, which was to pass un visited u. unexamined. The impregnable city of Figuières followed the same example and was imitated in its turn by several other strong forts. The troops, now betrayed by their chiefs, fled before the enemy: and gold, which preceded their march into every province, gained over all hearts, and removed every obstacle that 20 lay in their way ... share that corruption exercised in the fall of Cadiz, a city which was enabled to resist, for several years; it is known for a fact, that Mr. Belin, clerk to a noted Jew banker of London, established himself at Seville, where he had received several millions from that firm, which has performed so active a part in political transactions. ... 25 Pecuniary corruption, which never hitherto took but a secondary u. ignoble share in political transactions, now becomes the main instrument, by means of which the most important changes in the fate of nations are to be effected. (1-55.)



La España Bajo el Poder Arbitrario  
de la Congregación Apostólica,  
ó Apuntes Documentados para la Historia  
de este Pais desde 1820 á 1832.

2ª edición. Paris. 1833.

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(Pedro Urquinaona)

(7 März 1820 Constit.-Regierung)

Calomarde, el corifeo de la Congregación. (IX) Tiempo hace que la España sufre una serie casi no interrumpida de convulsiones mas ó menos violentas, pero siempre producidas por el contraste del bien público con el temporal del clero. (1) «Mis vasallos acostumbrados á vivir bajo leyes sabias, moderadas y adaptadas á sus usos y costumbres, y que por tantos siglos habían hecho felices á sus antepasados, dieron bien pronto pruebas públicas y universales del desprecio, desafecto y desaprobación del régimen constitucional, viendo señalada en él su miseria y desventura.» (Ferdinand VII Manifest v. 1 Oct. 1823 publicado en el Puerto de Santa Maria.) Aber derselbe *Ferdinand* hatte gestanden in s. Décret v. 1 Juni 1817: «Que los gastos habían excedido en tal cantidad á los productos de las rentas, que había sido preciso echar mano de los fondos particulares, *arruinados* los establecimientos mercantiles; que no bastando aquellos, se creó papel moneda en abundancia extraordinaria; que se pusieron en venta los bienes mas sagrados: que el Estado se sobrecargó inútilmente con capital y réditos de estos bienes vendidos; que la deuda

creció hasta lo sumo; y que el *descrédito*, como era natural, *acompañaba á todas las operaciones del gobierno*, cuyos pagos momentáneos y ordinarios se cumplían con los fondos destinados al interés y consolidación de aquella; que así llegó la España á verse sin recursos y sin fuerzas: que las tropas, dignas por su conducta del agradecimiento de la nación y de S. M., padecían grandes escaseces, desprovistas de los utensilios necesarios á su comodidad: que los cuarteles se hallaban desmantelados; que los pueblos y los particulares sufrían la carga penosa de alojamientos y bagages; que se ejecutaban esacciones perjudiciales y de gran tamaño; que la marina real carecía de lo mas preciso, que los magistrados y casi todos los empleados públicos veían pasar los días y los meses, sin recibir poco ó nada de sus cortas dotaciones, necesitando de todos los auxilios de la virtud para resistir á la falta de todo y á los ataques de la miseria en que miraban envueltas sus familias; que el sistema de la administración era ruinoso, falto de equidad, é incapaz de estension; que las esacciones con que se vejaba á los pueblos eran gravosas, irregulares y desmedidas; que importando 597,126,987 reales los valores totales de las rentas de la corona, y los gastos actuales 1051,077,640 resultaba la falta de 453,950,653 reales que no podían exigirse del pueblo en general, ni de sus clases en particular.» Vorher in den reales órdenes v. 1 März u. 11 April (1817), ersteres gerichtet an die Dirección de rentas u. 2\* an das Ministerio der Hacienda: «que las rentas de la corona en lugar de aumentarse sufrían notable disminución en las provincias de Madrid, Cádiz, Barcelona y otras ricas y populosas; y que nadie cumplía con lo que se le mandaba.»

Ferdinand, spricht auch in diesen Decreten v. «el entorpecimiento de la administración pública» u. der justicia; «las trabas de la agricultura, comercio, industria», die «dilapidaciones» etc

Décret v. 24 Nov. 1819: «las miserias que se agolpaban á sus oídos sin dar lugar las unas á las otras; el *desorden completo* de la Real Hacienda ... la multitud de solicitudes de los pueblos que se quejaban de su gravamen.» Décret v. 28 Febr. 1820: «que S. M. había oído los clamores de muchos pueblos, quejándose de la desigualdad en el repartimiento de las contribuciones y de los apremios extraordinarios con que se les molestaba y disponiendo que se propusieran á S. M. los medios para que la administración fuese pura y sencilla, y no ocupase aquel sin número de empleados que por tanto tiempo habían estado y aun estaban defraudando los brazos de la agricultura, comercio y artes.» [9-11] (En los antiguos fueros de *Sobrarve*: jura dicere regi nefas esto, nisi adhibito subditorum Consilio. Ebenso *ibid.*: «Bellum aggredi, pacem inire, inducías agere, remve aliam magni momenti pertractare, caveto rex, praeterquam seniorum annuente consensu.» Ebenso König gezwungen zu

schwören die doce ricos-hombres que representaban lo reino: «Nos que somos tanto como vos os hacemos rey, á condición que nos hayades de guardar los nuestros Fueros; é si non, non.» Daher das *privilegio de la union* para hacer frente al rey y precisarle por la fuerza á complir lo jurado. ... «todo prueba que la libertad es institución antigua y santa, y el despotismo moderno y profano.» [283-285] 7März 1820, *Décret*; worin S. M. anunciaba haberse decidido á jurar la Constitución de 1812: «Le Marchemos francamente y yo el primero por la senda constitucional.» Auch *Don Carlos* bei dem Schwören der Truppen auf die Constit.: «Soldados, el acto solemne con que á vista de vuestras banderas habéis declarado la mas firme adhesion á la Constit. política de la monarquía, os ha impuesto grandes obligaciones, al mismo tiempo que os ha abierto una brillante carrera donde alcanzéis gloria immortal. ... he aquí lo que el rey espera de vosotros y de lo que promete *daros ejemplo* vuestro campanero de armas.» ... Dann gibt dieser Don Carlos ein exposición dem König «que para este fin me ha dirigido la brigada de Carabineros, m. denen er s. votos verbindet, felicitando à V. M. con el mas vivo entusiasmo por la magnánima resolución que ha tenido, al oír los clamores de la nación y darla su felicidad y gloria». [14-16] |

[18] pendilla (pendule) *pandilla* (league, complot) *pandilla*. *Cizaña*. paroissien défense abri, remise *feligrés*. *Cuchillo*

*Cuenta resguardo. remesa, bermejo*

Cayo, dies System, como era natural, al leve impulso que produjeron los sucesos ocurridos en la ciudad de San Fernando, sin otro principio que el interés personal de las tropas, enseñadas en el año de 1814 á separarse y destruir el gobierno establecido. (19) Die neuen Cortes retableten in sus primeras sesiones los decretos de las anteriores sobre la *supresión de prebendas* y otras piezas eclesiásticas; abolición del Santo Oficio; voto de Santiago; reforma de monacales y enagenacion de sus bienes, para atender con sus ventas y productos al alivio de los contribuyentes y á las necesidades del erario; debilitando al mismo tiempo la fuerza eclesiástica. (20) Nach *Canga Arguelles* die rentas anuales der catedrales: 130,163,865 reales ... 1747 die Zahl der eclesiásticos in Spain 137,627, while, in 1826, nach dem computo de Minano 127,345, also in 79 J. baja v. 10,282, was nichts ist in Anbetracht der conventos demolidos en la guerra con Napoleon u. der frühern Expulsion der Jesuiten (27 Febr. 1767); ließen desiertas 39 provincias, 24 casas profesas, 669 colegios, 61 noviciados, 176 seminarios, 335 residencias, 228 casas en que residían los 22,787 individuos de ella, según el catálogo remitido á Roma en 1762. 2 J. nach diesem zählten sich in Spanien 18,106 parroquias ... 15,639 curas u. 50,048 beneficiados, 2005 conventos con 55,453 frailes

y 1029 monasterios m. 27,665 monjas sobre la escasa población de 9,308,804 almas. El *Correo literario* de Madrid presentando el estado de 1830 dice que hay en España 62 obispos, 2,393 canónigos, 1869 racioneros, 16,481 párrocos, 4929 tenientes, 17,411 beneficiados, 18,669 ordenados de mayores, 9088 de menores, 15,015 sacristanes, 3927 sirvientes, 24,007 monjas y 61,727 frailes que en 1<sup>o</sup> de marzo de 1822 eran 16,310 según la Memoria del secretario de Gracia y Justicia Don Nicolás Garely, resultando en 8 años el aumento de 45,417 frailes y los consiguientes perjuicios á la población, agricultura, comercio y artes. (294)

10 *Consejo de Castilla, 1 Feb. 1619*, sagt zu Philip III, in Bezug auf die Nothwendigkeit de poner «límite en el número de religiosos ... ausserdem, weil relaxation der Sitten in den Klöstern, por recibirse en ellas muchas personas, que mas se entran huyendo de la necesidad y con el gusto y dulzura de la ociosidad, que por la devoción que á ello les mueve» ... In

15 demselben Aktenstück Klage über das Wachsthum der *heiligen* Güter «con que se empobrece el estado de los seculares, cargando el peso de tantas obligaciones sobre ellos.» [30,31] *21 Juni 1828* Enciclica des päbstl. Nunzius in Madrid, v. der Regierung selbst in der Gesetzsammlung publicirt, worin in Antwort auf die Bitte des secretano de Estado y

20 del despacho don Manuel Gonzalez Salomon, «se sirviera prevenir al clero la observancia de las leyes del reino, y dar su permiso apostòlico para que los empleados del resguardo pudiesen registrar las iglesias y conventos, convertidos en sementeras de tabaco, en depósito de géneros y efectos clandestinos y en guaridas de contrabandistas; y para que los

25 dependientes de la Real hacienda reconocieran en las puertas de las ciudades los carros y equipages de los clérigos, del mismo modo que se registran los de todo vecino ó traficante sujeto á las órdenes generales», der Nuncio tuvo la bondad de acceder con las restricciones que le plugo dictar. (44, 45) males, cuya progresión ha hecho del territorio español

30 una colonia del clero. (45)

Die Cortes daher proveyeron y fomentaron el desestanco de sus bienes (eclesiásticos), la circulación de sus rentas y la secularización de los conventuales. (1. c.) *Décret der Cortes v. 26 October 1820*, wonach die Ärmern eximirt vom Zahlen derechos en las curias (für dispensa matrimonial), como lo están y han estado siempre en los juzgados y tribunales civiles; *ley v. 17 April 1821* (sanctionirt v. Ferdinand 15 May), en que las Cortes interceptaron el oro y la plata que salía para Roma [46] für dispensas matrimoniales, relajación de votos, indulgencias, reliquias, oratorios domésticos, bulas de composición y otros indultos y gracias

40 apostólicas consignando á su Santidad por vía de ofrenda voluntaria 9000 pesos fuertes cada año ... derartige disposiciones produjeron die

Opposition der Pfaffen y el choque con todas sus fuerzas auxiliares, que destacaron las guerrillas de los *Merinos*, *Antones* y *Trapenses* á vindicar con la espada de san Pablo el dinero que ya no podían guardar las llaves de san Pedro. (47) Sie empezaron su cruzada por degollar á sangre fria á un oficial y 8 soldados del regimiento de voluntarios de Cataluña, que sorprendieron den 29 May 1821 en el sagrado monasterio de Arlanza. (47) El Ocho (padre capuchino in 1822-3) enviado nannte sich de Dios para esterminar á los francmasones. (51) *Don Javier Burgos*, sub-prefecto de Almería, nombrado por José Bonaparte en pago de haber vendido al General Sebastiani la confianza y efectos que recibió de la Junta de Sevilla; *periodista* en el gobierno constitucional; commensal perenne todos los jueves y domingos de Zea, Revenga y Echevarría, emisarios de la república de Colombia; (damals 1823, Juli gegen die Pfaffen etc. constituer!) *intendente* de la creación de 1824; miembro de la Real Junta de Fomento y riqueza del reino; enviado á Paris para acreditarla (en compañía del presbitero Minano y del banquero Aguado) negociando empréstitos que los enriquecieron, arruinándonos; *propietario de casas y haciendas* compradas seit 1823 etc. (54, 55) Las Cortes habían comunicado al ministerio de Gracia y Justicia la orden v. 30 April 1821, previniendo que se ecsigiese la responsabilidad á los arzobispos y obispos de Bura, Calahorrgos, de Osma, Avila y demás, que habiendo jurado observar y sostener la Const, política, no dieron parte al gobierno de que algunos párrocos de aquellas diócesis, abandonando sus iglesias, andaban en las cuadrillas de facciosos convertidos en lobos de sus ovejas y en enemigos públicos del Estado etc.» (58) ... *Montlosier* ... Unter dem Schutz des *Cardinal Fesch* erscheinen die Jesuiten in Frankreich wieder bajo el nombre de *Padres de la Fé* u. stifteten 1808 die *Congregación de la Virgen*. ... Geh. Décret des Congress v. Verona d. d. november22, 1822 (nach den Julitagen in Paris veröffentlicht aus dem Archiv der affaires étranger): 1) Die Mächte verbinden sich à reunir sus esfuerzos *para poner fin al gobierno representativo en cualquier punto donde pueda ecsistir* en Europa. 2) Alle Mittel zu ergreifen, in ganz Europa die Preßfreiheit zu unterdrücken. 3) Ueberau die Strebungen des Clerus zu unterstützen. Art. 4, 5, 6 beziehen sich auf Spanien u. Portugal. (65-7) Der canónigo *Don Victor Saez* ... I

[19] *bacas, becerros, baca* (rupture d'un canal) *becerro* (veau, registres de chapitres)

esparrago. tagarnina. chupar. eslabón. sayal.  
*asperge* petit chardon. sucer. chañon, fusil. bure.  
5 scorpion.

alpargata.  
chaussure de talleres. chevalerie,  
chanvre ou de corde. boutique et  
atelier, école

10 Conciliábulo ... (junta secreta de Estado) worin varios eclesiásticos, dar-  
unter Don José Salomé; ihr Hauptgeschäft: la formación de un padrón  
en que apareciesen clasificados con nombres, apellidos, empleos ú ocu-  
paciones, todos los que pertenecieron á sociedades secretas de masones,  
comuneros etc ... Diseses das libro verde en todas las secretarías del  
15 despacho. ... ecsoneracion de todos los empleados ... *Décret v. 7 Nov.*  
*1823 u. 8 März 1824*: los individuos del resguardo militar, acreditados en  
la anterior campaña de la independencia, quedaron depuestos con pre-  
vención de que ni aun interinamente volviesen á sus destinos, por haber  
cumplido las órdenes del gobierno que reconocieron y juraron mit dem  
20 rey etc.

*Décret v. 13 Juli. 1823* (24!): Mandóse despojar de sus propiedades á  
los regidores hereditarios que hubiesen dado, *muestras de adhesion* al  
sistema Constitucional, ersetzt durch v. Pfaffen vorgeschlagnes *Décret*  
*v. 26 Oct. 1823*: Dispúsose no proveer empleos, sino *en los amantes* de  
25 S. M. ... declaráronse nulas las provisiones posteriores al *7 de Marzo de*  
*1820*. ... Durch *Décret v. 31 Dec. 1823*: se extinguieron todos los depósitos  
militares creados por las Cortes en el decreto v. 13 März, 1814. ... Durch  
*Real cédula v. 17 October 1824* se derribaron las leyes fundamentales de  
la monarquía, insertas hasta en la Novísima y escamoteada recopilación  
30 de Castilla bajo el *título*: «Del gobierno civil, económico y político de los  
pueblos.» Beraubt nämlich die pueblos der *fueros municipales*. «Con el  
fin de que desaparezca para siempre del suelo español hasta la mas remota  
idea, de que la soberanía reside en otro que en mi Real persona etc.»  
Beschließt daher Ferdinand, nach Vortrag des Consejo Real: «que en  
35 todos los pueblos se reuniesen el dia 1 de octubre de cada año los indi-  
viduos del ayuntamiento á proponer 3 personas para cada uno de los  
oficios de alcaldes, regidores y demás de república, incluso los diputados  
del común, procuradores, síndico general, personero, alcaldes de barrio y

otros que hasta el año de 1820 se hacían por los pueblos y sus vecinos, remitiéndose las propuestas á la audiencia ó cnancillería. Que el Consejo nombrase los oficios de diputado y personero de Madrid, y los alcaldes de Corte á los de barrio; debiendo hacer lo mismo las audiencias en sus distritos. Que luego que ellas reciban las propuestas de los ayuntamientos 5 tomen los informes necesarios de personas amantes del gobierno monárquico sobre las circunstancias y conducta moral y política de los propuestos; y halládoles libres *de toda tacha*, les espidan sus títulos.» ... Por decretos de 11 u. 21 Juni 1823 se restablecieron los *conventos de frailes* suprimidos por las Cortes en / Oct. 1820, mandando devolverles las fin- 10 cas y rentas enagenadas y previniendo que á los compradores de los efectos vendidos por el gobierno constitucional se les suspendiese el reintegro de sus desembolsos hasta otra determinación; y se cumplió tan escatamente, que perdieron hasta las vidrieras y muebles que se hallaron en las casas de que fueron despojados como por asalto. (Y la suspension 15 del reintegro dura todavía) Nach *Décret v. 19 Febr. u. 22 Dec. 1824*: mandáronse volver á los jesuítas las casas, colegios, bienes y rentas que habían pasado á manos legas; y que el crédito público no interviniese mas en los atrasos y beneficios de sus temporalidades. Durch *Décret v. 10 Juni 1826* determinóse que las órdenes religiosas de Redención de 20 cautivos volviesen al ejercicio libre de la colectación y administración de las limosnas y demás que manejaban antes del 6 Dec. 1814 (wenn Ferdinand, damals *absolut* las habia privado de la administración de estas rentas u. declarirt null alle redenciones de censos pertenecientes á los regulares.) Durch *Décret v. 16 Jan. 1825* sin proveer el *justo reintegro*, se 25 dispuso, que los censuistas pagasen á las respectivas comunidades las pensiones vencidas. ...

Durch *Décret v. 4 Nov. u. 18 Dec. 1826* se ecsimió á los frailes franciscos y capuchinos de pagar por los efectos de consumo el derecho de puertas ... 30

Durch *Décret v. 13. Jan. 1824* anuláronse todas las disposiciones testamentarias hechas por los monges esclaustrados á favor de sus parientes, deudos y amigos en los 3 años del gobierno constitucional; y se mandó volver á los monasterios respectivos cuanto dejaron aquellos en su fallecimiento. 35

Durch *Décret v. 26 Jan. 1825* «que para volver al altar aquel brillo y esplendor que por desgracia habia perdido en las ultimas épocas de guerra y revolución, los novicios de las órdenes religiosas quedasen eceptuados y libres del sorteo para el remplazo del ejército». ...

Por circular del 28 April 1823 u. *Décret v. 31 May 1823* die Junta 40 de Oyarzun u. die Regencia v. Madrid dispusieron que los prelados

eclesiásticos recogiesen inmediatamente las licencias de *predicar y confesar* y los títulos de curas, librados por el tiempo del gobierno constitucional á los regulares secularizados, sustituyendo en lugar de estos los monges espulsados de sus monasterios y los religiosos que se mantuvieron en sus conventos durante aquel sistema ... Durch *Décret v. 22 Juli 1824* widerrufen das *Décret v. 5 Aug. 1818*, wonach suspendirt la presentación der prebendas y beneficios f. bestimmte Zeit. (82-113) Zehnten als obligater auferlegt zuerst 585, in Francia, durch canon 5 des Concil v. Maçon. Zuerst in Spain angenommen v. Tarragona, das als Metropolitan den Erzbischof v. Narbonne hatte. Von den Provinzen ocupirt durch Charlemagne ging über als oblación voluntaria auf Aragon, Navarra, Castilla u. Leon ... In Spanien erst allgemein um 1480 u. 1501. ... 28 Juni, 1821, die Cortes reduciren auf die Hälfte den Zehnten, estableciendo reglas para su recaudación y distribución.

15 *6 Juni 1823* revocirt v. der Regency zu Madrid. «Avaritiam enim vestram religionis colore depingitis», sagte schon Chrisostomus. Da in den Südpvinsen schon recogidas las semillas, decreto adicional, v. *22 April 1824*, das dem v. *6 Juni* fuerza retroactiva sobre los frutos colectados gab, y acaso consumidos, antes de su publicación. Wo schon aufgefressen  
20 das Deficit zu sobrecargar f. 1824. Pfaffen gaben sich ausserordentliche Mühe die Göttlichkeit des Ursprungs des Zehnten nachzuweisen. Ein Canonicus in Zamora citirte en un folleto el diezmo que percibían los templos de Apolo, Diana y demás de la gentilidad. Cuidóse mucho de ponderar el pecado de la retención y hasta los prelados eclesiásticos  
25 lo hicieron en visitas diocesanas con mengua ihrer erzbischöflichen dignidad. |

1201 *boceras, gafos, amagao. hombro*, rematar, manteca.

Y á instancia de los cabildos de Jaén y Ciudad-Rodrigo se libró la circular de diciembre de 1826 restableciendo la observancia y amenazando con el cumplimiento de las leyes antiguas, que condenaban á la  
30 pena de 50 azotes por las calles acostumbradas al que, antes de levantar la hera, no entregase el diezmo en trigo limpio, seco y enjuto, sin mezcla de paja, piedras ni neguilla. (niello)

### Diezmos novales.

35 llámanse asi los procedentes de terrenos que en 30 años no han sido cultivados, perteneciendo al rey por bula pontificia S. M. los cedió por años determinados á favor u. estímulo denen die emprendiesen los costosos desmontes, imponiendo á los labradores el deber acreditar la



naturaleza designada del terreno con la deposición de testigos autorizada por el párroco; y á los obispos la obligación de declarar sin estrépito ni figura de juicio y en el término prefijo de 40 días, si estas roturaciones resultan hechas en terrenos noales. Durch Deer. v. 27 Nov. 1826, die diezmos noales zu deponieren in den granero der cabildos eclesiásticos, 5 bis die obispos quisieran cumplir lo resuelto por S. M. ... Durch órden v. 2 Sept. 1823 revocirt das Décret der Cortes v. 9 Nov. 1820 que habia incorporado al Crédito público todos los bienes, raices, derechos u. acciones der capellanías vacantes hermitas, santuarios, cofradías etc. Durch Décret v 16 Febr. 1824 se relevó al clero del pago de la contribu- 10 cion de frutos civiles que paga el comercio además del subsidio. Durch Deer. v. 1 Sept. 1824 fué absuelto de todo el subsidio eclesiástico, correspondiente á los dos años del gob. const. ...22 Sept. 1824 Befehle 1) zu castigar los escándalos y delitos públicos ocurridos por la inobservancia de las fiestas eclesiásticas; 2) castigar las injurias y el desprecio con 15 que se hable de los ministros de la religion. 3) las irreverencias en el templo. 4) que los jueces Reales ausilien francamente á los eclesiásticos y párrocos. Real orden v. 17 Dec. 1827: «que teniendo siempre á la vista la consideración que ecsige el carácter elevado de los ministros de la religion, se espresase en las ojas de servicio de todo oficial militar el con- 20 cepto que merecía por su conducta cristiana.» 30 Nov. 1827, ceremonial para la misa de la tropa, disponiendo que los sargentos subministrasen el agua bendita. Dispúsose durch Décret v. 6 Oct. 1823 celebrar en todos los pueblos una función de desagravios al Santísimo Sacramento, weil die Revolution sacrileg war etc. In der Verordnung f. die neue Universität zu 25 Sevilla sagt (Campomanes) Karl III: «Dos espíritus se han apoderado de nuestras Universidades; que han sofocado y sofocarán perpetuamente las ciencias; el uno es el de partido ó escuelas; y el otro el escolástico ... der espíritu de partido es el carácter que distingue nuestra nación ... y comprende á la nuestra en toda su estension, sin distinción de clases ni 30 personas. Parece que España es cuerpo compuesto de muchos cuerpos pequeños, destacados y opuestos entre sí, que mutuamente se chocan, oprimen, y desprecian haciéndose una continua guerra civil. Cada provincia ... cada comunidad religiosa, cada colegio, cada gremio se separa del resto de la nación para reconcentrarse en si mismo. De aqui viene que 35 toda ella está dividida en porciones y cuerpos aislados, con *fuero privativo*, con *régimen distinto* y hasta con *trage* diferente: siendo la resulta de esta segregación, que el militar, el letrado, el colegial, el religioso, el clérigo, solo son lo que su profesión indica; pero jamas ciudadanos. De aqui nace este espíritu de cofradías, con que el pueblo desde el alto al 40 bajo se divide cada uno en su clase, y quiere distinguirse hasta en el culto.

Y proviene en fin aquel fanatismo con que tantos han aspirado á la gloria de fundadores, *queriendo cada particular establecer una república á parte con leyes suyas y nuevas*. Vanidad que se ha introducido en la religion ... cada particular, á quien no gobierna sino su propio interés, se  
5 concentra cuanto puede con su cuerpo y se enciende en todos el espíritu fanático de partido, que apaga el nacional... Diremos de paso que á esta infeliz constitución han dado mucho aumento, sino el origen, los privilegios concedidos á cada cuerpo, y sobre todos el del fuero privativo (an 36) que escime á los individuos de la jurisdiccion ordinaria que es la  
10 única que debiera regir, como que es la fuente de todas ... este pernicioso espíritu de partido sino ha nacido y tenido su cuna en las escuelas, á lo menos se refugió y acojió desde luego á ellas para reforzarse y estenderse después en los demás institutos. Por varios medios se ha apoderado de los estudios, ya en la fundación de colegios, que al fin se han levantado  
15 con llamarse y ser mayores, pues han tiranizado á los otros y aun á las mismas Universidades, á las que han dado rectores necesarios; y ya con la odiosa invención de escuelas en que, adoptando cada gremio ó comunidad sobre cuestiones inútiles y abstrusas una opinion particular, se forma un partido que se sostiene por empeño. ... En la actual constitu-  
20 cion de las escuelas es preciso ser Tomista, Jesuita, Baconista ó Escotista ... si el primero (espíritu) ha podido pervertir los ánimos, este ha pervertido ciertamente el juicio. ... Por nuestra desgracia no ha entrado todavía á las Universidades de España ni un rayo de esta luz. (Aus dem vorigen ist das luz die Verdrängung der Aristotelischen manier durch die  
25 metodo geométrico. Ob Baco od. Descartes zu verstehen, nicht klar.) Y mientras las naciones cultas, ocupadas en las ciencias prácticas determinan la figura del mundo, ó descubren en el cielo nuevos luminares para asegurar la navegación, nosotros consumimos nuestro tiempo en vocear las cualidades del ente, ó del principio *quod* de la generación del verbo ...  
30 De aqui procede el haber salido de las Universidades el espíritu escolástico á derramarse por toda la nación, infestando sus profesiones y clases. Ebenso sei Folge davon der schlechte Ton in Predigten, in jurist. Prozeßacten, in den malas comedias y pésimas poesías, en que todo se da á la sofistería, al equívoco y juego de palabras, y nada á la solidez, ni á la  
35 razón. Ebenso die Medicin. ... Del mismo origen etc. nace este espíritu superficial que se observa aun entre las mugeres y el bajo pueblo, á quienes se oye hablar con el estilo pedante de las escuelas, soliendo usar de distinciones capciosas que desfiguran la verdad, y manejar el sofisma sin arte y por ejemplo ... por consiguiente ... si el Consejo quiere que  
40 renazcan las letras en España, es preciso que le haga (dem Scholasticism) la guerra á sangre y fuego ... dijimos que la Universidad es la oficina

pública que instituye el gobierno para educar á los hombres que han de servir al Estado.» (Regulares ausgeschlossen daher v. den Universitäten.) ... Dagegen Décret v. 25 März 1824, wonach die enseñanza pública se encarga á los regulares. ... Dann v. 21 Juli, 1824 eingesetzt in jeder Provinz

[21] *mortaja, atadura, abanicazo. patilla, pico, corbatín, prestamera. prestamista.*

eine *Junta de purificación*, bestehend aus Erzbischof, obispo, ó de un eclesiástico de dignidad; aus dem Regente der audiencia, un Oidor u. 2 andren miembros á elección de estos, previo siempre el ecsámen y aprobación de sus sentimientos *políticos y religiosos*; um die establecimientos literarios zu reinigen v. den abusos introducidos en la época del gobierno constitucional y por las doctrinas y máximas de sus maestros. Alle catedráticos u. andre individuos der Universidades u. establecimientos literarios del reino suspendirt bis zur Purificación. Ausgeschlossen absolut alle, die gehört zu den geheimen Gesellschaften od. der milicia etc. das Politische spielt dabei natürlich auch Rolle ... So bemächtigten sich die Pfaffen ganz der dirección der estudios. ... Décret v. 11 Oct. 1823, mandando formar una junta presidida por el canónigo Saez para que «ecsaminando cuidadosamente las obras elementales, calificase las que fuesen propias para levantar columnas dignas del altar y del trono.» ... Folge immenser Catalog verbotner Bücher ... (113-232) Was die *baldíos* angeht, schon zur Zeit Chari's III reales provisiones datirt v. 12 Juni 1767, 11 April 1768, 26 May 1770, relativas al repartimiento de estos terrenos. Durch Décret v. 5 Aug. 1818 se mandó llevar adelante su enagenacion, consignando sus productos *al pago de la deuda pública* u. *Cédula v. 22 Juli 1819* etablirte in 7 articles el método que debía observarse en su venta. Die Cortes viendo tan interesado el crédito público en el fondo de estas enagenaciones y la agricultura y fomento del reino en el repartimiento y cultivo de estos terrenos (cuyos diezmos noales, sin pasar por la iglesia, debían entrar en el Real erario) no hicieron mas que acordar el cumplimiento de las resoluciones indicadas, disponiendo en los decretos v. 4 Jan. 1813, u. v. 8 Nov. 1820 u. v. 29 Juni 1822, que en cada pueblo se formase un espediente instructivo de los terrenos baldíos, con espresion del deslinde, derecho, uso, cabida, calidad, aprovechamiento, cargas, servidumbres, valor en venta, etc, reservando para los ganados los de las sierras de Segovia, Leon, Cuenca y Soria: los egidos necesarios para los pueblos: die f. die hipoteca á la deuda nacional, die f. premio v. ausgedienten oficiales, sargentos, soldados etc: dejando el cuidado de estas calificaciones y repartimientos á cargo de los ayuntamientos y diputaciones provinciales, con aprobación

del gobierno. So wurde wirklich damit procedirt. Cerráronse muchos  
suertes. Viéronse otras plantadas de viñas y arboledas. Alles zerstört  
durch Décret v. 1 Oct. 1823 wegen des Zehnten etc. Dasselbe Los der  
terrenos de popios, cuyos diezmos novalés tampoco debían entrar en la  
5 Iglesia. ... Carl III verbot die Stiftung v. *Mayorazgos* ohne Real licencia.  
Die Gesetze v. Castilla verboten die reunion v. den mayorazgos, deren  
renta über dos cuentos: Andre Gesetze impusieron la contribución de  
15% á los bienes destinados á vincularse u. unter Carl III concedieron á  
los poseedores la facultad de enagenar los bienes de sus dotaciones,  
10 «para restituir las haciendas al cultivo de propietarios activos y laborio-  
sos», señalando un premio á las enagenaciones. ... Die *Cortes daher*  
27 Sept. 1820, Gesetz sancionada durch S. M. den 10 October, wodurch  
unterdrückt alle mayorazgos, fideicomisos, patronatos y demás especies  
de vinculaciones de bienes raíces, muebles, censos juros, etc, quedando en  
15 libertad ... Décret v. 11 März 1824 alle mayorazgos u. andre vínculos  
wiederhergestellt al ser y estado que tenían den 7 März, 1820 ... Nach  
Consulta des *Consejo* v. April 1824, debia procesarse á todos los regi-  
dores de los ayuntamientos constitucionales: esto es, á doscientos mil  
individuos ... *Salzmonopol* wieder eingeführt ... Ebenso das *Tabaksmo-*  
20 *nopol*. Dadurch viele Capitalisten u. Arbeiter ruinirt. Andererseits wuchs  
die Zahl der guardas u. contrabandistas. ... Pasó la venalidad á otras  
clases menos acostumbradas al coeche. Se hizo casi general la desmora-  
lización, y la insolencia se vio crecer á par de la codicia. Die devotes  
cofradías theilten den Profit m. den Schmugglern. ... Ebenso das Mono-  
25 pol (Estanco) del aguardiente. ... Estanco del Bacalao, nachher wieder  
aufgehoben ... Vermehrt der *uso del papel sellado* ... *Derecho de Puertas*  
retablirt u. ausgedehnt, haciéndolo estensivo á los pueblos de  
15,000 habitantes, no comprendidos en la creación de 1817, abolida por  
el gobierno constit. ... Ebenso retablirt die Abgaben des Paja u. Uten-  
30 silio, der Frutos civiles (alles Jan. u. Febr. 1824) (4% sobre el arrenda-  
miento de casas, molinos, tahonas, aceñas, ingenios y artefactos; u. 6%  
sobre el de fincas ó propiedades territoriales. Pfaffen v. dieser Steuer  
ausgenommen) u. se mandó en la misma fecha que el Comercio contri-  
buyese anualmente con la suma de IO,000MO millones de reales, aumen-  
35 tados hasta 14 en razón inversa de la miseria pública ... Pero esto es nada  
comparado con el manejo interior de las aduanas y de los pósitos: con los  
descuentos confidentiales de las tesorerías: con las sinuosidades de los  
empréstitos en el extranjero ... la arbitrariedad y connivencia de las ope-  
raciones de la Caja de amortización ... las estorsiones de las columnas de  
40 apremio y visitadores enviados por las Intendencias: el lucrativo agiotage  
de los *diligencieros* que llevan las órdenes á los ayuntamientos ... el inso-

lente saqueo de los comisionados de la mesta ... esas vandadas de *lechuzos*, con esa turba de ejecutores hambrientos destacados á sorprender los pueblos y arruinarlos mit dietas u. costas judiciales á pretesto de cobrar algún rezago miserable de diezmos, mit pensiones diarias sobre cualquier pretesto ... Das Spionenwesen, zum Effect der Reinigungen des Beam- 5  
tenthums etc so sichergestellt: «Estos informes (sagt Décret v. 27 Juni 1823 bestätigt u. reproducirt in den Cédulas v. 10 Juli u. 9 Aug. 1824) serán sellados y archivados en seguida, por escigirlo así la conveniencia pública, sin poderse hacer de ellos otro uso, ni admitirse las justificaciones de testigos presentados por los interesados.» Der secreta- 10  
rio der Gracia u. Justicia Don Francisco Tadéo Calomarde en Real orden fecha en Aranjuez d. d. 8 May 1824 comunicada al presidente de la Junta de purificaciones dijo: «Que teniendo el rey una absoluta necesidad de dar á los informantes cuantas garantías sean posibles, para que convencidos de que jamas podrán ser revelados sus informes, los evacúen con la 15  
*buena fé que escige esta clase de negocios*, S. M. mandaba que en la remisión de expedientes originales se acompañen los informes en copias certificadas, suprimiendo los nombres de los informantes y que se quemasen públicamente previo el conocimiento que debía quedar en el registro.» So freies Spiel f. die Erucios des Calomarde u. del feroz Don Carlos de 20  
España. Dieser leztre, Grande v. España, General v. España französischer etc Emigré. «Viva Fernando y vamos robando.» Décret v. 1 Oct. 1830: Wonach die briefliche Correspondenz ||22| taller. m. den Emigrados v. 1820-23 nach sich zieht «la pena de 2 años de cárcel y 200 ducados de multa, y la muerte si tendiese á favorecer sus proyectos. 25  
Condénase á ella al que ausiliare con armas, avisos, ó consejos: á los ayuntamientos que no diesen parte de la invasion del territorio y 8 años de presidio al que reusase ejercer el oficio de delator.» ... Ordre des Calomarde v. 10 May 1831: «que los denunciadores de hechos ó indicios contra la seguridad pública no sean responsables en ningún tribunal, de 30  
los avisos que den á la policía, cualquiera que fuere su resultado etc» ... la audacia y la estupidez se hallaban reunidas en Calomarde ... desde 1823-1832 no se ha conferido ó confirmado destino militar, civil ó municipal, sin que el clérigo ú el fraile haya calificado previamente al agraciado. (233-281) In dem oben erwähnten Rescript v. Carl III wegen der 35  
Universität zu Seville heißt es u. a.: «no conviene al Estado que se dediquen los pobres á las letras, sino que sigan la profesión de sus padres. Edúquese en hora buena á la nobleza, y sea su educación la mas superior, pues es la que por lo común forma el gobierno: dense buenos estudios para aquella gente acomodada que puede pagar la módica pension que 40  
requieren, y que no se aplicaría á las artes, que el orgullo llama bajas,

pero no se distraigan los hijos de los menestrales del ejercicio de sus padres. Por estos principios nos parece poco discreta y filosófica aquella empeñada caridad, con que nuestros mayores quisieron dar esta tentación á los pobres, ya fundando en los colegios becas destinadas para  
5 ellos, y ya facilitándoles por otros medios los estudios.» (165, 6)

Viele v. den damals verfolgten Pfaffen, wie die obispos v. Urgel, Mallorca, Leon, Calahorra, Puebla etc waren diputados u. presidentes der Cortes v. 1812 gewesen. Der *Cardinal Inguanzo*, primado v. Toledo, sagte damals Sitzung v. 23 Aug. 1811, que la soberanía es general á todas  
10 las naciones y Estados de Europa y del mundo. In der Sitzung v. 12 Sept. 1811: «Las Cortes, las Cortes son el contrapeso que tiene el Poder real para moderar su poder.» Der Erzbischof v. Burgos, *Don Alfonso Cañedo*, Sitzung 13 Sept. 1811: «la soberanía reside esencialmente en la nación, á quien pertenece *esclusivamente* el derecho de hacer sus leyes fundamentá-  
is les.» Der Obispo v. Barbastro, *D. Juan Lera* Sitzung v. 29 Aug. 1811: «la soberanía reside tanto en la nación constituida, como en la constituyente; y que por derecho natural tiene la facultad de poner restricciones al monarca.» Erzbischof v. Tarragona, *Don Jaime Creux*, Sitzung v. 8 Juni  
1812 que «en su provincia seria mirado como traidor el que intentase  
20 destruir la Constit.». Aehnlich der Erzbischof v. Valencia *Don Simon Lopez*, Sitzung v. 12 Oct. 1812. (135, 6) Dieselben Pfaffen hatten genannt diese Constit. «obra de unas luces mas que humanas: de una especial y superior asistencia: de una divina inspiración». (326) Los cuerpos que se formaron con las mismas cuadrillas de vandolores acaudillados pour  
25 Jose Estévan, Davalillos, Jaime el *Barbut* y otros procesados y pregonados capitanes de ladrones que después de haber infestado con robos violencias y asesinatos los caminos de Murcia y de Andalucía, se transformaron, como por encanto, *en defensores de la Fé*. Las mismas gacetas del gobierno absoluto han dado noticias del Jep de Estaings, Pujol y  
30 otros que al fin fueron ahorcados en Cataluña, sin embargo de haber gritado con el fraile conocido por el apodo de *Puñales*: «viva la Religion y muera la Patria y la Nación: viva el Rey absoluto y mueran las leyes.» (327) Wenn ganz Spanien gegen das constituí. Régime u. religiös, wie kam's u.: quien redujo los *ejércitos de la fé* á la mísera situación de buscar  
35 el asilo de la Francia, abandonando la casa de Yrache, Casíelfollí, la Conca de Tremp y las últimas trincheras de Urgel! Ellos desaparecieron, y después de haber perdido cajas, vestuario, armas, municiones y cuanío obúvieron del minisierio francés, lograron ser reemplazados por el valieníe ejército del duque de Angulema. (329) Secueslro u. confiscación  
40 decrefíri 23 Juni u. 2 Sepí. 1823 gegen die bienes de los que siguieron al gobierno consít. (333) F. die extinción de las escuelas miliáres y la

destitución de sus profesores, la falta de escuelas de primera enseñanza en los pueblos, y el abandono de tantos niños pobres, criados para contrabandistas, ladrones y presidarios, alles dies compensirt durch die Ordonanzen des Ministeriums der Hacienda v. 11 April 1830, 28 May, 1830, 24 Juni 1830, wodurch stimulirt die bárbara diversion de los toros 5 proscripta por Carlos III, nun «escuela de Tauromaquia en la ciudad de Sevilla» errichtet; que la escuela se componga de 1 maestro con el sueldo de 12000 reales jährlich; 1 ayudante m. 8000 u. 10 discípulos propietarios m. 2000 reales anuales cada uno. (Aehnliche Geldausgaben in diesen Decreten bestimmt) u. constituye la elevación del honor en la «pre- 10 eminente plaza de Maestro de Tauromaquia.» (334-38) Als es sich um die «Novísima Recopilación» der span. Gesetze handelte, unter Carl IV, verfügt v. Aranjuez, d. d. 2 Juni 1805 u. a.: «Como tratándose de reimprimir la Nov. Ree. no ha podido menos de notarse que en ella hay algunos restos del dominio feudal y de los tiempos en que la debilidad de 15 la monarquía constituyó á los reyes en la precision de condescender con sus vasallos en puntos que deprimían su soberana autoridad; ha querido S. M. que reservadamente se separen de esta obra las leyes folgen nun» (339) (Minister Caballero) Del mismo modo dachte derselbe Caballero zu suprimir durch Real Orden v. 13 May 1807 die cánones der concilos 20 v. Toledo que restringen el poder de los reyes. (340) Die Congregación del índice verbot die Lectura des «Informe über das agrar. Gesetz» des Jovellanos u. der cardenal Cienfuegos y Jovellanos, sobrino del autor, publico en la pastoral de Encinasola la condenación de su tio. (342)

Den Cortes folgendes estado vorgelegt: 25

Monasterios u. conventos de religiosos que ecsistian	
al promulgar la ley v. 25 Oct. 1820	1,928
Casas de monacales, San Juan de Dios y canónigos regulares	
suprimidos	219
Conventos suprimidos en virtud de dicha ley	836 30
ídem ecsistentes, incluso los 8 monasterios conservados	873
A la fecha der ley sin contar los monacales betragen die	
religiosos ordenados in sacris á	20,757
die secularisirten religiosos ohne die der benachbarten	
Inseln noch die que tienen pendientes sus solicitudes	4,447 35
Bleiben 1 März 1822	16,310

Monjas secularizadas, 210; Pensions der secularisirten beides Geschlechts jährlich 5,177,900 rs. Ausserdem die legos secularizados 141. (p. 347[, 348])

Sehr viele Spanier emigrierten in 1823, temiendo las persecuciones, encierros y calamidades que sufren los que no se iniciaron en los misterios de la oligarquía sacro-profana. (349) Don Pablo Antonio de Olavide, geb. 1725 in Lima. (p. 362 sqq. S. Prozeß v. der Inquisition, wo er erscheint 4 Nov. 1778) |

[23] Das ley der Cortes (wegen der Mayorazgos) war nicht preceptiv, sondern permisif; folglich solo algunos poseedores de mayorazgos que quisieron vender, vendieron: y habiendo sido los primeros á quebrantar la ley antigua y aprovecharse de la moderna, el Consejo mandó desposeer 10 á los compradores, que desembolsaron su dinero y mejoraron las fincas para devolverlas á los que, infringiendo su privilegio, gozaron del fruto de la nueva ley y de su revocación. (388, 9) Die Marschälle, Herzöge Duque de Reggio, Duque de Conegliano, el Conde Molitor y los comandantes generales de las tropas francesas autorizados por el generalísimo 15 Duque de Angulema concluyeron con las tropas constitucionales las capitulaciones que obtuvieron la sanción del Delfín. En ellas se ofreció á oficiales y soldados lo mismo que ofreció el rey Fernando en el Manifiesto v. 30 Sept. al salir de Cádiz: «Olvido eterno y absoluto: conservación de empleos, sueldos, honores etc.» Aber Ferdinand u. s. gobierno eclesiástico, nicht zufrieden con haber impurificado, perseguido y encarcelado á 20 los militares capitulados, llevó al suplicio ignominioso de los ladrones y asesinos, é hizo ahorcar y descuartizar al famoso mariscal de campo Don Juan Martin Diez, el Empecinado: al bizarro é infatigable brigadier *Abad Chaleco* y á otros héroes de la guerra de la independencia. (405, 6) (que 25 jamás transigieron con Napoleon ni dejaron las armas, sino por fiarse en la palabra del hijo de la Francia, que tampoco cumplió nada de cuanto ofreció por su famoso decreto de Andujar.)



Who is the Liberator of Spain?  
An Essay towards deciding this question,  
publ. at Seville, July, 1820; transi,  
from the Original by Henry Wood.

London. 1846.

5

Raphael Riego, geb. 1784. Hingerichtet 1823. ... A simultaneous movement was agreed upon by the chiefs of battalions who had determined to commence the enterprise; fixed f. den 1. January. Don Raphael de Riego, commanding the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion der Asturias, then lying at Las Cabezas de San Juan, was to march upon Arcos with that battalion u. dem 2<sup>nd</sup> of 10 Seville, stationed at Villamartin, in order to surprise the staff der expeditionary army, who made Arcos their head quarters. So did Riego. His position die schwierigste. The commune of Las Cabezas was in the centre of 3 of the head quarters der army: that of the cavalry at Utrera, the 3<sup>rd</sup> division der infantry at Lebrija, whilst the commander in chief 15 was established at Arcos ... He first proclaimed, in that very commune, the Constitutional Monarchy, elects provisional Alcades, u. establishes the Constit. system. (6-8) Nahm dann Arcos (de la Frontera), obgleich das battalion laying in Arcos was double the strength of that der Asturias u. mit der exception of some companies, had little accordance mit 20 ourselves. (8, 9) Don Antonio Quiroga—der den 1<sup>st</sup> January ebenfalls was to set out from Alcalá de los Gazules at the head of the battalions, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Spain, and that of the Crown to possess himself by a coup de main of the bridge of Suazo, afterwards to occupy the trenches of the main entrance into Cadiz, and the next day to penetrate into the city 25

itself [7]—in fact remained tranquil at Alcalá de los Gazules bis 4 o'clock  
P. M. of the 2<sup>a</sup>, when Oltra, the present capt. of the Canaries, sent by  
Riego, conveyed to Quiroga official intelligence of the surprise of Arcos  
u. der capture des Generals. Erst jetzt bemächtigte sich Quiroga der  
5 bridge of Suazo u. dann der Isla (11) What would have been Riegos  
lot—if his attempt had been unsuccessful—what would have been the  
fate of the battalions of the Asturias and Seville, deprived of the retreat  
which to have been provided for them in the isle? (12) Der Himno  
Guerrero que cantaba en sus marchas la Columna móvil de Riego  
10 gemacht v. San Miguel. (17) Die glorious u. toilsome expedition der  
"Moveable column" (1500 Mann) begann 27. Jan., endete 11 March. (13)  
The provinces were thus rocked into lethargic slumber the whole month  
of January. But, at the end of that month, the column (verlassend die Isle  
San Fernando) was in motion, and rivetted an end the general attention;  
15 the provinces were all expectation, and eagerly watched every movement.  
Men's minds, struck by the boldness of Riego's sally, the rapidity of his  
march, his vigorous repulses of the enemy, imagined triumphs never  
acquired u. aggregations u. reinforcements never obtained. As fame  
advances, she exaggerates the news she conveys etc. (21) when these  
20 tidings reached the more distant provinces they were magnified in no  
small degree. (1. c.) Those most remote from the spot... were the first to  
declare themselves. (22)

Der Himno Patriótico en celebridad de los Dias del Ciudadano Rafael  
del Riego fängt so an:

25	" Coro: De Riego al nombre	En las Cabezas
	Sea Loor:	Riego clamó
	Viva de España	La Suspirada
	El Defensor.	Constitución:

30

Y enarbolando  
Marcial pendón,  
A los leales  
Acaudilló.  
De Riego al nombre etc." [27]

U. der Schluß des Liedes:

35

Servil mesnada,  
Vil traición,  
Riego respira,

Karl Marx • Exzerpte zur Geschichte Spaniens · Heft 4

Tiembla á esta voz:  
Pues mientras viva  
Tal campeón,  
Tus negras tramas,  
En vano son. Dann De Riego al nombre etc" [28] 5

The Holy Alliance versus Spain etc.  
By a Constitutionalist.  
London. 1823.

"To judge of the principles now shamefully promulgated, let any man  
5 read, patiently if he can, the Declarations in the Notes of Russia, Prussia,  
and Austria, and I will venture to say, that to produce anything more  
preposterous, more absurd, more extravagant, more calculated to excite  
a mixed feeling of disgust and derision, would baffle any Chancery or  
State Paper Office in Europe." (*Mr. Brougham's Speech, 4 Feb. 1823.*) \

10 1241 *Fzs. Depeche v. 25. Dec. 1822 an den Count de la Garde, his M.'s  
Minister at Madrid.* Darin das heuchlerische frz. Cabinet klagt daß "the  
provinces bordering on France have been chiefly the theatre of the civil  
war. That it has become necessary f. France to protect herself from this  
state of disorder in the Peninsula. The events which have occurred since  
15 the establishment of an Army of Observation at the foot of Pyrenees  
have sufficiently justified the foresight of H. M's Gov." (2) H. M's Gov.  
will not even hesitate to recall you from Madrid, and to seek guarantees  
in more efficacious measures, if its essential interests continue to be com-  
promised, and if it lose the hope of an amelioration etc (3. ib.)

20 *Despatch des Nesselrode to the Chargé d'Affaires of Russia at Madrid,  
d. d. Verona 14 (26) Nov. 1822.*  
die perjury der soldiers commenced in 1814, when they overthrew those  
institutions which they had sworn to defend, and replaced on the throne  
of Spain, as an absolute sovereign, a man who had solemnly abdicated it,  
25 and who could not lawfully regain possession of it without taking the  
oaths prescribed by the Const, of 1812. Wohl zu bemerken, daß "France,  
sagt Nesselrode, saw herself obliged to confide to an army the protection  
of her frontiers, and probably she will be compelled also to confide to it the

*task of putting an end to those provocations which have rendered it necessary.* " (France führt selbst ursprünglich nur eine "provocation" an, die prevalence of an epidemic fever in Barcelona). "What glory for them (die Spanier), fährt Nesselrode fort, *to conquer revolution a second time.*" [8, 9] 5

*Despatch des Count Bernstorff zum Preußischen Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, 22 Nov. 1822.* "the church was stripped of its dignity, its prerogatives, and its possessions" ... "whole provinces became the prey of civil war." [11]

*Despatch of Metternich to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid* 10  
*d. d. 14' Dec.* It insists, as an indispensable preliminary to the restoration of the relations of confidence and sincerity between Spain u. den other powers, "that her King should be free, not only as regards that personal liberty which every individual may claim under the reign of the laws, but that liberty which a Sovereign ought to enjoy in order to discharge his 15 high vocation".

At a sitting der Cortes v. 9<sup>e</sup> Jan. 1823, the Secretaries of State being all present, the President suspended the debate on the subject under consideration, in order that the Secretary of St. for For. Affairs (San Miguel) might address the Cortes. Verlas er erst die Schreiben der fremden 20 Gesandten, dann his Replies. S. Note an den span. Gesandten zu Paris, d. d. Jan. 9, 1823. ... Nach Verlesung der notes der cabinets of Austria, Prussia, u. Russia, sagte San Miguel: "H. M's Gov. is of opinion, that it would neither be seasonable, just, nor decorous, to make any reply to these notes, since they are full of invectives and calumnies, and malign 25 suspicions, not strictly directed against the whole nation, but against those who govern it, and against the individuals who accomplish the revolution." *Some Deputies:* "All, all; they are directed against all the nation." Wohl aber liest er s. note which is to serve for the answer den 3 Cabinets: "*Note Transmitted to the Chargés d'Affaires at the Courts of* 30 *Vienna, Berlin, and Petersburgh.*" (d.d. Madrid, 9Jan. 1823) Das Reading dieses Document was followed by the greatest applause, both from the deputies u. the spectators in den galleries. Der President schlug vor, die Cortes, after having taken cognizance of the communications made to the Span. Gov. by the Cabinets of France, Austria, Prussia, 35 u. Russia, declare that no modification shall be made in the Const, proclaimed at Cadiz in 1812, except such a measure shall be called for by the unanimous voice der nation, u. shall be adopted in conformity with what is prescribed by the fundamental code. *Galiano* schlägt vor message zum King, wollte alles thun for maintaining the Const, of 1812, the splendour 40 des Constitutional throne, furnish the Gov. every assistance necessary for

Aus The Holy Alliance versus Spain

repelling every hostile attempt on the part der For. Powers etc. Arguelles schlug vor diese proposition zu refer an das Diplomatie Committee, to present a draught of the message in 48 hours. Adopted—Arguelles nominated als Member des Diplomatic Committee. Galiano—a member die-  
5 ses committee—congratulated himself on having M. Arguelles for a colleague.—*Jan. 11, 1823.* The Diplomat. Committee presented a draught of a message to the King, conformable to the proposition of M. Galiano. *Saavedra* bemerkte: "It was singular enough that Schismatics u. Prot-  
10 estants should now be so anxious to defend the wealth of the Catholic clergy." In den alten Constitutions "the Castellans possessed the right of insurrection". ... *Mr. Canga* bemerkte: "the Committee appointed to inquire into the affair of July 7, had proofs of a Russian agent having lighted up the torch of discord on one point der Peninsula. There would be no disturbance of Spain, if the factious [forces] were not instigated by  
15 For. Powers." Der draught der message [was] unanimously agreed to. [12-21]

*Note addressed by the Prussian Minister at Madrid to Señor San Miguel* (d. d. 10 Jan.): Verlangt s. passports for his leaving Spain. San Miguel schickt sie ihm Jan. 11. *Die Russian Note, des Count of Bulgara,*  
20 *d. d. Madrid Dec. 28 (Jan. 9)* verlangt sehr grob his passports. *Answer, d. d. Jan. 11:* "I have received the very insolent note which Your Exc. transmitted to me yesterday ... you have shamefully abused the law of nations. I transmit, by order of H. M., the passports, you desire, hoping that Your Exc. will be ||25| pleased to leave this capital with as little delay  
25 as possible." Count de Bulgara schickt ihm (dem San Miguel) diese Note zurück "for the eyes of the Emperor, my master, must not be disgusted by the perusal of a production, which I abstain from characterizing" etc. Endlich die Austrian Noten, d.d. Jan. 10 (1823, Count Brunetti.) *San Miguel* in der Answer v. January 11 schickt ihm die passports "having  
30 only to say that the Gov. of his Catholic Majesty is indifferent whether it maintains relations or not with the Court of Vienna". [23-27]

Speech Louis XVIII at the royal sitting for opening der session der 2 Chambers at Paris, 28 Jan. 1823:

Chateaubriand.  
Congrès de Vérone.  
Guerre d'Espagne et.  
Paris 1838. 2 t.

*t. I.*

5

«En dernier résultat, je n'attache aucun prix à quoi que ce soit.» (Avertissement II) «Je ne me défends point d'être le principal auteur de la guerre d'Espagne.» (I.e.) Charles IV auf den Thron 1778. (falsch 1788) (5) Ferdinand (später VII) arrêté par son père fit de lâches aveux. (6) Il ne lui (dem Napoléon) en aurait pas plus coûté de prendre l'Espagne que 10 de la voler. (7) Ferdinand, s'étant encore rapetissé pour tenir moins de place dans sa prison, avait en vain demandé la main d'une parente de Napoléon. (7, 8) la résurrection d'un peuple là où l'on n'avait vu qu'un tas de mendiants. (9) Dans ce pays, l'indépendance nuit à la liberté. (12) À cet indomptable despotisme de caractère, se trouve réunie, par un 15 contraste étonnant, une nature apathique et comique, molle et vantarde. (14) Dans la guerre civile, quand une bande a obtenu un succès, vous croyez qu'elle le va poursuivre? point; elle s'arrête, reste sur les lieux à publier des rodomontades, à chanter sa victoire, à jouer de la guitare, à se chauffer au soleil. Le battu se retire paisiblement ... Les Hidalgos disent 20 qu'ils ont mis 600 ans à chasser les Maures. (14) Les hommes politiques de cette nation partagent les défauts du guerrier: dans les circonstances les plus urgentes, ils s'occupent d'insignifiantes mesures, prononcent des oraisons puérides, mettent tout en pièces dans leurs harangues et ne les font suivre d'aucune action. Est-ce donc qu'ils sont stupides ou lâches? 25

non; ils sont espagnols: ils ne sont point frappés des choses comme vous l'êtes; ils ne les voient pas sous le même jour; ils laissent le temps dénouer l'événement qu'ils ne sont point pressés de voir finir; ils transmettent leur vie à leurs fils sans pusillanimité et sans regrets. Le fils, à son tour, se  
5 conduit de même que le père: dans quelques centaines d'années se terminera, à la satisfaction des vivants, l'événement que les morts leur ont légué, et qui, chez un autre peuple, aurait été décidé dans 8 jours. ... L'indifférence de la foule est derrière ces événements qui, de loin, font tant de bruit. ... Don Carlos ne peut prendre une ville, Christine ne peut  
10 réunir les campagnes. (15) Les premières cortes auxquelles les députés du tiers assistèrent furent celles de Léon, en 1188; cette date prouve que les Espagnols marchaient à la tête des peuples émancipés. (19) l'indépendance individuelle l'emporta sur la liberté commune. (20) le génie arabe prévalut. (l. c.) tous les peuples, frappés de la mobilité des choses humaines,  
15 nés, ont cherché un point d'appui hors du monde pour rendre stables leurs institutions. (24) Das décret der Versprechungen v. 4 Mars \ (falsch) 1814. (27) General Freyre den Insurgenten v. Cadix zuerst entgegeneschiekt. (29) Riego, avec San Miguel, sortit de l'île de Léon, ... il parcourut l'Andalousie, entra dans Algésiras, Malaga, Ronda, Cordoue; fut  
20 partout bien reçu, partout aussi vite oublié. Abandonné de ses troupes, il se cacha in den Bergen der Mancha. (29) Coronna fut soulevée von Agar, Saragossa von Garay, la Navarre par Mina. (30) Décret Ferdinands v. 7: «La volonté du peuple s'étant prononcée, je me suis décidé à jurer la constitution, promulguée par les cortes générales et extraordinaires, en  
25 l'an 1812.» Ainsi fut couronnée la tyrannie par la couardise, le manque de foi par le parjure. (30) la prison rouverte envoya au palais des ministres: Arguelles fut placé à l'intérieur, Garcías Herreros à la justice, Canga Arguelles aux finances etc. comme nos anciens révolutionnaires, instruits par le temps, ils voulurent arrêter les idées et ne le purent. (30) Auprès de  
30 ce ministère était la junte suprême, en attendant les cortes, de même que la commune de Paris auprès de la Convention. ... L'Europe s'était partagée: l'Angleterre félicita Ferdinand d'avoir accepté la constitution; la Russie déclara la royauté perdue; la Prusse et l'Autriche s'expliquèrent d'une manière ambiguë; la France invita le gouvernement, par la bouche  
35 de M. le duc de Laval, à s'arranger avec les pouvoirs. M. de la Tour-du-Pin, envoyé à Madrid, intervint entre le roi et les principaux Espagnols, afin d'obtenir des modifications à l'acte constituants. l'Angleterre s'opposa à nos salutaires conseils ... Les (span.) orateurs s'établirent contre nous en permanence au café de Lorenzini. (30, 31)

40 *Erste Session der Cortes.* Eröffnet 9 Juli 1820. Le roi parla; l'archevêque élu de Seville répondit ... la majorité de la chambre appartenait



aux anciens révolutionnaires de Cadix; leurs chefs étaient Calatrava et Toreno. M. ihnen marchait Martínez de la Rosa. ... la minorité se composait de nouveaux enrôlés, parti plus violent, parce que, plus jeune, moins désabusé. ... Les *Afrancesados* et les *Perses* furent, tant bien que mal, amnistiés, excepté le marquis de Mataflorida, réfugié en France. ... 5  
 une loi établit comme un devoir la désobéissance du soldat, toutes les fois qu'il recevrait des ordres contraires à la constitution. ... En France, tout s'était fait par le peuple; en Espagne, tout se faisait par l'armée; vice qui, seul, empêcherait la liberté politique de s'établir solidement dans cette contrée. ... Auflösung der île v. Leon. Riego ernannt commandant 10  
 général v. Galice, vint à Madrid. Il se rend au théâtre. Reçu avec des acclamations; se lève et entonne la *Tragala*. Il est destitué et le Club Lorenzini fermé. 9 nov. 1820 Sitzung geschlossen v. Ferdinand en personne. (32-35) ||26| Ferdinand zurückgegangen ins Escorial m. s. Beichtvater Don Victor de Saez. Donne au général Caravajal l'ordre de rem- 15  
 placer Don Gaspard Vigodet, commandant de la province de Madrid. Remède insipide, jugé héroïque à l'Escorial. Ferdinand gezwungen m. s. family nach Madrid zurückzukehren. Revenu à Madrid, Ferdinand, accompagné de ses frères, de ses belles-soeurs et de la reine malade, est forcé de se montrer aux fenêtres de son palais. La foule est réunie; un 20  
 cortège va défiler. On a vu Louis XVI entrant dans Paris, entouré de furies et précédé des têtes coupées de ses gardes; ici même scène avec des décorations castillanes. Un homme, une femme, un prêtre, portés sur les épaules de ceux qui les entourent, se dressent; ils avancent vers le roi l'acte de la constitution, le retirent, le baisant, le représentent. Un enfant 25  
 est soulevé dans l'air à son tour; il tient à la main le même livre: c'est le fils de Lacy, vengeur encore faible, mais larve vivante et implacable. ... Le marquis de Las-Amarillas, ministre de la guerre, donna sa démission: Valdès le remplaça. Les évêques s'enfuirent; les grands condamnés à l'exil, bes. der duc de l'Infantado, honnête inutilité. Auprès des vieux 30  
 francs-maçons, auxquels Arguelles et Valdès étaient affiliés, s'élevèrent alors les *Comuneros*: remontant de souvenir et de nom au siècle de Charles V, ils s'appellent *chevaliers comuneros*, se déclarent champions de l'égalité et de la liberté. Par un serment, ils s'engageaient à juger, condamner, exécuter tout individu, sans en excepter le roi et ses succès- 35  
 seurs, s'il s'éloignait de certains principes; serment redoutable dans un pays où l'homicide est de droit commun. Protégées par les lois, ces sociétés secrètes sont appuyées des clubs publics. ... Tous les jours le conseil et le roi étaient traînés dans la boue ... die ministres fermèrent le café de la Croix-de-Malte ... Il n'en est pas des hommes comme du serpent; on ne 40  
 les tue pas en crachant dessus: Serpens, hominis contacta saliva, disperit.

(Lucret.) ... Le roi, passant dans sa voiture, fut insulté; ses gardes dispersent la foule. (36-40)

*Zweite Session der Cortes etc. Eröffnet 1 Mars 1821.* Après s'être montré révolutionnaire dans son discours, le roi apprit aux députés qu'il renvoyait ses ministres: la première partie de son allocution devait racheter la seconde. Feliu et Bardaxi formèrent le noyau d'un nouveau conseil; les chambres le repoussèrent aussitôt. ... Erst Naples die Constitution v. Cadix proclamirt; dann Piémont u. Portugal. Grenoble et Lyon s'émurent; les cortès applaudirent. Toreno nous attaque en termes violents; Alpuente propose d'intervenir dans les affaires d'Italie; Moreno Guerra veut rompre avec l'Europe et chasser de Madrid les ministres de l'Alliance. Les vaincus de tous les pays se réfugient en Espagne. ... Le parti exalté pousse à un régime de terreur. Barcelone, Valence, Corunna, Carthagène voient dominer, en dehors du pouvoir légal, un pouvoir sans forme et sans nom. 17 April 2 lois: 1) prononce la peine de mort contre ceux qui tenteraient de renverser la constitution et la religion; 2) prive les citoyens accusés de toute garantie; les envoie devant un conseil de guerre choisi dans le corps par qui l'arrestation a été faite: jugement prononcé dans 6 jours, exécuté dans 48 heures, sans appel, sans exercice du droit de grâce. ... Un chapelain du roi, Don Mathias Venuenza, accusé en vertu des nouvelles lois, est gratifié de 10 ans de galères. Plebs findet dieß zu mild. 4 Mai versammelt an der *Puerta del Sol*, revise le procès, sentencie le prêtre à mort et l'exécute, après l'avoir arraché de prison et frappé à la tête d'un marteau ... suchen auch den Richter um ihn zu tödten; entwischt aber. Les meurtriers fondèrent *Vordre du Marteau*; chacun porta sur son coeur les insignes de cet ordre, comme on porta un moment en France de petites guillotines à la boutonnière. A l'époque des révolutions on s'étonne des crimes: on a tort. Quand une société nouvelle se forme, une ancienne société en même temps se détruit; alors les crimes entrent dans le tout comme dissolvant, pour hâter la décomposition de la partie qui doit périr. ... Morillo venait d'arriver d'Amérique; il avait eu la gloire d'être vaincu par Bolivar: on l'investit du commandement de Madrid. ... la fin de l'année parlementaire se passa en discussion sur les droits prétendus seigneuriaux, et l'on s'obstina à retenir les colonies. Arrivé au terme des cortès ordinaires de la 2<sup>e</sup> session, le roi fut obligé de convoquer des cortès extraordinaires. Dans l'intervalle, la deputation permanente fut établie. ... Les sociétés secrètes prenaient de jour en jour plus d'accroissement. ... Les *Comuneros* tenaient à Madrid leur assemblée suprême; auprès d'eux était une junta directrice; chaque province avait sa *Merindad* provinciale, chaque *Merindad* sa *Tour*. Des subventions volontaires satisfaisaient aux besoins

urgents. Les Communeros, ou les fils de *Padilla*, s'élevèrent bientôt à plus de 70,000. Ihr Eid: «Je jure devant Dieu et devant cette assemblée de chevaliers Communeros, de maintenir les libertés et les franchises de tous les peuples ... de me soumettre sans réserve aux décrets de confédération, de mettre à mort tout chevalier qui manquerait à son serment: si je viens moi-même à y manquer, je me déclare traître: que je sois condamné à une mort infâme etc.» ... Riego, qui commandait en Aragon, se lie avec un officier français, *Cugnet de Montarlot*, poursuivi en France, et rédacteur, en qualité de lieut.-gén. de Napoléon, de proclamations à nos soldats. Cugnet, ayant noué des intrigues dans nos garnisons, sur la Frontière des Pyrénées, avait autour de lui quelques déserteurs. Riego et Cugnet nourrissent le projet d'une double république: tous deux sont arrêtés. Aufstand in Madrid f. das 1000<sup>te</sup> Mal. On veut faire revenir le roi de Saint-Ildefonso, wie früher vom Escorial. Un tableau est préparé: il représente Riego tenant le livre de la constitution et renversant le despotisme. Le gefe politique San-Martin défend l'inauguration du tableau. Die insurgés se décident à exécuter leur projet. La garde flotte incertaine; le régiment de Sagonte est prêt à se réunir aux factieux; Morillo et San-Martin, à la tête des bourgeois, remportent la victoire. Cette journée appelée des *Orfèvreries*; quartier où la sédition fut vaincue. (41-49)

*Session extraordinaire v. 28 Sept. 1821.* fièvre jaune à Barcelone. La France établit un cordon sanitaire ... Alpuente était le buste en plâtre de Marat. (S. Brochure bei Gelegenheit des Cordon sanitaire. Verlangt le sang de 15,000 habitants de Madrid.) Allgemein verlangt die réintégration de Riego. 29 October 1821, à Saragosse, un complot échoua; à Cadix il réussit. On refuse de recevoir dans cette ville les gouverneurs envoyés; Jauréguy, commandant conservé, ||27| déclara qu'il n'obéirait point aux ordres de Ferdinand. Sevilla et Murcie imitèrent Cadix: la révolte succéda moins à Cordoue, à Grenade, à Valence; à la Coronna, Mina fut obligé de se retirer. Incendiary Press zu Madrid. Seit der Anarchistes «*Descamisados*», titre encore volé à nos annales. Adresse des Königs an die Cortes v. 25 Nov. 1821. Martinez de la Rosa présidait les Cortes; il chargea Calatrava du rapport. Calatrava blâme die révolte v. Cadix u. Seville, aber accuse die incurie des ministres: ceux-ci tombent au moment où Seville et Cadix se soumettent. En opposition aux sociétés secrètes, s'établit une société publique, dite société des *Amis de la Constitution* - 3 *Gesetzvorschläge* gegen die violences der presse, outrages des pétitions, dévergondage des réunions démagogiques étaient aux commissions ... lorsque le roi, avec une inopportunité qui tenait de la fausseté ou de la démence, vient proposer d'admettre au partage du pouvoir des

hommes impopulaires. Calatrava vote aussitôt le rejet des projets de lois; Martinez de la Rosa s'oppose au rejet; la foule court chez les opposants, dans le dessein de les massacrer; Morillo dissipe la foule, et la première législature des Cortes finit. (50-53)

5 *Zweite Cortes.* Ces secondes cortes furent aux premières ce que notre assemblée législative fut à l'assemblée constituante. Parmi les nouveaux nommés étaient des curés anti-Romains, des légistes à discours, des clubistes, enfin Riego, jeune parleur de l'armée, et le duc del Parque, vieux radoteur de la cour. Riego monte à la présidence. Le roi, afin  
10 de balancer l'esprit des cortes, nomme Martinez de la Rosa min. des aff. étrang. 3 poètes, Martinez de la Rosa, Canning u. Chateaubriand, se sont trouvés ministres des aff. étrang. presque en même temps. ... Session eröffnet *Madrid, 1 Mars 1822* ... Barcelone, Valence, Pampelune s'agitèrent. D'un côté on criait: Vive Dieu! de l'autre: Vive Riego! ...  
15 Dieu et roi, en Espagne, c'est même chose, las ambas majestades. ... Riego, président, était impuissant; on le voyait toujours prêt à chanter la Tragala. ... Réaction contre les sociétés secrètes. Des émeutes royalistes remplacèrent des insurrections révolutionnaires. ... Govostidi, Misas, Merino in Biscaye, Catalonia, Castille. Ces insurrections s'étendirent;  
20 on y vit briller Quesada, Juanito, Santo-Ladron, Truxillo, Schafaudino, Hierro. Le baron d'Eroles in Cataluña ; auprès de lui était *Antonio Maranon.* (od. Antonio, dit le Trappiste d'abord soldat, später in's Kloster etc)... Ferdinand, sur les bords du Tage, avait juré la Const, pour la trahir. ... La fête du roi se chôma le *30mai*; elle fut célébrée par les  
25 paysans de la Manche, réunis dans Aranjuez. Die gardes répétèrent à Aranjuez le cri d'amour des paysans. ... La milice marcha sur le peuple; un bourgeois menaça de son sabre Don Carlos ... à Valence, un détachement d'artillerie voulut délivrer le gén. Ellio, renfermé dans la citadelle. Les insurgés de Catalogne, régularisés, avaient pris le nom de  
30 *Y Armée de la foi.* Le Seu d'Urgel fut emporté d'assaut. Le roi quitta sa résidence; il mit fin à la session le *30juin 1822.* Au sortir de la séance, les soldats et la milice en vinrent aux mains. Morillo nommé colonel des gardes. Pendant 6 jours le trouble alla croissant. D'un côté les troupes royales, de l'autre la milice et des régiments de la ligne étaient campés en  
35 face les uns des autres. ... Cependant on paraissait enclin à s'arranger dans le château; il était question de l'établissement de deux chambres. Le corps diplomatique entourait S. M: M. le Comte de la Garde poussait à des mesures conciliantes. Soudain un régiment de carabiniers se révolte en Andalousie; quelques bataillons de milice provinciale se joignent  
40 à ce régiment, et tous ensemble s'avancent sur Madrid en proclamant le roi *netto.* A cette nouvelle, les têtes royales s'enivrent; Ferdinand

retourne à sa nature et rompt les négociations. ... Le 7 juillet 1822 arriva: 2 bataillons de la garde étaient demeurés au château; 4 autres allèrent camper hors de Madrid, ils entrèrent de nuit dans la ville. Suivant les dispositions d'un complot prévoyant, ils se partagent en 3 colonnes; l'une marche au parc d'artillerie, l'autre à la porte Del Sol, la 3<sup>e</sup> à la place de la Constitution. La 1<sup>re</sup> division se débanda; quelques coups de fusil tirés du bataillon sacré des officiers la dispersèrent; la 2<sup>e</sup> u. 3<sup>e</sup> division sont successivement culbutées; les 2 bataillons du château demeurèrent sans ordres: à 6 heures du matin la milice l'emportait. Un Te Deum est chanté sur la place de la Constitution, la garde étant vaincue fut cassée: ce qui en restait se voulut défendre, on la mitrilla. ... Ferdinand, tyran craintif, pousse à la catastrophe et tremble quand elle est venue ... Die Spanier traduisaient et jouissaient perpétuellement notre Révolution sur le théâtre espagnol. Us ne produisaient rien parce qu'ils n'agissaient point par l'impulsion du génie national ... Après l'affaire du Juli 7, 1822, le ministre se retira ... Lopez Bonos (guerre), San Miguel (aff. étran.), Gaseo (intérieur), Navarro (justice) etc. Le marquis de Las-Amarillas, le marquis de Castellare, le comte de Casaserria, le gén. Longa, le brigadier Cisneros exilés, Castro-Torreno, le duc de Belgide, le duc de Montemar, grand majordome renvoyés. Rentra dans le château le gén. Palafox. San-Martin u. Morillo se virent écartés ... Ello fut juridiquement exécuté à Valence ... Dans la Navarre u. Cataluña Triumphant die royalistes: «Régence suprême de l'Espagne pendant la captivité du roi.» Marquis de Mataflorida, l'archevêque de Tarragone, le baron d'Eroles (14 sept. 1823 installé à la Seu ou cathédrale d'Urgel) ... Von Madrid etc les emigrations commençaient über die Méditerranée u. den Atlantique.

1)	2)	
Tragala, tragala,	Dicen que el rey no quiere	
Tu servirón,	los hombres libres;	
Tu que no quieres	Que se vaya à la ....	30
Constitución.	A mandar serviles.	

3)  
Tragala, Tragala etc. (54-64)

*Le Congrès de Vérone.* Zu Verona Kaiser v. Oestreich u. Metternich, Gentz etc. Alexander v. Rußland m. Nesselrode, Lieven, Pozzo di Borgo, Menzikoff etc etc dann Wellington, Londonderry (frère de feu Lord Castlereagh) etc König v. Preussen, prince Guillaume u. Charles ...

Comte Bernstorff, Humboldt ... Großherzog v. Parma u. Marie-Louise, dite veuve de Napoléon m. dem comte de Nieperg; grand duc u. duchesse v. Toscane etc. Großherzog u. archiduchesse v. Modène; der König der Deux-Sicules m. der duchesse de Florida, der confesseur Porta, der prince 5 v. Salerne; roi u. reine v. Sardaigne ... der comte de Latour, min. des aff étranger ... Chef der fzs. Gesandtschaft der comte de Montmorency. ... Auch die députés des malheureuse Grèce ... *M. de Villèle ne voulait point les hostilités*; er dachte alors comme les 3 quarts de l'Alliance, comme la France, comme l'Angleterre ... la guerre d'Espagne de 1823 10 nous (Chateaubriand) appartient en grande partie ... 5 affaires ont été agitées au congrès de Vérone: |

[28] 1) la traite des nègres; 2) les pirateries dans les mers de l'Amérique ou les colonies espagnoles; 3) les démêlés de l'Orient entre la Russie et la Porte; 4) la position de l'Italie; 5) les dangers de la révolution 15 d'Espagne par rapport à l'Europe, et surtout par rapport à la France. ... Avec ces questions générales, s'en présentaient 3 autres particulières: la navigation du Rhin, les troubles de la Grèce, les intérêts de la régence d'Urgel. ... il y avait déjà longtemps que la *Guerre d'Espagne était prévue avant la réunion du congrès de Vérone*. ... In den «*Instructions de Villèle*» 20 heißt es: «Nous ne nous sommes pas décidés à déclarer la guerre à l'Espagne ... les plénipotentiaires de S. M. doivent surtout éviter de se présenter au congrès comme rapporteurs des affaires d'Espagne. ... la France étant la seule puissance qui doive agir par ses troupes, elle sera seule juge de cette nécessité. En résumé, les plénipotentiaires français ne doivent pas 25 consentir à ce que le congrès prescrive la conduite de la France à l'égard de l'Espagne.» Chateaubriand sagt: On voit l'aversion fort naturelle du président du conseil (Villèle) pour les hostilités, sa crainte que les alliés ne nous proposent d'agir en Espagne. ... Verbalerklärungen des duc de Montmorency in der réunion der ministres etc à *Verone, le 20 Oct. 1822*. 30 (Chateaubriand gesteht, daß seine Trompete, Montmorency *dépassant un peu l'esprit des instructions des Villèle*) (sie sind grade *entgegengesetzt* u. während Villèle gesagt hatte: «ils tendront à faire considérer la question d'Espagne dans ses rapports généraux etc.» beginnen sie direkt m. der Wahrscheinlichkeit eines Kriegs zw. Frankreich u. Spanien) 35 (65-106) (Villèle schreibt auch in s. Instructions: «les Cortes emmèneraient plutôt Ferdinand à Cadix que de le laisser aller à Vérone.» (p. 103) In den «communications verbales» des durch Chateaubriand inszenierten Vicomte de Montmorency heißt es: «Un foyer révolutionnaire, établi si près de lui, peut lancer sur son propre sol et sur toute l'Europe de fatales 40 étincelles et menacer le monde d'un embrasement nouveau.» (p. 106) Die Kerls thun grade das Gegentheile v. dem, was Villèle ihnen vorgeschrieben

m. den Worten: «Les plénipotentiaires de S. M. doivent surtout éviter de se présenter au congrès comme rapporteurs des affaires d'Espagne. Les autres puissances peuvent les connaître aussi bien que nous ... ce rôle pouvait convenir à l'Autriche au congrès de Laybach, parce qu'elle avait la volonté d'envahir Naples.» Sie machen sich die «rapporteurs». Schlagen vor den rappel commun, on the part of all the powers, au cas de besoin, ihrer Gesandten v. Madrid u. Abbrechen der diplomatischen Verbindungen m. Spain. ... Während Villèle ihnen vorschreibt: «l'opinion de nos plénipotentiaires sur la question de savoir ce qu'il convient au congrès de faire relativement à l'Espagne, sera que la France étant la seule puissance qui doive agir par ses troupes, elle sera seule juge de cette nécessité ... Ils (die plénipotentiaires) ne doivent point admettre de secours achetés par des sacrifices pécuniaires ni par le passage de troupes étrangères sur notre territoire», läßt Chateaubriand den Montmorency sagen: «C'est sur la forme de ce concours moral et sur les mesures prises à lui assurer le secours matériel qui peut être réclamé par la suite, que la France croit, en définitive, nécessaire de fixer l'attention de ses augustes alliés.» ... parken 3 cas de guerre ... Non-seulement le congrès n'a pas poussé la France à la guerre, mais la Prusse et surtout l'Autriche y étaient très-opposées; *la Russie seule l'approuvait*, et promettait son appui moral et son appui matériel. (112) «en supposant un revers en Espagne, nous avions une révolution en France, et tous les Cosaques de la terre ne nous auraient pas sauvés.» (113) «Nous devons surtout prévoir que l'Angleterre pourrait intervenir et se poser en face de nous auprès des Espagnes ... une guerre avec la France serait... une guerre certaine avec la Russie.» (112, 13) Chateaubriand behauptet daß er hatte no «véritable crédit au congrès qu'après le départ de M. Montmorency.» (114) Le prince de Metternich, feignant d'être russe en détestant la Russie. (116) La Russie fait observer que dès le mois d'avril von 1820, elle avait signalé les conséquences du triomphe de la révolution en Espagne. (118) le duc de Wellington refusa de signer les procès-verbaux du 20 octobre et du 17 novembre. (120) à quoi se réduit l'intervention du congrès de Vérone? à trois dépêches insignifiantes v. Rußland, Preussen, Oestreich. Dans le cas où elles seraient méprisées, les envoyés des puissances alliées auraient ordre de demander leurs passeports. (129, 30) Ces dépêches, en donnant des grands éloges au peuple espagnol pour sa résistance à Napoléon, oublie que ce peuple obéissait alors aux cortès de Cadix. (141) Chateaubriand selbst sagt es x-mal daß, ausser Rußland, die Mächte gegen den Krieg, schreibt aber an Villèle: «d. d. Verona, 31. Octobre 1822»: «le vœu très prononcé des Puissances est pour la guerre avec l'Espagne.» (145) In diesem Brief: «les dernières dépêches de M. de Lagarde prouvent

combien le succès serait facile.» (145) Montmorency verläßt Verona 22 November. (152) Dans ce moment, par exemple, la Russie n'a point d'ambassadeur à Constantinople, et ce n'est pas la guerre; on négocie. (153) Von Verona 28 Nov. 1822 schreibt er an Chateaubriand: «si c'est la 5 guerre, c'est la guerre avec l'Angleterre.» (161) ferner: «Ouvrard ne demande rien, et se contente de dire: Reconnaissez la régence, et je me charge de tout. Mon emprunt a déjà porté un coup terrible aux emprunts des cortès». (162) Villèle schreibt an Chateaubriand, d. d. 5 Dec. 1822: «l'Angleterre s'est démasquée à Cuba, à Madrid et, en dernier lieu, au 10 congrès, par la proposition relative aux colonies espagnoles, qu'elle n'a faite évidemment pour s'autoriser, par la suite, de cette communication, et reconnaître à son aise toutes les colonies qui voudront bien lui accorder des avantages commerciaux.» (165) Indem, wie Villèle richtig bemerkt, die Noten der 3 Mächte, die er *nicht* beilegt, schon nach Madrid 15 geschickt, Frankreich in der position la plus difficile, u. die Hände gebunden ... Villèle schreibt an Chateaubriand, d. d. 10 Dec. 1822, indem er ihm den Sieg Mina's über die Glaubensarmee anzeigt: «il est avoué par tous les Espagnols que nous voyons, que jamais les royalistes espagnols, même alors que les autres gouvernements les aideraient, ne pourraient 20 faire la contre-révolution en Espagne sans le secours d'une armée étrangère.» (169) Villèle ne veut pas la guerre, il craint que si les dépêches des cours arrivent à Madrid, elles n'amènent immédiatement les hostilités; il nous prie de remédier à ce mal: les dépêches étaient parties. Attaché à notre système, nous étions bien aise de l'expédition des documents. (173) 25 «nous attribuons à tous les alliés les sentiments particuliers d'Alexandre, afin d'accoutumer M. de Villèle à l'idée des hostilités.» (l. c.) «guerre» sagt Chateaubriand selbst «qui pourrait devenir européenne, si elle venait à se compliquer d'une guerre en Orient et de l'attaque des colonies espagnoles par les Anglais.» (151) Nous disons au président du conseil que le 30 vœu très-prononcé des puissances est pour la guerre; qu'il ne s'agit pas de l'occupation de la Péninsule; qu'il n'est question que d'un mouvement rapide; nous montrons un succès facile: et pourtant nous savions que le congrès de Vérone ne voulait point la guerre; nous craignons que notre mouvement se prolongeât ||29j bien au-delà de l'Ebre; nous pensions qu'il 35 nous faudrait occuper long-temps l'Espagne, pour faire une bonne besogne, mais nous ne révélions pas tout, afin d'arriver à notre but, et nous nous disions secrètement: «Une fois la Bidassoa passée, il faudra bien que le président du conseil actif, capable et décidé, aille de l'avant.» (173, 4) Habe sich auch nicht wollen unmöglich machen, wie Montmo- 40 rency in Athen. Ayant pris à Vérone l'initiative sur la question des hostilités, ne fréquentant guère que l'empereur de Russie, le duc Mathieu



(Montmorency) devait de son côté représenter tous les princes transportés d'une fureur belliqueuse. (175) In der Note Villèle's ans englische Cabinet heißt es: «Le gouv. de S. M. vient d'être informé que, le 15 de ce mois, le ministère espagnol a, dans une séance secrète des cortes, demandé et obtenu l'autorisation de conclure un traité de commerce avec l'Angleterre. On ajoute que, pendant la discussion, un orateur ministériel a présenté cette mesure comme un sacrifice au prix duquel on pourrait espérer des secours devenus indispensables.» (177) Ouvrard reiste dans «les intérêts der régence et de son voyage», kam deßwegen auch nach Verona. (181)

*Alexandrei*, Paulowitsch, né le 23 Dec. 1777, marié le 9 oct. 1793 à Louise-Marie-Auguste, depuis Elisabeth Alexiowna, princesse de Baden, passa son enfance sous la tutelle de Catherine II. Parvint au trône le 24 mars 1801 u. "f 13 Dec. 1805. son père Paul I", fut trouvé étranglé dans son lit. (183) p. 185 bestätigt Chateaubriand die Echtheit des secret treaty of Tilsit zwischen Napoléon u. Alexander. ... Kurz vor dem Congrès de Vienne, Alexandre beleidigt weil Louis XVIII venait de refuser, sous prétexte de religion et par quelque motif offensant, le mariage du duc de Berry avec la soeur d'Alexandre. Bientôt il eut connaissance du projet d'une triple alliance entre la France, l'Autriche et l'Angleterre. (195) La Bernardière, attaché à l'ambassade française de Vienne, s'étant revenu placer auprès de M. de Caulincourt, fit un rapport (1815, Congrès de Vienne) sur les griefs que la France avait contre la famille légitime. Alexandre, déjà blessé, choqué d'ailleurs de la retraite précipitée de Louis XVIII sans que celui-ci eût essayé de se défendre, fut frappé du rapport de la Bernardière, et tout-à-coup il demanda aux alliés s'il ne serait pas bon de donner le duc d'Orléans pour roi à la France, quand on aurait une dernière fois vaincu Napoléon. Cette proposition jeta le Congrès dans le plus grand étonnement; elle manqua son effet par l'opposition de lord Clancarty. (196) Une dépêche de Vienne rendit compte à Louis XVIII de cette surprenante affaire. (l. c.) On estime que chacun des 100 jours a coûté à la France 30 millions; total des 100 jours: 3 milliards, frais d'une marche de Bonaparte. (202) (Czarskœe-Selo.) Als Chateaubriand aus dem ministère geworfen, schreibt ihm Alexandre zärtlichen Brief, d. d. Peterhoff, July 14, 1824. (206) Nous osons dire qu'Alexandre est devenu notre ami. (223) Une estafette nous (Chateaubriand) apporta le cordon de St.-Andrée aussitôt que la délivrance de Ferdinand fut connue. (l. c.) Alexandre est le seul prince pour qui nous ayons jamais éprouvé un sincère attachement. (224) Démission des M. de Montmorency v. den affaires étrangères, (unter Villèle) 1 Janvier, 1823 Chateaubriand ministre des aff. étrangères. (240) Louis XVIII nous

détestait. (243) Die *Carbonari* (in Italien) dont les principes, d'abord monarchiques pour repousser la domination de Bonaparte, devinrent graduellement ceux des Jacobins de la France. Die sociétés secrètes in Frankreich en 1820, en s'affiliant aux *Carbonari* d'Italie, qui produisirent 5 en Espagne les Communeros. (247, 6) Dans le cours de 1821, 35 préfets dénoncèrent des sociétés de Carbonari. (249) Diese Logen dont les simagrées étaient puériles afin d'enflammer l'imagination romanesque des jeunes candidats. (249) Conspirations, bes. Militärs: in Frankreich 1820 u. 21 u. l'Espagne, depuis plusieurs années, s'était liée à nos factions. 10 (251) Der *Observateur Espagnol*, d. d. 1 Octobre 1822, v. der ouverture des Congrès v. Verona sagt: «L'épée de Damoclès, qui est suspendue sur la tête des Bourbons, va bientôt les atteindre. Nos moyens de vengeance sont de toute évidence. Outre la vaillante armée espagnole, n'avons-nous pas dans cette armée sanitaire 10,000 chevaliers de la liberté, prêts à se 15 joindre à leurs anciens officiers, et à tourner leurs armes contre les oppresseurs de la France? N'avons-nous pas plus de 100,000 de ces chevaliers dans l'intérieur de ce royaume, dont 25 mille au moins dans l'armée, et plus de 1000 dans la garde royale? N'avons-nous pas pour nous cette haine irascible que les  $\frac{1}{10}$  de la France ont vouée à d'exécrables 20 tyrans?» (252) Der *Observât. Esp.* v. 9 Feb. 1823 nous apprend qu'un général français, en non-activité, écrit que «le premier coup de canon tiré sur les Espagnols sera le signal de la chute des Bourbons.» (252) Des lettres interceptées dévoilent le plan: il s'agit de former des corps (252) • • o

25 Manifeste den Français «Au grand quartier-général de l'armée des hommes libres, sur les monts Pyrénées, le 1823. Unterschrieben: *les membres du conseil de régence de Napoléon II.*» (p. 256 sqq.) Der *Moniteur*, der dieß Aktenstück publicirt, sagt: «tout le monde sait qu'une troupe de transfuges (français) attend nos soldats à l'avant-garde de l'armée 30 de Mina; nous savions qu'un détachement de cette troupe était parti de Bilbao, au cri de vive *Napoléon III!* et portant l'uniforme de la garde du ci-devant empereur. Enfin, sur qui le premier coup de canon a-t-il été tiré en Espagne? Sur des hommes qui criaient *vive Napoléon III* Quel est le premier signe ennemi qu'on a rencontré? L'aigle et le drapeau tricolore.»

35 (260,1) Chateaubriand ruft M. de Lagarde v. Madrid zurück. Dieser verläßt es 30 Janvier, arriva 3 février à Paris. (273) Louis XVIII ouvrit la session 28 Janvier, 1823. (280): «100,000 Français, commandés par un prince de ma famille, sont prêts à marcher en invoquant le Dieu de St. Louis, pour conserver le trône d'Espagne à un petit-fils de Henri IV.»

40 (281, 2) Lorsqu'on rompt violemment ses entraves, on est presque toujours repris et réenchaîné: il n'y a de liberté durable que pour ceux dont

le temps a usé les fers. (362) Il est certain que notre triomphe inespéré lui (Alexandre) donna quelque jalousie, car il s'était secrètement flatté que nous serions forcés de recourir à lui. (383) quand l'armée de Silveira entra sur le sol espagnol, nous en dûmes refuser l'appui, crainte de fournir un prétexte aux agressions de l'Angleterre. M. Canning eût-il, comme il le fit plus tard, débarqué quelques régiments anglais à Lisbonne, notre flanc droit se trouvant menacé, nous n'aurions pu suivre le gouvernement de Madrid à Seville. (385) Zu Verona gutzumachen blos ein war (gegen Spain) purely *defensive* on the part of France. (468) |

130j Correspondance zw. Alexander u. Chateaubriand. In einer *Dépêche russe au gén. Pozzo di Borgo* v. 3/15 March: «l'empereur se flattait encore que la modération prévaudrait dans les conseils du gouvernement anglais. Wenn nicht etc. il regarderait l'attaque dirigée contre la France comme une attaque générale contre tous les alliés et accepterait, sans hésiter, les conséquences de ce principe. ... l'empereur exhorte le roi à consommer ses propres déterminations et à marcher avec confiance contre les hommes des troubles et des malheurs. Agissant dans cet esprit, l'empereur rappelle la question agitée au congrès relative à la réunion d'une armée russe sur les frontières occidentales de l'Empire comme moyen de sûreté européenne. (477, 8)

## II tome.

Brief v. *Chateaubriand* à *M. de la Ferronnais*. (Gesandter in St. Petersburg) (Paris, 21 April, 1823) «nous avons mis la monarchie française sur une carte pour faire la guerre.» (8) l'Angleterre veut, sagt der neapolitanische Gesandte zu Chateaubriand: «que ce soit la maison de Bragance qui règne en Espagne.» (30) Spain nation de muletiers et de bergers-soldats. (196) Combien a-t-il fallu de temps à l'achèvement de cette entreprise? Au mois d'avril 1824, les pairs et les députés retrouvèrent aux barrières du Louvre la Garde qui, passant la Bidassoa au mois d'avril 1823, alla poser des factionnaires aux portes de Ferdinand, à Seville. (427) Expliquez pourquoi les armées et les généraux des Cortes ont accepté notre paix après avoir croisé le fer pour l'honneur des armes. (429) C'est pour les faire brûler (die traités de Vienne) que j'avais voulu reconstruire notre puissance en Espagne. (432) Wollte Rußland Türkei geben f. die Rheinprovinzen etc

### Rév. d'Espagne. [(Fortsetzung)]

Quoique les Français ne trouvassent aucune résistance depuis le passage de la Bidassoa, car une légère escarmouche à Logroño aussitôt décidée en leur faveur ne mérite pas ce nom, ils mirent 47 jours pour arriver à  
5 Madrid après leur entrée en Espagne. (234, 5) Der *Tragala*, mit den changements de mots, (chanson insultante inventée à Cadix, portée à Madrid par les aides-de-camp de Riégo.) auch v. den Serviles gegen die Liberales gesungen. (248)

Si le comte de Carthagène eût embrassé avec chaleur la cause des  
10 cortes, les Français auraient trouvé en lui un terrible adversaire, wegen son mérite militaire u. wegen der position qu'il occupait, aucune province n'offrait des moyens aussi grandes de former une armée que la Galice. 1 V<sub>2</sub> millions d'habitants. La grande étendue de ses côtes met cette province en communication avec les provinces maritimes de la Péninsule,  
15 avec les royaumes étrangers; et de ses ports on pouvait faire un tort considérable au commerce français, à une grande distance de la frontière, et très loin de toutes les lignes d'opération de l'armée d'invasion, celle-ci ne pouvait détacher une force considérable en Galice, et les gorges étroites qu'ils faut traverser, de quelque côté que l'on veuille pénétrer dans  
20 le pays, le mettent aussi à couvert d'une insurrection. ... Si le comte de Carthagène, à son arrivée à l'armée, qu'il aurait pu rejoindre beaucoup plus tôt, se fût uni aux exaltés; s'il avait poursuivi ou éloigné tous ceux qui pouvaient s'opposer à ses desseins; s'il avait fait publier le décret des cortes sur les droits seigneuriaux, et qu'il eût voulu soulever les fermiers  
25 contre les maîtres; aucun doute pour qui connaît la Galice, qu'il eût fait dans cette province une véritable révolution, et que les Galiciens eussent aidé efficacement à l'exécution de ces plans ... le sentiment dominant des

Espagnols, particulièrement des provinces du nord, et parmi ceux-ci les Galiciens, est celui de leur propre bien-être; toutes les autres pensées et considérations sont pour eux très subordonnées à ce principe général, et jamais ils ne paieront avec plaisir ni la dîme, ni l'impôt du voeu de St. Jacques ... Morillos armée Ende Mai ungefähr 14,000 Infanterie, 5 1200 chevaux, weil renforcée durch die troupes qui se retiraient des provinces basques, de Santander, de Burgos. Nach dem Décret der Cortes in Galice mehr als 6000 hommes zu lever pour le recrutement de l'armée permanente et de la milice active, leicht 4000 mehr de faire prendre les armes, en appelant seulement une partie des hommes licenciés. Ausser- 10 dem konnte er tirer quelque chose des Asturies u. partie v. Castille, so daß er vor August could have at his ordres 24,000 Mann, 3 od. 4000 chevaux, weil nach dem retraite v. Madrid die belle cavalerie der 3' Armees bestimmt f. die 4<sup>e</sup>. Croit-on que les Français auraient pénétré en Andalousie en laissant en Galice un corps de troupes aussi considérable? Dann 15 konnte er auf Burgos marschieren, od. wie in 1808, u. in 1813, traverser l'Ebre près de sa source, et se dirigeant par la lisière de la Castille, touchant un peu à la Biscaye, tomber sur Vittoria. Partout où il se fût dirigé il trouvait l'appui des volontaires nationaux et de tous ceux verfolgt v. den Behörden der Régence. Ils étaient en grand nombre, en général hommes 20 propres à la guerre et disposés à la faire à toute outrance, parcequ'on les avait exaspérés ... Konnte jedenfalls empêcher l'entrée en Galice de la division Bourk. ... Wollte dem Ministerium an die Spitze die Leute seiner Ideen setzen, diese hommes en général sans crédit, ni militaire, ni politique; contrariés continuellement par leurs subalternes, parce qu'il y avait 25 dans l'armée beaucoup de modérés ... Il était donc nécessaire que le ministère se servît de quelques généraux de réputation, et ceux-ci ne pouvaient consentir à ce que la révolution suivît la marche que voulaient lui donner les cortes. (303-11) Le gouvernement décrète la formation de 2 armées d'opération et deux de réserve. La 1<sup>re</sup> unter Mina se composait 30 des troupes de Catalogne. Die 2<sup>e</sup>, Santander, Theil v. vieille Castille, Basques, Navarre, Aragon, Valence, unter Ballesteros ... tous ceux qui ont écrit ou parlé des opérations militaires dont l'Espagne peut être le théâtre sont d'accord que pour couvrir les Pyrénées il faut 3 corps d'armée: l'un pour la frontière de Catalogne le 2<sup>de</sup> pour celle de l'Aragon, 35 le 3<sup>e</sup> pour celle de Navarre. Il n'est pas possible que les troupes de l'Aragon opèrent avec intelligence et profitent des occasions si elles attendent les ordres d'un général qui se trouve sur la Bidossoa, partie la plus menacée de la frontière. ... il n'y avait point de moyens pour défendre la frontière; c'était une raison de plus pour former 3 armées au lieu de 2. Il 40 devait entrer dans leurs plans que le peuple ferait la guerre aux Français,

Aus Sebastián de Minano: Révolution d'Espagne. Examen critique (Fortsetzung)

mußten ihnen point d'appui geben ... La Inconséquence d'avoir mis  
sous le commandement du même général toutes les troupes qu'il y avait à  
Santander etc fut que le gén. Ballesteros n'eut pas le temps de réunir  
opportunément ses forces, qu'il ne put parcourir la frontière, qu'il ne  
5 parvint même pas aux points les plus menacés. Lorsqu'il apprit que les  
Français étaient entrés en Espagne, il appela à lui toutes ses troupes qui  
occupaient les provinces frontières, toutes celles que l'on avait placées  
sous ses ordres, et ne pouvant faire face à l'ennemi, il se replia sur  
Valence, laissant tout le pays sans un seul soldat, sauf les garnisons de  
10 quelques places. Les forces se diminuèrent considérablement dans une si  
longue ||31| retraite par la désertion et par d'autres causes. ... Les  
Français ne trouvèrent pas la moindre opposition ni au passage de la  
Bidassoa, ni dans les gorges étroites des chemins qu'ils suivirent jusqu'à  
Vittoria, ni au passage de l'Ebre. Völker hätten sich nicht heben kön-  
15 nen, wenn sie gewollt. Français, qui n'avaient rien à craindre sur leurs  
flancs ou sur leurs derrières, avançaient directement vers le centre de la  
Péninsule. (200-202) Nach der Ueberrumpfung des quartier général zu  
Arcos de la Frontera, Riego, non content de remplir l'objet principal  
dont il s'était chargé, suppléa par son courage et ses bonnes combinai-  
20 sons au retard du bataillon de Seville, causé par le mauvais temps; il  
gagna le bataillon des guides du général, et marchant à sa tête il surprit  
à Bornos le bataillon d'Aragon qui s'y trouvait cantonné. Riego passa  
de Bornos à Xérès de la Frontera, à Port-St. Marie, enfin à l'île de Léon,  
conduisant toujours avec lui les prisonniers, qu'il déposa dans le château  
25 de Santi-Petri ... Man verdankte dem Riego auch die désertion du régi-  
ment des Canaries u. celle d'une brigade d'artillerie, qui venaient  
d'Ossuna et auxquels il fit croire que toute la nation s'était déclarée en  
faveur de la révolution ... simplicité, modestie, sans que ses ennemis  
mêmes aient signalé de sa part le moindre trait d'ambition et moins  
30 encore de vengeance. (62-4)

### Observations sur l'État Actuel de l'Espagne. (1825)

(2<sup>e</sup> Capitel v. Rév. d'Esp.)

Zuerst licencier des restes der armée constitutionnelle, d. h. die corps des  
armées des Morillo u. Ballesteros, et quelques autres qui avaient capitulé  
35 dans les places. Aber so rasch etc daß nicht einmal précaution pour  
conserver les effets appartenant à l'état, qui devaient cependant être bien-  
tôt nécessaires pour organiser une nouvelle armée. Und beleidigend gen

die Soldaten. (393) Chefs, officiers, denen dû aux arriérés considérables, 5  
erhielten nur 2 mois de solde; ihre congés expédiés sans leur donner  
aucune espérance pour l'avenir. Diese congés November 1823 beginnen.  
Erst 8 März 1824 Décret qui assigne aux chefs u. captains  $\frac{1}{2}$  de leur  
solde, u.  $\frac{2}{3}$  den officiers subalternes. (394) On n'observa aucune des capi-  
tulations, des conventions, des transactions faites avec les Français, pas  
même celles signés par les généraux espagnols désignés par le roi après sa  
mise en liberté. (395)

Peu importait, à ce qu'il paraît, de compromettre la dignité de la parole  
d'un prince généralissime (Angoulême), de ravalier l'honneur des con- 10  
ventions militaires, pourvu que l'armée française comprit bien que sa  
mission n'avait pas été de donner la vraie liberté à un peuple. (398)  
Amnistie erschien in der *Gazette* v. 24 Mai 1824 (unter dem date du 1<sup>er</sup>)  
... Ausnahmen: 1) die auteurs principaux des rébellions militaires de las  
Cabezas, de l'île de Léon, Coruna, Saragossa, Oviedo, Barcelona etc 15  
2) les auteurs principaux de la conspiration tramée à Madrid au com-  
mencement de mars 1820 pour m'obliger à rendre le décret du 7 mars  
u. à prêter serment; 3) die chefs militaires qui prirent part à la révolte  
arrivée à Ocaña, bes. Henri O'Donnel, comte de l'Abisbal; u. dann noch  
unendliche Categorien darunter; 7) les auteurs ou éditeurs de livres et de 20  
journaux destinés à combattre, à contredire les dogmes de notre sainte  
religion catholique etc. Die auteurs der émeutes v. Madrid 6 Nov. 1820  
u. Nacht v. 19 Februar 1823; die juges u. gens du parquet des procès  
intentés au gén. Elio etc. die auteurs u. exécuteurs der assassinats des  
archidiacre Vinuesa, des évêque v. Vieh, wie deren commis in Grenada 25  
u. Coruna contre les individus arrêtés dans le château de San Anton etc  
... Die commandants der bandes u. guerillas formés seit dem entrée der  
fzs. armée ... die Cortes, die, 11 Juin 1823 s. déchéance decretirt etc. Die  
Amnestirten auch der surveillance der autorités respectives unterworfen.  
... Amnestie schließt nicht ein die réintégration der emplois obtenus vor 30  
dem 7mars 1820. ... Setzt auch Masse Einschränkungen, die in den  
Capitulationen m. den Franzosen eingeschloßen u. nicht Amnestirten  
verbannt v. dem territoire espagnol... Das décret du roi fut fort mal reçu  
de tous les Espagnols ...

Das Décret v. 1 u. publié erst den 20 Mai aus très mauvaise intention. 35  
Aussitôt que l'amnistie fut accordée, par ordre confidentiel du roi,  
le ministre de la justice la communiqua aux intendants de la police,  
pour que dans chaque province on fît des recherches et l'on formât des  
listes de ceux qui devaient être arrêtés en vertu des exceptions, afin  
que l'on rocédât à leur arrestation en même temps qu'à la publication 40  
de l'ordonnance. ... Le décret d'amnistie fut le signal de nouveaux

emprisonnements, tandis que les individus déjà prisonniers, qui, en vertu des articles 3 et 4, devaient être mis en liberté, restèrent en prison. ... le corps diplomatique complimenta Ferdinand VII à cause de *ce décret d'amnistie* ... Général Aimerich ... *Conspiration en Aragon* dans le but de  
5 proclamer l'infant *Don Carlos*, sociétés secrètes unter den absolutistes. Général Grimarest ... Si Don Carlos n'usurpa point la couronne du vivant de son frère, il faut l'attribuer à sa lâcheté, mais non pas au défaut d'occasion pour le faire ... Une dilapidation scandaleuse, un désordre extraordinaire dans toutes les parties, l'ignorance et l'apathie de ceux qui  
10 gouvernement ont fait des finances d'Espagne un chaos impénétrable, une source permanente de vols et de mécontentements. ... Früher schon das "ministère (constitutionnel I) de Canga Arguelles, pour placer des favoris, des amis du système constit., greva le trésor de sommes énormes durch Gehalt an die verabschiedeten Reactionnaire. ... *Francisco Tadeo Calo-*  
15 *mar de*, ministre de la justice ... die officire erhielten à peine la plus petite partie de ce que leur promettait le décret v. 8 Mars 1824. ... Anfang August 1824 Banden v. aventuriers organised a small naval expedition, seized Tarifa, aux cris de *Vive la Constit. de 1812*, parcourent une grande partie des côtes de l'Andalousie et de Murcie. Ihre Zahl, Mittel, noms,  
20 tout était méprisable, u. dennoch das mécontentement so groß u. die Hilfsmittel des span. Gov. so small, daß un fort détachement français sorti de Cadiz mußte belagern Tarifa, sonst ces conspirateurs en seraient restés long-temps les maîtres u. vielleicht neue general insurrection. Tarifa fut pris; die conspirateurs qui purent se sauver nach Gibraltar  
25 od. Afrique. Nun siegten die Exaltirten ganz im Madrid Cabinet. Il résulte v. der *Gazette v. Madrid*, daß v. 24 Aug. - 12 Sept. 1824 fusillés, pendus, écartelés u. die membres placés dans les environs der capitale, comme conspirateurs, 112 individus. Und damals noch nicht das barbarische Décret v. 12 October veröffentlicht (1824) ... Les tribunaux sont  
30 les commissions militaires créés dans toutes les capitaineries générales pour connaître des affaires de conspiration et du vol ... 9 October, 1824 Royal Ordre expedirt v. dem Kriegsminister Aimerich an den capt. gén. de la Nouvelle-Castille. Danach Hochverrätther alle die seit 1 Oct. 1823 se sont déclarés, «en prenant les *armes ou par des faits de*  
35 *quelque* espèce que ce soit», Feinde des Throns od. Freunde der Constitution v. Cadix; die ont écrit od. écriront v. derselben Date Libelles in diesem Sinne (also Tod) 4 - 10 J. présides die in endroits publics gegen die Souveraineté gesprochen od. f. die Constit., wenn ihre conversation, ne produisent pas d'actes positifs etc etc. Nach Art. 9 Aile maçons, die sich  
40 nicht selbst denunciirten, comuneros etc Tod. Confiscation ... (Dieß Décret nicht in der *Gazeta*, sondern im *Diario de Madrid*, 17 Octob.)



Danach Tod, pour avoir dit simplement: vive la constitution! vive Riego! ou meurent les Serviles! ... selbst wenn ohne alle conséquences. ... Od. die rufen: meurent les tyrans! ... Nach «Art. 7» desselben loi «la force des preuves en faveur de l'accusé ou contre lui est laissée à la prudente et impartiale appréciation des juges». ... Ferdinand VII u. Calomarde verstanden unter «lois fondamentales d'Espagne» celles de Cordoue u. Grenade, wenn diese provinces unter der domination der Maures und nicht der v. Castille u. Aragon ... (399-482) |

|32| (3 Chapt. der Rév. d'Esp.)

De l'Espagne au Mois de Mars. 1836. 10

L'Espagne, épuisée par de longues luttes intestines, est livrée à des partis impuissants. (483) Presque en prenant le commandement de la Catalogne, Mina fait une proclamation sauvage, où la peine de mort est le refrain obligé de chaque paragraphe; établit diese gegen reiche etc Provinzen en état de siège ... Man wußte nicht, warum Mina mit solcher Wuth, quittant Barcelona, unternimmt die Belagerung eines misérable bicoque au milieu des montagnes de la Catalogne. *Grund:* En 1823 dieses bicoque - San Llorens de Moruny alias del Piteus - hatte sich des Mina's Haß zugezogen par le refus de payer une contribution arbitraire trop onéreuse. Une proclamation, mise immédiatement à exécution durch den General Rotten, enthielt folgende disposition: «Il faut que l'on dise à l'avenir: C'est ici que fut San Llorens del Piteus ... les rues sont assignées aux divers corps pour le pillage, ainsi qu'il suit ... lorsque le pillage sera achevé, les troupes rassembleront du combustible dans toutes les maisons et y mettront le feu ensemble. Tous les habitants de 16-60 ans seront fusillés ... les femmes u. die habitants unter 16, über 60 J. ne pourront résider dans l'arrondissement de Solsona etc.» Die habitants échappés au massacre étaient revenus, avaient rebâti leur village. In der insurrection carliste, ils avaient travaillé aux fortifications de l'ermitage *del Hort*, qui en est voisin; ils faisaient partie de la garnison; ils ont hérité de la haine etc. Also Mina dahin s. Expedition. Il annonce dans ses rapports comme un bruit, daß die Carlistes assiégés vont fusiller 54 prisonniers christinos. Lüge. Darauf hin Emeute in Barcelona, u. 200 (carlistes) prisonniers lâchement égorgés dans les prisons u. hôpitaux. (489-491) L'esprit provincial, qui n'a du reste jamais eu la force qu'on lui a prêtée dans cette lutte, est détruit par l'influence de la camarilla d'Oñate. (493). Les derniers journaux de Saragosse rapportent que le Général Nogueras

ayant écrit au gouverneur de Tortose où se trouvait la mère du Cabrera, qu'il lui paraissait convenable de faire porter à cette femme la peine du mal fait par son fils au parti de la reine, le gouverneur lui répond daß er unter den ordres des capt. gén. v. Cataluña, daß aber Mina auf s. Reclamations eingegangen *la mère de Cabrera a été fusillée*. La *Gazette d'Oñate* ajoute: ses soeurs et ses parents. *Cabrera*, par représailles: *Art. 2* ... tous les individus qui seront pris seront fusillés. *Art. 3 Seront immédiatement fusillés, en représailles de l'assassinat* de mon innocente mère, la femme du col. Don Manuel Fontibero, commandant de Chelva; les *señoras* Cinta Tos, Mariana Guardia, Francisca Urquesa et 30 autres etc ... Ainsi la guerre va prendre un caractère de barbarie inconnu parmi les tribus les plus sauvages de l'Amérique. (498, 9) [1] L'insurrection des provinces basques n'est point religieuse, carliste ou provinciale. Les premiers insurgés furent carlistes, hommes de la foi, partisans de Bessières, volontaires royalistes. Ils étaient soulevés, ils s'étaient battus, Santos-Ladron était fusillé, les bandes réorganisées long-temps avant que le mot *fueros* fût sorti d'une bouche ou d'une plume. Les privilèges, en effet, n'étaient point menacés; ils furent invoqués pour la première fois, dans les provinces seulement, lorsque le général Castañon les mit en état de siège. Il n'en a pas été question in valencia, Cataluña, Aragon, Galicia. Les principaux champions des privilèges des provinces sont christinos, riches, réfugiés en France. Le peuple ne pense nullement aux *fueros*, et guère plus à Don Carlos. Il est plein de contrebandiers, d'aventuriers épris de la guerre, haïssant les Espagnols comme les étrangers. Dieß waren die premiers soldats, la plupart de ceux qui le sont aujourd'hui sont retenus par la crainte, par la terreur. 2) le parti purement légitimiste de la cour du prétendant, le parti castillan, n'a aucun crédit sur l'armée insurgée; il intrigue. Les juntes provinciales carlistes gouvernent en réalité. Jezt die principaux mobiles der résistance actuelle der insurgés. Haß gegen die Espagnols, gegen die excès affreux der Générais Rodil, Mina u. die vengeances atroces des Zumalacarregui, die mensonges éhontés der Carlistes. Andrerseits la crainte des châtimens carlistes, la conviction de l'inviolabilité de leurs montagnes, le défaut total de confiance dans les forces de la reine. (506, 7) ... Die intérêts nationaux à peine compris par des Andaloux, des Catalans, des Navarrais, des Galiciens etc qui sont à peine Espagnols. Il faut pour ainsi dire créer la nation espagnole. ... La défense contre l'agression française, en 1808, fut pour ainsi dire individuelle. La constitution n'était connue que de nom hors de Cadix. Die provinces agirent simultanément, mais non pas en corps de nation. Loin de là, les juntes ravivèrent l'esprit provincial. (511, 13) les Français, repoussés par les armes, avaient vaincu par leurs idées: l'Espa-

gne devenait libérale. (513) grands mots et de petits intérêts, Grands discours et de petits hommes, de grands crimes et de petits combats, de bonnes intentions sans moyens, de la pureté sans énergie. (514)

«tous les liens provisoires qui formaient le faisceau national de la guerre de l'indépendance étaient rompus. La guerre de 1823 die preuve, 5 en même temps qu'elle augmenta le relâchement social. Le second règne, le second despotisme de Ferdinand dissipa jusqu'au vestige d'esprit national; il n'y eut plus qu'un maître, des esclaves, des intrigues.» (513, 14)

il n'y a pas de nation espagnole. Aucun homme n'est assez fort, aucun 10 parti n'est assez nombreux pour avoir le droit de se proclamer national: les succès mêmes de chacun le montrent avec évidence par leur alternative. Tantôt quelques 100 d'hommes par cité soustraient des provinces à l'obéissance, au pouvoir central; tantôt la révolte s'arrête devant des promesses auxquelles personne ne croit; les armées carlistes sont écrasées; 15 puis elles pénètrent jusque auprès de Madrid. (515). |

1351 Walton.  
1.1.  
[(Fortsetzung)]

"General Vaudoncourt, a decided Napoleonist, furnishes particulars of  
5 his own plan, in his *Letters on the Internal and Political State of Spain in  
1821, 22 and 23*,' without concealing names. His project was, to attack  
France from Catalonia; and insinuations were held out that a party of  
Napoleonists had been secured to support the invasion. It was even  
added, that influential officers in several French regiments were ready to  
10 join the enterprise. Montarlot, a French journalist, raised his standard at  
Zaragoza and announced his design to enter France with a co-operating  
force. (252)

*Mina*, born at Idozin, a village of Navarre, June 17, 1781, his parents  
farmers. On the invasion of the French he entered Doyle's battalion as a  
15 soldier. In April 1810 named commander-in-chief of the guerillas of  
Navarre." (215)

*Don Rafael del Riego*. Student when the French invasion commenced;  
entered the army, first served in the regiment of his native province,  
Asturias. Prisoner, conveyed to France. Remained there till the end of  
20 the war, then travelled in Germany and England. At the close of 1819, he  
found himself in Andalusia with the rank of colonel, and in command  
of his old regiment. (224) *Bardaxi*, native of Andalusia, early entered the  
diplomatic career, minister of for. Affairs in 1812, envoy to Turin  
in 1819. *M. Feliu*, formerly a sub-lieutenant in a militia regiment of Lima,  
25 deputy in the Cortes of 1812 for Peru; 1814 exiled to Zaragoza. (250)

*George Bessières* native of Montpellier, of mean birth. He went on Spain to seek his fortune; and when General Duhesme was at Barcelona in 1808, he employed him as a commission agent. Bessières entered the Spanish legion of Bourbon; soon rose to the rank of captain. In 1822 he joined the regency of Urgel, from whom he received a colonel's commission. Captured Mequinenza, of which place he was made commander. Several daring excursions into the interior, approaching the very gates of Madrid. (258) 2 corps of Italian refugees, who first assembled at Mataro and Gerona, were operating in Catalonia under Mina's orders; the 1<sup>st</sup> commanded by Col. Olini, das 2<sup>nd</sup> by Col. Pacchierotti. (284) Nach General Buriel u. Calatrava die span. Armee, as follows:

1) army under Mina, partly in garrison	21,000.	
2) Dto of operations, under Ballesteros	18,400.	
In garrisons	6,250.	
3) Under Abisbal at Madrid	8,310.	15
Garrison of Badajoz	2,400.	
Organising in Estremadura	4,190.	
4) Under <i>Morillo</i>	9,000.	
Cavalry	1,500.	
Garrisons	4,000.	20
Reserve under <i>Villacampa</i>	9,300.	
Cavalry and infantry training	9,000.	
Garrison of Cadiz	700.	
Militia attached to 4 <sup>th</sup> army	700.	
Ditto of Madrid attached to the reserve	2,000.	25
Total	<u>96,750.</u>	(289)

The French army crossed the Bidassoa on April 7 (1823) when the constitutional troops threw themselves into St. Sebastian's, leaving the road to Tolosa open. (286) General Ballesteros commanded the defiles of Salinas which were easily forced.

Bilboa simultaneously occupied by a small detachment of French and a corps of Span, royalists under Quesada. At Pancorvo the constitutionalists made no resistance, leaving behind them 31 pieces of cannon and a corresponding quantity of stores. (290) The family der O'Donnells v. Irland nach Spain after the defeat of the Earl of Tyrone during the reign of Queen Elizabeth ... followed the military profession u. when the Brit, army landed in the Peninsula, 4 brothers held commissions in the Span, service: Henry, Charles, Joseph, Alexander. The 1<sup>st</sup> served under Gen. Blake in 1809; and the part he took on the relief of Gerona, at the

head of the Ultonia regiment, first brought him u. General Sarsfield into notice. In 1810 Henry appointed to the command of Catalonia, where he created an army ... Defeated on the plains of Vich by Gen. Souham u. afterwards successful at the village of Abisbal, where he gained his title,  
5 witnessed the surrender of a whole Fr. column under the orders of General Schwartz. Deprived of his command in 1811, in 1812 named a member der regency; towards the close of the war, rejoined the army, commanded at the capture of Pancorvo ... At the restauration he retired to France, | at Montpellier May 17, 1834 ... Sein only son shot by order of  
10 Zumalacarregui, Charles O'Donnel, der 2<sup>d</sup> brother, was staunch royalist u. commanded a division der army of the Faith in 1822, hatte 4 sons, 3 royalists u. 1 Cristino. Die 2 ersten fielen als Carlisten, der 3<sup>te</sup> joined Don Carlos August 1836 in Guipuscoa. Don *Leopold* Cristino now holds the rank of brigadier in the queen's service. (291-4) Bourke mit a corps  
15 of 5000 French took the road to Galicia, wo Morillo m. 9000 infantry u. 1500 cavalry stationed on various points, independent of 4000 more employed in garrisons. (299) The regiments with which it was intended that Abisbal should defend the capital, on retiring took up positions at Talavera u. Aranjuez, in order to retreat along the Tagus; but on the  
20 French advancing, they withdrew to Truxillo. The ex-war-minister, Lopez Baños, appointed to the command of this force. ... The news of the French having passed the defile of Despeñaperros and directed their march upon Cordova prevented the gov. from waiting for that protection which Lopez Baños was to afford. (305). Zieht in Sevilla ein u. hastened  
25 towards the South. (306[, 307]) As the French advanced, Ballesteros quitted Valencia, retired to Murcia, dann to Granada. After some slight skirmishes, he concluded a convention d. d. 4 August, acknowledging the authority der Madrid Regency. (307) Towards the beginning of August, almost the only question that remained to be solved was, wheth-  
30 er Barcelona or Cadiz would surrender first. Riego shut up in Cadiz. Plan to push him into active service, it was thought that if he could only approach the army of Ballesteros—which, after the capitulation, still remained embodied, though inactive,—his name and influence might bring over a large proportion of men. ... He undertook the task, and on  
35 quitting the harbour eluded the vigilance of the blockading force. Reached Malaga on the 5 Sept., where he found Gen. Zayas at the head of 4000 men, the remnant der reserve lately under the orders of Gen. Villacampa. Of this force Riego took the command and with it proceeded towards the positions held by Ballesteros. Reaching Riego,  
40 16 leagues north of Malaga, he found himself in front of his rival's lines, who received him with a fire of musketry. Interview mit Ballesteros etc.

Retreated towards Jaén, ||36| near which place he and his band on the 15<sup>th</sup> Sept. made prisoners by one of Molitor's corps ... 7<sup>th</sup> November executed by the orders der prov. gov. at Madrid (308-11) On the 12<sup>th</sup> August Corunna capitulated. (313) D. *Pedro Villacampa*, born in Aragon, at the time of the invasion was a serjeant of infantry. Then formed a guerilla 5 party, formidable to the French. At the return of Ferdinand VII confirmed in the rank of lieut.-gen.; but, suspected of some participation in the Lacy conspiracy, he was confined in the castle of Monjuich. After the la Isla affair, the inhabitants proclaimed him capt. gen. of Catalonia, dieser rank confirmed to him in 1821, he afterwards commanded in Granada. 10 In 1823 he passed over to Tangiers, embraced the Mahometan faith u. settled on a farm; returned to Spain in 1833. Far advanced in age, bekam das command der Balearic Islands. (309) D. *Francisco Ballesteros*, native of Zaragoza, served as subaltern in the regiment of Aragon during the campaign of 1793 gegen die French. Dann employed in den custom-house 15 guards in Asturias; on the French entering Spain, the junta of that province confided a regiment to him, organised under his own directions ... At the head des war department in 1816, he formed a plan similar to that tried by Napoleon in the provinces east of the Ebro, the great object of which was to introduce a military gov. A lieutenant was to have charge of 20 a village, a captain of a town; a lieut.-col. of a city; keeping up constant communications mit dem war department. (310) the hopes entertained of British interference had failed. (317) Vor der Restauration (1823) M. D. Antonio *Ugarte* one of the most important personages in Madrid. Had been an agent for law-suits; *Tatischeff*, the Russian envoy, intro- 25 duced him at court, and though his influence placed him at the head of the camarilla—the back-stair-case-council. Ugarte was made director-general der expeditions against South America, and the funds destined for this object passed through his hand. He effected the purchase der rotten ships from Russia, and in return for his service had the cross of St. Ann 30 bestowed upon him... Became so rich u. powerful, daß little was obtained at court without his patronage ... made ministers u. vice-roys (343[, 344]) Die forced loan der Cortes at length acknowledged, in March 1831. (p. 346) Ministry Marquis de Casa Irujo u. Count Ofalla. Zambrano u. Ballesteros im ministry, (p. 343) 35

*August 1824:* band of emigrants assembled at Gibraltar with the view of attacking some part der neighbouring coast. Dividing themselves into 2 parties, the 1. commanded by Col. Valdez proceeded to Tarifa, on the 3<sup>d</sup> seized the castle u. town, where they remained bis den 19<sup>th</sup>, when they were ejected mit considerable loss. The other, led on by a Madrid militiaman, 40 named *Iglesias*, by trade a silversmith, landed at Marbella, where taken by the king's troops, most of them, including their commander, shot. (355,6)

In 1825 another emigrant, *Bazan*, in 1808 attached to a Navarrese guerilla, in 1820 employed in der revenue, in 1823 made a colonel, sailed von Gibraltar mit a band of followers, landed at Guardamar, on the coast of Alicant, where he maintained his ground für several days. 5 Troops came down,—being taken, he u. most seiner companions shot at Orihuela. (356)

In 1830, Brigadier *Torrijos*, prepared an expedition in the Thames, for which purpose a vessel was engaged u. 75 desperados embarked. (356)

1816 Richart hanged in Madrid. (356. D. Vicente Richart held a high 10 office) 1817 that of *Navarro*, a lawyer at Valencia, frustrated by Gen. Elio, when 4 of his companions were hanged. 1818 that of Colonel Vidal, Capt. Sola and others at Valencia, defeated by Elio (Vidal killed on the spot), 13 of the conspirators executed. (357[, 358]) *Torrijos* commenced his career as a page in the palace, afterwards capt. of infantry. 15 Served in the war of independence, attained the rank of brigadier, and being confined at Murcia, when the reaction of 1820 took place, on his release he hastened the adoption of the constitution at Carthagen. He afterwards served under Mina in Catalonia etc ([366,] 367) Die erste Expedition conducted by General Morillo in 1816 to the Spanish main 20 u. die other in 1819 Count Abisbal was to have commanded, to Buenos Ayres. (375)

Ferdinands third Queen, *Maria Josephina Amelia* (a Saxon princess) f 16 May. 1829. 9 November 4'Heirath m. der Cristina, Neapolitan princess. (380) Sie soon became the life u. soul der administration. (382) 25 Ferdinand back-staircase favourites raised from the dregs- of society. (383) So er thwarted the plans of his ostensible ministers. (l. c.) *Lozano Torres* the first favourite, succeeded by *Ugarte*; on the latter falling into disgrace, his place in the camarilla filled by *D. Juan Miguel de Grijalva*, native of Valladolid, of poor parents, studirt law, wenn fertig sent up to 30 court provided m. den usual letters of recommendation; lange courtier, ohne was zu erreichen; Married dann die daughter of Charles IVth's huntsman; so er obtained subordinate situation im Palace. Afterwards he attended den king to Valencay u. dann zu Cadiz. At length he was appointed to the administration of the king's patrimony, as well as to the 35 office of bearer of the privy purse u. in the end became the principal distributor of the royal favours. (385-7) Having attained the summit of his ambition and amassed a large fortune, he prudently retained his place behind the curtain, always within call. Through his agents he was informed of everything passing in public. Von 1824, the period when he 40 was made closet counsellor, er formed alle ministries. Supported *Ballesteros* im finance department, patronised *Zambrano* (his brother-in-law)



u. through his advice M. Zea [was] called to the cabinet. Seiner agency  
besonders confided the abrogation des law von Philip V. (387, 8) |

[37] The alteration in the established rule was intended as a seal to  
a revolution. (390) In der Gazette v. 6 April 1830, an edict d. d. March 29,  
das Successionsgesetz Philipps aufgehoben. (392) the rain fell in torrents; 5  
nevertheless the magistrates u. heralds proceeded to do their duty by  
reading the decree aloud and posting it up in the public places. (1. c.) The  
*leyes de Partidas* now appealed to, were never acknowledged as funda-  
mental laws of the monarchy. Completed by Alonzo the wise, in 1260,  
who in the same year held Cortes at Seville, but did not cause them to be 10  
accepted. First brought into notice by the *ordenamientos de Alcalá*, in  
1348, as supplementary laws. Dann in the same character by the *leyes del*  
*Toro*, published in 1505. These are the 2 first codifications der Castillan  
laws ordered to be observed; in both declared that recurrence not to be  
had to the *Partida* laws, unless cases should arise for which no provision 15  
made in the 2 national codes; which, together with all laws subsequently  
passed, were collected u. by authority published in the *Recopilación in*  
*1745* u. lastly in 1805, by command of Charles IV, under the title of  
*Novísima Recopilación* (393, 4)

Von 417-1109—not one female held the throne in her own right. (396) 20  
Sunday, October 10, 1830 Isabella born. (399)

On the 12 October 1831 Cristine presented to the army 2 banners em-  
broideder by herself, and in addressing the officers expressed her hope  
that under them they would defend the rights of Ferdinand VII and his  
issue. The banners were received by 5 generals. (400) On the death of 25  
M. Salmon, the count de Alcudia was named minister of For. Affairs ...  
In the morning of the 17 September, the Count de Alcudia went to his  
apartment, with a message from the king, informing him that a decree  
was drawn up appointing the queen to the regency in case of her con-  
sort's demise, and urging the infante to be her principal counsellor. 30  
The offer was declined. (405) September 18. Abrogates s. Edikt wieder  
m. Calomarde. (407)

Comte Victor Duhamel  
Historia Constitucional  
de la Monarquía Española.

Ins Span, übersezt

5 v. Baltasar Anduaga y Espinosa.  
2 ed. 2 vol. Madrid. 1848.

τ. π.

Se habían comprado al gobierno de Rusia buques de transporte en muy mal estado, y todos los regimientos que no inspiraban confianza por sus ideas, fueron designados para esta expedición. (214) Abisbal arretirte Arco-Agüero, San Miguel, O'Daly u. Quiroga. Sin embargo, el gobierno lleno de una increíble ceguedad, difirió la partida de la flota ... San Miguel u. Don Antonio Quiroga lograron evadirse de la prisión. (215, 216) En Cádiz los generales Freyre y Villavicencio, comandante de marina, tenían dificultad en contener á sus soldados y á la población de esta gran ciudad; en Barcelona el gen. Castaños cedia ante la multitud y proclamaba la Constit.; en Zaragoza, el marqués de Lazan, capt. gen., seguía la misma conducta; en Pamplona, Mina, que acababa de llegar de Francia, arrastraba á los soldados á la revolución. (216) Nach des O'Donnell's Erklärung in Ocaña, hob sich die Mancha, u. Cadiz acabó también por reconocer la Constit. (217) Décret v. 7 März 1820 f. Zusammenberufung der alten Cortes. (217) In der Nacht v. 7-8 März Invasion des kgl. Palastes por el populacho u. una soldadesca desenfrenada. (218) Am 8 ganz Madrid las das Décret in der Gaceta extraordinaria (auch gezeichnet vom 7'), worin er u. a. sagt: «siendo la voluntad general del

pueblo, me he decidido á jurar la Const, promulgada por las Cortes etc de 1812.» (219) Desde entonces la alegría popular no tuvo límites, y la licencia fué tanto mas grande, cuanto que parecía no existir el gobierno de Fernando VII. Der Marqués de Miraflores spricht v. «funestos sucesos del 9, en que perdidos los respetos del trono, vino á tierra el saludable 5 prestigio que hasta alli le habia rodeado». Die Masse versammelt sich nämlich vor dem Palast mit «gritos sediciosos, m. amenazas und mit todos los síntomas de una verdadera revolución, á presencia de una guardia que veia impasible el desacato cometido». Theil will - «ocupada la parte baja de palacio» durch die «escalera» schon in die «reales habi- 10 taciones» dringen. Abgehalten v. Personen, nämlich durch folgendes: «En este estado ya el rey mismo habia mandado se reuniese el ayuntamiento constit. que existia en el año de 1814, y ocupada la multitud de esta idea, desistió de subir á exigir del rey mismo el cumplimiento del decreto de la noche del 7.» (219) Das Ayuntamiento, woraus das Volk einige Personen 15 entfernt, andre hineinvotirt «cediendo al impulso de la multitud, marchó en cuerpo á palacio á exigir al rey el juramento de la Constitución». (221) Dem Ferdinand, se impuso una junta provisional consultiva hasta la próxima reunion de las Cortes, compuesta de personas honradas y respetables etc Cardenal Erzbischof v. Toledo, primo del rey, Präsident, 20 General Ballesteros, Valdemoros, Queipo, Bischof v. Mechoacan, Don Ignacio Pezuela, die antiguos magistrados, conde de Taboada, Lardizábal, Tarrius y Sancho, el primer antiguo empleado de rentas, el 2<sup>a</sup> teniente coronel de ingenieros, y Tejada, reicher propietario de Madrid. (221) Un decreto de 1812 ordenaba que la plaza Mayor de cada 25 pueblo tomase el nombre de plaza de la Const., el cual se inscribía en la lápida de que acabo de hablar. (1. c.) El primer cuidado del nuevo gobierno fué poner en libertad á los detenidos por opiniones políticas, permitir la entrada en el reino á los emigrados. ... den 22 März erschien das Décret f. die Convocation der Cortes ordinarias f. 1820 u. 21, con 30 arreglo á las bases de 1812. (222) In den 1<sup>er</sup> Cortes Vicepräsident: Quiroga. (223) Ferdinand schwört noch mal, m. der Hand auf den Santos Evangelios, auf die Constitution. (223) (der in der Constit. vorgeschriebene Eid.) El clero fué el primer objeto de los ataques de las Cortes. (224) Las tristes escenas de Madrid en los días 16 y 17 de Noviembre obligaron 35 al rey á retirarse al Escorial. (225) Tragalistas (die Sänger der trágala.) (226) Februar 1821 Demonstration der Garden. Licenciados. (226) *Pasteros* - so heissen die Torenos, Arguelles, Martínez de la Rosa u. andre Moderados, die *Comuneros* zerfielen in exaltados, descamisados, u. die Zurriaguistas, so genannt v. dem diario publicirt unter dem Namen el 40 Zurriago. (226) |

[38] *Décret v. 1821* über die *bienes de señorías* wollte abolir injustamente hasta las obligaciones que resultaban de los contratos sinalagmáticos celebrados antiguamente entre los señores y sus terratenientes ... todos los jurisconsultos se opusieron. (227) Santos Ladron u. Quesada, in 5 Navarra, Crespo u. Domingo, in Alava; Merino, in Castilla; Cacapé, llamado el Royo, u. Bessières, in Cataluña u. Aragon; u. Antonio Marañón, der Trappist. Nehmen (die partidas de la Fé) durch asalto den 14 August (1822!), den Seo de Urgel; hier Regencia etablirt, baron de Eróles, marqués de Mata-Florida, obispo de Creus. Streit zwischen Ero- 10 les, der halb Constitutionen, u. den Reinen Absolutisten der Regency. Eróles u. s. Clique v. Royalisten wollten daß se repusiesen en su fuerza y vigor las instituciones de las antiguas Cortes destruidas por Carlos V. Die Regency anerkannt v. der *Junta v. Bayona* (bestehend aus den Generales Don Francisco Eguia u. Don Carlos O'Donnell, dem Erzbischof v. Tar- 15 ragon u. dem Bischof v. Pamplona), v. der Junta de Sigüenza u. der diputación de Vizcaya. Las potencias estrangeras entraron en relaciones con sus agentes. (230-2) El rompimiento de la Francia con la España se supo en París de una manera singular. La regencia realista de Urgel habia abierto un empréstito de 80 millones de reales para atender á los 20 gastos del ejército de la Fé. M. M. Julien Ouvrard y Rougemont de Loewenberg, se habían encargado ostensiblemente de las negociaciones. Der duque de San Lorenzo, embajador de España en Paris, se quejó al gobierno francés u. citirt den Ouvrard u. Rougemont vor Gericht, por atribuirseles públicamente la calidad de agentes de un poder rebelde á la 25 Const, de la monarquía española. El dia de la vista, erklärte der avocat du roi, daß das tribunal nichts in der Sache zu entscheiden, da der Lorenzo aufgehört «de ser reconocido in Frankreich als ministro plenipotenciario de S. M. C. el rey de España». (236) Die revolutionären divisiones eran mas bien nominales que efectivas. (239) Mit dem Angoulême 30 verbinden sich zu Bayonne 35.000 realistas españoles á las órdenes der generales O'Donnell, España u. Eróles. (239) Proclamation des Angoulême v. 12 April ... 4Tage später Proclamation der junta provisional realista, compuesta de Eguia, Eróles, Gomez Calderón u. Erro, worin sie erklären nulos todos los actos posteriores al 7 März 1820 (241) 35 La confusión llegó al último grado con la negativa de la casa de Berlases de Londres á pagar á su vencimiento las letras procedentes del empréstito de 40,000,000 contraído por las Cortes. Desde entonces esta asamblea ... sin crédito y recursos de ningún género. (242) *Décret des Angoulême v. Andujar v. 8 August 1823.* ([245,] 246) Dagegen Protest 40 der Regency v. Madrid v. 15 Aug. 1823. (l. c.) Aufforderung den König freizugeben v. Angoulême; Cuartel general del Puerto de Santa Maria,

17 Aug. 1823 (254) Hälfte des Monats Sept. (1823) in negociaciones; 16 continuaron los franceses el ataque; el 20 se apoderaron del Castillo de St. Petri, 23 lanzaron sobre Cádiz multitud de bombas (255) El regimiento de San Marcial fué el primero á sublevarse, y gritó: viva el rey absoluto! (l. c.) En vano trataron los generales Burriel y Valdés de con- 5 tener la rebelión de sus tropas por medio de castigos egemplares. 28 erlaubten die Cortes dem König zu gehn. (256)

11 Nov. (4 Tage nach der Hinrichtung des Riego zu Madrid) zog Ferdinand m. s. family ein. «Habiendo ido á cumplimentarle los oficiales de voluntarios realistas, cuando salieron, dijo:» «Estos son los mismos per- 10 ros con diferentes collares.» (259)

Carta del etc D. José María Calatrava etc  
beantwortet v. Don Alvaro Florez Estrada.

London. 1825.

(im Namen der Editores

5 del Español-Constitucional)

Calatrava, 1820, gestimmt f. die absolute Ungestraftheit der 69 Persas  
u. funesto ejemplo de impunidad. (8) D. Riego, um ihn v. seiner Armee  
zu lenken, con pretesto de que el rey deseaba conocerle y de que le habia  
nombrado para otro destino, le atrae á Madrid, adonde llega en princi-  
10 pios de Septiembre. (9) Nacht v. 6 + 7 Riego fort v. Madrid. El Pueblo de  
la Capital, luego que sabe la salida de Riego, da en aquella misma noche  
(v. 6' auf den 7', am 6\* erhielt er den Befehl) indicios de su resentimiento  
... Den 7 Madrid amanece, convertida en una Plaza de armas, (Artillerie  
in den Hauptstrassen aufgestellt), belügen dann das Cuerpo Legislativo  
15 über die Gründe ihrer Anstalten etc (9) Die Cortes, statt zu mißbilligen  
das Benehmen der Minister u. zu billigen das des Riego od. vice versa  
beschlossen nur den Druck ihrer Debatten. (10) En toda Sociedad que  
acaba de salir del despotismo, la clase mas corrompida no puede ser otra  
que la que en el anterior régimen mas directamente egercía el despotismo  
20 y mas participaba de su influencia, disponiendo casi á su arbitrio de la  
vida, honor, y propiedad de sus conciudadanos, cual es la encargada de  
administrar la justicia. (19, 20) Die Hauptquelle des Bösen während der  
Span. Revolution waren «nuestros corrompidos tribunales de justicia».  
(20) Durch die *ilegal impunidad der Persas* etc wurde das Volk getrieben  
25 zu den horribles asesinatos del Cura Vinuesa, del P. Osuna con sus com-  
pañeros, des Obispo de Vieh u. der presos en el Castillo de la Coruna

arrojados vivos al mar? (20) Cuando era indudable que la clase alta y haja de nuestros tribunales era la mas habituada á la arbitrariedad u. la mas opuesta á las reformas, podia nadie de buena fé prometerse que sin la Institución de los *Jurados* se impusiese el castigo señalado por la ley á los conspiradores? etc (21)

Gesetze celebradas en fines del año 21 u. principios del 22, leyes dirigidas á coartar la libertad de imprenta, el derecho de petición, y la facultad de reunirse los ciudadanos. (23) (Dieß in der ausserordentlichen Sitzung unter Martinez ministry) Während der 3 J. Revolution unter den Chefs der alten «Liberales» war das «encubierto proyecto ... de modificar la Constitución substituyéndole una Carta á la Francesa, que sin fundamento se suponía sería sin el menor embarazo adoptada por Fernando enemigo irreconciliable de la primera. (29) Por este medio los Autores de la idea crejan mejorar su rango y sin vaivenes políticos consolidar su fortuna mucho mas firmemente que por medio de la Const, demasiado democrática para que en ningún tiempo pudiese ser sinceramente apreciada por las clases privilegiadas, ni por las que aspiraban á serlo, en cuyo número entraba la gran mayoría de los altos Funcionarios públicos.» (l. c.) Daher alle halben, conterrevolutionären u. widersprechenden Schritte; de aquí el haver destruido en su esencia la única *fuera* destinada á garantir la libertad, la *Milicia nacional*, sometiéndola á los Generales en gefe, y disolviendo estos los Cuerpos ||39| de aquí la funesta, tremenda y jamas oida instalación de otras tantas dictaduras de vida y hacienda quantos eran los Gefes militares, por que era mas fácil corromper ó seducir á uno que á muchos. (31) Con pretexto de que el enemigo por una sorpresa no se apoderase de la persona del rey, propuso (das ministry) á las Cortes como necesaria la traslación de la Capital á otro punto mas remoto y seguro que Madrid. (33) Las diferentes sociedades secretas, en las que indistintamente se hallaban afiliados Exaltados, Moderados y Serviles, no constituían propiamente un Partido político; eran meramente funestos instrumentos de los Partidos ... el Gobierno solamente hubiera podido paralizar su influjo, dejando las reuniones patrióticas sin ninguna traba. (33 Note) *Exaltados* (heissen auch: Anarquistas, Tragalistas, Zurriaguistas) *Moderados* (ditto: Anilleros, Pasteleros) *Serviles* (Absolutistas.) ... Negros. Blancos. (l. c.) Durch die Franzosen se lisonjaban seria reformada la Constitución á su placer. (35) quando el Duque de Angulema invadió la España no teníamos una Plaza fronteriza debidamente pertrechada. Nuestro Egército se hallaba en esqueleto pues no pasaba de 44,000 hombres, der Regent, um noch mehr zu desorganisiren, befahl ejecutar precisamente en esta misma época el fatal decreto llamado *de la Nivelación del Egército*, por el qual

casi todos los oficiales han sido removidos á diferentes Cuerpos. (35) En fin para acabar de destruir este mismo simulacro del Ejército, é introducir la indisciplina, la deserción, el desorden en la hacienda militar y otros varios abusos, el Gobierno á pesar de repetidos clamores mui de 5 antemano havia dispuesto que un mismo Cuerpo estuviese dividido en varios trozos y en puntos los mas distantes, unas veces por efecto de la considerable rebaja y otras sin necesidad, pues solían hallarse de guarnición en un punto las mitades de 2 ó 3 Batallones cuyas otras mitades se hallaban en otro solo punto. (35, 6) Morillo, Capitan Gen. de Madrid el 10 7 Julio de tal modo se havia comprometido en el atentado de aquel dia que la opinion general y su conducta le designaban como el primero de los Agentes de la Conspiración. De resultas de este suceso para evitar el cadahalso á que debia conducirle su comportamiento, si se hacia justicia en una causa de tal gravedad, trata de huirse á Portugal. Al llegar á la 15 raya es preso por un Alcalde de una Aldea y conducido á Madrid. El Gobierno desentendiéndose de todas estas circunstancias que en una revolución son aun mas reparables que en tiempos comunes, y no contento con haver paralizado la causa mandada formar por el atentado de aquel dia, le destina para el importantísimo mando militar de Castilla la 20 vieja, Galicia, Asturias, y la Montaña: Los habitantes de Galicia por quatro veces representan al Gobierno para que no se lleve á efecto tan escandaloso nombramiento, mas este contesta con las amenazas mas duras y la confianza mas petulante. ([37,] 38) Dummheit der Parthei: 19 Februar (1823) König um 11 Uhr sezt das ministry ab que tan multi- 25 plicadas pruebas havia dado de su absoluta nulidad. Aquella noche el mismo Partido que havia obligado al Rey á nombrarlo, le fuerza á reponerlo por medio de una asonada en que estuvo mui á pique de perder la vida. El 28 Feb. el Rey nombra un nuevo ministerio previniendo que continuasen los depuestos hasta que leyesen en las Cortes las Memorias 30 que después del primer dia de su instalación por su turno debían presentar y leer los Secretarios del Despacho según Art. 341 de la Const, u. 82 del Reglamento de Cortes. Mas estas para que continuasen los Ministros no han permitido que leyesen las Memorias. (39 Note) Den 17 April (1823) por la noche, 4 días antes de la instalación de las Cortes, 35 se reúnen 43 Diputados y 4 de los Secretarios del Despacho de los que debían cesar dentro de mui pocos días, y tomando *moderadamente* el nombre de Cortes, determinan pasar un mensaje al Rey por medio de los mismos Secretarios, intimándole que deponga al Ministerio nombrado den 28 Feb. (compuesto de individuos del Partido Exaltado), y que le 40 substituya otro cuyos individuos sean V. (Calatrava) y Zorraquin, que se hallaba en Cataluña, nombrando V. á los demás. Den 18\* in der Nacht



der König hierzu durch die abgehenden Minister gezwungen. (40,41)  
 Villacampa Capit. Gen. v. Andalucía. (45) «Guerra á los Exaltados é  
 impunidad á los Conspiradores» era otra de las medidas del Plan de  
 Modificación. (1. c.) El 30 de Agosto por la noche se pierde el Trocadero.  
 (52) El 20 de Septiembre el Castillo de Santi-Petri es entregado. (53) Se 5  
 asegura que su Comandante era un Militar de valor; pero que á los dos  
 cañonazos que havía disparado un buque francés que no se hallaba á tiro  
 de cañón, el castillo havia enarbolado la vandera francesa. (53) 6 August  
 se cerraron las Cortes Ordinarias. Das Gobierno beruft die Extraordi-  
 narias den 6 Sept. (53, 4) Riego no havia salido de Málaga hasta el 10  
 3 Sept. (1823) (56) 23 Sept. einige Meuterei in la Isla in el Batallón de  
 San Marcial. (1. c.) Am 26 Sept. (1823) ... dia único en que la escuadra  
 Francesa hizo fuego á Cadiz. ... Este suceso en vez de abatir al Pueblo  
 hizo ver que no se conocía mas riesgo que el de no presentar una resi- 15  
 stencia vigorosa rivalizando todos, Milicias Nacionales, tropas de guar-  
 nicion y Pueblo por adquirir la gloria de distinguirse en tan sagrada  
 obligación. En este ataque que duró unas seis horas, los fuegos de la  
 Plaza echaron á pique tres buques de fuerza y 3 botes, teniendo los ene-  
 migos que retirar á remolque otros ocho, quedándoles únicamente once  
 útiles. ... In derselben Nacht schlägt das Ministry u. Cuerpo Legislativo 20  
 vor el que sin condición alguna se accediese á lo que aquel (der enemigo,  
 obgleich el resultado del ataque de este dia war das haver quedado des-  
 truida ó inutilizada una mitad de toda la fuerza naval des Feindes) exi-  
 gía? Quando ningún desastre havia sufrido la Plaza; quando en ella dia-  
 riamente entraban no solo las provisiones de primera necesidad sino las 25  
 de lujo; quando se acercaba la tropa de tierra etc (57, 8) Die Minister  
 glaubten an das Décret v. 30 Sept., 23. (59) Dieß lezte ministry bestand  
 aus: José Luyando - Salvador Manzanares. - Juan Antonio de Yandiola.  
 - Francisco Osorio. - Jose Maria Calatrava. - Francisco Fernandez Gol-  
 fin. (60) 30

Los Moderados creían que el resultado de la invasion de Angulema  
 seria establecerse un Gobierno Representativo, enteramente análogo al  
 de Francia. (67) |

1331 palanca, arcónos, atalara. adesiros. mancillar, abultar, asopada.  
lamina, encumbramiento, izorar. aciago, embolismo, recabar, abarcar,  
garboso, borros, estallido, triaca, eslindar. pautar, escaraio. estragos.  
Sirviendo, afán, cartelas, vecindario, enardecido, paradero, rozamiento.  
5 botar, jentio. adepala. sesgar.

## Marliani. etc.

### Ch. π

Nach der Erhebung in der Isla movimientos sucesivos de Galizia, Valencia, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Pamplona, y al fin el de Ocaña. (65)

10 O'Donnell in Madrid. Llega á Ocaña, situado a pocas leguas de Madrid, y punto estratégico de suma entidad, por cuanto domina las carreteras de Valencia y Andalucía; se encuentra con el *Imperial Alejandro*, mandado por su hermano Alejandro O'Donnell, capitanea la tropa, y proclama la constitución de 1812. (65) El 9 März 1820, proclama Fer-

15 nando la const. de 1812; nombra una junta presidida por el arzobispo de Toledo, cardenal de Borbon, y compuesta del jeneral Ballesteros, del conde de Taboada, etc Jeneral Sancho fué el secretario. La junta convocó las cortes para el 9 de julio. (66) Esposicion der span, grandeza al duque de Angulema, dueño de Madrid, solemnizaba con aquella adhesion das

20 Princip der Intervention. (68) Predigten der frailes, Gold de los absolutistas u. der estrangeros. (69) Ersten Cortes, Sitzung v. 9 Juli 1820, ernennen Präsident den Don José Espiga, Erzbischof v. Sevilla. (l. c.) 31 Aug. (having been named capt.-gen. v. Galizia u. s. Heer aufgelöst) 1820 trifft Riego plötzlich, de improviso, in Madrid ein, 10 Uhr Nacht...

Verhandlung des Ministerium mit ihm, warum er hier, statt in Galicien ...  
 La tertulia de la Fontana de Oro le da, el 2 Sept., un banquete cívico, y se  
 le dispone un medio triunfo. La comitiva se para *Warrêter* delante del  
 teatro donde están representando una funcion\solemnité de circunstan-  
 cias, y las cabezas se enardecen hasta lo sumo; se apea Riego de su 5  
 carroza triunfal, piden todos cantares patrióticos, después el *Trágala* ...  
 Opónese la autoridad á que se entone la *Trágala*; crece el alboroto y se le  
 contraresta, echando el telón; llega tropa, y se restablece el orden,  
 alterado en estremo. El ministerio, conceptuándose ajado,\injurier  
 depone á Riego de su mando, y le manda salir para Oviedo su patria ... 10  
 sale ... Abonanza todo; cuando *el 5 Sept.*, el ministerio se conmueve y  
 providencia, como para precaver algún peligro inminente, poniendo artil-  
 lería en la puerta del Sol y en otros varios puntos de la capital. (1. c.)  
 Prohibe otra ley los votos en los conventos; franqueando á los frailes su  
 permanencia en comunidad, con tal que lleguen á 12; y siendo menos, 15  
 debían incorporarse con las comunidades inmediatas, quedando los bie-  
 nes de todo convento vacante en beneficio del estado. König repugnirt zu  
 sanktioniren, dann sanktionirt, dann widerruft s. Sanktion. Die Cortes  
 lassen ihn dann fixiren die número of conventes. - 8 - die er von der  
 allgemeinen measure retten will. (70) Als Carvajal plötzlich an den Platz 20  
 von Vigodet gesetzt, sin que su nombramiento venga refrendado por nin-  
 guno de los ministros, Vigodet se niega á entregarle su cargo. (1. c.) Bei  
 der Eröffnung der *sitting vom 1 März 1821*, in s. speech der König «se  
 declara reciamente contra la invasion amagada\menacée por el Austria  
 contra Ñapóles». (1. c.) Dieß u. ähnliche heftige constitut. Eingangs- 25  
 worte, um una Denunciation gegen die Minister zu schliessen. (1. c.) (In  
 dem 1' liberalen Theil der Rede übertreibt er u. erwidert im royalistisçhen  
 Sinn das Manuscript der Minister) Feliu (nicht n) (71) Mando de Madrid  
 al jeneral Morillo ... conde de Carthagene v. der toma importante dieses  
 Platzes in Colombia, u. marqués de la Puerta von dem Sieg den er hier 30  
 erfochten, hábito de dictador con que se habia resabiado\ (resabiar  
 prendre un vice) en América en 6 años de guerra á muerte, el pormenor  
 de represalias atroces que se le achacaba, su vida soldadesca, sus modales  
 broncos y su natural destemple, déspota militar. Sobrevienen disturbios.  
 (71) ... Habia el ministro de la guerra (dieß das 2' Minist, des *Feliu*), 35  
 D. Tomás Moreno Daoiz, enviado una columna lijera de algunos cen-  
 tenares de hombres por el rumbo de San Ildefonso para celar aquel sitio,  
 donde residía la corte. Logran persuadir al rey que tratan de asaltar á su  
 persona, y se queja Bardají, que, como ministro de estado, se hallaba en  
 el sitio, se lo participa al compañero, el cual, lastimado en su pundonor 40  
 militar, contesta enviando su dimisión. No tiene Bardají entereza para

oponerse á que se le acepte. Pero ¿qué sucede? Aquella misma noche envia Fernando á su primer ministro una esquelilla\Mfeí, con este contenido: «He venido en nombrar al jeneral Contador ministro de la guerra»; y ni la persona ni el nombre del nuevo ministro han llegado 5 jamás á su noticia. Se acude á la Guia de Forasteros, y se encuentran con que el Jeneral Contador es un jefe de escuadra de 84 años, imposibilitado hacia tiempo de todo jénero de servicios. Los ministros tan ruinmente burlados hacen dimisión: mas Fernando VII la rechaza, y revoca el nombramiento de Contador, reemplazándolo de su propio albedrío con el 10 jeneral Martinez Rodriguez, tan desconocido como su antecesor. Se practican nuevas dilijencias, y resulta que Martinez, herido gravemente en la cabeza en Badajoz, con la esplosion de un barril de pólvora, se halla desde entonces, en 1823, absolutamente dementado. Minister wieder Abschied. Nun die Ernennung ihnen überlassen. Llega la noticia de tales 15 manejos á Madrid, y acalora mas y mas los ánimos. (71, 72) Damals bricht gelbes Fieber in Catalonien aus, u. Barcelona. Cordon sanitario. (1. c.) Nov. 1820 Sevilla u. Cadiz se rebelan y lanzan de su recinto á las autoridades que intentan atajar el alboroto. Minister beklagen sich bei den Cortes. Diese tadeln die Städte, die erklären, daß die Minister per- 20 dido «la fuerza moral». (1. c.) Dadurch vinieron las cortes á votar como una adehala para cebo de los alborotadores ... Descuellan desde aquella fecha las facciones en Cataluña y Navarra. (1. c.) Minister wollen sich zurückziehn. König veranlaßt sie zu bleiben trotz der vote der Cortes. (1. c.) 5 Januar 1822 entläßt Ferdinand plötzlich die Minister; Spanien 25 ohne verantwortliche Minister bis 1 März 1822. (72) Wahlen v. 1821 viel revolutionärer. Die Cortes v. 1820 wählen Präsidenten den Erzbischof v. Sevilla; die v. 22 den Riego. (1. c.) Doch im Congress auch un partido moderado, encabezado por Don Agustín Arguelles, los jenerales Valdés y Alava y Don Ramon de la Cuadra. (1. c.) 30 Mientras la sublevación por la raya de Francia iba creciendo en términos sobremanera temibles, das Ministerium Martínez de la Rosa, andaba soñando otro sistema representativo con dos cámaras, como ha venido a realizarse en 1834 con el Estatuto Real ... Anduvieron (dieß ministry) mudando en gran parte las autoridades civiles y militares para 35 colocar individuos de su pandilla. «Entablaron una reacción violenta y jeneral contra los liberales», entorpeciendo ante todo por donde quiera las operaciones militares contra los facciosos. In der Sitzung v. 3 May Alcalá Galiano manifesto que el ministerio estaba imposibilitado de obrar con acierto, y recabó de sus compañeros el votar una esposicion al 40 rey, que se le presentò el 25 del mismo ... der rey in Aranjuez damals. 30 May Neuer König. Grosser Zulauf. Viva el rey absoluto! Die National

guard zu den Waffen, pero la guardia real se escuadrona con ceño amenazador. Denselben Tag Acontecimientos in Valencia. Con motivo del dia de San Fernando, el 2.<sup>o</sup> regimiento de artillería, ya mal opinado, como constaba al gobierno, pasa á la ciudadela para hacer la competente salva, y se vale de la coyuntura para apoderarse del fuerte, bloqueado al punto 5 por las tropas constitucionales y la guardia nacional. Se intima la rendición á los rebeldes, y se resisten voceando que no reconocen otro superior que el Jeneral Elio, encerrado en la misma ciudadela desde el restablecimiento de la constit. Se rompe el fuego el 31 por la madrugada desde los edificios de la aduana, del convento de los Remedios y de la 10 Torre de St Domingo. El rejimiento de Zamora y la guardia nacional toman la ciudadela y hacen rendir las armas á los rebeldes ... Der diputado Beltran de Lis formalizó una acusación fiscal contra el ministro de la guerra. (73) Landaburu. (I. c.) Se fragua una trama en Sigüenza, y estalla el mismo dia que la de Madrid (2 July od. 30 Juni?); los carabi- 15 ñeros y algunos soldados de las milicias provinciales de Córdoba se sublevan en Andalucía y marchan sobre la capital; aber acobardados al saber la derrota de la guardia, rinden las armas en Almodovar del Campo á las tropas del jeneral conde de Valdecañas. (I. c.) |

[34] amagar, garamdaina. comilona, campar, amanolar. encasquetar. 20 resbocar. huero, ralea, látigo, chusma, apocamiento, gavilla, desmoronar, envalentonar, ambidextra, volcar, rasguear, eslabonar, abarca, tropezar, terna, escarnio, huella, zahúrda, cocco-xxxx

... Procesados los oficiales cojidos con las armas en la mano, uno solo resulta condenado. (El teniente Goeffieux, convencido de incitador al 25 homicidio de Landaburu). Apareciendo por el proceso que la trama se habia fraguado\forgée en palacio, y que habia sido seducida la tropa por influjo encumbrado, quedaron atajadas las diligencias. (74) Dieß grossen Einfluß auf den Congrès v. Verona, (die Julitage.) (75) König entläßt das 4' Ministry sin mas motivo que el de atenerse puntualmente á su plan 30 trastornador de ir mudando los ministros á cada reunion de cortes. (I. c.) *Don Francisco Ballesteros*, teniente del resguardo en 1808 ... Aconsejó en 1820 eficazmente al rey que publicase la constitución, aparentó muchísimo fervor patriótico y *encabezó* la sociedad de los Comuneros. ... Necesitaba, como consejero de estado, Ballesteros la autorización de las cortes 35 para obtener algún empleo, y lograda luego plenamente, fué traidor ... El destierro en que ha muerto fué el premio único que le reservó el rey ... die Franzosen, an die er verrathen, le correspondieron con el menosprecio ... quién podia conceptuar desertor á Ballesteros? ... Al llegar á Sevilla, se sabe el tránsito del Bidasoa el 7 April (1823) por el ejército francés. No 40 podia menos de encararse al golpe con el de Ballesteros, compuesto de la

flor de los regimientos ... Ballesteros los desmoraliza con su retirada  
cobarde de 200 leguas, sin ver al enemigo mas que para tratar de capi-  
tulación. (75) la situación de las tropas francesas se hizo sumamente  
crítica desde su entrada en el territorio español, pues consta que, con  
5 motivo de ciertas desavenencias entre el ministro de la guerra, mariscal  
duque de Bellune, y el mayor jeneral conde Guilleminot, se halló el ejér-  
cito del duque de Angulema de repente sin víveres y sin medios de tras-  
porte. (1. c.) El 20 de mayo, tras una contienda gloriosa para el jeneral  
Zayas contra el ejército de la fe, mandado por Besieres (fusilado 4 años  
10 después de orden de Fernando VII), Madrid indefenso abre las puertas al  
ejército francés. (1. c.) 11 Juni Alcalá Galiano läßt den König suspendi-  
ren, gemäß art. 187. zu Sevilla. (76) 13 Juni (1823) rückt F. VII in Cadiz  
ein. Die rejencia giebt ihm s. potestad zurück. (1. c.) Sabe la guarnición de  
Cádiz den 24 Juli der Verrath des Morillo, verificada el 16, y á pocos días  
15 la capitulación afrentosa de Ballesteros con el jeneral Molitor. La pér-  
dida de Trocadero el 30 August. ... dann del fuerte de St Petri. (1. c.)

### Cap. III. Intervención de 1823.

1829, al ser ministro Mr. de Polignac, conceptuó M. de Chateaubriand  
20 que peligraba la libertad de la Francia, é hizo caballerosamente dimisión  
de la embajada de Roma. Es así que M. de Polignac habia ido antes á la  
de Londres por el empeño redoblado de M. de Chateaubriand con  
Louis XVIII, que no lo apetecía, y con Mr. de Villèle, que lo deseaba  
menos. (78) Der Familienpact zwischen Spain u. France 15 August 1761,  
25 nicht 1768, wie Chateaubriand sagt. Charles IV auf dem Thron 1788,  
nicht 1778 etc. (79) Marliani beweist daß Chateaubriand nicht einmal die  
Constituí, v. 1812 gelesen hat. (1. c.) - despenadero.\precipe\affaire deli-  
cate - orillado.\abandonne - miesAmoisson ... tildar\rayer.\noter ...  
rogando\rogar (prier) ... «Roma» bei der Nachricht des Ausgangs der  
30 Affair in Spain v. 1823 ... «está dos dias iluminando sus escombros.»  
(87) - vado. - ajenciarAs'occuper avec chaleur de - Nach Chateaubriand  
selbsí nur: «la ínfima hez del populacho recibió á la Restauración con los  
brazos abiertos, al par de la frailería.» (87) - el convenio.\con-  
vention\accord - curandera. - Las resultas de aquella invasion fue-  
35 ron para España el malogro de su libertad y el regreso de los desbarros  
que redondearon el estermio de toda prosperidad pública, repusieron  
otra vez en planta todos los abusos eclesiásícos y adminisíraívos, encar-  
celaron á los prohombres del pais, y encaramaron los mas briosos al

cadalso. Kostet á la Francia 800 millones de reales. (1. c.) hacinar.\mettre  
des gerbes a tas - acendrarApurifier - palmotear. - floresAverbiage  
- volcar./(bouleverser\caerse) - talar (tailler)

#### Cap. IV.)

#### Reacción de 1823. - Ministerio de Zea Bermudez.

Empiezan con el suplicio de Riego por el pronto, y paran en el  
degüello\action d'égorger en la misma hora y sitio, de Torrijos y sus  
54 compañeros. (90)

Una de sus primeras jestionas fué la infracción de la fe pública, negán-  
dose á reconocer todo empréstito de la temporada constitucional; y sin 10  
embargo habia que ir viviendo con empréstitos extranjeros. 10 años de  
paz y una ocupación de tropas aliadas durante 5 años no permitieron al  
gobierno de Fernando el nivelar los desembolsos con las entradas.  
Aumentóse la deuda 1,745,850,666 reales. (90) Seit 1825 genügte Fer-  
nando nicht mehr. El bando inquisitorial, apellidándose apostólico, lo 15  
graduaba de blando y endeble en sus providencias. (91) Conspiración  
daher im Palast en nombre de la Iglesia. Erste tentativa v. 1825 no tuvo  
séquito, u. der caudillo Besieres fué cojido y ajusticiado. Dann 1827 in  
Cataluña. (91) ... engarzar\enchaîner ... Das ley v. 1789 hatte revocirt  
den *auto acordado* des Philipp V d.d. 10 März 1713. Ferdinand VII 20  
publicirte wieder das Gesetz v. 1789. (1. c.) le publicó el ministro Calo-  
marde (1. c.) Die promulgación des ley v. 1789 ist obra exclusiva del *par-*  
*tido apostólico* u. des Calomarde, ihres privilegirten Repräsent, im cabi-  
net des Ferdinand. Die sublevación de Cataluña requirió die presencia  
del rey, y los alborotadores invocaban por grito banderizo el nombre de 25  
Don Carlos. Die apostolische Bande will daß Calomarde den rey beglei-  
tet. Da aber diese conspiracy, gegen Erwarten rasch niedergeschlagen,  
Calomarde, en acecho\en tapinois para utilizar los acontecimientos  
(nada le suponen ya sus cómplices), en vez de escudarlos, viene á ser su  
verdugo. Impónense castigos horrosos y se apaga con sangre toda 30  
semilla de conspiración carlista. Calomarde nun in Scheißangst. Le va la  
cabeza en el trance, y para sortearlo, acuerda alzar una valla insuperable  
entre el solio y Don Carlos, cuyo reinado iba á ser el de los apostólicos.  
Asoma la preñez de la reina María Cristina: y Calomarde, previendo el 35  
nacimiento de una princesa, aconseja eficazmente á Fernando la pro-  
mulgacion de la ley de 1789, que revoca el *auto acordado* de Felipe V.  
Verificóse la promulgación el 29 März 1830, d. h. 7 (sieben) meses vor der  
Geburt der Isabel, die den 10 October 1830 sich zutrug. (91) Kein Protest

bei Lebzeiten Ferdinand's, weder *vor* noch *nach* der Geburt der Isabella. Plötzlich krank der rey en otoño de 1832. Die apostólicos u. Don Carlos an seinem lecho para arrebatarle una revocación del acta v. 29 März. (92) extender. - Bosquejo. - Damals in la Granja varios individuos del cuerpo 5 diplomático, intriguirten um den Rückruf F's zu erwirken. Bes. Werkzeug dabei Antonini, Polizeiagent u. damals enviado v. Naples á Madrid. - azoramiento. - Dieser drängt besonders in Christine ein. - amainar. - Sie giebt ihre Einwilligung. Antonini wendet sich nun an den conde de Alcudia, um die Akte auszufertigen. Dieser sagt ablehnend, es sei das 10 Amt des Justizministers Calomarde. Antonini verspricht dem C. Vergessen seiner Sünden v. 1827 etc, wenn er extende die Akte. Geht darauf ein. Redigirt den Akt durch Cruz Mayor; conde de Alcudia beauftragt ihn dem König zum Unterzeichnen vorzulegen. Dieser ||40| thuts in garabatos inlejibles. König im Todeskampf, galt schon für todt, wie auch der 15 fzs. Gesandte an den Hof der Tuileries berichtete. Die confesores Peña u. Gonzalez, in s. dormitorio; drohen ihm, con voces solemnes y ademan vehemente, m. dem castigo sempiterno, wenn er nicht das Décret v. 29 März 1830 revocire. Befehlen der reina, die presente, ihm auch zur Rettung s. Seele zu zureden. ... Sie concedió su auencia. Der conde de 20 Alcudia, der in einer Ecke der Thür, tritt ein auf Wink des Beichtvaters m. dem fertigen Décret; firma real drauf. Laufen nun zum consejo v. Castilla, Don José Puig, damit er das Décret veröffentliche. Weigert sich, bis der König gestorben wäre. - comedia. - König, wieder wohl, setzt alle Minister ab die verwickelt in dieses trama; setzt ein neues Ministerium ein; 25 die 9jährigen Verfolgungen hören auf. Amnesty f. eine Masse der Verbannten v. 1823. Zea Bermudez. - tránsito reparable. - (31 Dec. 1832 der Widerrufungsakt widerrufen.) Zea spricht v. reformas positivas, zur selben Zeit rechazaba toda reforma política. (93) Manifest des Zea v. 4 October 1833 «Nada de innovación». (1. c.) (como si la precision en que se 30 hallaba de patentizar á la nación el rumbo que iba á seguir no fuese ya lo sumo de las innovaciones) - ápice. - advenedizo. - engreimiento. - 10 años de paz y una ocupación de tropas aliadas durante 5 años no permitieron al gobierno de Fernando el nivelar los desembolsos con las entradas. Aumentóse la deuda 1.745.850.666 reales, que es la suma de 35 aquellos empréstitos. (90)



Quin (Michael J.)  
A Visit to Spain etc.  
London. 1823.

San Miguel has not originated one single measure which indicates a profound and happy genius, since he has been invested with office. (62) 5  
The man who has perhaps acquired most weight in the ministry, after San Miguel, is Capaz, the minister of marine. When he was in Peru, he surrendered to Lord Cochrane the fine frigate of war the Maria Isabel, in a manner far from being honourable to his courage. He is a decided enemy to South American independence. (63) Besides the ministers, the 10 leading men of Cortes, Augustin u. Canga Arguelles, Galiano, Isturitz, and a great majority of that body are of the party called Freemasons. (64) Leaders der Comuneros: Palarea, Ballasteros, Romero Alpuente, Morales etc (1. c.) —The *Landaburian Society*, im convent St. Thomas. *Präsident Romero Alpuente*, a magistrate and an exdeputy of Cortes. (66) 15  
(Die comuneros assumed to themselves an exclusive interest in the 3<sup>d</sup> article of the Constit., i. e., in the sovereignty of the people: "La soberanía reside esencialmente en la nación.") ... "Viva la Constitución" or "Viva Riego" ... in general acceptation here, are synonymous. (67) the Sovereigns at Verona threaten us with an invasion in case we do not 20 modify our Constitution. (70)

the higher orders of the clergy ... uniting all their means—to oppose the Const.—both in money and personal exertions. (1. c.) Unter den Rednern der "Landaburian" society auch Galiano, Floran, Mexia. (71) the construction and copiousness of the Span, language are indeed peculiarly 25 favourable to oratory. (80)

The loan contracted in the November of 1821 with the house of Ardoin, Hubbard, et Co. though apparently calculated to place 140 millions of reals at the disposal of the finance minister for supplying the deficiencies of the year, fell very short of its expected effect. In 5 March, 1822, the deficiency of the general revenue amounted to nearly 200 millions reals. (10f. S. = 1000 reals)

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of December in the same year (22) a committee of Cortes proposed that new rents to the amount of 40 millions of reals should be inscribed in the great book, in order to meet the extraordinary exigencies 10 of the state. (*Expenditure*: 816,000,000 Reals Vellón.) Net estimated receipts 550,000,000. Estimated deficit: 266,000,000. Ausserdem Deficit v. 191,255,313 reals, which remained over from the 2 last financial years. Ausserdem a 3<sup>d</sup> deficit, affecting the current means des Jahres. Die net receipts des J. estimated at 550,000,000 reals. The actual receipts fell 15 short of this sum in the amount of 161 millions of reals. Von Catalonia nichts received in the shape of contributions during this year. In Navarre, Calatayud, Lérida, and Gerona, the people actually resisted the demands of the collectors. The latter called on the commanding officers for military aid, diese answered, that they had no troops to spare. Das *total* 20 *Deficit* daher: 618,255,313 ... The Finance Minister had it in his power to call on the commanding officers in the provinces for military assistance to enforce the payment of contributions; the commanding officers answered, that they had no troops to spare, because in fact there was not money to pay them; and thus the Cortes went on in a circle of complete 25 delusion ... Was die suppressed convents angeht, the property of the Inquisition, the confiscated estates of Godoy the Prince of Peace, the suppressed estates of the King, the mines of Almada and Rio Tinto, the temporalities of the Jesuits, and the military orders, and the proceeds arising out of all sorts of religious property, so nach decrees der Cortes 30 v. 29 Nov. 1820, dieses national property zur Zahlung der *alten Schuld*, bestehend aus credits with u. credits without interest. The part of the national property applicable to the latter was to be sold off by public auction, at stated periods. A national junta of public credit was formed for the purpose of managing the 2 classes of property. The old debt 35 which bore interest, u. die, die bore no interest, were both ||41| represented by vouchers on paper, which the national junta issued to each claimant as soon as his claim was acknowledged. The latter class of paper at a discount of from 85-90 P. C. for money, although the Junta was compellable to take it at its full amount in payment for the national property 40 which it sold by auction ... Die new rentes of 40 millions of reals nach den vergeblichen Verhandlungen mit Mr. Simon Cock, angenommen das

offer of Mr. Piedra, partner in the firm of Bernales and Nephew, of London, to this effect: Bernales and Nephew (dieß agreed to 12 January 1823) should have the whole of the bonds for 40 mill, of reals of rentes, to sell on commission, for account of the gov., on condition of their relieving the pressing wants of the gov. by accepting draughts for 5 800,000£. at 3 months date. To meet such engagements, Bernales and Nephew were to sell bonds to the requisite amount; but were not until the market had been tried for 2 months, to sell them under a certain price. As soon as the terms of this contract were publicly known, it was generally conjectured that a large amount of the bonds would be brought 10 into the market, to furnish the funds with which Messrs. Bernales and Nephew were to meet their engagements. The consequence of this, added to the growing apprehension of the French war, was, that the price of the bonds fell suddenly to a degree that appears to have alarmed them; for after having accepted upwards of 70,000£ of the draughts, they refused 15 to go further: The remainder of them, therefore, to the amount of several 100,000£ which the gov. had negotiated before they heard of the demur on the part of the contractors, were returned dishonoured. (83-91) those convents which have been so rudely suppressed have been exposed to sale, as well as the lands appertaining to them, and in very few places has 20 a purchaser been found.—the people would deem it a sacrilege to appropriate to their own use the lands of a convent ... those very resources which the Cortes imagined the most ready and the most productive, turned out to be mere incumbrances on their hands. (93) To the majority of the Cortes the stipend (about 5 dollars a day) paid for their attendance 25 was an object of primary consideration. (95) Some degree of intolerance was natural, if not inevitable, where a new system was in a process of consolidation ... free governments should have their period of tyranny as well as those which are most enslaved. (96) In the early part of this session of Cortes (22), it was said an intention was entertained of bring- 30 ing the 2 princes, Don Carlos u. Don Francisco de Paula, to trial for their conduct of the 7<sup>th</sup> of July. (96) As to a war with France, notwithstanding all the preparations which had been already made on the frontiers, there were very few persons in Madrid who, at this time, believed it probable. The Spaniards are an extremely sanguine people. The French would 35 never dare to cross the Pyrenees! What! would they have the temerity once more to commit themselves with that "heroic Span, people", which had already destroyed the flower of their veteran army? It was ridiculous to think of it. Thus they assured themselves, on the remembrance of their former successes. (97) Since the events of the 7<sup>th</sup> of July, Fer- 40 dinandVII was a prisoner in his palace at Madrid. (121) There were

household guards and officers appointed, in whom the new gov. confided. The guards, armed with small carabines, were stationed in different rooms of the palace, and the stairs were night and day lined with battle-axe-men. (122)

5 Alpuente the idol of the Exaltados ... considering his age, the enthusiasm of his manner, and the principles which he professes, Alpuente may be called the Major Cartwright of Spain. (72) In einer der Sitzungen der Landaburian society (Ende Nov. 1822) sagte er: "During the war of independence we had in our favour the host of friars, who feared they should  
10 lose their revenues; but these are now our greatest enemies. We had also in our favour the aristocrats, who equally trembled for their riches and privileges; up to this time also, the men of literature and learning rivalled each other in supporting the cause of independence; but now—the thing must be openly confessed,—now, some for one cause, some for an-  
15 other—all, all of these are our greatest enemies. What, then, is our remedy? Do you ask it? We must annihilate them; we must do with them as was done in France, where, in one night, 14,000 were executed; then we shall be without serviles, without neutrals." (70, 71) England had declined to follow the example of the United States so far as to recognize  
20 the legal independence of the South American provinces, still it acknowledged their independence de facto, for commercial purposes; and allowed a mutual intercourse between those countries and Great Britain, without the intervention of Spain. Diese views des Br. Cabinets early communicated to that of Madrid; kamen zu dem distinct understanding;  
25 that although Spain would not repeal those ancient laws which excluded all other countries from trading with her colonies, still that she would not interfere with the trade proposed to be carried on between Great Britain u. den colonies. The consequence was, that several merchants of London embarked in speculations for South-America to a considerable amount;  
30 but day after day news was brought home of the capture and condemnation of Br. vessels, for infraction of those Span. colonial laws which it was understood were virtually annulled by the explanations entered into with the cabinet of Madrid. The capture of the *Lord Collingwood* at length produced a sensation in the public mind which induced the Mar-  
35 quis of Londonderry to turn his attention to this subject, and Sir William A'Court's departure for Madrid was hastened, to urge indemnities, (in consequence of the seizure of this, and several other vessels, together mit their cargoes) to the amount of nearly half a million sterling. When Mr. Canning came into office, he followed up the subject mit unremitting  
40 energy. The Span. gov. at first gave consent that Brit. vessels should trade on the Span. Main. It was a *tacit* consent. Induced British merchants to

float to the Main upwards of 6 millions of property, as soon as the Span. gov. was apprized that such a tempting prize is ||42| exposed to their grasp, they send out tacit orders to their admirals to seize every Brit, ship they can find on the Main. Strong note des A'Court addressed to San Miguel. He in reply ... the permission to trade was given tacitly, 5 the orders to seize Brit, ships were also given tacitly. He went so far as to say, that the trade was no more than one of connivance, and that the seizures were in the same situation. Next note transmitted to San Miguel informed him that 2 squadrons had sailed from Portsmouth, one for Puerto Rico, the other for Puerto Caballo, with orders to capture all the 10 Span, ships which they found entering, or within those ports, until the captures should be sufficient to cover the amount of the claims which had hitherto been so vainly urged on the Span. Gov. It was pointedly stated in A'Court's note, that this measure had no connexion whatever mit der question agitated in the Congress of Verona, concerning Spain, 15 wo England would continue to maintain, the strictest neutrality. (129—31) (Dieß alles January 1823) General Morales hatte vorher proclaimed the coast of Colombia in a state of blockade; and this was made the pretext for the piracies committed on Brit, property. (131)

Das sailing der squadrons brought the Cortes u. das government to 20 their senses. Convention: blockade of the Colombian Coast raised; claims to be ascertained by a mixed commission of Brit, and Span, subjects, to sit in London; the claims so ascertained to be paid by inscriptions in the Great Book of Spain. (132) The position of France with regard to Spain was, in the early part of September, 1822, simply this: 25 From the time that a violent contagious fever, which carried away thousands at Barcelona, had excited apprehensions that it might be communicated by travellers to the southern departments of France, the gov. began to collect troops in those departments, and formed a line which it called the "Cordon Sanitaire", in order to prevent any persons from 30 passing the frontiers who had not performed quarantine. In the meantime, the civil war which had been already kindled in different parts of the Peninsula moved its principal seat to the 3 frontier provinces, Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre. The royalists conceived that the French troops were likely to assist them sooner or later—a hope which the ultra- 35 royalist party of France encouraged. The civil war became more active; the French gov. began (!) to apprehend serious dangers, or at least inconveniencies, from the proximity of the contest; they increased their army; and as the fever no longer afforded pretexts for the continuation des Cordon Sanitaire, they called it an Army of Observation. (133, 34) Die 40 3 questions des Montmorency, addressed to the Congress at Verona,

20<sup>th</sup> October, 1822. 30 October, 1822, Antwort (Affirmation) v. Austria, Russia, Prussia. ... Upon the delivery of these answers, (31 Oct.) it was agreed by the 4 continental courts, that they should write despatches to their respective ministers at Madrid, in which they would express their  
5 wishes and intentions. (135) Despatch des Villedieu an La Garde, which arrived in Madrid 2 days before the despatches from the courts of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. (141) Den 4<sup>th</sup> communicated to the cabinet of Madrid durch Count La Garde who, at the same time, endeavoured to give a favourable impression of the intentions of his gov. The ambiguous  
10 tone of the despatch was interpreted in such a manner by the French minister, that the Span. cabinet appears to have been for a while lulled by it into a consciousness of perfect security, and was prepared to pay no very great attention to the despatches of the 3 other powers. The day after (5 Jan. 1823) the latter documents arrived. A written answer was  
15 promised to the several communications. ... Although the Span. gov. was thus set comparatively at ease (delusively) with respect to France, was sure of the neutrality (auch wohl mediation) of England, and had little to apprehend from the vague suggestions of 3 distant powers, yet it did not exhibit any improper manner upon this occasion. San  
20 Miguel, in his conversations mit dem Engl. minister (See Sir W. A'Court's despatch to Mr. Canning, Madrid, January 7) subsequently to the arrival of the despatches above mentioned, spoke in a tone of much greater moderation, and held out more favourable hopes for the future, than he ever ventured to express before: he more than insinuated  
25 that modifications might be effected, whenever the country should be relieved from the danger of foreign interference. (142, 3)

*January 9, 1823:* the gov. (da schon das fzs. s. Instructions an Lagarde published) lay the whole of the documents before the Cortes in consequence of "the fraternal sentiments which united them mit den Cortes".  
30 San Miguel's enunciation is bad. He read in a dull monotonous voice, as if he were a schoolboy conning over his lesson before a severe master, the spectators in the galleries seemed to form an integral part of the meeting. Die schmeichelhafte Stelle in Metternich's Note producirt effect. Gelächter u. Zeichen v. Verachtung bei der preussischen, Rage bei der Russischen. San Miguel concluded with reading the copy s. ersten allgemeinen circular note f. die 3 northern Courts ... *10January.* Grosser Enthusiasm u. Aufregung zu Madrid.

*January 11 (23)* Debate on the message. Interference of the populace, which crowded the galleries, clapping their hands etc. ... a little of theatrical show in this exhibition ... Augustin Arguelles der beste Sprecher  
40 u. Alcalá Galiano a little affected and pompous in his delivery. He was

the editor of a provincial journal at the time of the declaration of the Isla army. ... He is fond of long periods u. sounding expressions ... holiday speech maker ... Message (to the king) agreed to unanimously ... When the Cortes rose, the crowd in the galleries rushed down to the deputies' door, and waited until Galiano and Arguelles came out, when they seized 5 on them by main force, and carried them off in triumph on their shoulders. They took refuge in the president's carriage. The populace followed dieser carriage, singing all the way patriotic songs, and shouting: Viva la Constitución! In the evening bands of music paraded the streets by torchlight ... The ministers der 3 northern courts had in the meantime formally demanded their ||43| passports ... took their departure from Madrid, 13<sup>th</sup> January ... the most insulting communications that were ever made by one independent state to another ... The necessity of suppressing the "factious" forced the government to muster large armies by means of a conscription. In many provinces this measure was resisted, 15 and at all it was the subject of bitter complaints mit families ... the agitations prevailing in the country, and the losses occasioned in some provinces by the actual presence, or the incursions of the "factious", rendered it difficult for great numbers of persons to pay in their contributions to the state; and they were harassed by proceedings for enforcing 20 them ... the great majority of the people were desirous of nothing so much as of peace. If any tradesman, or a peasant labouring in the fields, were asked whether he was a Constitutionalist, the answer was, "All that I want is peace". Exceptions to this observations might have been met with in places where party spirit ran high, and divided towns and villages 25 into different sects. But where the passions were not excited, "Peace, Peace was the desire of all". As to the Clergy, it was notorious that the great majority of the secular as well as the regular degrees were at heart hostile to the constitution, however they might have found it necessary to disguise their feelings. The friars naturally detested the new system, 30 because it swore imperishable hatred against them; the bishops, canons, and parochial clergy were exasperated, because the Cortes had reduced the tithes to 7<sub>2</sub> of their former amount; and had appropriated to the state different sorts of funds which had long been subservient to the splendour of the church ... The Span, people are wedded to their religion, or at least 35 to its ceremonies. ... It can be scarcely necessary to add, that the grandees, with very few exceptions, were as much opposed to the new system as the clergy. It wounded their pride to the quick, because it levelled them in point of rank mit den lowest of the people: it gave them no privilege in lieu of this degradation; it subjected them to the performance of the 40 duties of common constables, to service in the militia, and to enormous

taxation, for their estates, already encumbered by their own or their  
ancestors' necessities, were charged according to their nominal value.  
Einige nahmen offices under the Constit. Exceptions. Several were vol-  
untary exiles from the country; as to the rest, their sincerity has been  
5 doubted, mit der exception, perhaps, of the Duke del Parque, the Duke  
of Frias, und dem Marquis of Santa Cruz ... Looking, therefore, to the  
Peninsula alone, it would appear that the mass of the people were indif-  
ferent with respect to the Constit.; and 2 very powerful classes were  
sincerely adverse to it. Every day enemies to the system rose from the  
10 bosom of the country; and in point of fact it was upheld only by the  
army, by those enjoying public employments, and those desirous to  
obtain them ... The ministers der 3 Northern powers already withdrawn.  
The minister of France still lingering in the capital: a curious instance of  
undisguised double dealing on the part of France, and of conscious  
15 weakness on that of the Span. Gov. (145-162)

*January 12.* After the foreign ministers had demanded their passports,  
a formal request was made by San Miguel for the good offices of Eng-  
land, to prevent the breaking out of a war between France and the Pen-  
insula (Sir W. A'Court's despatch, d.d. Madrid, 12<sup>th</sup> January, and San  
20 Miguel's despatch of the same date inclosed). Sir Charles Stuart (22 Jan-  
uary) offered dem Chateaubriand the Brit. minister at Madrid as a chan-  
nel of communication m. dem Span. gov. ... Unterhandlungen des  
Brit. Gov. über Modifications der Constitution: Second Chamber ...  
nobility of Spain so numerous ... every peasant who has a noble ensign  
25 cut in stone over the door of his miserable cabin ... Absolute veto of the  
king ... These changes the Brit. gov. wished to see effected, or promised  
to be effected in the Span. Const., aber could not propose them to Spain,  
damit nicht considered as demands u. England handle gegen die princi-  
ples it had maintained at the Congress of Verona. Daher Duke of Wel-  
30 lington sollte, in the character of Spain's friend und well wisher, offer  
suggestions for her consideration. In this private and individual capacity  
his Grace drew up a memorandum, in which he recommended in general  
terms that alterations should be made in the Span. Const, in concert mit  
dem king und particularly pointed out the necessity of enlarging the  
35 powers of the crown. This memorandum was entrusted to Lord Fitzroy  
Somerset, his Grace's confidential friend. (Lord Raglan) ... His lordship  
agreed to undertake a journey to Madrid for this purpose, under the  
sanction of government ... Sir Philip Roche already sent out mit des-  
patches to Madrid, and directed to remain there under the orders of Sir  
40 William A'Court hatte commanded a division of Spaniards during the  
whole of the last war, in ihrem service he holds the rank of a lieutenant-  
general, im British that of a Colonel. (163-175)



*16<sup>th</sup> January:* 4 or 5 days after the proud debates of the Cortes on Foreign despatches, considerable surprise created in Madrid by intelligence which was received, that a body of the "factious", amounting to about 3,000 men, made their appearance in Medina Celi, on the borders of the province of Guadalajara, and that it was their intention to attack the town of Guadalajara, the capital of the province, and not more than 10 leagues from Madrid. Under the command of Bessières und Ulman. It appeared that they had already made vain attempts upon Saragossa and Segovia; after which they moved to the south, with the view of making an incursion into Madrid, and, if possible, releasing the King from his captivity. U41 The troops in Medina Celi levied contributions in money, provisions and horses. Bessières a Frenchman, who, not many months ago, had been found guilty of forming part of a conspiracy at Barcelona, for the purpose of establishing a Republic. He was ordered to be executed, and was actually on his way to the scaffold, when he was rescued by the mob. Ulman is a Swede employed, some years ago, by the Span. gov. to extirpate bands of robbers which infested the province of Estremadura ... ministers surprised by this near approach of the "factious" to Madrid ... the movements of Bessières [were] the result of a previous concert, which was no secret to many persons in Paris and Madrid ... one of its objects to make an experiment on the constit. spirit of the capital, troops, daher 1500 infantry, 200 cavalry, 4 pieces of artillery—4 Tage, die es dauerte um sie to sufficiently equip for the purpose—marched to Guadalajara, from Madrid, in different divisions, *20<sup>th</sup> January* ... Bessières retreated ... Great efforts made by the Com- muneros to take advantage of the existing state of affairs, to raise a clamour against the ministers, and get a cabinet nominated from their own party. In the council of state a proposition made by Señor Ciscar, for presenting an address to the king, requesting H. M. to appoint a new ministry. He founded his reasons for the motion in the system of pro- scription, which, the present ministers were pursuing against all those who did not approve of their conduct; in their neglect for having permitted so large a body of the factious to approach so near to the capital, in the late ruinous loan which they had contracted ... dann weil sie all belonged to a secret society, the freemasons, by which all their measures were regulated. Gen. Ballesteros: Did not approve of the present ministers; d. h. untimely: sollten warten bis die army of Bessières should disappear. Consequently, the proposition was suspended.

*23 January.* Bessières at Brihuega mit 2500 infantry, 100 cavalry, of whom 60 were lancers. At Guadalajara die Constitutional troops unter Demetrio O'Daly, the Commandant-Gen. des district, an inexperienced

officer, mit 3000 infantry, 500 cavalry, 4 pieces of artillery. 24 Jan. O'Daly arrived at Brihuega mit den troops under his orders. Geklopft. Ebenso General Don Juan Martin, called the Empecinado, der ebenfalls Brihuega attacked. 25 Jan. Bessieres nimmt Guadalajara, Gen. O'Daly  
5 superseded by Abisbal, who took measures on the 26<sup>th</sup> for approaching Guadalajara, worauf Bessieres es evacuirte. Darauf, Abisbal fell back on Alcalá, where he remained on the 27<sup>th</sup>.

27 January, letzte despatch communicated by M. la Garde to San Miguel, who answered it with an indignant negative, and immediately  
10 transmitted to the minister the necessary passports ... Ballesteros appointed Command.-Gen. of the military of Madrid. ... Morillo, who had been hitherto *en surveillance* ... das event... Bessieres very prejudicial to the Constit. cause. The militia were beaten, their cannon taken from them, and contributions were levied by the royalists within 10 leagues of  
15 the capital ... The comuneros made as much of them as they could, in order to criminate the ministry. ... It is strange enough, that in all the changes of men who have grasped, the helm of the state, or taken part in public affairs during this revolution, not one individual of splendid talents has appeared. Riego is admitted on all hands to be a good, docile,  
20 sort of man, endowed with no talents, distinguished by no acquirements. Quiroga was almost fallen back to his original obscurity. Ballesteros ... Comuneros held him up as the most clever man of the Peninsula. Abisbal ... enjoying the confidence of no party ... at this time indeed high in favour mit den masons.

25 30<sup>th</sup> January Count la Garde quitted Madrid with the whole of the French legation. The Pope's Nuncio had been already sent away from this Court, in consequence of the refusal, on the part of His Holiness, to receive Villanueva, the new Span, minister who was accredited to Rome. (176-190)

30 Am 20<sup>th</sup> January war Lord Fitzroy Somerset arrived, m. his friend Lord Francis Levison Gower, at Madrid. Opened bes. s. mission to General Alava. Dieser wollte nicht instrumental sein in dem attainment der objects which that memorandum contemplated. Der Lord prevailed aber on the general to mention to some of the deputies of Cortes, the  
35 nature der commission with which he was charged. 28 Jan. Speech des King Louis XVIII ... resorting to all sorts of exaggerations to keep up the show of a great and heroic nation ...

3<sup>d</sup> February: Um die öffentliche "Landaburian society" der Communeros aufzuheben, das gov. resorted to a subterfuge: they got an architect  
40 to report that the convent of St. Thomas, in which the society held its sittings, was in so ruinous a state that it would be dangerous for any

person to enter it. The doors were accordingly nailed up, and guards were stationed to prevent their being broken up. The fact was, that there was not a more firm or durable building in Madrid. Here was a curious specimen of the character of the Span, gov., and of a consciousness of its own weakness ... there were many Spaniards who were prepared to 5 receive the French as the enemies of violent democratical principles ... *San Miguel*: "He was convinced that England might and that she would prevent a war." (*Sir William A'Court's despatch. Febr. 7,1823*) ||45| ... Morillo, Ballesteros, Abisbal, Mina appointed (Febr.) [I]n point of fact, no armies as yet existed to be commanded, except from 15-20,000 men in 10 Catalonia, and 4 or 5000 in and near the capital. ... funds necessary. Financeminister went down to the Cortes, u. proposed that the principal of those resources which had been assigned to the Junta of Public Credit for the payment der national debt, contracted anterior to the restoration der Constit., placed at the disposal des gov. Cortes refused to sanction 15 this project, statt dessen authorized the gov. to receive the contributions in advance of the 3 remaining quarters of the current financial year. Auch to receive arrears of contributions in corn, rice, oil, and such useful stores as the revenue debtor might possess ... Zugleich resolved ... the removal des king u. royal family, the gov. and Cortes, from Madrid to 20 Seville ... the Constitution, such as it was, touched the slumbering intellect of the nation, and awakened it to new life and exertion. The chief evidence of the expansion of mind which had already taken place appeared in the number of political pamphlets which issued every week from the press; translations of Engl, and French political works published at 25 Madrid in small cheap form, considerable number of new periodical journals. Before the Restoration der Constit. nur 2 newspapers in the capital: "Diary of Madrid" (confined to the publication of gov. and ecclesiastical ordinances u. advertisements) u. "Gazette of Madrid" ... später: "*Espectador*". Der "*Universal*" (bester ministerial seit seiner Ent- 30 stehung, bes. f. Martinez de la Rosa) Der "*Espectador*" the organ der Freemasons u. declared foe der Comuneros. ... "Indicador", ursprünglich f. theatrical u. fashionable intelligence; seit dem establishment der Landaburian society published er the debates of that club. "*Patriota Español*", Journal der Comuneros ... "*Zurriago*" (the Scourge) a small- 35 sized pamphlet, published every week or 10 days, as is suited the convenience of the editors, Mexia u. Morales ... "*Telegrafo*" (evening-paper). ... "L'Observateur Espagnole" (fzs.) ... Viele provincial journals, but few possessed a certain existence. The only one of any reputation: the "Liberal Guipuscoano", published at St. Sebastian. (191-210) 40

*Feb. 15* the Cortes passed a decree, authorizing the gov. to remove its residence to whatever place the king should name, if the exigencies of the threatened invasion should require such a measure, between the closing der session der extraordinary Cortes u. dem opening of that of the ordinary. (226)

*Feb. 19<sup>th</sup> session terminatedXclosed.* (227) (7, nach 12.) At 1 o'clock a circular royal decree, countersigned by the Minister of Finance, was sent to all the other members of the cabinet, informing them that the king exonerated them from the offices which they respectively held. In 2 or 10 3 hours after this event took place, the intelligence of it was known in every part der capital. About 7 o'clock in the evening, a collection of between 4 u. 500 persons, formed of groups which had come from different quarters of the capital, went down in a body to the palace. Followed, or soon after joined, by perhaps as many more, curious to witness 15 their proceedings. The whole found admittance into the square before the palace, immediately under the windows of the king's drawing-room. Attempts to penetrate into the palace; this the guard on duty prevented, and the gates of the building were shut. The drums beat to arms; militia, infantry, cavalry called out; they formed in an uninterrupted line in front 20 of the palace, kept the crowd at a distance of 10 or 12 paces from it. Crowd schrie (reprobating the removal der ministers in acrimonious terms) "Presencia! Presencia" (calling the king to come to the balcony). Dazwischen cry of "Viva el ministerio" u. "Regencia"—thus intimating to [the king,] if he heard them, that he must re-appoint the ex-ministry, or 25 submit to be deposed by a Regency. Speeches gehalten v. Leuten im mob, before the balcony, pointing towards the window, as if the king were there: "Down with the tyrant!" "Depose him from the throne." "Deprive him of his Crown." "Kill him." "Imprison him in a fortress." ... At 9 o'clock—still no ministry was appointed. The number in the palace 30 square was on the decline. A militia officer going about among the [crow]d inculcating, with as much energy as he could command, this maxim: "that he who removed the ministry would rob Spain also of her liberty." 4 or 5 militiamen unemployed in duty, though their uniforms appeared under their cloaks, who going from group to group sie so 35 haranguirten ... Zwischen 9 u. 10 the Ayuntamiento sent a deputation to the king, with a remonstrance stating that agitation prevailed in the capital, and calling on H. M. in strong terms to restore the ministry. Nun die cries der agitators im crowd "Regencia! Regencia!" Wieder fresh vigour: "unless he reinstated the ministry, they must [h]ave a Regency". 40 Einige persons of mean u. ferocious aspects m. poniards u. swords under their cloaks. Council of state was sitting. 1 Viertel past ten the king

signed a decree suspending "*for the present*" das Absetzungsdecret der Minister u. desiring the ministers to continue the exercise of their functions. (230-3) |

**[Bibliographische Notizen]**

- I [46] I (Walton. 2 t)  
*Cénac-Moncaut. Duhamel.*  
*Lacombe. (Fr.) Laforge. Raudot. Rivas. Trégain. Wronski. (H.) Bystrzo-*  
5 *nowski.*  
*Armandi. Beaumont-Vassy. Wichmann. Eisenbach.*  
*Rulhière. Histoire de l'anarchie de la Pologne. Dohm.*  
*April 1764* sog. Defensivvertrag zw. Preussen u. Rußland. (Frederic II  
u. Catherine II)  
10 *Flassan. Histoire de la diplomatie française. Falkenskjold. Baron de Tott.*  
*Wraxall. I*

(Heft 5)  
**Exzerpte zur Geschichte Spaniens  
und aus The Economist**

[1. Umschlagseite] | *London. 1854. November*

**K. Marx I**

[2. Umschlagseite] | M. / Quin.

### Inhalt.

- 1) *Victor Duhamel: Historia Const, de la Monarquía Española etc* 2 vol.  
2 ed. Madrid. 1848.
- 2) *Fastos Españoles etc Madrid. 1839, 40.* 2 vol. 5
- 3) *De Pradt: Garanties à demander à l'Espagne. Paris 1827.*
- 4) *San Miguel. De la Guerra civil de España. Madrid. 1836.*
- 5) *An historical Essay into the Unchangeable character of a War in Spain.*  
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- 8) *Quin. A Visit etc to Spain etc. London 1823.*
- 9) *Edinburgh Review. Vols. XXXVIII u. XXXIX. |*



|i| Victor Duhamel:  
Historia Constitucional  
de la Monarquía Española etc

traducida, anotada y adicionada hasta la Mayoría  
de la Reina Doña Isabel II.

5

Por D. Baltasar Anduaga y Espinosa.  
Madrid 1848. 2 ed.

*T. II.*

11 Dec. 1829 Ferdinand VII heirathet Maria Cristina, Tochter v. Fran-  
10 cisco I, rey de Ñapóles. (259) 29 März 1830 publicirt das Décret que abo-  
lía la ley de sucesión de 1713, y restablecía el derecho de suceder las  
mugeres en el trono, nach ley 2 del título 15 de la segunda Partida. (263)  
(Das Décret citirt in der Note wörtlich p. 262 sqq) (aber, sagt Duhamel,  
das Ley de Partida castilisch, nicht aragonisch etc) Protesta del rey de  
15 Ñapóles contra la pragmática. Ñapóles. 18 May. 1833. (272) Louis Phi-  
lippe, damals duc d'Orléans, (nicht nur KarlX durch den vicomte de  
St. Priest, Gesandter in Madrid) protestirt f. sich. (Siehe Rede des Mar-  
quis de Dreux-Brézé. Pairskammer. 7 Januar 1841) Mina an der Grenze.  
S. Proclamation v. 30 October 1830. (276) Ferdinand revocò el 18 Sep-  
20 tember 1832 su testamento, por el que nombraba para la regencia á la  
reina y al infante Don Francisco de Paula, y el decreto que derogaba la  
ley de 1713. (285,6) Cristina gab nach. (Isabella sollte den Sohn des Don  
Carlos heirathen.) Aber ihre Schwester, die Infanta Doña Luisa Carlota,  
die geheirathet den Infante Don Francisco de Paula, Bruder des Königs,

wüthend darüber; so wäre die Vormundschaft ihres Mannes klatsch (u. ihr Mann, wenn minoría, co-regente) u. destruidas las esperanzas de que su hijo llegara á ser rey de España, casándose con la joven Isabel. Verläßt sofort Sevilla, llegó á la Granja, wo der Hof. Heftige Scene im Innern der kgl. Gemächer. Calomarde floh nach Frankreich m. der 5 minuta des Décrets v. 18 September y un certificado suscrito por todos los médicos de cámara, comprobando que el rey se hallaba en su plena razón cuando puso en él su firma. / October Neues ministry: Cea Bermudez, Monet, Ulloa y Encima y Piedra. Cea, präsidiert abwesend; die andren radikal: se aprovecharon de su ausencia para dar garantías á 10 la revolución, decretar arrestos y pronunciar numerosas destituciones, que debian hacer imposible toda conciliación entre ambos partidos. Jose O'Donnell, capt. gen. v. Castilla la Vieja verhaftet u. s. papeles m. Beschlag belegt. Conde de España, capt. gen. v. Cataluña, mußte nach Frankreich flüchten. Eguia, capt. gen. v. Galicia, mußte sich auch ver- 15 bergen para evitar su prisión. Neue heftige Anfälle des Ferdinand v. gota. 6 October Décret que facultaba á la reina para el despacho de los negocios y el gobierno del reino. ([293-J299) 31 Dec. andres Décret, wodurch Ferdinand revocaba el que habia anulado das v. 29 März 1830. Die Cristinapartei spricht v. Conspiracy des Don Carlos gegen den 20 König, Cristina, Infantes etc Conde de Negri, Bischof v. Leon verhaftet. Ausgewiesen die Princesa v. Beyra, María Teresa de Braganza, viuda de Don Pedro de Borbon, primo hermano del rey, nebst ihrem Sohn Infante Don Sebastian. Don Carlos, hermano político, durch s. Weib María Francisca de Portugal, die princesa de Beyra, begleitet sie. Diese 25 partido 16 März 1833. Ferdinand VII durch Décret v. 4 Abril 1833 berief die Cortes f. den 20 Juni, á fin de prestar juramento á la infanta Isabel als princesa heredera del trono, á falta de descendiente varón. D. Carlos, der in Portugal, erhielt una carta de convocación. Protestirte dagegen. Carlos wendet sich an die principales universidades v. España, 30 Portugal, Italia, die sich alle f. ihn erklären. Das Gesetz v. 1713 (des Philip V) resultaba de la fusion der dos leyes opuestas v. Castilla u. Aragon. (293-306) 29 Juni Sitzung dieser Cortes die gewählt v. den miembros der v. Ferdinand VII ernannten ayuntamientos. (308) 29 Sept. 1833 f Ferdinand (1. c.) In Bezug auf den Protest des Louis Philippe 35 sieh auch *Prince de Polignac*: «Etudes hist. pol. et mor.»

### Apéndice del Traductor.

*Décret v. 20 Oct. 1832 f. Amnestie, Rückkehr der proscriptos. (325)*  
Manifest der Reina Gobernadora v. 4 Oct. 1833. (327-9) (In diesem Manifest heißt es daß sie nicht wird «admitir innovaciones peligrosas, aunque halgüenas en su principio, probadas ya sobradamente por nuestra desgracia. La mejor forma de gobierno para un país es aquella á que está acostumbrado. ... *Las reformas administrativas*, únicas que poducen inmediatamente la prosperidad y la dicha, que son el solo bien de un valor positivo para el pueblo, serán la materia permanente de mis deseos.») Carlos in Portugal gefolgt der Standard seiner Revolte: Denselben Tag, wo installirt in Madrid el consejo de gobierno designado por el rey defunto, u. das manifest der Cristina publicirt, circulaban m. profusion in den provincias Vascongadas die siguientes proclamas: «*Proclama de Valdespina*. Bilbao, 5 October 1833», (Beginnt: «Vizcaínos: una facción anti-religiosa y anti-monárquica se ha apoderado del mando durante la larga enfermedad de nuestro difunto rey etc.») Ferner: diese facción also «trata de ir adquiriendo ascendiente para esponeros sin defensa á los ataques de la revolución y de la anarquía que combatimos en 1823. ... después de haber alterado el orden de sucesión al trono wollen hacer á España cómplice de sus abominables maquinaciones, que la propaganda revolucionaria inventa para destruir el orden social en Europa.» (... el magnánimo y virtuoso Don Carlos María ||2| Isidro de Borbon); dann: «*Proclama de Verastegui*. Vitoria 7 Octob. 1833.» (330-7) Amotinados los realistas en Bilbao, y apoderados de la casa de la diputacion, no sin resistencia y desgracias, constituyeron la junta con las personas die die erst citirte proclama zeichneten. In Vitoria ähnliche Bewegung 2 Tage später. (337)

13 October 1833 se publicó un real decreto, mandando alzar pendones en toda la monarquía por la reina doña Isabel II, señalando al efecto el 24 para la solemnidad de la proclamación:

27 October 1833 Realisten feuern auf die Truppen der Garnison in Madrid: sie werden entwaffnet.

Octubre de 1833: «*Carlos V, rey de España, á sus amados vasallos*» ... También en el corazón de Castilla se acaudillaban tropas en favor de la causa del pretendiente. *Don Gerónimo Merino. Proclam. v. 23 October, 1833. ... «Circular de Merino, d. d. Aranda. 24 October. 1833.»* (in diesem Circular befiehlt er (es ist addressirt an den Comandante del batallón der voluntarios realistas de Cuellar, don Antonio García) die

gewöhnlichen Steuern zu erheben etc bestimmt das Gehalt f. Voluntarios, Sergeants u. Officiere u. sagt u. a.: «castigaré con las penas mas severas á los que faltasen etc y la de muerte tendrá lugar con frecuencia.») ... Nun decretirt el *secuestro de los bienes de don Carlos*; verstärkt in dem rayon v. Portugal el ejército de observación. ... facción de Santos Ladrón, formada con los realistas de Logroño y sus inmediaciones habia penetrado en Navarra, completamente batida en los Arcos durch den brigadier Lorenzo, 11 October, 1833. Im Anfang die Cristinos glücklich. Treffen v. Logroño; diese Stadt selbst genommen v. Lorenzo; bei Tolosa siegt er auch; bei Hernani der Gen. Castañon, 17 Nov.: Siegreiches Treffen bei Vargas. 3 Nov. (unter col. Iriarte); die Treffen v. Calahorra, Nazar y Asarta, m. der ocupación v. Vitoria u. Bilbao durch das Heer des gen. Sarsfield. Ein Mann gab der ganzen Sache andre Wendung apareciéndose en el valle de Araquil á la facción, que huia desbandada. Dieser *Zumalacárregui*. ... Unterdeß ging don Miguel, Protector declarado des Prätendenten D. Carlos, caput in Portugal; Don Pedro hatte sich Lisboa's bemächtigt im Namen der doña María de Gloria. Apathie des Cabinets des Cea Bermudez. Representaciones gegen das ministry. 15 Januar, 1834 *Neues Ministry: Don Francisco Martínez de la Rosa*, los señores *Garely, Figueroa é Imaz*: trotzdem in Barcelona, Salamanca, Madrid, Sevilla Unruhen v. der revolutionären (*antic&rlist.*) Seite. 15 Februar. 1834 Décret para la formación y alistamiento der voluntarios liberales; 10 April (1834): *El Estatuto Real*; nicht genügend, aber gehofft v. der Zusammenkunft der Cortes; diese verzögert. Cristino-Heer unter General Rodil rückt in Portugal ein (15 April, 34); 3 Juni (34) mußte sich D. Carlos einschiffen nach England, Miguel nach Italien. ... *London-Tractat* v. 22 April 1834 (gezeichnet v. Miraflores, Talleyrand, Palmerston, Critóbal Pedro de Moraes Sarmiento). Ratificirt 31 May 1834. Dieß der Quadrupelallianzvertrag zw. Spain, France, England, Portugal: «*Art. 1* D. Pedro, im Namen s. Tochter, verpflichtet sich sobald als thunlich den D. Carlos aus Portugal zu verjagen. *Art. 2* Die Cristina, f. ihre Tochter, spanische Truppen zur Vertreibung des Miguel u. Carlos nach Spain zu schicken; *Art. 3* England wird m. Naval force diese operaciones unterstützen; *Art. 4* Frankreich wird, wenn nöthig, das seinige thun. (wenn s. cooperación nöthig gehalten por las altas partes contratantes) *Art. 5* Dieß in Portugal zu proclamiren durch Pedro; zugleich amnesty general u. Rente f. Miguel, wenn er sich drückt. *Art. 6* Cristina verspricht dem D. Carlos Rente.» Nach «*artículos adicionales el tratado de 22 Abril*» der schließlich erhoben zur Convention am 18 Aug. 1834 dieselben Personen überein über folgendes: *Art. 1* Louis Philippe zu verhindern v. s. Grenzen aus alle Unterstützung f. D. Carlos

v. Leuten, Munition, etc *Art. 2* England verspricht ausilios de armas u. municiones de guerra u. fuerza naval wenn nöthig. *Art. 3* D. Pedro, im Namen s. Tochter, zu cooperar wenn nöthig m. allen Mitteln f. Isabelle. Frankreich erfüllt m. solcher Apathie N. 8 des Vertrags, daß er ohne  
5 Erfolg.

20 *May 1834* die Cortes zusammenberufen; 24 *Juli* ihre Eröffnung; Rede der Christina. (Ihre Secetaire, sagt sie, haben schon Grosses gethan: «la division del territorio, la separación y deslinde entre la parte administrativa y la judicial, la supresión de antiguos Consejos y las nue-  
10 vas audiencias creadas en beneficio de algunas provincias etc») Erster Vorschlag des ministry: *Ausschluß des Don Carlos* u. s. ganzen Linie v. der Erbfolge. Von ambos cuerpos colegisladores angenommen; Gesetz seit 25 *October, 1834*. ... So grausam die lucha daß England dazwischen. Lord Elliot vermittelt Vertrag zw. General Valdés u. Zumalacárregui,  
15 wonach die vida de los prisioneros geschont. Zumalacárregui greift Bilbao an. Zumalacárregui verwundet, 15 *Juni 1835*, durch bala de fusil v. der belagerten Stadt. Don Tomás Zumalacárregui f an den Wunden 24 *Juni (1835)* ... Belagerung v. Bilbao nun aufgehoben. ... 15 *Juli (1835)* Vortheile der Cristinos in Mendigorría, unter gen. Córdoba ... Frank-  
20 reich u. England halten ihre Versprechungen nicht, womit nun der Krieg beendet gewesen wäre, obgleich verschiednemal ihre Intervention verlangt. Erleichterten nur el auxilio de fuerzas alistadas á sueldo de España en Francia, Inglaterra y Portugal, que hasta en número de 10,000hombres por cada potencia acudieron al teatro de la guerra. ... |  
25 |3| Martínez de la Rosa ministry gestürzt. Dann das des conde de Toreno trotz sus decretos de devolución de bienes nacionales, supresión de los Jesuítas y muchos conventos, y arreglo de ayuntamientos. Toreno unterlag á impulsos der pronunciamientos, allgemein unter ihm. Ende August 1835 alle capitales de provincia, ausgenommen Madrid u. die v. Castilla  
30 la Vieja, hatten sich unabhängig v. der Regierung erklärt. Andalusien schickte starke Truppen nach Castilien, um es zum Pronunciren zu bringen. Die dagegen beorderten kgl. Truppen, unter Gen. Latre, gehn großtheils zu den (revolutionären) Insurgenten über. *Manifest* v. 2 *Sept. 1835* machte nur die Sache schlimmer. 14 *Sept.* Toreno ab; Hl-  
35 mado *Don Juan Alvarez Mendizabal* á formar el nuevo gabinete. S. berühmtes Programm; machte ihn damals grade so populär, als es contribuyó despues á desconceptuarle. Cortes f. 16 *November (35)* berufen. Erklären sich gegen die gobierno. Dieß löst sie auf sieben u. zwanzigsten (27) *Januar 1836*, convocando otras f. den 22 *März 1836*. Cabinet des  
40 Mendizabal entlassen 15 *May*. Statt seines das v. *Don Francisco Javier Isturitz* (m. Barrio Ayuso, *Alcalá Galiano* (!), Méndez Vigo, D'Olhaber-

riague u. dem duque v. Rivas,) 16 May Proposición im Congress gez. v. 46 diputados zu erklären, daß die Vertrauensvotos f. die gobierno in der legislatura anterior u. die damit verbundenen facultades estraordinarias m. der Eröffnung der neuen Cortes aufgehört; daß wenn diese prorogiert od. aufgelöst, no se pudiesen recaudar las contribuciones, u. que cuantos 5 empréstitos ó anticipaciones se contrajeran sin autorizacion der Cortes, fuesen completamente nullos. 21 May (1836) neuer Vorschlag, gezeichnet v. 77 deputierten, worin formulirt die Erklärung daß das ministry no merecía die confianza des Estamento. Daher Cortes aufgelöst 22 May u. andre berufen m. dem carácter de revisoras para el 20 August, dienend 10 als Tagung f. die elección des proyecto de ley que se habia presentado poco antes al Estamento ... Das Uebel lag in den instituciones. Queríase mas de lo existente. ... Während dieses Jahres, in Aragon u. Cataluña, die Royalisten Pech, hier abgesetzt Euguia del mando superior de la facción u. an s. Stelle don Bruno Villareal. Dieser beschloß Expeditionen 15 ins Innere del reino. Unter ihm Miguel Gomez Expedition in Asturias u. Galicia, u. del Cura don Basilio y de Cuevillas invadió Castilla u. näherte sich bis Segovia; Hof, der zu St. Ildefonso, in Schrecken. ... Nach dem Votum of censure in den Cortes, Pöpelunruhen in Málaga (Offer der Gobernadores militar y civil); 26 Juli 1836 constituirt sich in Malaga 20 una junta suprema de salvación, proclamirt die Constitution v. 1812; in wenigen Tagen greift um sich; 29 Juli in Cádiz, 30 in Sevilla u. Granada, 31 in Cordova, 1 August in Zaragoza, 3' in Badajos, 8 in Valencia, 11 in Alicante, Murcia, Castellón de la Plana y Cartagena, 13 in Barcelona; alle diese Städte ziehend nach sich ihre respectivas provincias. Schon 25 3\* August sollte das Pronunciamento in Madrid; aber vereitelt durch General Quesada; Madrid in Belagerungszustand erklärt, Militärcommission etablirt, publicirt un bando riguroso, que amagaba con pena de muerte todo conato dirigido á perturbar el órden público. Irritación der ánimos; in der Nacht v. 12-13 August, porción de oro hábilmente ver- 30 theilt unter die Truppen die den königlichen Sitz in San Ildefonso bewachten, habia ganado la voluntad der soldadesca u. der mayor parte der sargentos: un regimiento de la guardia real provincial, ausgenommen die oficiales, estaba casi en masa á devoción denen die dirigían das levantamiento: á su cabeza un sargento primero, genannt Higinio García. 35 Besoffen großtheils die Soldaten, marschirten bewaffnet u. in confuso tropels zum palacio real. Invadiren die Gärten, gritos, escena de depredación u. orgia, amenazas, incesantes gritos que aclamando la Constit. v. 12 resonaban. Cristine empfang una comisión der amotinados, que asi lo solicitaron para espresarla sus deseos. An der Spitze derselben 40 Higinio Garcia; verlangten Proclamación der Constit. v. 1812; Cristina

gab endlich ihr palabra. 3 Uhr Morgens des 13 August zeichnete Cristina das Décret f. die Publication der Constit. v. 1812 u. im interim «que reunida la nación en Cortes, manifieste espresamente su voluntad, ó dé otra constitución conforme á las necesidades de la misma». In Madrid einige Stunden nachher Aufregung. Blutvergiessen. 15 August Ruhe, nachdem in der Gazeta das besagte Décret publicirt u. die variación des ministerio. ... bacanales de la Granja ... *general Quesada*, inhumanamente asesinado en Hortaleza, cuando huta de sus sicarios, vino á salpicar á los que hollaron osados las gradas del trono ... 17Aug. kgl. Familie nach Madrid zurück ... es zogen sich zurück v. Hof die encargados de negocios der potencias del Norte; replegarse al interior das ejército de observación v. dem Louis Philippe an die Grenze - folgt demostraciones de la Inglaterra. 21 August die Cortes berufen f. 24 October; 30 August die célebres decretos restableciendo las leyes de desvinculacion, 15 denen vorher los de movilización der Miliz, quinta de 50,000 men, empréstito v. doscientos millones, bienes nacionales etc Rodil ins Kriegsministerium; 16 Sept (1836) general en Chef ernannt Don Baldomero Espartero ... Cortes eröffnet 24 October; 30 Oct. hacia tremolar el general Don Evaristo San Miguel sobre los inespugnables baluartes de 20 Cantavieja el pendón de la reina libertando mas de 200 prisioneros. ... Espartero's victoria v. Luchana ... (24-25 September) (337-78) (Diese Schlacht vor den Thoren v. Bilbao) |

[[4]] Nach diesem Sieg der Cristinos las *operaciones se paralizaron del todo* u. so kommen die Carlisten wieder auf. Espartero beleidigt, weil 25 das ministry den Plan des Gen. Lacy Ewans acceptirte. ... D. Ewans geschlagen completamente ante la línea de Hernani ... 18Juni 1837 der neue código fundamental proclamirt, Cristina u. Isabel II schwören drauf, nach ihnen alle Deputirten. (380^4) Los decretos declarando nacionales los bienes del clero secular, supresión de diezmos y primicias, alzamiento de secuestros, amnistía, convocatoria á Cortes para el 30 19 de Noviembre (1837), sucedieron en pocos días. - Unterdessen Expedition, an der Spitze D. Carlos, atravesaba den Ebro por Cherta in der Nacht v. 28 (Juni?), dringt vor nach Valencia. Gleichzeitig andre royalistische division v. 6000 Mann unter Zariátegui auch über den 35 Ebro, recorría impunemente beide Castillas, bemächtigt sich des alcázar v. Segovia, u. empeñar junto á la corte (en el pueblo de Torrelodones) una refriega con las tropas del general Méndez Vigo. Gov. (Christinisches) sendet Espartero der se hallaba en el bajo Aragon, marschirt in forcirten Märschen á la córte, wo er entró spät 12 August an der Spitze 40 s. Division. ... 72 oficiales der ersten Brigade (Royal Guard), al recibir la órden que al dia siguiente se emprendería la marcha hacia Segovia,

espresaron terminantemente que no se moverían mientras no fuese depuesto el ministerio Calatrava. Der General commandant der guardia real Don Felipe Rivero erklärte ihnen daß die Militares nicht zu comandiren, sondern zu gehorchen, «sich nicht zu mischen en asuntos políticos», wer nicht wolle «hacer abnegación de su voluntad, dem bleibe nur 5 un camino honroso, que era el separarse de las filas y no dar mal ejemplo con su conducta». Die Officiere erklärten sich alle bereit sich zurückzuziehn, erhalten sie, Sergeanten an ihre Stelle gesezt, se puso en marcha. 18 August (1837) Ministry giebt s. Entlassung; andres ernannt m. Conde de Luchana (Espartero?) an der Spitze. Acceptirt nicht. Diese insub- 10 ordinacion v. Aravaca Signal bedeutenderer u. schlimmerer im Heer. In Bilbao verläugnen einige Soldaten ihren Chefs Gehorsam; conde de Mirasol m. Assassinat bedroht in Hernani, wo Opfer der Soldateska 2 Officiere; General Escalera sucumbió in Miranda á manos einiger Soldaten del provincial de Segovia verwandelt in viles sicarios; in Vitoria 15 assassinirt der gobernador militar, der Chef der plana mayor, der Präsident der diputación; Gen. Sarsfield u. coronel Mendivil ermordet v. den batallones de tiradores en Pamplona; in Logroño ähnliche Symptome v. Rebellion, aber unterdrückt. Augenblicklich konnte Espartero nichts thun, aber im October in Miranda u. Pampluna die assassins hin- 20 gerichtet, womit die Disciplin des Heeres sich wieder consolidirte. Don Carlos unterdeß hatte erreicht den Tajo zu atravesar bei Fuentidueña, 12 August se presentó á la vista de Madrid, dentro de cuyos muros debía sin duda contar con secretas inteligencias. Aber der Plan der Realisten zerstört nicht nur durch die valiente decision der garnison, sondern auch 25 der milicia nacional u. el vecindario, verfolgt, fliehen, fürchten v. der Division Espartero abgeschnitten zu werden. Den 13 dieser in Madrid, 17' verläßt es um zu verfolgen, consiguiendo batir á los rebeldes en Aranzueque, Retuerta y Huerta del Rey, al paso que en Pastrana y Arcos de la Cantera causaba Oráa á Cabrera, que se separó del Pretendiente, 30 mas de 2200 hombres de pérdida. 4 Nov. (1837) schlossen die constituí. Cortes ihre Sitzung, 19 die ordentlichen, 16 December (37), neues Ministerium unter dem conde de Ofalia.

1838. 29 Dec. (37) Expedition des cura Don Basilio Garcia über den Ebro por el vado de Mendavia, kurz nachher andre unter dem conde 35 de Negri; beide völlig geschlagen, erster in Béjar durch Pardiñas, 2<sup>o</sup> in Piedrahita v. Espartero, der auch gesiegt im valle v. Mena u. Balmaseda. 5 März die facción, unter Cabañero, enters by surprise Saragossa früh morgens, Einwohner á las armas, schlagen die Royalists, causándoles 217 muertos, 370 heridos y 700 prisioneros. Aehnlich die Städte v. Gan- 40 desa, Lucena, Viana, Villanueva de Mena. Die Truppen unter Espartero



u. Rivero bemächtigen sich de *Peñacerrada* u. die unter General Leon schlagen völlig die facción in los Arcos. ... alzamiento des escribano Don Juan Muñagorri al grito de *paz y fueros* v. dem ministry Bardagí gemacht. Nutzlos ... 23 October General Don Ramon Maria Narvaez  
5 beauftragt u. führt aus Organisation in Andalucía v. Reserve-  
heer v. 40,000 Mann. Hatte schon Namen por su incansable actividad y  
arrojo, la brillante victoria de Majaceite (wo Gomez geklopft) u. die  
Pacification de la Mancha. Aber schon Krakehl m. Espartero. Narvaez  
führte s. Aufgabe aus, muß aber vor Espartero weichen ... Narvaez giebt  
10 s. Dimisión despues de los sucesos de octubre en Madrid, verbindet sich  
m. Gen. Córdoba in Sevilla y tomó en los acontecimientos de esta pobla-  
ción den parte suficiente para obligarle á emigrar al extranjero. Aber die  
Bewegung v. Sevilla u. die esposiciones aller wichtigsten Städte führten  
herbei la caída del ministerio Frías, que fué reemplazado por el de Perez  
15 Castro. Aber m. diesem Zwist unter den liberales zugleich discordia im  
campo u. córte des Don Carlos. Der Gefe superior der tropas carlistas,  
Don Rafael Maroto, verlangt terminantemente v. Prätendenten Wechsel  
des Ministry u. castigase seiner Gegner. Carlos indeciso. Maroto,  
*18 Februar* läßt füsilliren in Estella sin formación de causa á los generals  
20 García, Sanz y Guergué, den brigadier Cannona, den intendente Uriz  
u. den oficial Ibañez. Espartero benutzt den desaliento u. division die die  
fusilamientos v. Estella hervorgebracht en las filas carlistas, y con el  
objeto de impedir que estas estralimitasen el teatro de sus operaciones,  
determinó apoderarse de los importantes puntos de Ramales y Guarda-  
25 mino, genommen 8 May der erste, der zweite am 13 May, indem Espar-  
tero gefangen nimmt toda su guarnición. Gleichzeitig General Leon in  
Navarra durchschreitet die Arga al frente de sus soldados agua al pecho,  
bemächtigt sich May 1 der formidables reductos v. Belascoain, Baños,  
Ciriza ||[5] y la Barca, u. den 11 die atrincheramientos v. Arroniz. Espar-  
30 tero wird Duque de la Victoria, grande v. Spain u. Leon wird Graf  
v. Belascoain. Dieß in der Armee des Nordens. Im Centrum die Banden  
v. Cabrera humillandos vor den Mauern v. Lucena dessen sitio sie  
gezwungen aufzugeben m. Verlust, geklopft in Tales, dessen Castillo y  
fuertes con sus guarniciones y pertrechos genommen. *1 Juni* Cortes auf-  
35 gelöst; andre berufen f. *1 September* (1839). 1839 eröffnet die Sache der  
facciosos so precaria; Espartero hatte sich Orduñas bemächtigt, que-  
mado las mieses de las llanuras de Navarra y de la provincia de Alava  
para estrecharles, ocupado los pueblos de Alío, Dicastillo, Durango y  
Oñate. Zur selben Zeit, wo die Cortes eröffnet *Convenio* v. *Vergara*.  
40 Anfangs dabei thätig der comodoro John Hay, en los últimos dias nur  
die Generale Espartero u. Maroto arreglaron las bases en conferencias

particulares u. durch Gefes beider Banden, cabiendo á este célebre tratado reines Werk der Spanier zu sein. Manchmal die Unterhandlungen auf dem Punkt abgebrochen zu werden, da Espartero Maroto's exigencias in Bezug auf das destino u. posición ulterior des Don Carlos u. besonders der Integrity der *fueros* nicht sanktioniren wollte ohne den acuerdo des 5 gobierno u. der Cortes. Aber die Intriguen gegen Maroto am Hofe des Carlos, Ermüdung der Soldaten, Wunsch der meisten Chefs f. Frieden, mißliche militärische Lage zwangen ihn.

1839 Viel damals geschuldet den Generalen Urbistondo, Iturbe, Latorre, que arrostrando grosse peligros condujeron sus divisiones 10 castellana, guipuzcoana y vizcaína á los campos de Vergara; Espartero haranguirt die Carlisten: «Queréis vivir todos como españoles bajo una misma bandera? Ahí tenéis á vuestros hermanos que os aguardan; corred á abrazarlos, como yo abrazo á vuestro general.» (Maroto nämlich selbst gekommen) Umarmungen, aclamaciones, abrazos. Wenige Tage nachher 15 se disolvían estos cuerpos, y pasaban á la situación acordada en el convenio estipulado el 29 Aug. en Oñate u. so solemnemente sancionado en Vergara: Dieses « *Convenio celebrado entre etc Don Baldomero Espartero u. etc Don Rafael Maroto* », d. d. *Vergara, 31 Aug., 1839*, enthält 10 Artikel: *Art. 1* Espartero verpflichtet sich den Cortes vorzuschlagen die con- 20 cesión ó modificación der *fueros*. *Art. 2* Generäle, Gefes, Oficiere u. andre dem Heer des Maroto angehörige behalten Grad u. condecoraciones, ob sie nun eintreten in das Heer der Isabel od. sich in private life zurückziehn. *Art. 3* Die das erste wollen in den efectivos od. supernumerarios cuerpos des Heeres ... ihrem Rang gemäß gestellt. *Art. 4* Die 25 das 2<sup>te</sup> ihr Gehalt, auch wenn sie wollen Pässe (f. *licencia temporal*) ins Ausland etc *Art. 5* Die que pidan *licencia temporal* f. das Ausland, da sie Sold dem Reglement gemäß nur bei ihrer Rückkehr erhalten können, Espartero les facilitara las cuatro pagas, hierin einzuschliessen desde general hasta subteniente, inclusive. *Art. 6* In den vorigen Artikeln die 30 Civilbeamten eingeschlossen que se presenten 12 Tage nach Ratification dieses convenio. *Art. 7* Wenn die divisiones navarra u. alavesa se presentasen in derselben Form wie die divisiones castellana, vizcaína u. guipuzcoana sie dieselben Concessionen. *Art. 8* Zu Esparteros Verfügung gestellt die parques de artillería, maestranzas, depósitos de armas, de 35 vestuarios u. víveres die unter dem Commando des Maroto. *Art. 9* Die Gefangnen des corps der Provincias der Vizcaya, u. Guipúzcoa u. die des corps der division castellana die ganz die vorstehenden Artikel acceptiren frei u. genossen ihre Vortheile. Die andren sufrirán la suerte de prisioneros. *Art. 10* Espartero wird der Reg. u. den Cortes die Wittwen u. Wai- 40 sen der in diesem Krieg v. diesen corps Gefallenen anempfehlen ... Pre-

tendent flüchtet sich nach Frankreich, verfolgt m. den Resten seines Heers bis an die Grenze. 14 September. In Aragon, Valencia, Cataluña die lucha noch encarnizada. Heer des Espartero nach Aragon, in dessen Capital er einrückt 4 October. 21 October dimitieron die ministros de 5 Gobernación y Marina, 30 der des Kriegs, Cortes aufgelöst. Andre berufen f. 18 Feb. 1840.

1840. Neue desórdenes. Bei Gelegenheit der Wahlen in Málaga, Vinaroz, Almeria, la Coruna, Santander y otros puntos. Unter solchen Unruhen u. ungünstigen Auspicien Cortes eröffnet 18 Febr. A cada 10 momento estallaban ya en uno ya en otro punto síntomas de disgusto, que mantenían siempre viva y aun acrecían la agitación. Alboroto, que tomando principio en las tribunas 23 u. 24 Febr. vino á terminar en las calles. Ministry giebt s. Entlassung. ... Folge in Aragon. 23 Feb. Cristinos zwingen die Garnison v. Segura sich zu ergeben; 26 März ditto das fuerte 15 v. Castellote; 5 April Zurbano schlägt die facción junto á Pitarque y Montoro; u. durch Van-Halen mas adelante en Peracamps. Ayerbe bemächtigt sich gleichzeitig v. Villarluengo; Leon v. Monroyo, Peñarroya, Beceite y Mora de Ebro; Azpiroz des castillo v. Alpuente u. der fuertes v. Aliaga, Ares u. Alcalá de la Selva; O'Donnell v. Cantavieja den 20 12 May, den 21 v. Montan, San Mateo u. la Cenia; Iriarte v. Bejis den 23 May; Espartero des fuerte de San Pedro Mártir den 26 May u. den 30 der importante plaza v. Morella, deren Garnison v. 3000 Mann nach heroischer Vertheidigung sich auf Discretion ergiebt, womit als 25 v. der Mancha auch glücklich beendet durch die heisse Verfolgung des feroz Balmaseda v. Gen. Don Manuel de la Concha, schlug ihn 15 Juni völlig in Sigüenza, u. in combination m. dem virey v. Navarra Rivero, zwang ihn den 28 á pasar die Grenze m. 3000 infantes u. mehr als 1000 caballos.!

30 [6] Isabella, krank, m. ihrer Mutter muß 11 Juni nach Barcelona um Seebad zu nehmen unter dem Schutz des Gen. Concha. Gerücht daß die facción v. Cabrera, flüchtig v. Aragon, se aproximaba al camino para apoderarse de S.S. M.M. Concha ihnen entgegen, greift sie an in den 35 alturas v. Olmedillas, schlägt sie, 1400 Gefangne. 18 Juni die kg. Personen in Zaragoza, 30 in Barcelona. ... Cañete, Castiel, el Collado y Beteta en Aragon, Berga en Cataluña fallen in die Hand der Cristinischen Truppen. Segarra, der an der Spitze der facción catalana, deponirte las armas; u. schließlich, Cabrera, verfolgt sin tregua ni descanso en Cataluña, se 40 acogía á Francia, dessen Grenze er flüchtig pasó 6 Juni an der Spitze de su aterrado ejército. Ueber mehr als 14000 die hombres die depusieron las armas in dem territorio francés u. eran sus principales gefes Cabrera,

Forcadell, Llangostera, Burjó, Arnau, Morales, Polo, Pep de Olí u. otros menos notables. Diese 14000 Mann waren vereinigt á la falda del Pirineo. Nun entrada triunfal des Duque v. Victoria zu Barcelona (hatte viel Aufsehen gemacht die Niederlage ante los muros de Berga, que defendida por 22 reductos y 14 torreones, una numerosa guarnición u. dem ejército 5 des Cabrera, vor dem Espartero). Cristine folgt nicht dem Espartero in den conferencias v. Lérida u. Esparraguera, das ministry zu wechseln; das ley de ayuntamientos nicht zu sanktionar, disolución der Cortes. 16 Juni Espartero giebt dimisión de todos sus cargos, alarde in Barcelona in der Nacht v. 18' - Espartero's Intervention beruhigt, wie die mudanza 10 de ministerio, al que fueron llamados Gonzalez, Onis, Sancho, los Ferraz y Armero. Nach einigen Schwankungen schließlich andres Ministry ernannt - Cortázar, Arteta, Antoine y Azpiroz - als die personas reales schon zu Valencia, wohin se habían dirigido den 22 August. Dieser Wechsel fiaba de nuevo el poder den moderados. Dabei sordo descon- 15 tento que fermentaba entre las masas desde la sanción de la ley de ayuntamientos. Señal des rompimiento dessen natural apoyo Espartero u. s. ihm ganz ergebnes Heer. Die Stärke der Progressisten the greater, als noch frisch die glorias del ejército y su caudillo, u. als die Attaque auf die municipalidades in su forma y atribuciones se lastimaban .. tan direc- 20 tamente sentimientos, intereses y afecciones locales. ... El célebre pronunciamiento de setiembre. *Al revés de cuantos movimientos habían hasta entonces tenido lugar, este empezó en la capital*, que dio la voz de alarma, secundada con la rapidez del rayo en todos los ángulos de la monarquía. Ya en días anteriores habia ido cobrando pábulo el descontento entre las 25 masas, conforme se iban recibiendo noticias de la córte, y mas de una vez hubo alarmas en las calles de Madrid, cuando al saberse el último nombramiento de ministros, la agitación se cambió en tormenta y desecha tempestad. *1 September: An diesem Tage «desde las once se veja mucha gente reunida á las inmediaciones de la casa capitular, la que á 30 cosa de media hora después llenó los salones contiguos al en que celebra el ayuntamiento sus sesiones».* Alteration in den Massen. Geklagt über die marcha que nos conducía al despotismo, sobre la animadversion que se procuraba escitar en las tropas contra la milicia. Um 12 eröffnete das ayuntamiento die Säle, worin es s. Sitzungen (ordinarias) zu halten iba. 35 Vollgepfropft v. dem nachdrängenden Volk. Viele draussen, die nicht mehr Platz finden. Sitzung fängt m. den gewöhnlichen Kleinigkeiten an über casas, alcantarillas etc. Nach 8 Minuten Ruf: «al órden del dia; já lo que importa!» Präsident: sei ordentliche Sitzung, Tagesordnung die (establecido) daher. Siguió la lectura unterbrochen v. Vivas, hasta 40 que uno interpeló al ayuntamiento manifestando que hacia dos meses no

habia gobierno, daß ausser dem Ayuntamiento die ciudadanos Niemand v. Autorität denen sie trauen könnten, weil las demás se apartaban v. der Constit., daß se estaba en el caso de que volviesen los sucesos de 1823, daß sie Niemand zu zählen upon whom f. ihr Leben, Constit., Orden  
5 social. Präsident sucht zu beschwichtigen. Lärm. Eine robuste Stimme (m. Applaus vieler): Präses solle nicht abwiegeln in so sehr gefährlichem Moment; wenn geheimer Plan v. Contrerevolution. «Medidas queremos, organización, fuerza popular, sino sucumbimos y mañana será tarde.» Enormer applaus u. vivas. *Präsident*: «Leben, sterben f. Constit. etc. Aber  
10 sie hätten nur die ihnen v. ihren Contribuenten ertheilten Atribuciones. Hier nur 4-500 personen. Das Ayuntamiento representire die capital der monarquía.» *Ein grito*: «Wir sind mehr als 1000. Draussen alles voll. Volk denkt wie wir. Maßregeln! Llamar á las armas» *Präs.*: «Señores, el ayuntamiento no debe tomar esas medidas *sino cuando el orden se perturbe.*» Tausend Stimmen: «Afuera, afuera!» La multitud corrió por todas partes, echándose de ver entonces que no «todos tenían las mismas ideas», y que las almas grandes capaces de sacrificar sus vidas «no eran tantas». Präsident schlägt vor, Ayuntamiento nimmt an dem gefe político anzuzeigen, daß sehr zahlreiche Bürgerversammlung stattgefunden,  
20 die behauptet die Institutionen befänden sich in el último riesgo, hören daß sich Gruppen in den Strassen gebildet. Moment daher die milicia nacional zu den Waffen zu rufen «para sostener la tranquilidad pública» ebenso se oficiase á los alcaldes de barrio para que con rondas de vecinos honrados celasen sobre el mismo objeto. Meanwhile der señor *Buerens*,  
25 gobernador u. gefe político v. Madrid, präsentirt sich beim Ayuntamiento exigiendo la disolución de la milicia; da er darauf bestand, wurde er verhaftet para salvar á Madrid de las calamidades que amenazaban. Nun nimmt das ayuntamiento ohne weitres medidas de seguridad, formuladas por uno de sus individuos. Noch nicht ||7| mit s. Dispositionen  
30 fertig, wenn sich um 4 herum, präsentirt capt. gen. Aldama m. einem piquete v. caballería u. el batallón del rey por la calle de Luzon, frente á la casa de ayuntamiento. Der Gefe del puesto will ihn nicht durchlassen; Aldama befiehlt den cazadores del Rey Feuer zu geben, geschieht, resultando un cabo muerto y heridos algunos nacionales. Por parte de la  
35 tropa también hubo varios heridos. Die milicianos que estaban en el telégrafo gaben auch Feuer, das Pferd des general getödtet, der sich selbst salvó como por milagro. Die cazadores del rey erschreckt se refugiaron en un portal, donde se entregaron todos, schwören nun (die héroes) no saber el objeto con que se les sacó del cuartel, u. in union m. den cazadores del 2º entraron en la plaza. El ayuntamiento se situó en la Panadería, donde quedó en sesión permanente. En esta refriega zufällig auf

dem Platze de la Villa ein paisano getödtet. Nun (p. 403 sqq.) erzählt, wie sich die Miliz der Hauptposten bemächtigt, früher als die der Gobernadora; ihre Artillerie zieht durch die Strassen, Munitionen vertheilt u. die Hauptpunkte besezt wie die Aduana, Imprenta nacional, San Felipe etc. Der capt. general stellt s. Truppen im Prado auf. Die Mehrzahl läuft zu der Miliz über. Während der Nacht allgemeine Illumination. Viele Bauern strömen herbei, verlangen Waffen, y se repartieron sobre mil fusiles unter sie, u. bilden 3 pelotones (f. die Miliz). *Publication des Ayuntamiento*: «Ciudadanos: los votos del ejército y de la milicia ciudadana, die manifestaciones der principales ayuntamientos der Península, die clamores der opinion pública contra el ominoso sistema de reacción que hoy domina, todo, todo ha sido despreciado con insolencia por los traidores que rodean á S. M. ... Infringida la Constitución ... Nation muß laut ihren firme voluntad äussern de conservar ilesas en su espíritu y letra las instituciones constitucionales ... Das Ayuntamiento daher se ha reunido para transmitir á S. M. los votos de esta capital ... Nuestro egemplo, ciudadanos, tendrá imitación en las provincias etc.» General Aldama aufgefordert sich im ayuntamiento zu präsentiren, verweigert; den andren Morgen zieht er nach Arganda m. der caballería u. artillería der guardia u. 30 hombres der Reina Gobernadora. A la una y media de la noche se presentò en la Plaza el batallón de linea 7<sup>o</sup> provisional, dando vivas á la milicia y á la Constit. Al amanecer lo verificò en igual punto el batallón de la Reina Gobernadora. In derselben Nacht vereinigt m. dem Ayuntamiento die diputación provincial u. die gefes der milicia, se acordó zu organizar el levantamiento, dafür ernannt una junta suprema, die am Morgen des 2<sup>o</sup> Sept. 1840 (gezeichnet José María Ferrer, alcalde primero constitucional u. Pedro Beroqui, diputado provincial) anzeigt in einem Manifiesto an die «Habitantes de Madrid». Zeigt an, daß sie errichtet «una junta provincial que haga las veces de gobierno local, hasta tanto que S. M. bien penetrada de las críticas circunstancias, se digne nombrar un ministerio constitucional que responda al voto de la nación». (Neben den 2 Unterzeichneten zu dieser Junta: Don Pio Laborda, Don Fernando Corradi, Don José Portilla, Don Pedro Sainz de Baranda, Don Valentin Llanos). Nun extraordinäre Curiere in die Provinzen geschickt noticiando das alzamiento para que se secundara. Message geschickt denselben Tag zu Espartero u. Representación den 4<sup>o</sup> (Sept.) á S. M. esponiendo das motiv u. Objekt des pronunciamiento ... Kaum Hof benachrichtigt, entbietet Espartero, als Ersticker der Revolte. Dieser drückt s. Unzufriedenheit m. dem Cabinet aus etc Auf s. Vorstellungen fällt es. Gebildet das der señores Sancho, Gomez Becerra, Infante, Jimenez, Cabello y Capaz. Als auch dieß nicht entsprechend den deseos

der pronunciados; nothwendig Espartero selbst m. der Bildung eines  
ministry zu beauftragen. Dieser geht nach Madrid, trifft dort ein  
29 Sept. unter enthusiast. Demonstrations; verständigt sich m. der Pro-  
visional Junta, ergänzt s. Ministry m. den señores Ferrer, Becerra, Cor-  
5 tina, Chacon, Gamboa y Frías. Kaum legt das neue ministry zur  
kgl. Sanction s. Programm vor, als unerwartet Cristine erklärt zu renun-  
ciar la regencia y marchar al extranjero. Erklärt, allen instances zum  
Trotz, daß dieß ihr irrevocable voluntad. *Proclama des Don Alvaro*  
*Gomez Becerra*, ministro de Gracia y Justicia, notario mayor de los rei-  
10 nos: 12 Octob. 1840 zu Valencia convocatoria in einer der cámaras des  
Palasts, wo versammelt die Minister: (folgt dann Aufzählung aller andren  
Generäle, Grössen, Notabein, die dort versammelt) nach 8 Uhr Abend  
erschien dann etc María Cristina de Borbon u. verlas un documento  
autògrafo, das sie dann dem Conseilspräsidenten übergab, acompañado  
15 de un real decreto que leyó este, u. der tenor v. ambos derselbe: «*A las*  
*Cortes. - Renuncia.* Der actual estado der nación u. ihr delicater Gesund-  
heitszustand zwingt sie die ihr 1836 übertragene Regency niederzulegen,  
obgleich man sie gebeten zu behalten wenigstens bis zur Reunion der  
bevorstehenden Cortes. Könne das aber nicht, da sie nicht könne acceder  
20 á algunas de las exigencias de los pueblos, que mis consejeros mismos  
creen deber ser consultadas para calmar los ánimos y terminar la actual  
situación etc» Drauf folgt «*Decreto* desselben Inhalts». Act durch die  
Beistehenden unterschrieben etc Am 13 Oct. Manifest des ministerio-  
regencia an die nation u. Auflösung der Cortes, letztes durch Cristine  
25 damals gezeichnetes Décret. 17 October auf einem spanischen Dampfer  
nach Port-Vendres u. Marseilles. Wenige Tage darauf das Ministerio-  
regencia ||8| m. der Isabel u. ihrer Schwester nach Madrid. 28 October der  
Einzug der Isabel in Madrid, trist. (384-413)

Das Ministry, durch die Revolution an die Regency gekommen, sucht  
30 so viel als «posible» zu prellen um die Resultate den Royalisten zu mas-  
sigen, schon um allen Vorwand zu einer frz. Intervention abzuschneiden.  
Espartero die supremo poder. *Manifest der Cristina, d. d. Marseilles,*  
*8 November producirt keine, wie sie doch geglaubt, Sensation.*

1841. 19 März Cortes Sitzung eröffnet. Grosser Kampf über die re-  
35 gency u. Zahl der Personen, woraus sie bestehn soll. Siegen die *unitarios*,  
m. dem apoyo der moderados. So Espartero m. immenser Mayorität  
Regent des reino ernannt. (10 May) Den 11 May leistet er seinen Schwur  
auf die Constit. Der Regent bildet einige Tage darauf s. ministry aus Don  
Antonio Gonzalez, Don José Alonso, Facundo Infante, Pedro Suarra y  
40 Rull, u. den generales San Miguel y Camba. Nun bald cuestión de tutela,  
promovida durch das gobierno. 10 Juli entschieden, durch 203 gegen

36 votos, in den vereinigten Kammern, daß dazu ernannt Don Agustín Arguelles. Da aber, wie sie behauptete, Cristina m. der Regency nicht auch die Titel niedergelegt, so rebellisches Proclama ihrerseits «*A la Nación etc 19 Juli 1841.*» U. A.: «Declaro que la decision de las Cortes es una forzada y violenta usurpación de facultades, que yo no puedo ni debo consentir.» «Yo fui ... en Valencia la última defensora de las leyes, escandalosamente holladas por los que mas obligación tenían de sostenerlas.» 26 Aug. die Cortes geschlossen. Das Proyecto de modificación de fueros, das den Cortes präsentirt, gab *Prätex*t zu neuen Aufständen in den provincias Vascongadas. Gen. O'Donnell se puso al frente del movimiento que tuvo lugar den 2 October in Pamplona apoderándose die ciudadela; der brigadier Piquero dasselbe in Vitoria con Montes de Oca u. der cor. Larrocha in Bilbao, Borso di Carminati in Zaragoza, Orive in Toro u. schließlich der conde de Belascoain (Leon) m. dem Gen. Concha u. andren in Madrid 7 October. Aber diese movimientos nicht glücken. In Madrid die Verschwornen (Nacht v. 7 Oct.) «Manuel de la Concha etc hatten gerechnet auf den mayor parte der Truppen, schnitten sich. Die autoridades locales consiguieron atajar el motín u. reuniendo la milicia y la guarnición, cuando al amanecer se puso el regente al frente de ellas, se rendían á discreción las últimas fuerzas que apoyaron la sublevación - Trotz der Bitten der reina, Reunido un consejo de guerra, Leon verurtheilt...» gegen 3 Stimmen, 15 October erschossen. Unter den Gefangnen entwischen el conde de Requena, Fulgosio, Norzagaray, Concha, u. der Duque de San Carlos. Erschossen Quiroga y Frias, Fulgosio (Don Dámaso) Gobernado u. Boria. In Vitoria erschossen Montes de Oca. In Zaragoza Borso di Carminati ... Das Heer entfremdet sich dem Espartero ...

6 December decretirt die supresión der guardia real.

26 December Cortes eröffnet, Mayoría (bedeutende) im Beginn der Regierung. 30

1842. Coalition gegen das Ministerium. 28 May in einer Sitzung v. 15 Stunden voto de censura gegen es que le obligó á prestar su dimisión. 17 Juni Neues ministry: senadores Rodil, Almodovar, Zumalacárregui, Calatrava y Capaz u. der Deputirte Solanot.

4 Juli Legislatur aufgehoben. 30 Sept. die Cortes berufen f. den 14 November. An diesem selben Tag pueblo u. milicia nacional v. Barcelona Aufstand, Van Halen (der capt. gen.) muß die Stadt den Insurgenten überlassen, bald drauf die fuerte de Atarazanas, die ciudadela, das cuartel de estudios, que se rindió por falta de ausilios. *Prätex*t dieses Aufstands que el gobierno quería hacer un tratado de comercio con la Inglaterra. Halen gezwungen sich m. den tropas zu situar en el pueblo de 40



San Feliu. Treu blieb der Reg. nur die Garnison des castell's v. Monjuich: schon auf dem Punkt wegen Mangel an Lebensmitteln sich zu ergeben. Aendert sich status m. Ankunft Esparteros. 21 November verläßt er Madrid, 29 se hallaba en el campamento de Esplugas y Llobregat. Al punto trasladó el cuartel general nach Sarria, estrechó el bloqueo des Platzes, fordert auf sich zu ergeben, ein kurzen Termin, nach welchem er bombardiren würde. Bombardirt 3 December v. 11 Uhr Morgens bis 7 in der Nacht. 4' Dec. rücken die Truppen ein, rendido die sublevados, se impusieron enormes gabelas der Stadt. Dieser Triumph macht die Regierung noch verhaßter. Kaum die Cortes wieder vereinigt als starke Opposition; denselben 22 Nov. daher die Cortes suspendirt, aufgelöst bei der Rückkehr des Espartero am

1 Januar 1843, andre berufen f. 13 Abril. Nicht besser das Cabinet m. den neuen Cortes. Coalición. Minister geben ihre Entlassung. Crisis dauert 8 Tage. Schwanken des Regenten - 6 Abril Espartero beruft als Minister: Don Joaquin Maria Lopez, Don Manuel Maria de Aguilar, Don Francisco Serrano, Don Joaquin Frías, Don Mateo Miguel Ayllon, Don Fermín Caballero. Das ministry allgemein gut aufgenommen erklärt dem Regenten Nothwendigkeit neue Politik anzunehmen. Legten ihm daher ein *Program d. d. 9 May 1843* vor: Punkte draus: Administration ohne Unterschied der Partheien; Allgemeine Amnestie f. die pol. Verbrechen seit Beendigung des Bürgerkriegs. Keine Belagerungszustände. Finanzreform. Beschleunigung des Verkaufs der bienes nacionales. Activar la conclusion de los códigos, etc. Zu diesem allem Espartero willig, aber nicht die Linage zu beseitigen etc Entläßt das ministry. Ernennet [9] Neues aus Gomez Becerra, Mendizabal, Hoyos, Cuetos, Gomez de la Serna ... Rumor klagt den Espartero an de conato de erigirse en dictador ó de usurpar el trono. Olózaga, in den Cortes, im Namen der Coalición gegen das Gov. Darauf erhob sich Málaga. 21 May suspendirt die sesiones; 23 proclama in Málaga des Programms des ministry Lopez; 26 Cortes aufgelöst u. trotz der esfueros des general Seoane folgt Barcelona dem move; Zurbano mußte fliehn v. Reus, Badajoz vereitelt die esfueros des General Ricafort, Murcia die des marqués v. Camachos, Van-Halen u. Alvarez ziehn sich zurück sin poder vencer la resistencia de Málaga y Granada. Alle capitales siguieron das pronunciamiento ausser Zaragoza u. Madrid. Presse. El ejército folgte überall den banderas der coalición, y unido al pueblo, se constituían juntas, que á muy poco organizaron respetables cuerpos de ejército. Desde la guerra der independencia no se habia presenciado armamento tan general é instantáneo. Atonía des Espartero. 21 Juni verläßt Madrid; geht dumm nach Albacete, sin dar un paso hacia el teatro principal de las operacio-

nes. So er dio lugar daß die coligados sich organisirten, u. á la sombra der Junta suprema v. Barcelona u. des ministro universal Serrano Expeditionary army gebildet, die sich zu den órdenes des General Narvaez u. Concha etc stellte, die débarquirt in Valencia, y se convocaron u. regularizaron los terribles somatenes al mando del brigadier Prim. Al 5 propio tiempo andres corps in Castilla la Vieja unter General Azpiroz. 8 Juli Espartero marschirt gegen Narvaez, Concha nach Andalusien. Espartero vereint m. Van-Halen belagert Sevilla; bombardirte den 23, 24, 25 (es\Sevilla unter der dirección des Gen. Figueras). Muß sich zurückziehn, nun verfolgt v. Concha ... In *Castillas*: Divis. Narvaez entsezt 10 Teruel (belagert v. brigadier Enna), liefern über die Truppen in Aragon, abgeschnitten v. Espartero Seoane u. Zurbano. Narvaez marschirt auf Daroca u. Calatayud, so abschneidend die Verbindungen v. Madrid m. Zaragoza u. Lérida wo Seoane u. Zurbano. Narvaez marschirt den 11 auf Madrid, wo schon Azpiroz (im Pardo). 15' Madrid sich zu ergeben 15 aufgefordert. 18' (Juli) (Seoane u. Zurbano marschierend auf Madrid) Seoane llega zu Guadalajara an der Spitze v. 19 bataillons, 6 Schwadronen, 30 pieces d'artillerie. Er befand sich in Torrejon, Azpiroz in Barajas. Seoane, statt den Azpiroz anzugreifen (wie Espartero vorher versäumt m. Narvaez, dem er damals noch an Truppen überlegen) bleibt in Gua- 20 dalajara, erst den 21 rückt er nach Alcalá ... Sendet Messages an den Narvaez franquease el paso etc Erhält ähnliche Antwort.

Die brigadas v. Iriarte u. Enna in Madrid eingerückt. Azpiroz besezt m. s. Division die puente de Viveros am Morgen des 22' dando frente á Madrid, während Narvaez escogía una llanura, cortada por el camino 25 real zwischen den puentes de Pelayo u. Torote, para dar la acción. Seine Truppen inferiores en número als die der Seoane u. Zurbano, nur 2 pieces artillery u. die Hälfte s. Cavallerie Recruten montados en caballos de deshecho. Verweilt die Nacht in Torrejon de Ardoz; am Morgen des 22 stellt s. Truppen auf unos quinientos pasos del pueblo, mas allá de la 30 ermita de la Virgen de la Soledad. Am selben Morgen Seoane rückt ihm entgegen v. Alcalá. Bei dem Narvaez damals der Gen. Shelly, der coronel Serrano, der brigadier Campuzano; der brigadier Descafilar. Narvaez nimmt das Heer des Seoane gefangen. Zurbano entkommt, kündigt in Madrid die Niederlage an. Umarmungen der «feindlichen» Truppen auf 35 dem Schlachtfeld etc ... Laufen über zu Narvaez ... Mit dem acuerdo des ayuntamiento u. des capt. gen. San Miguel, Verhandlungen eröffnet m. Gen. *Azpiroz* u. Madrid. (Azpiroz acantonado en el pueblo de Barajas.) Schließlich Capitulation v. 23 July, 1843: 1) strikte u. puntual observancia der const, v. 1837. 2) formación einer junta provincial por la milicia 40 nacional, que cesará en sus funciones cuando lo determine el gobierno.

3) la milicia nac. de Madrid u. su provincia bleibt auf ihrem aktuellen Fuß. Keine Modification in ihr ausser con arreglo á la ley. 4) Respekt (inviolable) f. Person u. Eigenthum ohne Unterschied v. polit. Parthei ni de clases etc. «Aceptó estas bases. Javier de Azpiroz. *Für Madrid* unterschrieben: Gonzalo de Cárdenas. Mariano Garrido. Simon Santos Lerin. d. d. Barajos 23 Juli 1843». - Denselben tarde 23 Juli rückten die Truppen des Azpiroz ein u. in der Nacht die des Narvaez. Rückschlagend wie an alle Truppen, auch auf das Generalquartier des Espartero. Dieser, am 28 Juli hebt die bloqueo v. Sevilla auf, geht nach dem Puerto de St. Maria, wo er sich eindämpft, publicirt noch Protesta «A la Nación»: «a bordo del vapor *Beis* 30 Juli 1843». ... Unterdessen constituirt das Ministerium *Lopez*, provisional gobierno der Nation seit dem 21 Juli. Manifest desselben unterschrieben noch v. Francisco Serrano etc worin der einzige Beschluß, daß alle, die den Protest des Espartero unterschrieben «privados de todos sus títulos, grados, empleos, honores u. condecoraciones». (Dieß Décret wo gesprochen v. der carrera vergonzosa des Regenten, v. 16 Aug. 1843) Cortes convocirt f. 15 October. Totale Erneuerung des Senats verordnet, licénciamiento del ejército hasta la quinta de 1838, ganz neu ernannte (königl.) Diputaciones u. ayuntamientos, Großjährigkeitserklärung der Königin. (415-444) |

[10] Unruhen nun in Barcelona, Figueras, Hostairich, Gerona, Zaragoza, Granada, Sevilla, Vigo, Leon u. Almeria, alle diese Bewegungen gegen die Contrerevol., einige f. Espartero. 28 Oct. 1843 Zaragoza capitulirt m. General Concha, 7 November Amettler m. General Prim f. die plazas de Gerona u. Hostairich, Figueras aber nicht, weil es sich geweigert an der Capitulation theilzunehmen. Es ergab sich 13 Jan. 1844 an Baron de Meer. Iriarte, que habia desembarcado en Vigo para apoyar das pronunciamiento dieses Platzes f. Espartero, verfolgt durch Gen. Cottoner, flüchtet 6 Nov. (43) nach Portugal. 11 Nov. (43) giebt Vigo das Pronunciamiento auf, embarcándose la junta en un buque inglés: 20 Nov. capitulirt Barcelona m. General Sanz, der es m. seinen Truppen besetzt u. s. Miliz am 21 auflöst; schließlich kurz u. beschwichtigt sin trabajo die alborotos v. Granada, Sevilla, Almeria u. Leon. 4 Nov. (43) der Congress versammelt, 122 diputados. 6 Nov. Attentat auf Narvaez, haciendo víctima á su ayudante Basseti. 8 Nov., nach 2 Tagen, Discussion über die Majoritätserklärung der Königin, vereinigt beide legislative Körper im Congress, 76 Senatoren, 133 Diputados, durch 193 votos gegen 16 die Königin volljährig erklärt. 10 Nov. leistet sie ihren Eid auf die Constit. in die Hände des Senats. (444, 5)

**[Notiz zu:]**  
Fastos Españoles ó Efeméridas  
de la Guerra Civil, desde Octubre de 1832.

Madrid, Imprenta de Don Ignacio Boix.  
*2 Bnde. 1 v. 1839, T v. 1840.*

5

Endet mit December 1833. Tag für Tag der Zeitgeschichte.

De Pradt.  
Garanties à demander à l'Espagne.  
Paris. 1827.

Nach der Proclamation der Portugies. Charte Ferdinand VII erklärte in  
5 einer Proclamation «que jamais il ne se départira du pouvoir absolu dont  
le ciel l'a rendu dépositaire, et que ceux de ses sujets qui pourraient  
craindre de le voir rien relâcher de cette précieuse et incontestable pré-  
rogative, peuvent se reposer sur lui du soin de la préserver de toute  
atteinte». (2, 3) l'Espagne that gegen Portugal was Oestreich 1821 gegen  
10 Neapel. (3)

- *Mémoires du Marquis de Louville* (attaché à la personne de Phi-  
lippe V. - Einer der Höflinge (Villera) zu dem elenden Philipp V, alle  
andren vornehmen Personen hätten «un seul ange gardien, mais que  
les rois en avaient deux, dont l'un pour présider au gouvernement de  
15 leur état». (*Louville*) (p. 37) Die favories savent «que la favour passe,  
et que l'argent reste». (40) les capitaines généraux d'Espagne obéissent à  
peu près comme les pachas. (52) In dem kgl. Spanien «le gouvernement  
patent est une fantasmagorie». (64) *Mémoires de Ouvrard*. - Die bour-  
bonsche Dynastie erbte v. der österreichischen eine Schuld (Hieß juro)  
20 v. 4,000,000 rentes. Philippe V ließ dettes pour une somme supérieure à  
168,000,000 de francs. Son fils, Ferdinand VI, assembla une junte com-  
posée d'évêques, de ministres et de gens de loi, et l'invita à prononcer:  
Si un roi est tenu de payer les dettes de son prédécesseur. La question fut  
25 décidée à la négative par la pluralité, la conscience du roi soulagée, la  
banqueroute résolue. (67) despotisme monacal. (71) La chambre unique  
était faite pour la révolution; après elle, on en aurait fait une seconde.  
(124) l'armée de la Foi est devenue proverbiale pour tout ce qui est lâche,  
sale et vil. (126)

D. Evaristo San Miguel.  
De la Guerra Civil de España.

Madrid. 1836.

No es menos cierto que la invasión de los franceses fue el principio de nuestras disensiones (i. e. nacionales u. Afrancesados) intestinas, y la guerra de la independencia una especie de guerra civil al mismo tiempo. (12) Era mágico el nombre de Cortes á los ojos de un número prodigioso de españoles; y si todos no sabían ni la historia, ni las atribuciones de esta famosa institución, á nadie se ocultaba que su desaparición de nuestro suelo era una de las causas de las calamidades nacionales. (15) 10

In der ersten Revolutionsperiode zweite Theilung «liberales y serviles». (17) Die 2' Reaction (die nach 1823): «Época de prostitución mas que de crímenes, en que lo absurdo supera á lo cruel de las persecuciones.» (30) Sagt m. Recht v. der Zeit v. 20-3: «Mientras duró el imperio del partido liberal fue fácil al servil el escudarse en los términos de la ley para hacer guerra á la ley misma. ... La ley se mostraba en cierto modo enemiga de la ley: la legalidad mataba insensiblemente el cuerpo del estado.» (35, 36) Sagt bei Gelegenheit des *Estatuto Real* (erst versucht Cea den enlightened despotism; dann das Estatuto der Freiheit unschädlich zu machen): «la formación del estamento de Proceres vino á lisonjear las pretensiones de esta clase aristocrática. El nacimiento daba á algunos derecho al nombre y ejercicio de legisladores. Bei andren der Rang social, los honores militares ó civiles, los servicios hechos al estado ó un nombre eminentemente distinguido ... ¿Qué les podia dar el despotismo puro que compitiese con tan singular prerogativa?» (45) Unterschied des neuen Bürgerkriegs v. dem v. 21-3: «Fernando VII, rey ostensible de los consti-

tucionales, lo era también de sus encarnizados enemigos. Eran dos ejércitos en mutua hostilidad mandados por un mismo general muy celoso de disponer el uno de modo que pudiese ser hecho pedazos por el otro.» Heute an der Spitze der einen Seite Isabel II, an der der andren Don Carlos. (48,49)<sup>1</sup>

[11] Wie in der Periode v. 1820-3 Hauptschauplatz des Bürgerkriegs la Cataluña, la Navarra y las provincias Vascongadas. *La Cataluña*, país quebrado, abriga en su seno un pueblo esforzado y belicoso ... Unabhängigkeitssinn der Catalanier gegen alles que es extraño á su provincia. Lassen sich zu allen Epochen schwer v. Spanien regieren. Riefen das Haus Bourbon als die Oestreicher regirten, später kämpften gegen Philipp V hartnäckig f. Oestreich. Desde entonces, y pasa mucho mas de un siglo, están vivos en sus corazones los sentimientos de animosidad que excita en ellos el recuerdo de su vencimiento y de las humillaciones y gravámenes que señalan el triunfo de sus vencedores. Todo cuanto procede de Castilla tiene para ellos el carácter de desagradable y sospechoso. Las innovaciones en política deben por la misma razón serles mas odiosas que para otros. ... In *Navarra u. den provincias Vascongadas* die fueros que los instigadores de la lucha presentan como comprometidos ó muy amenazados. (49-51) Die rigor des Kriegs abgenommen seit últimos de Abril de 1835. Seit der Zeit mehr wie ein regelmässiger Krieg geführt. (54) Den breiten Massen die Constitution au fond Wurst. Aber si eran insensibles á los beneficios, no se podían quejar de los agravios. Esta ley fundamental les dejaba por lo menos en el mismo ser y estado. ¿Por qué la habían de mirar con sentimientos de odio? los enemigos, por interés propio de las reformas que envolvía la Constit., se aprovecharon precisamente de esta disposición de los ánimos de la muchedumbre para cambiar su indiferencia en activos y fuertes sentimientos. Solo con reflexionar sobre la grande influencia que ejercían los primeros sobre los segundos, se comprenderá lo fácil que le habrá sido convertir en enemigos de la ley fundamental á los mismos cuya felicidad era uno de los objetos de este Código. Fueron dueños estos directores de la muchedumbre de dar á las reformas políticas la version que mas cuadraba con sus intenciones. Die masas populares zitterten por su culto religioso etc etc ¿Con qué trató el partido liberal de neutralizar tan funestas disposiciones de los ánimos de la muchedumbre? Los numerosos decretos de las cortes, que tendían á mejorar la condición física del pueblo, no podían producir un efecto pronto y rápido cual las circunstancias exigían. Ni la abolición del medio diezmo, ni la venta de los bienes monacales mejoraron la condición de la clase baja agricultora. Empeoró notablemente la última medida la de los colonos ó arrendadores de los monges. Es bien

sabido que estos, como amos, eran sumamente indulgentes y benignos, que las rentas eran bajas, y que se conservaban en el mismo estado desde un tiempo inmemorial... Los nuevos dueños trataron de hacer, como era natural, mas productivas estas posesiones: las rentas se alzaron: los antiguos arrendadores no pudieron menos de resentirse de esta diferencia; de modo que la superstición, ya herida con la enagenacion de los bienes de la Iglesia, vino á recibir nuevo alimento con las sugestiones del interés material. ... Se ha visto generalmente en toda clase de reformas que los innovadores ... aceptaron siempre una *austeridad en sus costumbres* etc Nicht so die liberales españoles. Afectirten rather relaxation of morals u. auch nicht cierta opinion de probidad etc en sus (der Constit.) sostenedores. (79-83) Der größte Irrthum der liberalen Parthei war «el no considerar que las nueve décimas partes de la nación no eran amigos de las nuevas leyes». (84) No se puede levantar un edificio sin cimientos. Y los cimientos de este orden de cosas que nos interesan tanto son hacer las gratas - por medios físicos, por medios materiales, con medios de un pronto resultado - de este modo sensible á los ojos de la muchedumbre. (88) Die Cortes v. 1820 etc suchten alles mögliche zu thun. Aber ihre Decrete quedaron solamente consignados en los libros, y, si debían producir efectos saludables, no era por el pronto. Mientras con tanto afán se ocupaban en meras teorías, en dilucidar cuestiones de un interés no sentido mas que por una parte de los españoles, quedaron las masas populares en el mismo estado de ignorancia y de pobreza, quedaron abandonadas á la seducción de los enemigos de la patria, y no supieron que habia Constitución sino para oír que era un tejido de impiedades. Die liberales od. Constitucionales, divididos entre sí etc se disputaron un campo de batalla que todavía no era suyo: no advirtieron que la masa nacional estaba animada de otros sentimientos. (89) Todos los ramos de la administración se resintieron naturalmente de estos vaivenes, de estas transiciones tan violentas en política. Se introdujeron el desorden y la confusión en todas las dependencias del Estado por la rápida sucesion de las manos por donde pasaron en todos cambios de sistema. El número de empleados activos y cesantes aumentó de un modo prodigioso y agravó en la misma proporción las cargas del Estado. Y como sus riquezas no aumentaron, como ni las colonias, ni la navegación, ni el comercio en sus distintos ramos han ofrecido salida á la juventud que ha adquirido alguna educación; la adquisición de estos empleos ha sido una de las principales manzanas de discordia en todas estas tristes convulsiones. La mayor parte de las acusaciones, de los dicterios, de las calumnias con que los hombres se han atormentado mutuamente no han tenido otro origen que obtener estos empleos, ó el despecho de no haberlos conseguido;



Aus Evaristo San Miguel: De la guerra civil de España

verdad de una evidencia triste, mas que no debe admirar á quien reflexione que los empleos en este país pobre y sin recursos es el único camino para gozar de los bienes y comodidades de la vida. (97) |

|12| "The press debates on." "whatever dates the 3 glorious days of 5 July."

An Historical Enquiry  
into the Unchangeable Character  
of a War in Spain.

London. 1837.

(Toryistisch - Karlistisch)

5

Durch den treaty "Palmerston is vested with the powers of Parliament in voting supplies, and with the prerogative of the King in declaring war - and such a war! Well might the Duke of Wellington say, a War was out of the question; it was a mere case of stock-jobbing." (1) "the Basques, the patriarchs of European liberties." (4) took to that patriotism defined 10 by Dr. Johnson as the "last resource of a scoundrel". (1. c.) It was the remark of Polybius (1. IV), that a war in Spain was very different from those in Greece or Asia, where one great battle decided the campaign; whereas, here it was one endless, uninterrupted series of contests; they assembled, were defeated, reassembled and were defeated again, yet were 15 neither disheartened nor discouraged. The war was lengthened out because, as Strabo observed, they, unlike the Gauls, split themselves into small bands, and kept up a desultory and robber, or, in one word, a guerrilla warfare. (Strabo. IV) Römer merkten dieß bald: "plus est provinciam retinere quam faceré." (Florus. II, 17); they never were masters 20 in Cantabria beyond the spots actually occupied by their troops. ([7.] 8) Their officers were invariably bad. (1. c.) Die Kerls (Tories) machen "turgid bombast about mountain liberty and so forth". (15) die baskischen Provinzen. Ihre fueros, municipal institutions, commercial privileges. Able to commute for a money payment the actual service under the cruel 25 operation of the quinta, the conscription of Spain, without a custom—

house at their ports, full power to import and buy cheaply all that they cannot raise, appoint their own magistrates, audit their own accounts, raise and apportion their quota of taxation among themselves. Pay no "papel sellado", "among the Basques the principles of nobility is equality; and not as in all other countries the very reverse. Have no bishops, are treated as a 'foreign state' by Spain, u. governed by their own laws." (16, 17) American President Adams über die Basques: "While their neighbours have long since resigned all their pretensions into the hands of kings and priests, this extraordinary people have preserved their ancient language, genius, laws, government, and manners, without innovation longer than any nation of Europe. Active, vigilant, generous, brave, handy, inclined to war and navigation ... best soldiers and sailors of Spain." (17) time-hallowed institutions. (18) It is notorious, that it is always the practice in Spain, in doubtful cases, to send a double set of instructions—the one, the ostensible, to be evaded; the other, the secret, to be carried into effect. (l. c.) Double-faced, crooked policy ... bolster up her crown, already reeling and staggering ... [(19)] "Neither were the Basques ever conquered by the Spaniards; they incorporated themselves voluntarily with the Castillian monarchy, on the condition that the King of Spain should be their 'Lord', not their king, and that their privileges should be preserved inviolate." (18) Des Don Carlos *Dwango Decree* "which ordered instant execution of all armed adventurers, who might be taken while aiding and abetting the cause of revolution, was in perfect accordance with Spanish law and precedent". (20) The Durango decree would never have been questioned or debated in Spain, if no Englishman had been put to death in consequence. (21) Col. Evans and the better portion of the mercenary Legion were perfectly aware of the previous existence of this decree. (22) they had become subjects to Christina. (I.e.) Die horrors des civil war were mitigated by the Eliot convention ... The arrival of Englishmen ... was the fatal signal of the renewal and increase of all the horrors of war. (25) At every period, and under every possible domination, the Spanish Character has been sullied by the most fiendish, atrocious cruelty. (I.e.) "Los Españoles parecen sabios, y no lo son." (Sagte Charles V) That same outward gravity and importance ... is the dignified mask which often covers the grossest ignorance of an ordinary calibre of intellect ... venality, ignorance, treachery, inconsistency, indolence, egotism, overweening confidence, chicanery, dissimulation, dilatoriness, procrastination, jealousy, suspicion, folly, improvidence, jobbing, prodigality, selfishness, infatuation, intolerance, arrogance, incapacity, presumption, mistrust, falsehood, insincerity, ingratitude, mendacity, mendacity ... We have no words to express our contempt for

the deliberative assemblies in Spain; when 2 or 3 are gathered together, all that is good in the national character seems to be annihilated; they appear to have the heads of idiots on their shoulders and the hearts of traitors in their breasts. (32, 3) Espartero is said to have a personal interest in the contract for the supply, or rather the non-supply of 30,000 rations daily. This is one of the causes why the Christino generals do not wish the war to be terminated; so long as it continues they are on full pay and in power, they take care never to expose themselves to danger, and are employed on making money by jobbing and speculation at the expense of their own troops and those of their allies. (35) The beggarly account of killed and wounded is the surest comment on the pompous accounts of the desperate courage, tremendous fire, and great achievements, which are always recorded in their gazettes. They are immortalised by their retreats, for every one of which a cross of honour is bestowed ... A Spanish officer called upon Gen. Castaños so bedizened with crosses and orders that the old soldier asked him where he gained them; one was for the retreat of the Somosierra, another for the "retirada" from Medellin, and so on with all of them: well, Sir said Castaños, retire from this room, put on another medal, and call it "La retirada de Castaños". (37)

*Verschiedne attacks made at different epochs by the English upon Cadiz.*  
1' in 1596 durch Devereux, Earl of Essex, favourite der Queen Elisabeth. (47) (Rapidität der Bewegung bildet keinen Theil der Span. Strategien: "mañana" ist die dulle procrastinierende Fluch aller ihrer Operationen.) |

[13] Lord Peterborough describes their tardy pace "except when going to rob or flying from an enemy". The inhabitants of Cadiz, "reposing on their own greatness, had made no preparations whatever for defence, thinking that the English would never dare to attack them". In the same manner as the blatant, boasting Cortes, in 1823, continued jabbering, chattering, and writing impertinent notes until the French crossed the Bidossoa, when they took to their heels to a man, and never stopped, till they reached Cadiz, where, as they could run no further, they surrendered ignominiously at discretion. (48) (Essex nahm es)

2' *attack: In 1625*, an attack upon Cadiz was ill projected by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and ill-executed by Lord Wimbleton. (49) (Besoffenheit der engl. Soldaten, fast der ganzen Armee, within half an hour.)

3' *Schutz der Engländer f. Cadiz.* 10 Feb. 1810, 2000 English under Gen. Stewart (despatched v. Wellington) were marched in. (50) (Sieh über die Waffen, deren sich die Bauern im war of Independence bedienten. Interessantes, p. 51) the ever-pursuing, never-reaching Espartero ... The

great Capt. Gonzalo de Cordova (not Gen. Cordova) used to compare these tardy heroes to San Elmo (the Castor and Pollux of Spain), who never appears except at the end of the storm. (52) those dispersed hordes of banditti, according to the veracious and official statements of the 5 Madrid Gazette, are regularly annihilated twice a week. (55) each man has been killed 10 times. (I.e.) The Cid and Alexander the Great, who "thrice slew his slain", were mere schoolboys in the "art of war" when compared with Evans and Espartero. (I.e.) "the rural population is hostile to the queen's troops." "the population is friendly to the cause of 10 Don Carlos." In this simple fact consists the secret of the failure of the mighty Napoleon, and the successful military promenade of the feeble Angoulême. (56) bush-fighting bandit war. (59) The war commenced with treble that number (über 21,000 men) against a mere handful of insurgents, and, had it been then conducted with ordinary skill, it must have 15 "been terminated in 6 weeks; but Rodil did little more by his operations than disgust his own troops, and organise those of the enemy, whom he taught confidence in themselves". (61) (*Major Richardson: The movements of the Brit. Legion.*) The misfortunes of Hernani are to be attributed to Evans's ignorance of his profession, and to Espartero's cowardice 20 and treachery. (62) A few troops (in a strong mountainous position, m. a locally popular prince) will do nothing there, while a large army will be starved. (*Henry IV.* 62) They, like Highlanders of Scotland, uphold with romantic gallantry the standard of their king, as the Royalists of the Vendée trampled on the tricolor of revolution. (63) A war zugleich of 25 religion, whose sacred cause throws a dignity over the efforts of these half-armed bands of patriotic royalists, as the ample cloak of Spain covers with the drapery of decency the poverty which too often pines beneath its folds. (63) Cordova, the Bombastes Furioso of Christina, boasted that he had led his troops over mountains higher than ever the 30 eagle soared. (64) "their grace is only in their heels, they are most lefty runaways." (37) Long and deadly will be the struggle ere the hereditary feelings for their monarch, who has thus thrown himself among them, will be eradicated from the true hearts of the noble peasantry of Spain. The same title bestowed on their God and king inspires an equal and 35 associated feeling of devotion and loyalty. (64) Der Basques ancient language outliving in immemorial antiquity all cognate dialects, is the surest proof that no foreigner has ever obtained any permanent dominion in their land. (66) Palmerston's "miserable active non-interference". (67) this naval blockade, which is become a land service with miners, sappers, 40 and artillery. (I.e.) the war conducted like a game of brag, or like two bad chess-players, where the party who makes the fewest bad moves will

succeed. (68) restoration of Don Carlos—not so much from any love to him individually as to escape from the iron rule of low, base-born democrats, whose sordid speculation and grinding despotism will force them to "Fly from petty tyrants to the throne". (68) the same loss of precious time, the same tardy strategies, the same breathing time afforded to the 5 quickly rallying Carlists. (69) This unchangeable character of Spain, procrastination is almost of necessity, with troops so unprovided and ill-equipped as those of Christina, who are utterly unable to take or hold the field for any continued period. (69) Spain ... singular romantic country, which hovers between Europe and Africa, between civilisation and bar- 10 barism ... that storehouse of ancient customs, that repository of all, elsewhere long forgotten and past by. (73) A starving, unequipped army in the field, an active, wellorganised band of speculators in power and at court. (75, 76)

L'Espagne en la Crise Présente.  
Examen raisonné de la cause et des hommes  
qui peuvent sauver cette nation,  
ouvrage écrit en espagnol par D. V. P.,  
s ancien Professeur de droit  
dans une des Universités  
Supérieures d'Espagne.  
Traduit etc p. G. D. Montpellier. 1843.

(Jesuit)

10 l'Espagne jette l'insulte aux souverains de l'Europe en appelant un  
obscur soldat (Espartero) à prendre rang parmi eux. (1) gouvernement du  
*juste-milieu* ou le gouv. *christino-libéral*. (6) Les hommes du *juste-milieu*  
espagnol appartiennent à l'ancienne école, qui, dès le dernier tiers du  
siècle passé, fut connue en Espagne par les noms trop célèbres d'Aranda,  
15 Campomanes, autres personnages fameux. (11) |

[14] la pragmatique sanction de 1830 ... l'Europe était agitée par les  
plus fortes convulsions, et l'hydre révolutionnaire, mal étouffée en 1823,  
épiait le moindre trouble de la nation. (14) *Zea Ber mudez* ... despotisme  
éclairé. (15) un vieux monument, qui réédifié au dedans d'après le style  
20 et l'architecture moderne, conserverait sur ses murailles crénelées et son  
frontispice gothique les inscriptions et les bas-reliefs du moyen-âge. (16)  
le pouvoir ténébreux de la révolution et l'autorité royale, par une mon-  
strueuse alliance, travaillaient de concert à démolir l'oeuvre prodigieuse  
de 14 siècles: le premier dirigeait et l'autre sanctionnait. (17) Ferdinand

f 29. sept. 1833. Manifest des Bermudez vom 4 October (l. c.) le libéralisme (unter Zea Bermudez) est proscrit dans les actes publics du gouv., et ses plus chauds partisans sont appelés presque exclusivement au pouvoir: on hait les démagogues et on les comble de faveurs et de caresses, ils sont personnellement redoutés, mais on met les armes dans leurs mains. (18) 5  
Les royalistes devaient être comprimés par les libéraux et les démagogues, et ceux-ci par les premiers, le nouveau gouvernement devait les appuyer tous indistinctement, sans s'appuyer lui-même sur aucun; il devait les humilier et les caresser tour à tour, jusqu'à ce qu'il les attirât et les réunit tous à son système; ce système n'étant ni monarchique, ni républicain, ni absolu, ni représentatif, ni religieux, ni impie. (19) Dieser Plan mitten in einem mouvement de profonde agitation, dans des sens divers, no barrière à lui opposer que le nom d'une enfant, ni d'autres moyens à mettre en oeuvre que la force matérielle de l'armée etc die liberal + - (I.e.) " 15  
Die secte libérale adoptait volontiers le despotisme éclairé de Bermudez comme un instrument de circonstances. (21)

*Ministerium d. poète politique: Martinez de la Rosa*  
(Toreno, Gareli) etc

*Statuto Real...* une nouveauté parée de formes antiques qui, ne pouvant 20  
plaire aux royalistes, étant loin de satisfaire aux libéraux, offrait un simulacre des lois et coutumes espagnoles, mais altérées et mutilées dans les points les plus importants. On y affectait un profond respect pour les noms et les formes accidentelles des anciennes cortes, mais la représentation des 3 pouvoirs de l'état n'y était pas spécifiée, 2 states confondus 25  
en un u. der 3' so präponderand durch die Zahl, Wahlart, discussion libre et publique, daß er schließlich alle Macht an sich reißen mußte. (23, 4) sérieux comique. (I.e.) la révolution l'accepta, comme une loi temporaire et de transition. (I.e.) Diese mêmes hommes qui, en 1822, préparèrent à Madrid une contre-révolution si absurde, au moyen de la garde royale, la 30  
fomentent en 1841 par les mêmes moyens avec un but égal, et obtiennent des résultats semblables. (25) toujours prêts à se diviser entre eux, lorsque les derniers venus veulent, contre l'intérêt des premiers, faire l'application des principes. (I.e.) Dès qu'ils ont ressaisi l'autorité, ils reviennent aussitôt à leurs anciens artifices, et reprennent leur tactique pour diriger la 35  
révolution à leur bon plaisir et à leur profit et pour l'arrêter sur le seuil de ses portes, ainsi que le leur reprochait en face le fameux Campuzano. (26) Gehn hinter die Constit. v. 1812 zurück (I.e.) Nach kaum einem Jahr,



muß das gov. réviser la nouvelle loi fondamentale; et il ne lui en avait pas encore substitué une autre, wenn die Militärrevolte à la Granja, August 1836 umstoßt. (27) Der Gen. *Llauder* der «le premier entre les premiers», wie er sich selbst rühmte, à prendre en main la cause de l'usurpation, war auch der l' à révolter gegen Christine en la forçant, par son audacieuse et grossière requête du 26 Dec. 1834, à changer, au moyen du statut, la forme de son gouvernement. Mais l'obscur sergent Garcia n'eut pas moins de puissance que le Gén. vétéran, pour créer un nouvel ordre de choses. (27, 8) Mit dem Statuto fielen ses auteurs et tous les partisans du système rétrograde; et si depuis quelques-uns d'entre eux ont reparu parfois sur la scène politique, ainsi que d'autres plus rétrogrades encore, tels qu'Ofalia et Perez de Castro, faisant reculer la révolution de quelques pas, selon l'impulsion donnée par l'influence étrangère ou par les vicissitudes naturelles à un état semblable, appuyés cependant sur la révolution même qu'ils prétendaient réprimer, leurs efforts sont restés impuissants ... forcés en 1840 d'abandonner le champ de bataille aux héros de septembre, et de fuir dans l'étranger avec etc Christine. (28) à la vue imminente des dangers, ils font halte dans la course, rêvent de nouveaux expédients, changent de direction, sans épargner les détours, s'irritent de la résistance, et cherchent la force qui leur manque en se rapprochant du principe monarchique ou du principe démocratique, selon la nature des circonstances. (30) Au commencement de 1840, le parti rétrograde, réunissant sous une même bannière les hommes du *despotisme éclairé* et ceux du *statut*, était maître du pouvoir. (34) Nach der Flucht der Christine «bientôt» ihr «palais à Paris», devient une petite cour avec laquelle entrent en relations fréquentes, soit personnellement, soit au moyen d'une correspondance active, les notabilités du parti, telles que Zea Bermudez, Martinez de la Rosa, le comte de Toreno, Cruz, le comte de Cléonard, Perez de Castro etc (36) Ihr mouvement resta isolé ... 20 jours suffirent pour voir naître et périr le grand effort de tout le libéralisme monarchico-constit. en Espagne. (38) Gen. O'Donnell, qui, après un long séjour en France, se trouvait à Pampelune, donne le signal dans cette ville, en s'emparant de sa puissante citadelle; mais il a la fatale négligence de laisser étalée sur une table, dans ses appartements, toute sa correspondance avec les conjurés de la capitale; et par ce moyen Espartero est bientôt au courant de tous les fils de la trame. O'Donnell publie son manifeste, worin er Basques u. navarra's unnütz beleidigt durch die manière indécente u. grossière, womit er v. Don Carlos spricht. Gen. Léon zu Madrid seconde le mouvement ... prévenu par Espartero ... succombe. Der nouveau régent provisoire, Montez de Oca, commence son gouv. éphémère durch un acte d'atroce et perfide barbarie, en

mettant à prix la tête de ses adversaires; le Chef esparteriste Rodil, ne voulant point lui céder en ce genre de guerre, offre un double salaire pour la tête de Oca, der 8 Tage später victime des armes ||15| lâches et cruelles dont lui-même a provoqué l'usage. ... un mode de guerre si odieux et si révoltant paraît propre à la secte christino-libérale modérée; c'est elle qui 5  
provoque aujourd'hui les fougues partisans du progrès, au moyen d'une arme interdite même chez les nations barbares; de même qu'en 1833, Llauder, Quesada et les autres soutiens du modérantisme, provoquaient aussi les défenseurs de Charles V. (38, 39) In Paris Scenen damals zwischen Christine u. Olozaga et on a publié dans toute l'Europe, que 10  
cette auguste princesse se trouvait en contradiction avec les hommes qui avaient proclamé sa régence en Espagne. (40) Die christino-libéraux ... divisés dès leur origine en deux branches principales ... les uns les christinos purs qui, pour élever le trône d'Isabelle, ont consenti à s'unir aux libéraux; les autres, en plus grand nombre. Des libéraux modérés, qui ont 15  
secondé les christinos dans leur entreprise, par l'espoir de renouveler leurs chimériques essais à l'ombre du nouveau trône. (47, 48) modérations dans le langage et cruauté dans les actes. (53)

Aus Richard Ford: An historical enquiry into the unchangeable character (Fortsetzung)

**[Richard Ford: An historical enquiry  
into the unchangeable character  
of a war in Spain.**

**London 1837**

S

**(Fortsetzung)]**

(Semple, an eye-witness; actually behold in the hands of the Guerillas  
"halberdes and pikes of curious and ancient workmanship, which had  
been wield in the wars of the 15<sup>th</sup> century". Spurs ... taken from the  
armoury of the Alhambra by a peasant and used by him during the war.  
10 *Inquiry into the unchangeable character etc* p. 51)

**[Vicente Pou:  
L'Espagne en la crise présente.  
(Fortsetzung)]**

Quel est l'appui matériel et moral sur lequel ils (die Moderados) peuvent compter dans les différentes classes de l'état? Des fonctionnaires ou d'avi- 5  
des prétendants à la fortune ou aux places: des littérateurs sans prudence;  
des politiques cosmopolites, étrangers aux pensées et aux sentiments der  
sogen, nation; des égoïstes sans patrie, sacrifiant tout à l'intérêt person-  
nel; des agioteurs de bourse, qui trouvent l'art d'accroître leurs richesses  
dans les fluctuations et les troubles d'un gouvernement irrésolu et tran- 10  
sitoire; des jeunes gens sans carrière qui espèrent, à l'aide de ces chan-  
gements successifs, arriver par le chemin le plus court à des posi-  
tions lucratives; des hommes puissants et haut placés par leur naissance  
et leurs grandes possessions; mais sans capacité, sans mérite personnel et  
sans moeurs ... des théologiens jansénistes, toujours prêts à essayer dans 15  
l'Église les plans que leurs complices tentent dans l'État. (55)

l'impuissance du juste-milieu en Espagne. (63) 1820 les libéraux firent  
des prosélytes et gagnèrent à eux tout ce qu'il y avait de plus corrompu  
dans les grandes villes. (67) Der coup der Moderados vom 7 Juli 1822  
mit derselben address wie der v. 7 Oct. 1841. (69) Nach dem Tode Fer- 20  
dinands «libéraux, christinos et démagogues, s'embrassèrent fraternelle-  
ment, sans distinction de couleur ni de secte; alors on dit et l'on répéta  
avec enthousiasme, qu'il n'y avait plus de partis en Espagne, que tous les  
Espagnols étaient libéraux et dévoués au trône d'Isabelle et à la régence  
de Christine, qu'on appelait la *mère commune*, *Varc-en-ciel radieux de la* 25  
*paix*, la *nouvelle arche d'alliance espagnole*. » (83) Diese Coalition au fond  
nur eine conspiration momentanée pour détruire l'ancien ordre de choses,  
et où les conjurés apportaient, pour l'avenir, des vues et des intentions

diamétralement opposées. (1. c.) Die érection des trône der Isabelle hatte détruit la monarchie antique. Nun nothwendig lutte entre les diverses fractions de la secte libérale; vergebens die Moderados setzten einen Fuß in England, andren in Frankreich um m. éléments u. intérêts étrangers  
5 ihre Macht zu gründen. (84, 5) les hommes du juste-milieu machen viel Lärm des cortés convoquées en 1832 par Ferdinand VII, avec mission de reconnaître l'infante Isabelle princesse des Asturies u. der vote unanime der cortés v. 1834, qui proclamèrent la royauté d'Isabelle et proscrivirent Don Carlos. (90) (Weitschweifige Capitel um die Legitimität v. Carl V  
10 nachzuweisen etc) les 3 documents du 1 février 1836, 1 mars 1841 u. 22 février 1842, par lesquels der Pabst, exhalant sa juste douleur, a cru nécessaire de faire participer tous les fidèles à la désolation de l'Église d'Espagne. (143) C'est à la 1<sup>re</sup> période des gouv. christino-libérale, qu'appartient le décret qui ouvrit les portes à l'erreur, en déclarant la presse  
15 libre, et en dépouillant l'église du jugement privatif qu'elle exerce, comme seule compétente, sur les doctrines et les livres, en fait de religion et de morale; à cette époque remonte l'inhibition gén. et absolue faite aux évêques de conférer les ordres sacrés, l'installation d'une junte créée par l'autorité séculière, pour réformer l'Église dans les points les plus prin-  
20 cipaux; le bannissement ou la déportation de plusieurs évêques, sans autre motif que de n'avoir pas accédé aux exigences injustes du gouvernement; l'assassinat des prêtres à Madrid ... la suppression des ordres monastiques et réguliers; der Nonnen Verjagung; le trouble porté dans la juridiction ecclésiastique. (144) Erste mesure que le parti fit sceller de la  
25 signature der Christine, Oct. 1832, fut déjà un signal d'attaque, nämlich l'ouverture des établissements littéraires fermés depuis 2 ans. (145) Dès le premier jour, le nom d'Isabelle représenta tout le parti libéral d'Espagne. (148) Sous le règne d'Isabelle Span, a cessé d'être indépendante, weil das gouv. nouveau, destitué de toute force propre, est réduit, pour se sout-  
30 nir, à se jeter dans les bras de quiconque veut le recevoir sous sa protection ... Dès-lors, la pensée dominante a été alternativement dans le palais de l'ambassadeur de France et dans celui de l'ambassadeur de l'Angleterre. Dans les capitales de provinces, villes maritimes, colonies espagnoles, les consuls, et principalement les consuls anglais, ont exercé une  
35 influence absolue; et plus d'une fois, on les a vus commander en maîtres zu Cuba u. den points limitrophes v. Gibraltar ζ. B. diese 2 Mächte wieder se disputaient entre elles la prépondérance, qui, en définitive, est restée à l'Angleterre. La presse française s'en plaint. Les agents et les ministres du trône classés de telle sorte, que tout le monde les distinguât  
40 par les noms d'anglais ou de français, c.-à-d. servilement dévoués à la politique de l'une ou de l'autre des deux cours. ([156,] 157) Comme sur ce

théâtre la révolution est encore dans toute la fougue de sa jeunesse, les assassinats, les incendies, les ravages de tout genre y seront long-temps à l'ordre du jour, parce qu'on a besoin de tous ces moyens pour détruire l'ancienne société et en créer une nouvelle, ainsi qu'il est arrivé chez les autres nations régénérées. (163) En pleine session de Cortés, Gareli avoua 5 franchement que D. Carlos avait pour lui les classes inférieures de la société et le clergé du second ordre. (194) |

Aus Manuel de Marliani: Historia política de la España moderna (Fortsetzung)

[16] acatamiento, haragana. hostilla. atolladero, reconversiones. descollar, mediar, bisonéz. avalorar, desatinos, acojar. quepa(r). atolandrado. arraigado, abarcar.

## Marliani etc Contin.

- 5        Cap. V Martínez de la Rosa. - Estatuto real. -  
          Ministerio de Toreno. - Sublevación de las provincias.  
          - Caída del ministerio.

*Martínez de la Rosa:* Anarquía gubernativa. (96) Estatuto real u. Quadruple allianz s. 2 Großthaten. (1. c.) Weder v. der Krone octroyrt, 10 noch vom Volk gemacht das Estatuto, sondern embocado á España durch Ministerialverfügung. ¡Un ministro que se hace constituyente! (I.e.) Usurpation zugleich der Volkssouveränität u. der kgl. Initiative. (1. c.) norma ... die carta otorgada der frz. Restauration, finada schon in den Julitagen 1830. (I.e.) era tal el sistema de elección creado por el esta- 15 tuto, que en resumen no llegaba á mil el número de electores para toda la España. (97) Concedíase esclusivamente el derecho de elección á las cabezas de partido. Componíanse únicamente los colegios de los concejales, quienes se acompañaban de igual número de mayores contribuyentes. Cada colegio combinado en esta forma nombraba 2 electores, y todos los 20 de cabeza de partido se juntaban en la capital de la provincia y nombraban los diputados para cortes. In Spain 18,447 concejos, repartidos unter 49 Provincias, de donde resultan 376 concejos por provincia. Se pueden regular en 10 por provincia las cabezas de partido: so im total de los concejos habría 490 con voto electoral, y 17,975 sin él, y como cada 25 cabeza de partido nombraba 2 electores, los 490 cabezas componían 980 electores. Con que en 20 votos por provincia se vinculaba la elección de los diputados. (97) Ausserdem todo procurador debia gozar 12,000 reales del producto de sus fincas. (1. c.) Damals auf 54 millones de aranzadas de tierras en cultivo 37 millones correspondían den mayoraz- 30 gos u. manos muertas, nur 17 davon libres. (1. c.) Daneben die der Procuradores der cámara der Proceres. (1. c.) In dem Estatuto real ni se men-

taba libertad individual ni de imprenta, ni potestad judicial independiente ó inamovible, ni asomo de responsabilidad ministerial. (1. c.) Obgleich die Einrichtung der Wahl ihm (dem Ministry) die Macht verewigen sollte, in andre Hände gefallen, gegen ihn. 1836 bei der 2' Versammlung der Procuradores v. 76 nur 1 v. der Ansicht des Rosa wiedergewählt. (98) 5

Rosa macht den Toreno zu seinem Finanzminister. Vergebens. (I.e.) Toreno ejerció su potestad como señor. (1. c.) enfermaba ó fallecía todo in den Händen dieses Ministeriums. (Rosa y Toreno.) (99) Die Quadruple allianz sehr schädlich f. Spanien. Aquellas esperanzas de intervención y de cooperación, que enjendró y no podia realizar el tratado, debilitaron 10 las fuerzas constitucionales. Aquellos pactos aéreos han estado enardecido á los carlistas, quienes no podían menos de ver que se reducían á las concesiones que suelen hacer los gobiernos por las urgencias de la opinion pública, die die Diplomatie in der Ausführung nachher auf 0 reducirt. (I.e.) Frankreich schlägt dem Rosa die bewaffnete Interven- 15 tion ab. Er tritt ab. (100) la existencia ministerial ha venido á estar colgada de los vaivenes de la guerra. Minister gehn od. fallen mit den Erfolgen od. Niederlagen der Generale, sin que, por lo mas, ventajas ni contratiempos hayan sido obra suya. (I.e.) Daher auch die Unterordnung der Minister unter die Generale, con quienes se estaban de continuo 20 consultando los pasos políticos mas obvios. (1. c.) - Nach dem Austritt Rosa's übernimmt *Toreno die Presidency des ministry*: se dispararon las iras con la jornada aciaga de las Amescuas; y su explosion, rompiendo en Zaragoza, cundió á Reus, á Barcelona u. dann im reino todo. Gen. Llauder (Catalonier) estalló á Barcelona la tremenda insurrección 25 popular de 1835. (25 Juli Corrida de toros in Barcel. frailes in den Klöstern verbrannt in Reus, Bare, etc) (101) El incendio de los conventos en Barcelona se va repitiendo en diferentes pueblos de Cataluña. (I.e.) (25 Dec. 1833 verlangte Llauder el despido del ministerio de Zea y todo el ensanche de libertad que estaba requiriendo la nación. 1. c.) Affaire (ase- 30 sinato) des Gen. Basa in Barcelona. (102) 5 Aug. Dieß Ereigniß. 2 incendiarios sentenciados durch die comisión militar pasados por las armas. Envió el 8 la junta un mensaje á la reina. (102) Sieh die ganze Geschichte 102 sqq. (Décret der reina gobernadora d. d. 2 Sept. 1835 gegen die alborotos der Provinzen etc) Von demselben Tag Décret Tore- 35 no's gegen die Juntas. Dagegen den 9 Sept. constituirt sich in Barcelona junta suprema v. Catalonien; knüpft Verbindungen an m. denen v. Valencia u. Zaragoza. (103) In den andren Provinzen. 14 Sept. (1835) Ministerium Toreno ab. (1. c.)



Cap. VI.  
Ministerio de Mendizabal. - Su Caída.

Mendizabal ... desinterés personal que en todo tiempo y lugar le ha  
hecho sacrificar sus propios intereses á los de su patria ... con sus nu-  
5 lidades y sus prendas, ha sido el ministro primero que se ha empeñado  
con todas veras en la rejeneracion del pais ... tolerant, vergaß agravios  
u. ingrátitudes. (105) erzählen etc die pasos administrativos de los diver-  
sos ministerios würde s. analizar la nada. (105) 28 Sept. Décret, f. die  
Convocation der Cortes, con la promesa de una revision inmediata del  
10 estatuto. (107) Cortes kamen zus. 16Novemb. 1835. (I.e.) Ueber das  
sonderbare voto de confianza (wodurch Art finanzieller Diktatur) das  
sich Mendizabal v. den Procuradores geben ließ. Von allen - einer Stimme  
angenommen. (I. c. sqq.) In dem Project über die Wahlen, schlugen die  
Antiministeriellen scheinbar noch liberaleres vor; 24 Januar (1836) Majo-  
15 rität erklärt sich gegen das Project, acordado definitivamente entre la  
comisión y el ministerio, y aquella misma tarde se acordó su disolución,  
la que fué promulgada el 27. (108) décret des Mendizabal v. 19 Fe-  
bruar 1836, wodurch der deja abolidos todos los conventos, en virtud del  
voto de confianza, aplicando sus bienes á la amortización de la deuda.  
20 (I. c.) La abolición de conventos y el esterminio de los frailes desalojados  
lastimaron el corazón á clases enteras. Ihren religiösen Einfluß hatten sie  
größtheils verloren. Aber da sie: como hacendados benéficos y sin codicia  
personal, mediaban intereses trascendentales entre ellos y los campe-  
sinos, y sus colonos por lo mas no padecían tirantez esmerada ni en los  
25 arriendos ni en sus plazos. Prescindiendo los frailes del porvenir, nunca  
atesoraban, y [en] surtiéndolos de lo indispensable en la actualidad, se  
mostraban en lo demás harto avenibles. Por tanto aquel saqueo contra  
los frailes chasqueaba la flojedad y el egoísmo de los labradores, pues se  
hicieron cargo desde luego de que el gobierno y los nuevos poseedores  
30 serian mas descontentadizos que una cuadrilla de comilones con intereses  
de familia ni de sociedad; y los pordioseros que hervían por las porterías  
de los conventos carecieron de aquellas sobras de comida descansada.  
(109) In Spanien el pueblo está de espectador, y sigue esperando el  
paradero de una contienda que no ||17| acaba de entender. (109) cebar.  
35 - tosquísimo. - die frailes todos son de la plebe. (110) avispados.  
- amaños. - díscolos. - desalados. - ajenciar. - Dueño el gobierno de una  
inmensidad de riquezas territoriales, cortísimos le han sido sus produc-  
tos, y los acreedores del estado están viendo cuan á menos van aquellas  
hipotecas en punto á sus réditos. (110) *Los patriotas* compradores de

bienes nacionales se esmeraban en abultar la flojedad del gobierno, para retraer á sus contrincantes y comprar á precio ínfimo; y como las ventas han parado en manos de los mas acaudalados, ha resultado de todo el grandísimo quebranto de estar viendo el pueblo unos nuevos poseedores interesadísimos y nada caritativos. (l. c.) Zapapico. - A pesar de las tro- 5  
 pelías con los frailes en varias ciudades, quedaban todavía dispersos por todo el ámbito de España, y el zapapico demoledor de los innovadores no habían arrasado todos los conventos; quería Toreno reformarlos, y los abolió Mendizabal. (l. c.) In den neuen Wahlen nur solche wiedergewählt die f. das neue Wahlgesetz gestimmt. (l. e.) Isturiz hatte der aufgelösten 10  
 Kammer präsidirt. In den geh. Gesellschaften hatte er vorbereitet die movimiento de 1820. Diputado in den Cortes v. 22, sobresalió con el brio de sus votos; emigrado en 1823, individuo de la junta de Bayona en 1830, remaneció en las cortes del estatuto real, como procurador por Cádiz, einer der Hauptgegner des Toreno der s. Arrest verfügte zur Zeit 15  
 des Aufruhrs v. Madrid am 15 Aug. Mendizabal trug, en el intermedio de las 2 lejislaturas, das ministerio de estado an. Dieser weil man sich zu zuviel verpflichtet, schlägt ab, verspricht aber s. Unterstützung als Deputirter. Cortes zus.; 17 März Isturiz *unánime* zum Präsidenten des estamento ernannt, (provis. Präsident) Den 22 März, (als f. die ordent- 20  
 liehe Präsidentur gestimmt) quedó Isturiz en quinto lugar. Darauf Bruch zw. Isturiz u. Mendizabal. Isturiz setzt sich auf die Oppositionsbank (del bando retrògrado) Die 2 estremaron su encono hasta retarse á pistoletazos. - regazo. - eslabonar. - garbo. - engarzar. - Isturiz orilló los principios que apasionadamente habia estado profesando, y se con- 25  
 stituyó campeón de objetos y de individuos que habia impugnado á todo trance. - derribo. - engrió. - descarriar. - abogar. - estrellar. (110, 11) recia. - jestionen. - al arrimo de cimientos falsos. - Isturiz führte nun an una oposición de 12 ó 14 votos. (112) denodar. - Andererseits im Estamento die liberales verlangen raschere Reformen v. Mendizabal. Vor 30  
 allem el despido de ciertos empleados deren illiberale Antecedentien mißfielen. Habia en el estamento de proceres una mayoría cerrada contra el ministro. Das ministry hatte sich completirt m. Gen. Rodil f. Krieg, conde de Almodovar en estado, Don José Chacon secretar der Marine, (gleich v. Anfang an in Mendizabal's ministry: Conde de Almodovar 35  
 f. Krieg, Don Martin de los Heros f. die gobernación, Don Alvaro Gomez Becerra f. gracia u. justicia.) Das nombramiento des Gen. Serrano fué un desman f. das ministry; noch mehr die Proposition des **depute** Parejo gegen das Décret vom 19 Feb. gegen die bienes nacionales. Das ministry fühlt sich erschüttert. Sucht daher die mayoría durch con- 40  
 cesiones zu gewinnen. Se acordó daher apear den Gen. Quesada,

capt. gen. v. Madrid, conde de Ezpeleta, inspector general der Infanterie, conde de San Roman, inspector der milicias provinciales, proponiendo su mudanza á la reina gobernadora. (112) Suchen vergeblich die Regentin zu überreden dieses Entlassungsdecret zu unterzeichnen. - asestar. - ase-  
5 chanza. - Vergebliche Unterhandlungen vom 10 Mai. 15 in der Nacht (Mai) volviendo el conde de Almodovar al Pardo con ánimo de echar el resto, le contesta la reina: «Ya es tarde, está elejido vuestro sucesor, que espera su nombramiento.» Preguntando el conde quién era el nuevo ministro, le dice la reina que Isturiz. (l. c.) desaire. - paniaguados. - canio  
io pear. - Estaba el ministerio de Mendizabal preparándose para la revision del estatuto, sin vaivenes ni quebrantos, y el despido anti-parlamentario del presidente y compañeros fué un golpe oculto de un partido impaciente y desesperado. (115) descuellar. - zozobra. - desamparo, acongojar.

is

#### Cap. VII

Minist. Isturiz. - Sublevación de las provincias. -  
Acaecimiento de la Granja. - Caída del ministerio. -  
Restablecimiento de la Constit. de 1812.

*Das gabinete des Isturiz:* Isturiz Presidente u. ministro de estado; *duque de*  
20 *Rivas*, de la gobernación; *Aguirre Solarte*, der ausschlug, ersetzt durch *Blanco* para la hacienda; f. den Krieg gen. *Seoane*, schlug aus, statt seiner interimistisch Brigadier *Soria*, dann definitiv *Méndez Vigo*. *Alcalá Galiano* f. die marina; *Barrio Ayuso* f. gracia u. justicia. Der Duque de Rivas manifestó acalorado entusiasmo con Mendizabal durante su  
25 ministerio, annehmend das gran cruz de Carlos III u. die presidencia der proceres. Alcalá Galiano fué del consejo real, y su hijo empleado en hacienda. - Dieß Ministry hatte, wie vorher gesagt, ganz kleine Minorität im estamento. Seine Ernennung daher interpretación violenta der prerogativa de la corona. (113) - impensada.\el arreglo. - 16 May  
30 präsentiren sich 3 Glieder des neuen Cabinets in den cortes, y se encuentran con una protesta, firmada por 46 diputados: «1) die dem frühern gouv. concedirten (v. der letzten legislatur) ausserordentlichen Vollmachten diesem zurückgenommen; 2) Wenn die Cortes prorogirt od. aufgelöst ohne zu s. votados los presupuestos, no se pueda desde  
35 aquel punto recaudar impuesto alguno. 3) Alie empréstitos ó anticipaciones of whichever kind, contracted without the authorisation of the Cortes, sean absolutamente nullos.» (113) contrincantes. - Heftiger Disput in

den Cortes über diesen Vorschlag. Sprechen v. der Oposición Olózaga, Landero y Lopez. Angenommen mit 96 gegen 12 Stimmen. (114) víspera. - bochorno. - Solcher Aerger bei den Deputirten, daß, als Galiano (See-minister) u. der Duque de Rivas auf der Ministerialbank finden u. der erstre sprechen will, el diputado Pizarro pide que Galiano y Rivas dejen 5 sus asientos, puesto que el estamento no ha recibido todavía su nombramiento de oficio. Aprueban las cortes la propuesta, y tienen que levantarse, Alcalá Galiano para su sitio de diputado, der duque de Rivas para fuera de las cortes. (114) neto. - 17 u. 18 Mai lebhaftebittre inter-pelaciones u. vivas reconvenciones. 19 May, besagt die Tagesordnung. 10 Discussion sobre el restablecimiento der leyes über mayorazgos, diezmos u. derechos dominicales. (I.e.) terciar. M. Majorität v. 86 gegen 4 die cortes aprueban el informe der comisiones. Auch aus dieser Niederlage macht sich das ministry nichts. 21, sesenta y siete diputados hacen la propuesta siguiente: «Pedimos á las cortes que declaren que el ministerio 15 actual no merece la confianza del estamento.» Angenommen mit 78 gegen 29 Stimmen. (I.e.) Cortes aufgelöst 22 May, 1836. (115) (Greift dabei wüthend (der Isturiz) im Auflösungsdecret die Cortes an. Sieh 115 die Actenstücke.) ||18| tropiezos. - monta. - desacato. - Dieß Décret begleitet v. einem Manifest desselben Inhalts an die Nation v. der Regentin. 20 - atolladero. - (In diesem Décret, Cortes sollen zusammenkommen para revisar nuestras leyes políticas) - desencajado. - Aber nun kein andres Wahlgesetz gültig als das der Procuradores, die Cortes in ihrer sehr kurzen Sitzung vom 22 März - 15 Mai hatten acordado una nueva ley electoral con varios artículos; aber le faltaban enmiendas. 23 May sollten 25 diese diskutirt werden. Nichtsdestoweniger behandelt Isturiz diesen Gesetzesvorschlag als Gesetz u. befiehlt ihm gemäß die neuen Wahlen vorzunehmen. Sieh die convocatoria der reina, (p. 116) Heißt nähmlich darin wörtlich: «Para conseguir mi deseado intento, las circunstancias me precisan á valerme de medios extraordinarios, y desahogando á mi gobierno 30 de ese círculo vicioso que nos imposibilitaria todo adelanto en la revision apetecida, *dictaré* interinamente, y á propuesta de mis consejeros, responsables, tales providencias que los nuevos elejidos por el pueblo se nombrarán por el método mas adecuado para representar los intereses jenerales y la opinion pública, y en suma según el método contenido en el 35 proyecto de ley presentado por el estamento de procuradores en las últimas cortes.» Esto sí que era encaminarse abiertamente al intento y poner en manos de la potestad real la omnipotencia lejislativa. (I. c.)

Folge dieses Décrets: la sublevación de las provincias. (116) Erst Malaga. Gen. St. Just, gobernador militar v. Malaga im Aufstand ermor- 40 det, ebenso der conde de Donadío, der gobernador civil. 26 May, Junta

establirt zu Malaga die die Constit. v. 1812 proclamirt. 29 May steht Cadiz auf, 30 Sevilla u. Granada, 31 Cordova. Toda la Andalucía se desentendiende del gobierno, pregona la constitución y plantea juntas. 1 August erklärt sich Zaragoza independent u. ganz Aragon folgt seiner Hauptstadt. 3 Aug. hebt sich Badajoz, m. ganz Estremadura; 8' Valencia; 11' Alicante, Murcia, Castellón de la Plana y Cartajena; den 13 Barcelona u. ganz Cataluña. Seit dem 3' August Madrid in Belagerungszustand vom Ministry erklärt, aufgelöst u. entwaffnet die Nationalgarde, alle Oppositionsblätter verboten, Militärcommission ernannt u. 4 Madrid (1836) Décret u. Orden des Capitan jeneral Quesada veröffentlicht f. den folgenden Tag, wonach jeder entwaffnet v. den guardias u. patrullas, der nicht Erlaubniß erhalten Waffen zu tragen. *Art. 2* wer Widerstand leisten od. sich flüchten will, selbder als verdächtig wegen motin arretirt etc. «se le hará fuego y se le acuchillará». *Art. 4* «reos de pena capital 15 cuantos se prendieren en el motin etc». *Art. 5* Alle Ausrufer v. «viva ó muera bajo cualquier pretesto mit etc castigados de muerte», etc. (116, 17) Dieß «edicto furibundo». Den 13' wird in Madrid bekannt el acontecimiento de la Granja u. der juramento prestado á la constit. por la reina gobernadora. (117) Den 14' schon die capital una plaza de armas. 20 Por una parte los cañones asestados en la puerta del Sol y en el Prado con sus artilleros alerta y las tropas en formación, y por otra, todo el vecindario paseándose por las plazas etc 2 Uhr de la tarde acude Quesada á la Puerta del Sol, intransitable con el jentio; intenta despejarlo, le disparan un tiro sin tocarle, y la tropa permanece inmoble. Pasa el jen. á 25 la Plaza Mayor, y el alarido de viva la constit. retumba en su presencia. Das Regiment der Reina Gobernadora aufgestellt in la plaza de la Cebada; vecindario dorthin, Constit. heulend. Coronel Calvet will m. 2 compañías de cazadores Ruhe unter ihnen herstellen: hören ihn nicht; u. le disparan varias cuadrillas, cae víctima de su fea, die Soldaten, al ver 30 malherido á su jefe, en el primer ímpetu contestan, y matan á varios, hiriendo á muchos mas. Se fortifica la muchedumbre por las casas vecinas, y rompe el fuego sobre la tropa. Officiere dazwischen, treguas. Truppe bleibt aber unter den Waffen, um Ordnung zu halten. Lärm in Madrid vom 14', weil die Minister an dem Tag Contrerevolution in La 35 Granja beabsichtigen. Quesada daher Befehl erhalten, Madrid unter allen Umständen zu halten. (117)

las sociedades secretas, producto inevitable de la tiranía, intentando crear elementos de revueltas en el seno del ejército, habían enervado de todo punto su vigor. Habia sí valientes; pero ejército ya no existia ... 40 Cuantas tentativas (nach 1823) malogradas se han ensayado después de la invasion francesa lo han sido por militares, que contaban con las

simpatías que creían encontrar entre los soldados españoles. Sembróse así una sorda desorganización en los Tejimientos; jefes, oficiales, y soldados se contemplaban arbitros de los destinos del país, puesto que eran el objeto hacia que dirijian todas sus miras los partidos interesados en el vuelco del gobierno. Tal ha sido el influjo del ejército en los movimientos 5 liberales, que sin disputa alguna han dependido constante y exclusivamente de la acción militar. Ebenso diese taktik durch die andre Parthei befolgt. Z. B. Juli 1822 die guardia real sublevada in Madrid u. Andalu- lucia war der Ruf viva el rey absoluto. Die apostolischen stellen 1825 an die Spitze Besières, ebenso 1827 son es auch jefes de ejército die, unter 10 dem Titel der *agraviados*, se sublevan y encienden el fuego der rebellion in Cataluña. (131) Canterac, Escalera, Sarsfield, Mendivil, liberale, pe- recen á los golpes de una soldadesca desenfrenada. - desprendimiento. - Dem Heer fehlte die obediencia al gobierno supremo. (l. c.) El jeneral Ballesteros, jefe de los comuneros, se entretuvo en examinar si era 15 buena ó mala la constitución, deliberò si debió ó no defenderla, y acabó luego por firmar vergonzosamente el convenio vom 24 August 1823. (134) Was mit dem Absolutismus des Ferdinand u. der Constitution, passirte später m. dem System des Zea, Llauder u. Quesada, capitanes jenerales, el primero de Cataluña, der 2\* v. Castilla, con su representa- 20 cion á la reina provocaron la caída del ministro que les confiara el poder. (132) ajigantado. - Den 18' Januar 1835, der subteniente Candero, an der Spitze eines bataillon se hizo fuerte im Centrum v. Madrid, zwingt das Ministerium (Martinez de la Rosa) m. ihm zu capituliren; damals Kriegs- minister der Gen. Llauder, der selbst das Beispiel gegeben - pocos meses 25 antes - de representación con las armas en la mano. (132)

*Das atentado de la Granja* ist das hecho, nicht einmal eines subteniente sondern eines sarjento. 1837 das Heer des Espartero unternimmt die persecution des Don Carlos. Die guardia real llega á la corte, unos 60 oficiales firman en Pozuelo de Aravaca Representación an die reina, 30 worin verlangt die Absetzung des ministry; no se castiga aquel acto de rebelión. Das ministry Ofalia sein Resultat. Kaum hat es 3 months of existence, wenn Espartero erklärt daß seit Monat September (wenn das anterior Cabinet fiel) er nie habe podido obtener ningún socorro pecu- niario del gobierno. (132) - desgarrar. - certero. - apocar. - desquiciar. - 35 das gobierno tiene una condescendencia estremada á la voluntad de los jefes militares u. diese han tenido beständig clavada la vista auf die acontecimientos v. Madrid u. se han ocupado exclusivamente en cuestiones políticas (132, 3)|

119| Quin.  
Visit to Spain etc.  
London 1823.  
(Schluß)

5 Das decree des King remitted in his command to the municipality, in  
order that by reaching through that body "to the knowledge of the pub-  
lic, tranquillity might be restored!" (233) (thus presenting an unequivocal  
proof to the sovereigns of Europe, and to the world, that he was re-  
strained from the free exercise of his most undoubted and most impor-  
10 tant prerogative, by a tumultuary assemblage of the people.) One would  
be surprised at the facility with which they accepted office again under  
such disgusting circumstances. ([233-]235)

20 *20 Febr.* (23) Palace of the Cortes, where the permanent deputation  
was sitting ... surrounded by an assembly of persons about 400 in num-  
ber. A few were military men; the rest of the very lowest classes. A young  
woman was elevated on a block of stone that was placed near the en-  
trance of the palace of the Cortes, and she harangued this mob inces-  
santly ... to demand of the permanent deputation that it should appoint a  
Regency forthwith. The mob frequently cried out "a Regency", ... "we  
25 want no king". "We want no Moderates." "We want a Regency, and  
nothing else." (235, 6) During this scene, Galiano, a leading deputy of the  
masonic party, came out from the Interior of the palace, and as soon as  
he presented himself a number of persons collected around him and  
addressed some words to him ... Even in this assemblage the number of  
persons who took an active share in the business was limited to be-  
tween 20 and 30.... a man came out from the interior of the palace of the

Cortes: er sei "the organ of a deputation from the Ayuntamiento", habe v. der permanent deputation verlangt, to assemble the extraordinary Cortes again without delay. Diese hätte geanswered, that the ordinary Cortes are to meet on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March etc. Der mob (mit dem man) proceeded in a body to the Ayuntamiento ... as they proceeded, they frequently cried 5 out, "Regencia! Regencia!" (236, 7) When the regency mob was at its highest number, 20 cavalry would have dispersed them without the least difficulty. (239) The Espectador, in speaking of the mob that assembled under the palace windows, congratulated the ministry on their popularity, and assured its readers that the people never collected together in 10 such numbers before—never conducted themselves with so much order and propriety. (240) At night a table was laid out in the middle of the Plaza, covered with a white cloth, and illuminated by 2 torches. On this table a petition was exposed for signatures, demanding of the Cortes to appoint a Regency. It received some names; but at length the political 15 chief, ashamed perhaps of the paucity of signatures, took it away, and ordered the table and torches to be removed. (I.e.) The Comuneros maintained that the king only exercised his prerogative in dismissing a ministry incapable of inspiring confidence in the country, from their want of talent to sustain the duties of their offices. They moreover alleged, that 20 the commotion and the assemblage of a mob under the palace windows was caused by the ministers and their agents ... the Masons gained a victory, which, on account of its means, seemed to be the precursor of their ruin. (240, 1)

The speech of George IV on the opening of Parliament, and the de- 25 bates on the address in reply to it, were eagerly translated into all the Span, journals; and there was scarcely a Spaniard who read them who did not believe that sooner or later England would take a part in the approaching contest... Zwar had Canning impressed upon the Span. Gov., that if ultimately a war should arise, England would remain strictly neu- 30 trai. But when the first debates in Parliament arrived in Madrid, the speeches in both houses, particularly that of the Earl of Liverpool, led not only the public, but the gov., to hope that the policy of the Brit. Cabinet had undergone a change more favourable to the wishes and interests of Spain. ... 35

23 Feb. M. de Chateaubriand, in an interview with Sir Charles Stuart, reduced his former propositions to these: that the Span, negotiators should engage at a future period to modify their Constitution; restore the king to his physical liberty etc. general amnesty etc. the establishment of laws to regulate the press; change of Ministry etc. ... Brit, minister 40 medium dieser communications ...



24<sup>th</sup> Feb. ... the preparations for war going on very slowly on the part of Spain. The war minister might issue orders; but he could not reduce them to practice without funds, for which he called in vain upon the minister of finance ... Serious apprehensions were entertained that the contest of intrigue for the offices of gov., which was going on between the Masons and Comuneros, would exhibit itself in scenes of open violence ... masons were training the ideas of their party towards the establishment of a Regency, and resolved at all hazards to effect the removal of the king from Madrid. Both these objects the Comuneros declared they would oppose ... The deputation of the province of Madrid, composed of strenuous partizans of the ministry, presented an address to the king, remonstrating against the *conditional* (nämlich die clause *for the present* inserted in the decree of reinstatement) reinstatement of the ministry. ... Sehr drohend diese Adresse, "they believe that Y. M. does not walk frankly in the Constit. path ... they believe that Y. M. is serving only as an instrument in the hands of enemies of the system in order to re-establish absolute power and the Inquisition; and they believe, in fine, that these evils call imperiously for a remedy sufficient to prevent their recurrence."

25 Feb. Comuneros sent a deputation to the king "to assure H. M. that all the members of their association were resolved to defend the Constit. throne, and the person of the king with their arms and lives. A design was on foot to bring about a new Revolution on March 1 for the purpose of declaring his M. incapable of reigning, and appointing a Regency; but that the Comuneros, who numbered above 45,000 members, were on the alert etc" |

120128<sup>th</sup> Feb. At length, on the eve of the opening of the ordinary Cortes, the council of state sent a list to H. M. containing the following nominations: Don Alvaro Florez Estrada, state (for. aff.). Don Antonio Diaz del Moral, interior, and ad interim, Ultramar; Don Jose Romai, marine; Don Jose Torrijos, war; Don Jose Zorraquin, grace and justice; Don Lorenzo Calvo de Rozas, finance.—*Estrada* refugee for 8 years in England, received, as well as the other liberal refugees of that period, a handsome pension from the Brit. Gov. Formerly one of the richest proprietors in Spain; etc. when the gov. retired to Cadiz, one of the most ardent propagators of liberal opinions. Deputy of Cortes in 1820 u. 21. Now about 60. *Diaz del Moral* of a noble family of Granada, for several years acted in that city as secretary in the chancery, went to court in 1805 etc deputy for Granada to the ordinary Cortes in Cadiz, *exalted* party damals. Seit 1814 spent 6 years between London u. Paris. Deputy in the Cortes of 1820 u. 21 u. constantly voted against the ministry of

Arguelles. Comunero. *Torrijos*, one of the most exalted of the Communeros; young field-marshal.

*1<sup>st</sup> March* Session of the ordinary Cortes opened. The same day the king accepted the resignations of the ministers, enjoining them to read their respective memorials to Cortes before quitting office; u. appointed 5 the above named gentlemen as their successors. When the day arrived, on which the ministers were to read their memorials, the Cortes, on the motion of Señor Canga, postponed the performance of that duty; and thus by a sort of parliamentary manoeuvre, the newly appointed ministers were prevented from entering on their functions, whilst it could 10 scarcely be said that those who still occupied the gov. were legally authorised to discharge its functions. Estrada u. all his colleagues except *Torrijos*, sent in their resignations, but the king would not accept that of Estrada, and he filled up the other vacancies from time to time. The object of the king in perserving upon this point with so much obstinacy 15 was evidently to make it manifest to all the world, that the Cortes had it in their power indirectly to suspend the most important of his few prerogatives ... exercised it at a moment when, of all others, their proceedings were most jealously watched ... Die Cortes next insisted that the king should name the place to which the gov. should be removed, and 20 H. M. fixed on Seville ...

*9<sup>th</sup> March*. A few days after the opening of the Cortes, San Miguel surprised Sir W. A'Court, by asking him what were the precise conditions required by France, in case any questions should be put to him in Cortes. A'Court repeated das stated in Sir Charles Stuart's despatch 25 v. 10<sup>th</sup> Feb., u. die mitigated ones in dessen despatch v. 21 Feb.

*11<sup>th</sup> March*: Verbal or written declaration from San Miguel, that the Span. Gov. would not negotiate m. France upon a basis which would seem to admit her pretensions to interfere in the internal affairs der Peninsula ... Ferdinand läßt sich immer represent by his physicians as 30 incapacitated by the gov. for undertaking a journey. 4 new physicians called in, 3 of whom were of opinion, that the exercise of travelling would tend to alleviate H. M.'s disease.

*13<sup>th</sup> March*. In den Cortes agreed that a deputation sent to the king, to request H. M. to fix some day before the 18<sup>th</sup> for his removal from 35 Madrid ... According to his request the 20<sup>th</sup> fixed for the departure of the gov. ... The district, including Madrid, declared in a state of war. Count Abisbal, schon commandançy-general of the district, named also political chief of the province ... Divisions, brought about by the masonic agents, arose in the society of the Communeros. ... Um zu collect a sum suffi- 40 cient for the expense of the journey, melt down the king's plate, seized

on all the deposits of money in the hands of the junta of public credit; confiscated the deposit of the Mesta with its bankers in Madrid of about a 100,000 dollars ... local militia, who volunteered to go with the king to Seville in main escort of about 4,000 men; infantry and cavalry, stationed  
5 on the road leading to Andalusia. (243-57)

*March 24.* ... the president and the secretaries der Cortes, the greater number der deputies, together m. den ministers of state u. finance set out for Seville. Escorted by a column of 5 or 600 infantry and a small body of cavalry. Abisbal remained the supreme ruler of Madrid. From most  
10 of the provinces the intelligence clearly indicated the approaching subversion of the existing system. The last conscription went on in the most torpid manner, and out of every 50 of the horses which had been seized for the use of the cavalry, 45 had been found unfit for service ... In Galicia, the youths called out for the conscription openly refused  
15 to repair to their destinations, and a spirit of insubordination to the general mandates of the constit. authorities prevailed there, which the force under Quiroga was quite inadequate to put down. Similar, if not greater resistance was experienced by the civil and military authorities in the province of Bilbao. In order to avoid the conscription, as well as  
20 the requisition for horses, the people abandoned their houses and fields; the opponents of the Constit., everywhere in that province, carried on their exactions and combinations in the most public manner, nor had the "allocutions" of the political chiefs the least influence. Nach the last accounts Oviedo had risen against the system etc. Ulman had taken  
25 Murviedo (the ancient Sagatum) ... the public spirit even in Madrid had declined very much. (276 sqq) |

[21] 5 April A'Court arrived in Seville (315) Am 10\* April der king. (320)

Der closing message des king v. 19\* Febr. (king unable to attend from  
30 an affliction of the gout) redet so etc. Thus the king begun this important (12 Febr.) day with signing a speech, eulogizing the Cortes, and claiming every confidence for his gov.; in a few hours after, he dismisses his ministers; and after leaving the country without a gov. for 9 hours, he re-appoints the same men whom he had so openly disgraced. (233)

35 San Miguel zu A'Court: "He was fully aware that England asked no modifications on her own account. He knew that she wished to preserve to Spain her constit. system; that her only object in trying to engage Spain to yield upon certain points arose from a conviction that if a war did break out, Engl, must be sooner or later involved in it herself. He  
40 knew very well that she would not declare in favour of Spain at first; but nobody could be so blind as not to see, that, if the war was protracted,

and the other powers took part in it, Engl, alone could not remain a passive spectator of what might be its results." (244, 5) (*A'Court's despatch, 23 Feb.* )

When the Constit. was first proclaimed, a number of rich proprietors, and of steady commercial men, embarked ardently in the cause, under the hope that liberal institutions would tend greatly to the amelioration of their different interests. Within the last year, however, the frequent changes of ministry produced corresponding alterations in all the offices within the reach of their power; and the displacements and successions directed by the actual ministry, soon after they came into office, were particularly peremptory and extensive. The new *employés* consisted mostly of that half-educated gentry, who, after leaving school, had spent the greatest part of their lives in the coffee-houses, and billiard and gambling-rooms; and when they found themselves invested with authority, they exercised it in a rude, and sometimes oppressive manner, assuming to themselves the character of exclusive and ultra zealous Constitutionalists. The early and rational friends of the Constit. frequently experienced causes of disgust in the conduct of these new men; and they found petty tyrants, where only the influence of one was formerly distantly felt. (313) Sir William A'Court's journey (v. Madrid nach Sevilla) was a kind of triumph all the way. In several of the towns where he stopped for the night, the authorities presented themselves to pay their respects, and request that he would show himself in the balcony. He complied with their desire, and they hailed him with repeated shouts of Viva el Ministro Ingles! Viva la Constitución! In another place he was addressed by the title of "your Majesty!" and almost every where he stopped he was serenaded with music. (315) In passing through Puerta Real, we observed in its little harbour the 3 Russian frigates which had been sold to Spain to convey her expedition to South America, and which were found so unsea-worthy, that the troops refused to embark in them, and proceeded to proclaim the Constit. at Las Cabrezas ... 3 vessels scarcely fit to leave the harbour of St. Petersburg. (324, 5) Die French had crossed the Bidassoa on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April, but no official intelligence of that event had reached the gov. at Seville on the 17<sup>th</sup> ... The Cortes had not yet resumed their sittings. (331) I must repeat that every where along the road, such persons as came under my observation, who had heard of the entry of the French, showed no signs of anger or of irritation. The expression of their manner ... generally showed indifference, sometimes betrayed a secret gladness. (334)

21<sup>st</sup> April (23) On our arrival at Madrid, I learned from bulletins, which were affixed in print in the most conspicuous places of the capital,

that the French had entered Burgos on the 18<sup>th</sup>, preceded by a party of the Royalists under the command of the famous curate Merino. These affiches were put up by order of Count Abisbal ... From these sources I also learned that Carlos Espinosa was retreating from Burgos on Madrid  
5 with all his troops and 10pieces artillery ... Abisbal was mostly at the Pardo, a royal country seat, 2 leagues from Madrid, where he had an army of from 4-5000 infantry, and 800 cavalry ... mostly young conscripts, badly equipped. (334-6) It was a curious fact, that my passport, which was vised by Count Abisbal, as the Constit. political chief of  
10 Madrid, should have been examined by his brother at Burgos, as the Royalist gov. gen. of Old Castile. (Carlos O'Donnel der leztre) (p. 342) From Burgos to Vittoria ... the people liked the French, because they paid them well for every thing they consumed. It was also observed, that since the establishment of the Const., this part of the country was over-  
15 run m. robbers; but all that was now over, as the robbers had disappeared since the French came. It is very certain that the weakness of the gov., and the want of regular police, afforded impunity to malefactors of every sort. (343)

*Appendix. N. I. Principal articles of "The Statutes of the Confederation  
20 of the Span. Comuneros". In der Despatch des Nesselrode vom 14\* (26<sup>th</sup>) Nov. 1822 (siehe Appendix li) heißt es u. a. "It is to be feared that the dangers arising from vicinity, which are always imminent (the vicinity of Spain to Russia!), those which menace the Royal family etc. will terminate in creating, between him (the Czar) and Spain, the most grave  
25 embarrassments."*

## Marliani etc (Contin. von S. 18)

In la Granja, im teatro des kgl. sitio grad aufgeführt un drama: «Una revolución en Paris.» Die officialidad meist im Theater. Plötzlich einige Soldaten des rejimiento provincial der guardia u. des 4º de la guardia, 5 salen de los cuarteles, y se encaminan al palacio voceando viva la constit. Die reina gobernadora zieht sich erschrocken zurück v. dem Theater nach dem Palast. Sube una diputación de sarjentos y cabos á la estancia de S. M. y le suplican en nombre de sus compañeros que acepte una constit. vitoreada ya por todas las provincias del reino, para evitar el 10 derramamiento de sangre que está amenazando á Madrid. ... Den 12\* versprach die reina á jurar die Constit. ... se verificó la proclamación el 13 por la tarde ... Nacht vom 14-15 Aug. in Madrid ruhig: Morgens se manifestó el triunfo de la constit., sustituyendo el jeneral Seoane á Quesada ... se llamó á Calatrava por la reina gobernadora para componer el 15 nuevo gabinete. (118) Die Ermordung des Gen. Quesada (marqués de Moncayo) ausführlich erzählt p. 118, sqq. (Marliani testigo presencial hasta de las mínimas ocurrencias de la jornada 15. Aug.) (I.e.) ... 15' das Ministry Calatrava formirt. Gleich Calatrava mit dem Gen. Rodil nach La Granja, cuando las tropas adolecían aun de insubordinación. Rodil 20 - sie folgten - befiehlt ihnen de marchar á Madrid. Christine verläßt la Granja den 17'Aug. y volvió por la tarde á Madrid. (119) Von den Ministern flohen v. Madrid Isturiz, Galiano, u. der Duke de Rivas. Blieben ruhig Don Barrio Ayuso, Blanco u. der Gen. Méndez Vigo (p. 123) 15 Monate nachher kehrt Isturiz wieder zurück, wieder Präsident der 25 Deputirten. (I. c.) J[2] tropelía ... baldón ... quebrantar de cuajo ... bajas crecidas ...

Cap. Vili.  
Ministerio de Calatrava. Constitución de 1837.  
Triunfo del partido moderado.  
Su existencia hace 3 años, (von 1837^40)

5 Das Ministerium v. 15 August bestand: *Calatrava*, presidente del consejo y ministro de estado; en guerra, el jeneral *Rodil*; en gobernación, *Jil de la Cuadra*; en hacienda *Ferrer*, quien, por no aceptar, tuvo por sucesor á *Ejea*, y en gracia y justicia, *Lander o.* (119)

Calatrava geb. zu Mérida (Pr. Estremadura), 1781; Advokat in Badajoz bei der frz. Invasion, 1808; nimmt Theil an dem alzamiento der Hauptstadt v. Estremadura, vom 5 Mai 1808 - Deputirter der cortes constituyentes v. 1810, wo er Effect als Redner macht; Nachdem diese Cortes geschlossen, Sept. 1813, kehrt er nach Badajoz, lässt s. Familie dort, dann nach Madrid para ejercer la abogacía. 10 May 1814 s. Haus in Madrid v. Soldaten u. alguaciles durchsucht, arretirt, halbnackt in ein Zimmer gebracht, donde se encuentra con uno de sus compañeros de cortes, Don Ignacio Martínez, quien lo prende en nombre del rey, se apodera de todos sus papeles etc ... Durch kgl. Décret (nicht durch richterliches Urtheil) Calatrava pasó al presidio de Melilla, por la costa de Africa. 1820 befreit, reasomó en las cortes y fué el mismo de 1810. Individuo del tribunal supremo, y luego ministro en los postreros días v. 1823 (die constit. 23) ... proscrito; in England u. Frankreich verweilt; 1834 kehrt er nach Spanien zurück u. zu s. asiento v. 1822 en el supremo tribunal de justicia. - Im August 1836 stellt Calatrava m. s. Namen allein die Ruhe wieder her, ... una insubordinación lastimosa de algunos oficiales del cuartel jeneral de Pozuelo de Aravaca derribó á Calatrava en agosto de 1837 ... derrocador ... amagar ... El bando vencido (nach Aug. 15, 1836), sobresaltado con las resultas de un fracaso tan ciegamente acarreado, iba sobresaltando á los demás voceando: «Huyamos de aquí todos.» al remedo insensato de la emigración á Coblenza. Sonaron con estruendo dimisiones de empleos etc ... desalado ... enconos enardecidos ... escollos ... abarcar ... tildar ... achicar ... atolladero ... asomada del caudillo carlista Gomez, quien, salido hacia dos meses de las provincias vascongadas, logró en Jadraque, por las cercanías de la capital, una ventaja trascendental contra el jeneral Lopez, haciéndole prisionero. Ausserdem estremos de insubordinación militar ... acobardar ... Alie diese Schwierigkeiten überkommen etc Se acabó el ministerio: *Calatrava*, pres., *Rodil*, guerre, *Mendizabal* (hacienda) *Jil de la Cuadra*

f. die Marine, Landero wie oben, *Lopez* en la gobernación ... abrigar ...  
 S. Hauptjestionen: revalidar la rejencia en manos der Christine; ebenso  
 vor der Versammlung der Cortes, verfügt eine quinta v. 50,000 Mann  
 u. ausserordentliche Kriegscontribution v. 200 millones; beriefen die Cor-  
 tes f. den 24 October, verificándose las elecciones con arreglo á la ley 5  
 electoral de la constit. de 1812: facultando á los diputados con poderes  
 especiales para la revision de la misma. Die Cortes billigten das Beneh-  
 men der Minister; ... la obra de 1837 no ha sido en suma una revision ó  
 reforma de la constit. de 1812, sino la plantificación de otra nueva, in  
 sehr vieler Hinsicht inferior; bes. darauf bedacht das Popular element zu 10  
 zügel, das royal zu befestigen ... bóvedas ... avenencia y de un prurito  
 de obediencia ... doblegar ... alternar ... avezado á mayores tropelías ...  
 los roces ... anonadamiento ... emparedados ... los mismos sujetos de  
 1812, á quienes se tilda de «celebros emparedados», sin aprender ni olvi-  
 dar cosa alguna, han sido los reformadores de su propia obra, sosia- 15  
 yándose al monarquismo ... añiadas ... Juróse la constit. el 18 de junio  
 de 1837 ... los díscolos ... Mediaron dos acontecimientos mayores en  
 el ministerio del 15 de agosto; el levantamiento del sitio de Bilbao, y la  
 expedicion de Don Carlos sobre Madrid. - embaucar ... Wichtigkeit  
 v. Bilbao. Don Carlos versprach sich v. den 3 northern Powers anerkannt 20  
 zu werden, sobald er Bilbao genommen. In der Nacht v. 24 auf den  
 25 December Bilbao entsezt. Peleóse encarnizadamente sobre el puente  
 de Luchana, el valladar mas formidable del enemigo, y se concedió luego  
 el dictado de conde de Luchana al valiente Espartero ... Nunca se re-  
 hicieron ya los carlistas de su derrota en Bilbao. Para contraponerse á 25  
 aquel desman, acuerda Don Carlos marchar sobre Madrid ... alan-  
 ceas ... Al hallarse el jeneral supremo en Madrid, con su ejército acam-  
 pado por los alrededores, unos oficiales de la guardia real elevaron una  
 esposicion á la reina, desde Pozuelo de Aravaca, pidiendo el despido del  
 ministerio. No habiendo castigado Espartero aquel acto de insubordi- 30  
 nación, die Minister geben ihre Entlassung 18 Aug. 1837. Dadurch kom-  
 men Moderados ins Ministry u. später in die Cortes ... resultando luego  
 leyes orgánicas puntualmente atropelladoras de la constitución.  
 4 Nov. 1837 endeten die cortes constituyentes ihre tareas; lograron los  
 moderados mayoría en las elecciones para las nuevas cortes. Aber seit 35  
 dem retiro des Calatrava in Wahrheit kein ministry ... die bando  
 moderado, trotz seiner absoluten Mayoritát, stellt an die Spitze nicht sus  
 verdaderos prohombres, sondern sujetos siempre bisónos ú ajenos del  
 ejercicio parlamentario. Während der 3 J. die Masse der moderirten  
 Minister thaten nichts Gutes, weder f. ihre Parthei, noch f. das Land. ... 40  
 siempre el ministerio de Perez de Castro ha sido un rehenchimiento



redoblado sobre la armazón del presidente y de su camarada de gracia y justicia Arrazola ... al arrimo ... titubear ... aherrojar ... La ley electoral, la municipal, la de imprenta, todo llevó su asalto para luego aherrojar el pensamiento, aventar las franquicias concejiles y afianzarse cortes ren-  
5 didas á todo el albedrío ministerial. Nachdem der Krone erklärt zu nombrar die alcaldes durch die mayoría der Diputados, - Nachahmung der Franzosen gegen Art. 70 der Const. - etc wird die Const, zum simulacro gemacht. (124-29)

### *Tema Militar.*

io

#### cap. I

La escéptica incredulidad de Fernando hacia notorio contraste con el sombrío fanatismo de Carlos, santurrón del siglo XIV, siempre dispuesto á encender de nuevo por su propia mano las hogueras de la inquisición. An s. Seite una princesa de alma osada y ardorosa, herrschsüchtig etc  
15 vino á ser pues la princesa de Beira el alma y vida del partido cuya bandera era el infante. (129) (Schon gemischt in den Conspiracionen v. 1825 u. 27) 1814 Ferdinand VII entronizaba sich als rey de la hez del pueblo exaltado por un clero fanático (132) Der lucha armada hat, según parecer universal, desmentido hasta las mas incontestables nociones del  
20 arte militar. (133) desgraciada guerra. (I.e.)

Estalla la insurrección en Navarra: principian por asociarse algunos paisanos en las cumbres de las montañas, en torno de un cabecilla desconocido; opónenseles tan solo fuerzas insignificantes, crece el levantamiento, encuentra un ||23| jefe denodado, y aparece Zumalacarregui.  
25 Envía allí el gobierno insuficientes refuerzos de tropa, en vez de anondar con masas enormes la rebelión apenas naciente. El número y superioridad de los soldados de la reina se compensan con el denuedo de los rebeldes y su práctico conocimiento de aquel terreno escabroso: cada peñasco se convierte en una fortaleza, en cada desfiladero se prepara una  
30 emboscada. Obgleich der Tod des rey nicht auf die Minute vorherzusehn, war es doch ein Ereigniß v. allen erwartet. Kurz vor dem 29 Sept. 1833, wenn es sich ereignete, se habían licenciado 25,000 soldados u. die Minister jener Epoche mußten die immense vacío, verursacht durch dieß unpolitische licénciamiento kennen: trataron por consiguiente de llenarlo  
35 utilizando algunos batallones de milicias provinciales. Lo exhausto del tesoro tras 10 años de una profunda paz, no permitió que se desplegasen por de pronto mayores fuerzas. La rebelión pudo pues estallar y extenderse impunemente, por no haber dinero en las arcas reales. ... Statt einer

Concentration v. Truppen capaz zu ersticken á un tiempo el levantamiento in alien Winkeln der Peninsula, hat das gov. sich damit begnügt siempre con irle oponiendo sucesiva y metódicamente una fuerza proporcionada á su desarrollo. Ningún ministro ha comprendido la necesidad de triunfar á todo trance. Die sublevación in Navarra m. Schwäche 5 angegriffen, y de esta suerte contrapesándose las fuerzas de continuo, la posición fué siempre idéntica, wie beim Schachspiel die Minister schoben vor una pieza en el tablero de Navarra cada vez que adelantaba otra su adversario. (133) Wie die Minister, so die jenerales en jefe del ejército del Norte: Rodil, Valdés, Mina, Quesada, Sarsfield, Córdoba, Espartero ... 10 la insurrección ... ha sido siempre la misma. Ursache, daß la cuestión no era puramente militar u. sie deriva de una primera causa: *la falta absoluta de gobierno*. (I.e.) Was nun die Carlisten angeht, immer auf Navarra beschränkt, trotz ihrer Raubzüge in die andren Provinzen. Zum Beispiel die expedicion des Gomez, que salió por Asturias y tuvo que entrar por 15 Vizcaya, despues de haber dado la vuelta á toda la Península y pasado hasta por debajo de las murallas de Jibraltar ... tras diversos encuentros mas ó menos favorables ó contrarios, en Huesca, Barbastro, Gra, Chiva y otros puntos, Carlos llega al fin hasta muy cerca de las murallas de Madrid, con todas las facciones de Aragon y Valencia reunidas al ejército 20 que trajera de Navarra; mas no bien se acercan Espartero y Oráa, que iban en su seguimiento, se da al punto la orden de retirada: regresa Don Carlos á Navarra con sus montañeses diezmados no menos por la fatiga que por los combates, y Espartero va siguiendo sus huellas sin empeñar jamás una acción decisiva: Cabrera vuelve con sus hordas al teatro habí- 25 tuai de sus atrocidades, Oráa le acompaña á él, y todo vuelve á tomar la fisonomía ordinaria de una guerra de observación, así en Aragon como en Navarra. Die retirada der carlistas gab keinen neuen Impuls dem Krieg: todo volvió al antiguo *statu quo* ... Der Tod des Zumalacárregui, die Schlacht v. Mendigorria, der Entsatz v. Bilbao, die jornada v. Lu- 30 chana, gaben ningún ascendiente den defensores der constituí. Sache. Andrerseits, die fatal batalla de las Amezcuas, die Aufgaben des sitio de Morella, der descalabro en frente de Segura compromittirten nicht mas de lo que lo estaba la causa de la reina. Los jefes de ambos ejércitos, una vez vencedores, conteníanse con ostentar las ventajas del timbre que han 35 alcanzado; pero ninguna jornada tiene mañana ... el número de guerreros hatte ningún influjo visible auf die Kriegereignisse ... 1835 Frankreich cedirt Spanien die Fremdenlegion v. Arjel u. 5000 infantes, gut organisirt u. geführt, desembarcan in Tarragona, atraviesan la Cataluña u. llegan á Navarra. England erlaubt un alistamiento, in Folge 40 wovon Hülfsliegion gebildet, meist Recruten, organisirt in San Sebastian.

Portugal schickt eine Division Truppen der Infanterie unter Gen. Baron Das Antas. Nichts durch diese llegada v. 20,000 Soldaten mas ó menos aguerridos geändert ausser un estorbo de mas á causa de los gastos que ocasionaba. Mal pagados, trotz aller esfuerzos posibles, klagten, Last 5 f. den General en chef u. das ministry (134 sq.) Die fzs. Legion (v. Algier) mutilada durch Krankheit, Leiden, Krieg, angeführt v. Franzosen wie Bernelle u. Conrad, muerto en Barbastro, schließlich aufgelöst, ihre Reste nach Frankreich. Die Englische licenciirt. Die Portugies. zieht sich intacta zurück. Christinos keinen Verlust, Carlisten keinen Schaden 10 davon. Weder Vermehrung noch Verminderung der Truppenmasse änderten den Stand des Kriegs in Navarra. Dieser Krieg sostenida por una provincia, deren ganze Bevölkerung nicht 500,000. Hauptstütze der Carlisten: Die lebten v. den abusos u. die hez del pueblo avezado á encenagarse en el degradante ocio que fomentaban los conventos. Ursache des 15 Characters des Kriegs: la debilidad orgánica del gobierno supremo. Die Insurgentenschefs verachteten Don Carlos. Zumalacarregui zeigte dieß offen. Bei seinen Marschordern fragte nie nach Don Carlos, der viel mehr folgen mußte, wie er konnte. In den v. den Christinos abgefangnen Orders heißt es z. B. Befohlen zu conducir «al rey y á sus bagages» da 20 od. dorthin; in andren «que ningún caso se haga de tal orden del rey»; que se tome tal dirección «á pesar de las órdenes contrarias del rey etc» Carlos freute sich über den Tod des Zumalacarregui. Wäre Zumalacarregui nicht ohne Motiv s. Commandos (s. Regiments) beraubt u. hart u. ungerecht v. Quesada behandelt, so wäre er nie übergegangen. 25 Heißt in einer proclama v. 1832, als er in Ferrol commandirte u. eine Erneute unterdrückte, am Schluß: «Viva el rey; viva la reina; viva su descendencia.» Dieses Original in der Hand s. Bruders, eines Constitutionellen. Cabrera fragte ebenso wenig nach ihm u. folgte seinen Ordres nie. Die blutigen Executionen v. Estella zeigen was Maroto nach ihm 30 frag. Er (Carlos) mußte dem Maroto öffentlich Abbitte thun por haberle declarado la víspera traidor y fuera de la ley. Carlos mußte aprobar die sentencia de sus mas ffeles servidores inmolados á resentimientos personales. In alle diesem sicher kein dynastischer Cultus. die Insurrektion hatte nicht denselben Character in allen Provinzen. 2 Hauptaspecte: In 35 Navarra u. den Vascongadas Frage des Provincialismus, de fueros, de privilegios u. besonders de aduanas, etwas religiöser u. monarch. Fanatismus u. Muth. Im Rest v. Spanien Räuberbanden (so in Aragon, Valencia, Cataluña etc) der unglückliche Bauer, aller Habe beraubt durch die facciosos (Halbwilde) hatte keine Zuflucht mehr als sich ihnen anzu- 40 schliessen. Zufall entschied oft, ob sie sich den Carlisten od. Christinos anschlössen. Einmal compromittirt müssen sie fortfechten in den Reihen. So immer neue u. neue Opfer dieses forzado alistamiento. |

[24] So se multiplicaban los efectos por las causas u. umgekehrt, y así fué cómo las facciones de Valencia, del Bajo Aragon, de la Mancha y de la Cataluña llegaron á ese grado de mentido poderío, orijinado por el terror que infundía donde quiera el crimen, siempre impune. - gavillas ... talar ... Mehrzahl hombres forzados por el hambre á recurrir á tan 5 desesperado arbitrio. - descollar. - talleres. - La explotación de minas, la conclusion de los canales comenzados, la abertura de nuevas vias de comunicación fluvial, la union del Océano con el Mediterráneo por medio del Ebro y del Duero, la navegación del Guadalquivir hasta Córdoba: he aquí el verdadero modo de pelear etc ... Die Cortes v. 1839 han 10 revalidado unánimemente aquellos fueros de las provincias vascongadas y navarras con que se les habia brindado (135-142.)

## Cap. II. Acontecimientos de Vergara.

1837, seit dem gezwungenen Rückzug des Don Carlos v. Madrid nach 15 den Vascongadas Uneinigkeit unter den jefes rebeldes, wechselseitige Vorwürfe, 2 partidos am Hofe v. Oñate. Die eine partido *ilustrado*, die andre rein militärisch. Carlos entschied nicht zwischen beiden; macht aber zum Chef des Heers einen unbedeutenden Menschen, Guergué. So ging die Insurrection voran in den letzten meses v. 1837 u. den ersten 20 v. 1838, bis Guergué derrotado in Peñacerrada. Damals der Stand der Insurrección deplorabel; viele Freiwillige kehrten nach Hause zurück; Desorganisation unter dem Rest. Espartero hätte damals der Sache ein Ende machen können. Pero los apuros del gobierno de la reina dieron tiempo á Don Carlos, sich an die Nordischen Mächte zu wenden, die ihm 25 6 Millionen gaben, müsse aber «aufgeklärter» handeln. Als Gen. en chef ihm Maroto vorgeschlagen, der ihm kein Vertrauen einflößen konnte weil er Vorschläge an das fzs. gov. gemacht, die bekannt waren. Maroto sucht vor allem das Vertrauen des Heers zu gewinnen; Disciplin etc brachte dieß fertig im ganzen Jahr 1838. Alle Rathschläge an den Don 30 Carlos umsonst, fanática camarilla um ihn, wie sich überzeugten 2 torys ingleses abgeschickt an ihn. Maroto schon gebrochen casi abiertamente m. Hof u. ministry; sagte den 2 Tories wie schädlich der Sache diese camarilla, y hasta les hizo alguna indicación sobre un acomodamiento garantizado por la Inglaterra; v. da Don Carlos u. los suyos fingan an 35 ihm zu mißtrauen. Von da eine Parthei am corte en hostilidad permanente contra Maroto, hauptsächlich Fanatiker, aber auch einige militares die eine Gelegenheit zum Schlagen suchten, während sie sahen daß

Maroto beständig davon zurückhielt. Dafür García, comandante v. Navarra, se le afeó una jornada asaz gloriosa que tuvo sobre el Arga, como Balmaseda fué separado del mando de Castilla, donde hiciera algunas incursiones nada desgraciadas, u. se mandó á Castor zu suspendiren  
5 s. begonnenen operations gegen Santander. Hasta se dijo que Maroto estaba de acuerdo con Espartero para no batirse, los fanáticos que habían sublevado las masas en 1833, y estas masas que se habían insurreccionado sin meditar las consecuencias por una parte, y por otra todos los que posteriormente se agregaron á la insurrección, ó descontentos ó  
10 seducidos, se hallaban en la realidad esencialmente separados. - aburrimiento. - In jener Epoche immer Negotiationsversuche: ζ. B. Propositiones an den teniente jeneral Graf v. Harispe in 1835, zur Zeit des Gen. Rodil; andre versucht durch Graf Toreno im selben Jahr nach dem Tod des Zumalacarregui; die v. Muñagorri, in 1838, después de la reti-  
15 rada de Madrid etc Die eine Parthei die der realistas á todo trance, die andre die der realistas hasta cierto punto. Maroto gehörte zur letztern, Don Carlos zur ersteren. Don Carlos, dem s. Camarilla Angst wegen s. Person gemacht, sucht Nachfolger des Maroto unter den hommes d'action. Maroto, unterrichtet v. einem homme de confiance, se adelantó á  
20 Don Carlos y sorteó sus tiros mandando fusilar á los mismos que se hallaban designados para reemplazarle. Cedió D. Carlos bajamente, u. billigte nicht nur die Executionen v. Estella, sondern opferte dem Maroto s. wahren Freunde, dejando deportar á Francia á los que se habían libertado de la muerte, womit er sich ganz bei beiden Partheien  
25 discreditirt. Daher die Leichtigkeit m. der nun Maroto s. Staatsstreich ausführen konnte. Espartero benutzte diesen Zustand im carlist. Lager, um s. Negotiationen m. dem Maroto zu beginnen. Machte v. s. cuartel jeneral v. Alcanadre den ersten Versuch durch coronel Paniagua, encargado á la sazón de un canje de prisioneros. Maroto verlangt armistice:  
30 Espartero schlägt dieß ab. Uneinigkeit über diesen Punkt dauert fort bis zur proposición de Lord John Hay. Don Carlos, der sich ganz in der Gewalt des Maroto sieht u. öffentlich vor ihm kriecht, unterhält gegen ihn ununterbrochne Correspondenz m. dem Bischof v. Leon u. den andern desterrados á Francia. Espartero benutzt den Zwiespalt im carli-  
35 stischen Lager, um ins Herz v. Vizcaya vorzudringen, agirt m. Sanftmuth in Alava u. Vizcaya, läßt aber in Navarra, wo Widerstand der Einwohner das Land durch Gen. Leon verwüsten. Verhandlungen. Espartero unterließ in der Position die Bedingungen vorzuschreiben (viendo die desunion im carlist. Heer u. conociendo que amenazaba en él un total rompi-  
40 miento). Frankreich u. England hatten seit 2 Jahren der Constit. Sache keinen Dienst mehr geleistet. Maroto hatte dem Don Carlos die Vor-

schlage des Lord Hay mitgeteilt, der sie den desterrados in Francia mittheilte. Diese fürchten England á quien las habia enviado el coronel Wylde por medio de su edecán Lynn möge sie annehmen; hielten f. das beste Mittel ihren Effect zu hindern zu fomentar un motin in den batallones navarros de quienes mas seguridad tenían, um an der Grenze 5 v. Frankreich ein center zu bilden, wohin sich D. Carlos flüchten u. gegen Maroto protestiren könne. Wirklich Erneute zu Irurzun, 9 August, das 5<sup>o</sup> batallón v. Navarra, y fué á apoyarse en la frontera de la Francia, in Vera: s. alter chef, Aguirre, der cura Juan Echevarría y mas tarde Basilio García, nach Frankreich v. Maroto verbannt, acudieron sich io m. den Insurgirten zu vereinigen u. llamaron a sí die übrigen batallones. Aber diese Erneute nicht Beifall in der Bevölkerung u. dem Heer u. die batallones die Maroto gegen sie schickte ihnen nicht sympathisch. Da D. Carlos dieß sah, tuvo la avilantez de acompañar á Elio, encargado de sofocar aquella revuelta, marchando así contra los mismos que él habia 15 movido á sublevarse. Fiel á su papel de doblez y falsía, ordenó á los rebeldes que se sometieran; pero tuvo al mismo tiempo una conferencia íntima y secreta con Echevarría, en que le encargó que se mantuviese firme hasta el último trance ... Neue Vorschläge des Hay an Maroto ... 14 August hatte Espartero Vitoria verlassen f. Bilbao u. tenido un en- 20 cuentro in Villareal de Alava m. dem Heer des Maroto, das sich á su vista zurückgezogen casi sin disparar un tiro; u. dann Espartero bemächtigte sich der línea v. Vitoria á Durango, während Gen. Castañeda tomaba la de Nervion um sich zu reunir m. ihm en el mismo Durango. Maroto so zw. Espartero u. den Emeutiers in Navarra. S. Situation täglich kriti- 25 scher. Theilt dem D. Carlos die neuen Vorschläge mit; Zusammenkunft m. ihm in Zumarraga, wo nichts entschieden. Auch sämtlichen Generalen u. höhern Officieren der Truppen m. ihm - 3 Divisionen v. 17 batallons - theilt ||25| er s. Pläne u. die angefangenen Unterhandlungen mit. Erste Division, die *castellana* unter Urbiztondo; 2<sup>a</sup>, la vizcaína, unter 30 Simon Torres; 3<sup>a</sup>, die guipuzcoana, unter Ituriaga é Iturbe. Alle 3 geben dem Maroto volle Powers die Negotiation fortzusetzen. Gebilligt auch v. einigen jefes v. Navarra, ζ. B. Elio. Maroto wollte: daß D. Carlos wenigstens als Infant anerkannt habe. 25 August erste entrevista zwischen Maroto u. Espartero in einem monasterio entre Equeta u. Du- 35 rango. Maroto unzufrieden, weil Espartero die fueros nicht bewilligen will, vereinigt sich wieder m. D. Carlos, schreibt ihm sie müßten zusammenhandeln; wenn beide fractionen des Heers sich in Tolosa vereinigten, könnten sie dem enemigo común Widerstand leisten. Erklärte auch seinen Officieren, es sei unmöglich die Bedingungen anzunehmen, tomó 40 posición zw. Azpeitia u. Azcoitia, womit quedó del todo libre el camino

carretero de Bilbao á Vergara u. Espartero denselben Tag entrar konnte (25) en esta última población. Maroto schickte nun dem Kriegsminister des D. Carlos las siguientes proposiciones que le hiciera el caudillo const. 1) Carlos als Infant anerkannt. 2) Anerkennung der fueros. 3) Anerkennung der Grade u. Würden des karlist. Heers. Zugleich ließ er s. Brief an den Minister Montenegro drucken, um so die Bedingungen des Espartero öffentlich zu machen. Gefielen allgemein. Erhilt das asentimiento, que ha publicado später, v. den Generals Simon Torres, Urbiztondo, Gorri, Castor, Andechaga, é Ituriaga, den brigadieres Iturbe y Soroa u. den comandantes der 9 batallones v. Vizcaya, 4 v. Castilla u. 7 v. Guipúzcoa. Klar, daß alle Truppen des Maroto de acuerdo m. ihm. 26 Aug. die Situation ganz verändert. Den Abend des 26 wußte D. Carlos in Villafranca die Resultate der entrevue v. Maroto u. Espartero u. entschloß sich, nachdem er gran consejo gehalten, sich vor allem der Disposition der Truppen 15 zu versichern. Unverhofft salió D. Carlos plötzlich para Elorio, dem Maroto nur Order gebend de reunir sus soldados; Maroto glaubt sich verloren: «¡Soy perdido, ha venido el hombre!» Die Generale versichern ihm daß sie ihrer subordinados sicher; Iturbe schlägt selbst vor sich der Person des D. Carlos zu bemächtigen, wogegen Maroto Presentóse pues 20 con D. Carlos al frente de sus tropas; el pretendiente arengó erst die Castellanos u. ein einziges batallón, das 5<sup>o</sup>, antwortet mit «¡viva el rey!» die übrigen antworten m. «¡viva nuestro jeneral en jefe!» u. á pesar de que D. Carlos exclamò «no hay mas jen. en jefe que yo», los vítores á Maroto se redoblaron. Carlos wandte sich nun an die Guipuzcoanos, 25 denen er am meisten vertraute, erinnert sie an Eid etc fragt endlich: «¿Nadie me oye?» «No, señor, hablan vascuence.» Ruft dann den Lardizabal, der an s. Seite, in den er am meisten Vertrauen, daß er s. Worte übersetze. Dieser titubeó etc wendet sich dann an Iturbe, der sagt en vascuence: «Muchachos (quironao), este hombre pregunta si anheláis la 30 paz ó la guerra; contestadle.» «¡La paz! la paz.» fué el grito que resonó por todas partes. Volvió entonces D. Carlos las riendas á su caballo en decir palabra u. marchó á galope hacia Villafranca. Verdarb sich selbst das Spiel. Wenn gleich den Gen. en chef arretirt, cuando se hallaba con Maroto frente al solo batallón que le dio testimonio de su lealtad, mit 35 seiner vivas, hätte er entschieden die cuestión. Vaciló sin embargo, y la serenidad y sangre fria de Iturbe le perdieron. Nun hatte Maroto nur noch den tractat m. Espartero zu firmar. Dieser unterrichtet v. dem, was passirt zu Elorio, erklärte nichts mehr zu Gunsten des Prätendenten stipuliren zu können. D. Carlos, der damals in Tolosa m. den batallones 40 navarros u. alaveses, wollte nicht die ihm v. Maroto gemachten Bedingungen annehmen, schickte den Graf Negri á tomar den Oberbefehl des

Heers. Maroto empfängt ihn den 28 Aug. m. la pistola amartillada in der Hand, erklärt daß er ihn nur aus Freundschaft nicht en el acto fusilliren lasse, u. advertirt ihn daß en ningún caso contase poder llenar su misión. Maroto, nun auch v. den frailes u. carlistas furibundos bedroht die Truppen gegen ihn aufzuhetzen, konnte nur noch dem Espartero sich in die 5  
 Arme werfen. 29 Aug. zeichnete er Waffenstillstand, worin er verspricht als anerkannt u. anerkennen zu machen durch die Truppen v. Castilla, Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa die Regierung der constit. reina. Ging nun selbst zum Espartero herüber. 30 Aug. schon se desbandaron 4 batallones v. Guipúzcoa al grito de Viva la paz!, vereinigten sich m. Maroto, schossen ihren Officieren nach que tuvieron que refugiarse en Francia. Espartero läßt den Maroto alle s. Truppen vereinen ... adelantóse solo con Maroto, haranguirt sie, umarmt den Maroto vor ihnen etc Fraternisation der beiden Heere. So sucedió el convenio v. Vergara v. 1' September. Llegado Espartero zu Tolosa den 6, recibirt m. allgemeinem Enthusiasm. ... 15  
 Blieben dem Don Carlos 12 batallones navarros, 6 alaveses, 1 v. Cantabria u. 1 v. Castilla. Er aber fué den 5 Sept. á Lanz para conducir bis zur fzs. Grenze seinen ganzen Hof y á los ojalateras, wohin sie in der That flüchteten, vorher farms geplündert por su misma escolta. Violáronse beim tránsito sehr viele Weiber u. assassinirt viele Personen, wie der 20  
 Gen. Moreno. 9\* Sept. vereinigte Espartero die Truppen zu Pamplona u. schloß D. Carlos ein en el Baztan. Llegado á Elizondo den 10 hätte Don Carlos noch nach Aragon escapar können por el portillo que le ofrecía aun Barillete; 13\* verließ er Elizondo, flüchtete sich nach Urdach, junto der fzs. Grenze u. den folgenden Tag suchte u. fand er Asyl auf 25  
 dem fzs. Boden. Den 14, Espartero sich habend genähert u. die ersten Flintenschüsse gefallen, D. Carlos brennt sofort nach Frankreich durch, läßt s. Heer im Stich «que saliese del apuro como pudiese». Espartero erlaubt den Carlisten die Grenze zu überschreiten. Espartero dann nach Navarra zurück. 8 batallones noch in Estella u. seiner Umgebung, diese 30  
 Stadt ergab sich 20 Sept. u. solo entraron en Francia los cuadros de todos ellos ... die Soldaten ergaben sich u. blieben in Navarra entwaffnet. Von den 8 bat. u. 4 squadrons woraus sie bestanden gingen nur 400 Mann nach Frankreich. Überhaupt die Zahl der refugiados internados nicht über 5600 soldados u. 2089 oficiales, obgleich das Carlistenheer 35  
 noch zuletzt an 20,000 Mann gezählt. (143-9)



*Auswärtige Politik Spains  
von Carl V f bis our time.*

Cap. I.

Vom Vertrag in Madrid (1526)  
bis zum Pyrenäischen Frieden 1659.

5

Vertrag v. Madrid 14 Jan. 1526 erlaubte Franz I nach Frankreich zurück-  
zukehren. 5 Aug. 1529 Frieden v. Cambrais ... Von *Henri II* Krieg an  
Spain erklärt 1 Sept. 1551. Friede zwischen Henri II u. Philip II v. Cateau-  
Cambresis, 3 April 1559. Manifest v. Henri IV gegen Philip II vom  
10 17 Jan. 1595. Philip antwortet in Manifest v. 7 März. Krieg bricht aus.  
Frieden v. Vervins, 2 Mai 1598. Dieser Friedensvertrag ||26| bezeichnet  
schon die Decadenz der span. Macht. ... Zu Rocroy (1643), Lens (1648),  
las Dunas (1658) los antiguos tercios castellanos perdieron su decantada  
nombradla: las derrotas reemplazaron los pasados triunfos. Von nun an  
15 die fzs. Heere supérieurs. Spanien verliert el Rosellon, den nördlichen  
Theil v. Cerdaña y el condado de Conflans; mientras que al norte Frank-  
reich se apoderaba del de Artois, con mas gran parte del ducado de  
Luxemburgo y del Limburgo u. der Vertrag der Pirineos (1659) fué la  
aciaga consagración de esa impotencia de que no ha acertado á levantarse  
20 la España desde entonces. So die Lage der beiden nations, wenn beim Tod  
des Mazarin, 9 März 1661, Ludwig XIV Staatszügel ergriff. - eje. - Von  
Carl V bis Ludwig XIV, apura la España todos sus recursos para dominar  
á la Francia, lleva á los reinos vecinos la desolación y el trastorno, y acaba  
por arruinarse á sí propia. Von Ludwig XIV bis Ludwig XVI umgekehrt  
25 Francia á su vez opfert alles para sojuzgar á su antiqua rival. (149-52)

Cap. 2

Vom Pyrenäischen Frieden (1659)  
bis zum Aachner Frieden

... consumía la guerra de Portugal los recursos del estado: Ludwig XIV  
30 fomentirte ihn by all possible means, bald durch effective Subsidien an  
die Portugiesen, bald durch diplomatische Intriguen fraguadas in Madrid  
durch den Erzbischof Embrun, seinen Gesandten, u. zu Lisboa durch den  
abate San Roman. - solapada. - Eh das fzs. Heer in die span. Niederlande

einrückte, 19 Jan. 1668, Traktat v. Vienna gezeichnet, tratado de Partición der span. Monarchie, ratificirt v. Ludwig XIV 2 Feb., u. v. Leopold 28 Feb. 1668. ... 13 Febr. 1667 Friede zw. Spain u. Portugal. (England sehr thätig dabei) ... terquedad ... LudwigXIV entreißt Spain das Franche-Comté. (3 Feb. 1668) (Frankreichs Besetzung des Franche-Comté kostet sehr wenig Zeit, 19 Feb. schon beendet.) Friede Frankreichs m. Spain, das ihm parte de los Paises-Bajos abtritt, 2 May, 1668. So Frankreich näher an Holland gerückt. (152-163)

### Cap. 3.

#### Vom Aachner Frieden bis zum Frieden von Utrecht. 10 (11 April, 1713)

Spanien gezwungen im Frieden v. Nymwegen (17 Sept. 1687) Franche-Comté u. neun Städte in Flandern zu überlassen. - Friede v. Ryswick vom 20 September 1697, wonach im Süden u. an der flandrischen Grenze 82 pueblos an Frankreich v. Spain abgetreten ... Erster Theilungsvertrag des span. Reichs zw. Frankreich u. England, den 18 October, 1698. ... Zweiter Vertrag zwischen denselben vom 13 u. 25 März 1700. ... 2 October 1700 unterschrieb Carlos II das Testament zu Gunsten des Anjou, 1 November (1700) j er. ... Como el tratado de partición negociado desde 1667-78 ha permanecido ignorado hasta nuestros dias, sind die 20 celebrados v. 1698-1700 bekannt als 1\* u. 2\* Theilungsvertrag. - Portocarrero, Villafranca, San Estévan die einzigen consejeros de estado eingeweiht in das Geheimniß wegen des Testaments, sie überredeten die Berlips u. den Prinzen v. Darmstadt (Deutscher Commandant der Oestreich. Truppen im Dienst Spaniens), die aus Haß gegen die reina u. ihre 25 2 favoriten handelten. - *Cardenal Portocarrero* (D. Luis Fernandez Bocanegra), promo viri 1669 im 38 Jahr zu dieser Würde v. Pabst Clemens IX, sehr viel später Erzb. v. Toledo. Zwar Oestreicher, aber Todtfeind der reina u. ihrer Freunde. Genueser (jenovés) v. Haus. - *Villafranca*, jefe de la casa de Toledo, (70 Jahre) - Hätte Ludwig XIV sich an 30 den 2' Theilungsvertrag gehalten, so hätte Frankreich seine so genannten natürlichen Grenzen erhalten, da nichts leichter war als einen Theil der ihm zugewiesnen ital. Besitzungen f. Flandern auszutauschen (Sieh. *Mignet*. Docum. inéd. über diese span. Successionsfrage)... Spanien verlor im Utrechter Frieden los Países Bajos, el reino de Ñapóles, los puertos de 35 Toscana y el ducado de Milan, con mas Jibraltar y Menorca... Frankreich verlor in Piémont Exiles, Fenestrellas u. den valle de Prajelas ... (163-175)

Cap. IV.  
Vom Frieden von Utrecht (1713)  
bis zum Pariser Vertrag von 1763.

In Folge der violenta abrogación des Successionsgesetzes u. des Auto  
5 Cordado v. 1713, Pretext u. enseña der Rebellion v. 1833 ... Die  
span. Könige seit Philip V han sido únicamente dóciles instrumentos  
manejados por embajadores franceses ... die princesa de Ursino, colo-  
cada v. Ludwig XIV an die Seite s. nieto para mejor dominarle, es la  
fundadora de la camarilla ... Kaum Philip V befestigt auf dem Thron,  
10 wenn Krieg zw. Spain u. France, wegen der gleichzeitgen Intriguen des  
fzs. Regenten zu Madrid (durch den duc de St Aignan) u. des Cardinal  
Alberoni zu Paris (durch den Prince de Calamora). Alberoni, Sohn eines  
Gärtners bei Plasencia, 30 März 1664 gewinnt die Gunst des Vendome  
u. begleitet ihn nach Frankreich, vermittelt 1715 die Ehe Philip's V, nach  
15 dem Tod seiner ersten Frau, m. Isabel Farnesio sobrina des duc de  
Parma. Durch sie wird er omnipotent. ... Alberoni sucht alles das im  
Vertrag v. Utrecht verlorne f. Spain wieder zu gewinnen. ... Regent  
erklärt Spain den Krieg durch Manifest v. 8 Januar 1719 ... Philip V muß  
17 Feb. 1720 der Quadrupelallianz (geschl. 2 August zw. England,  
20 Frankreich, Oestreich, u. beigetreten v. Holland 16 Feb. 1719) beitre-  
ten ... 13 Juni 1721 zw. Spain, Frankreich, England Defensivallianz. ...  
5 Jahre nachher wieder auf dem Punkt des Kriegs, weil das Ministerium  
des Duc de Bourbon die f. Ludwig XV bestimmte Infantin v. Spain,  
María Victoria, zurückschickte. ... Verträge zw. Oestreich u. Spain  
25 v. 30 April u. 1 May 1725 ... Dagegen Vertrag v. Hanover, 23 Sept. 1725,  
zw. Frankreich, England u. Preussen (Alianza de Hanover). ... (In dem  
Vertrag zw. Oestreich u. Spain Freihandels concessionen v. dem leztren  
an das Erstre gemacht, Compagnie v. Ostende, Eifersucht darüber der  
England, u. Holland.) ... Neue Defensivallianz zw. Spain, France  
30 u. England, Sevilla 9 November, 1729. ... 21 Nov. trat Holland diesem  
Vertrag bei. ... Allianztractat zw. Frankreich u. Spain, Escorial,  
25 Oct. 1733 ... (Spain erhält in dem darauf ausbrechenden Krieg  
m. Oestreich Naples u. Sicily f. den Infanten Don Carlos), ausserdem die  
plazas der Küste v. Toscana que habia poseído el emperador u. was dem  
35 König v. Spain zur Zeit der Quadrupelallianz auf der Insel v. Elba gehört  
hatte ... Spain auch verwickelt in den östreichischen Successionskrieg  
(wegen Schlesien etc) ... 25 October 1743 Allianz u. Unionsvertrag  
zw. Frankreich u. Spain, der Keim des s. g. Familienvertrags. ... Friede

18 October 1748 ... Neuer Krieg zw. Frankreich u. England, 1756 (16 Juni), Fernando VI weigert sich Theil zu nehmen, f 10 August 1759. Carlos III folgt. - un ardid solapado. - (Unter Ferdinand VI u. Beginn v. Carlos III das ministerio Wall nicht das juguete de los amaños de Choiseul) ... Familiencontract schließlich gezeichnet 15 Aug. 1761. 5  
 2 Januar 1762 publicirte Carlos III s. Manifest gegen England. Spanien in den Krieg m. England u. Portugal gezogen ... Frieden m. England definitiv 2 Feb. 1763. ... Nach Artic. 19 des Vertrags Habana u. Manila den Spaniern restituirt v. England, müssen aber abtreten an England Florida u. die bahía de Pensacola. (Art. 20) Ausserdem nach Art. 17 den Eng- 10  
 ländern concedirt la tala de los bosques de palo campeche de la bahía de Honduras. In einem convenio secreto v. Nov. 3, 1762 Frankreich cedirt an Spain ganz Louisiana. (174-182)1

[27] Cap. 5

Vom amerik. Krieg bis zur Quadrupelallianz. 15

12 April 1779, schloß Carlos III con la corte de Versailles un convenio wodurch se comprometía á obrar contra la Inglaterra; läßt 24 Juni ein Manifest an England durch seinen Gesandten, marqués de Almodovar vorlegen, dem gleich Kriegserklärung gegen Großbritannien folgt ... In Folge dieses Kriegs (á favor de la emancipación colonial) u. des 20  
 v. 1808, hat Spain s. Besitzungen in der neuen Welt verloren ... In dem Frieden, dessen Präliminarien geschlossen 12 Juni 1783 (definitiv 3 Sept.) cedió England an Spain die Insel Menorca u. die 2 Floridas ... (Sieh *Muriel*. Paris 1838) ... *Tractat v. Basel*. 22 Juli, 1795, worin Frankreich cedirt den span. Theil der Insel Domingo ... *Vertrag v. S. Ildefonso*, 25  
 v. 18 August, 1796, wonach Spanien an Frankreich zu stellen 15 ships of the line, 6 Fregatten, 4 corbetas armadas y equipadas f. 6 meses u. nach Art. 6 hatte es, wenn v. Frankreich verlangt, 18 000 infantes u. 6000 caballos zu stellen, mantenidos todos á costas propias. In Krieg m. England Spain daher verwickelt, das den Span, die Insel Trinidad abnimmt, 30  
 die Napoleon im Vertrag v. Amiens, dazu an England abtritt, ohne Spain zu fragen. 1800 war an Frankreich Luisiana abgetreten unter der ausdrücklichen Bedingung daß, wenn es sie zu ceder wolle, daría la preferencia á la España; aber 2 Jahre später verkauft sie Napoleon an die *United States* f. ochenta millones de francos, ohne Carlos IV auch nur Notiz 35  
 zu geben. October 1803 verlangte Napoleon, daß Spain statt der im Vertrag v. S. Ildefonso ausgemachten Bedingungen mensual subsidio zahle v. 22 millones reales, was Carlos IV that. 1805 span. Flotte capit. in der

Aus Manuel de Marliani: Historia política de la España moderna (Fortsetzung)

Schlacht v. Trafalgar, v. welchem Schlag Spain sich nie wieder erholt. ...  
Vertrag v. Fontainebleau vom 27 October, 1807 ... Span. Gesandter auf  
dem Congress zu Wien (eröffnet 1 Nov. 1814) war der sehr unfähige  
D. Pedro Gomez de Labrador ... Durch Vertrag vom 22 Febr. 1819  
5 cedirte Spain an die U. St. die 2 Floridas ... (183-192)

*Del Tema político Estrangero.*

C. 1

Quadrupleallianz. Francia.

Das span. Gov., bedroht durch den Aufenthalt des Don Carlos in Por-  
lo tugal, bot s. Hülfe an um beide Prätendenten (Carlos u. Miguel) v. dem  
portug. Boden zu vertreiben. Gen. Rodil rückt daher in Portugal ein.  
So kam dem Engl. gov. erst die Idee einer Tripelallianz zw. Spanien,  
Portugal, England. Frankreich erst auf s. Reclamation hinzugelassen ...  
die absurde capitulación v. Evora-Monte setzte beide Prätendenten in  
15 Freiheit, cojidos á la vez, en un mismo lazo, vom Gen. Rodil ... Don  
Carlos über England, Frankreich, nach Navarra, Bürgerkrieg. - Die  
powers der Quadrupleallianz gezwungen de añadir den estipulaciones  
vom 22 April 1834 die Zusatzartikel vom 18 Aug. ... Der Vertrag erst  
publicirt 6 Months after he had been signed ... el partido moderado ha  
20 sido el único que ha abrigado con ciega perseverancia la esperanza de  
intervención ó cooperación (Frankreichs) ... May 1835 dachte zum  
erstenmal das Madrider Cabinet an intervención francesa. ... Officielle  
Négociations m. Thiers an einem Essen was Thiers dem span. Ges. zu  
Paris, dem Duke of Frías gab. Thiers sprach v. fuerzas navales, lejion  
25 extranjera, Polen zu enlist by France etc, aber nicht Intervention. Despat-  
ches v. Rosas (Martinez de) v. 19 u. 20 May, worin der span. Ges. be-  
auftragt, direkt die fzs. Intervention zu verlangen, solle Navarra u. Vas-  
congadas besetzen. 28 May giebt duc de Frias groß Memorandum dem  
Duc de Broglio, worin sollicit die rentrée en España de 20,000 Fran-  
30 ceses. In dispatch vom 6 June erzählt der Frias s. Hofe, daß Frankreich  
direct negative Antwort. Der Präsident du conseil français habe ihm mit-  
getheilt folgende Antworten, die England auf die Anfragen Frankreichs  
gezogen. Das Moment der bewaffneten cooperación, verlangt v. Spain,  
sei noch nicht arrivirt. Der Casus foederis, als Consequenz der Quadru-  
35 pleallianz, sei nicht aplicable auf die gegenwärtigen Umstände da Eng-  
land werde nicht cooperiren, wenn Frankreich sich einmische (fragt ob  
England *sich in solidum verantwortlich erklärte*), la Inglaterra querrá

cooperar «*Respuesta*: ... no hay para que se explique la Inglaterra. Sin embargo, si la Francia juzga conveniente el llenar los votos del gob. esp., la Inglaterra no opondrá á ello obstáculo ninguno» ... Claro es que semejantes contestaciones debían de corroborar mas y mas la repugnancia que experimentara la Francia hacia toda intervención. Broglio zeigt 5 daher dem span. Ges. an, daß Frankreich sich habe zu conformar m. den resoluciones v. Great Britain, der conseil habe daher beschlossen nicht zu interferiren. (Despatch des Frias vom 8 Juni) Wohl aber lejon extranjera, alistamiento in France u. einige naval forces. Neue Despatch des Martinez vom 2 Juni f. die Intervention. Neue abschlägige Antwort des Bro- 10 glio. Den 11 Juni se acordó en pleno (fzs.) consejo la no intervención, en vista de las contestaciones que acababa de dar la Inglaterra. (Dep. des Frias v. 12Juni) U.a. die Nordmächte hätten gedroht Luxemburg zu besetzen, wenn Frankreich Spain. ... Toreno, der den Rosa ersetzt, in s. despatches v. 9 u. 13 Juni an den Frias im Sinne des ersten: solle 15 fzs. Intervention verlangen. Frias thats nicht. 16 Juni schrieb er, es führe zu nichts. 20 (Desp.) weigert sich direkt wieder um Intervention zu bitten. ... Toreno in desp. vom 16juni verlangt v. neuem die fzs. Interv., resignándose, si no habia otro medio, á aceptar la lejon extranjera, la cual debería aumentarse en tal caso bis 10 od. 12,000 men, mediante el 20 alistamiento de soldados armados y equipados por la Francia ... 25 June, der duc de Frias gehorcht, worin er auf die obigen Bedingungen eingeht, ausserdem verlangt el envío de fuerzas navales y el pago der Fremdenlegion, während der ersten meses que estuviesen en España. In der Note vom 26 Juni duc de Broglio geht auf alles dieß ein. ... der 25 Broglio jamás ha alimentado mentidamente las quimeras del gabinete de Madrid. ... Das alistamiento se fué haciendo ganz illusorisch ... selbst die Fremdenlegion vielleicht nur, weil gleichzeitig in England passirt die enlistement alien bill ... humillante tenacidad, womit die Moderados um die fzs. Intervention betteln. Aber v. den Moderados die fzs. Truppen 30 noch mehr gewünscht um über die Liberales als über die facciosos zu siegen. Je mehr die Nation gegen sie, desto mehr die fremden socorros nöthig f. sie. Das Assasinat des Duke de Berri 1820 fiel zus. m. der Constitutionellen Rev. in Spain v. 1820. *Daher* die Intervention, 23, of Louis XVIII. Der Entschluß Louis Philipp's *nicht* zu interveniren, weil 35 das Attentat Fieschi's zusammenfiel m. dem pronunciamiento u. creación der juntas de provincia gegen Toreno. Erstes Attentat v. 28 Juli, Septembergesetze. Das fzs. Ministry vom 11 October glaubt ganz zu thun zu haben die Rev. in Frankreich zu bekämpfen. ... Fzs. Intervention verlangt weniger gegen die Navarra Insurrection als f. den Sieg | 40 |28| der Moderados gen die Liberales. Y esto es tan cierto, que las deman-

das de intervención se han instado con mayor eficacia, precisamente en los momentos de apuro para los ministros moderados, y nunca en las circunstancias azarosas de la guerra ... Los retrógrados no se reconocían bastante prepotentes por si solos para constituir un estado normal... Ais  
5 die Provincial Pronunciamentos gegen ihn, verlangt der Toreno, *Despatch vom 30 Aug. 1835* noch einmal dringend die fzs. Intervention, sagt darin: «V. E. redoblará sus instancias, fundándolas en el riesgo que por todas partes amenaza á la *autoridad real en España*» (also bes. betont die Provinzialerhebungen gegen die Moderados) «Las pasiones populares se  
10 han desencadenado á vista de la audacia de la facción carlista ... El partido anarquista se aprovecha de tales circunstancias etc etc El gobierno de S. M. contrarestará los embates de *ambos* partidos ... el gobierno lucha en España contra las mismas pasiones que ajitan y trabajan la sociedad en Francia. ... In Spain sei das gov. noch schlimmer dran.  
15 Die Anarchisten gewannen terrain ... Para prevenir las consecuencias de semejante estado de cosas, acude nuevamente S. M. al poderoso apoyo de una nación vecina etc. ... una vez vencida la facción de Navarra, lo será igualmente la anarquía. Así se consolidaría en España la *autoridad real, moderada por la participación de la propiedad y de la aristocracia*, en  
20 la formación de las leyes al modo que lo establece el estatuto real ... Citirt die recientes acaecimientos v. Málaga u. Granada. Ein puñado v. sediciosos hat proclamirt die *malhadada* constit. de 1812 etc Daher solle das fzs. Gov. so rasch als möglich interveniren.» ... Fzs. Gov. schlägt wieder ab, erschreckt auch durch den congreso de  
25 Kaiisch. Thiers selbst no titubeó en decir dem Frias daß was möglich vor 4 meses nun nicht mehr. ... 30 Aug. gab der Frias Memorandum dem fzs. Cabinet ein über die Nothwendigkeit der fzs. Intervention, nicht um die Dynastie, sondern um die Monarchie zu retten «el trono atacado por las juntas». Broglio antwortet im *Memorandum v. 16 Sept. 1835*:  
30 «... ihre Stipulationen bezögen sich nur auf D. Carlos, der schon unfähig seinen engen Circel zu verlassen Die andern Rücksichten lägen ganz ausserhalb der Conventionen etc ...» ... Als nach Madrid kam die contestación des Broglio vom 16 Sept., Toreno schon weg v. Ministerium, bald darauf gefolgt vom Duke de Frias ... Unverständlich also, diesen faits  
35 gemäß, el querer hacer achacar las resoluciones del gabinete francés á la mayor ó menor simpatía que le inspiraran los varios ministros die Spain regiert seit der Quad, allianz. ... Mendizabal (Minister) in seiner V Despatch, an den Frias, v. 22 Sept. 1835, mißbilligt das Memorandum das Frias präsentirt. ... Solle nur verlangen, wozu das fzs. Ministry sich  
40 selbst durch die Quadrupleallianz verpflichtet erkläre: «de cerrar la frontera á toda introducción de armas, víveres y municiones.» ... In

May 1836, England reforzó die crueros, ordenó á los comandantes de los buques que apoyasen las operaciones militares de los jenerales españoles, y hasta les previno que entrasen en línea contra los carlistas é hiciesen fuego sobre ellos. Nun principio die cuestión de *traslimitacion* ...  
 Durch Ordre v. 24 März. 1836 - auf Reclamation der Bewohner des Südens - hatte das Minist. Thiers revocado las prohibiciones del comercio de víveres u. otros objetos en la frontera, limitándolas precisamente a los objetos de guerra. Dagegen Reclamation (energische) des Mendizabal, da das fzs. Gov. sich entschuldigte, es könne die contrebande nicht verhindern, verlangte Mendizabal, das fzs. Gov. solle adelantar sus tropas bis zum valle de Baztan u. los Aldudes, *sin mas objeto* que impedir el paso de la frontera á los proveedores de los carlistas, con colocarse allende los Pirineos. Dieß auseinandergesetzt in den despatches an den Gen. Alava vom 2, 9 u. 17 April... Este paso, que debia dar el jen. Alava en Paris de acuerdo m. dem brittischen Ambassador, Mendizibal den Franzosen verdächtig wegen predilección f. die Engländer. ... Dieß der orijen de la *traslimitacion* ... Mendizabal, 16 April (1836) Conferenz m. den fzs. u. engl. Gesandten: folgende Punkte: 1) la orden des 26 März con sus resultados. 2) la compensación que habia que ofrecer para revocarla. 3) Solicitud de esplicaciones acerca de la acojida que encontraría el gobierno español, en la hipótesis de que se llegase á provocar la cooperación efectiva de las tropas francesas para pacificar las provincias rebeldes. ... Sieh Rede des Thiers (*Moniteur*, 15 Januar, 1837): «Er erfand sich neues Wort, das weder Intervention noch Co-operation sei, die *traslimitacion*. 22 Feb. Thiers refusirt die *traslim.* im Namen des Cabinets.» (Thiers sagt, er u. Passy seien allein *dafür* gewesen, überstimmt worden) ... In der Sitzung der procuradores v. 10 April 1836 Mendizabal v. Alcalá Galiano angegriffen, weil er die Intervention nicht habe verlangen wollen. Dieselbe charge 11 April v. Barrio Ayuso. Eben solche Interpelaciones im estamento de proceres; 7<sup>o</sup> 20 April v. duke de Rivas u. marqués de Miraflores, bestanden auffzs. Intervention ... el ministerio español no osó destruir entonces tan fatal ilusión. ... Mendizabal legte nicht offen das Memorandum des Broglio vom 16 Sept. 1835 u. die despatch des Frias vom 15 u. 17 desselben Monats vor, pour ne pas encourager les Carlistes. ... Der Miraflores in Rede vom 20 April 1836, pidió: «Si en vista de la *ampliación dada por el gob. inglés* al tratado de la cuádruple alianza, se habían ya dado algunos pasos cerca, S. M. el rey de los Franceses para *exigir*, como consecuencia inmediata y absoluta del tratado, igual cooperación por parte de la Francia en virtud de los empeños por ella contraídos.» ... Dem Isturiz ministry zeigt Alava in verschiednen Depeschen an (ζ. B. v. 24 May) daß Frankreich bei der Nichtintervencion



stehn bleibe, s. politisches System hänge nicht ab v. den Personen der Minister, ernannt in Madrid. ... Thiers entschloß sich 9 Juni (1836) daß die Fremdenlegion, die in der Peninsula focht, um 6000 Mann vermehrt, u. daß in Pau 2<sup>te</sup> andre Legion formirt. Aber no bien comenzaba dieses  
5 sich zu erfüllen als nach Paris die Nachricht der Erhebung der Provinzen gegen das ministry. Thiers ließ sich indeß dadurch nicht abhalten in Bezug auf die begonnenen Maßregeln. Aber Isturiz, will Frankreich interveniren lassen, wie Toreno, *gegen* die Liberales. In diesem Sinn Note v. 6 August (1836) an die Tuilerien, ähnliche Mittheilung an das  
10 engl. Ministry. Blieb ohne any effect ... Die Milit. Präparative in Pau gingen indeß voran. Reclamaciones, zu Paris, der Repräsentanten der 3 nordischen Mächte ... ||29| ... Thiers blieb bei seinem Entschluß. 10,000 Mann ready in Spain einzurücken, getheilt in Legionen u. bezahlt bis zum 31 December. Aber die Ilegada des Bugeaud, der v. Algier kam  
15 para encargarse del mando de aquel refuerzo de tropas, producirte 13 Aug. solche desavenencia zw. der Krone u. dem presidente del consejo, über die Politica relativa á España, daß Thiers sofort s. Entlassung gab. 17'Aug. die fzs. Minister noch einmal zur Consultation vereint, als telegraphische Nachricht v. den Vorfällen v. la Granja in der Nacht  
20 v. 12 Aug. Die fz. Ministercrisis suspendirt; se continuó die Organisation der tropas de distintas armas que habían de formar die 2 lejonas de Pau. ... Dem Cabinet Thiers folgte das des *Mole* ... xx al señor Thiers debe la España la lejon de Arjel que se le concedió en 1835. ... Das Minist. Mole (v. 6 Sept) repuso las cosas en el ser que tuvieran vor dem  
25 22Febr. ... Da Gen. Alava nicht auf die Constit. v. 1812 schwören wollte, im Gesandtschaftsposten ersetzt (zu Paris) durch conde de Campuzano. ... Unter dem Minist. Calatrava k. Fragen v. Foreign (French) intervention, die Moderados unter dem Ministry des conde Ofalia fallen wieder in die Irrthümer des Isturiz u. Toreno. Verlangten  
30 direkt Frankreich solle die nordischen Provinzen u. Catalonien besetzen, aber als Mittel hauptsächlich die Exaltados caput zu machen ... Mole läßt sie abstinken. ... In der Sitzung vom 11 Jan. 1838 erklärte Mole daß sie sich «jamás» einmischen würden, aber den 22 Jan. erneuert Ofalia sus órdenes ... sagt darin zugleich (Ofalia): «que la esperanza de una inter-  
35 vención habia sido el motivo de las elecciones que dieron por resultado las cortes de 1837.» ... 29 Jan. (1838) neuer Refus des Mole; sagte darin: «lejos de formentar las ilusiones que ha podido crearse allá el gabinete de Madrid, acerca de las probabilidades de obtener semejante especie de socorros, ha hecho por el contrario un particular estudio desde fines  
40 de 1833 en derrocar tamaño error.» ... (193-211)

## C. 2 La Inglaterra.

Der erlaubte Handel Englands m. Spanien jährlich nur 39,100,000 reales de vellón: der contrebandohandel aber 270,000,000. (214) Spanien erhielt v. den Engländern (die englischen Kreuzer u. Hülfsgeschiffe v. 10,000 Mann nicht eingerechnet) 321,600 fusiles; 10,000 carabinas, 5 3,600 pistolas, 10,000 espadas. 4000 carabinas listadas, 6,000,000 de cartuchos etc 938,531 libras de pólvora, 40 cañones de hierro, 12 morteros de lo mismo, 28 obuses, 20 morteros de sitio etc 1000 tiendas de campaña, 1000 cubiertas, 2 puentes volantes etc. (214) (Sich papers (Parliam.) Juni. 1839) *Carlos in Portugal*: En aquella época begegnet der engl. io Gesandtschaftssecretär dem Don Carlos in Lisboa: «Salvadme de Rodil», war alles, was er paralytisch v. Furcht stottern konnte. En efecto, vióse libre por la protección inglesa y conducido á bordo de un buque de guerra inglés con su familia y 60 personas de su servidumbre. (215) Da Frankreich den Tractat vom 22 April 1834 anders auslegte als England 15 Spannung zwischen den beiden. (216) In Madrid erklärten sich die Moderados f. Partheigänger der política francesa u. die Progressisten se ha pronunciado á favor de la Inglaterra. (I.e.) es tal el extravío de las pasiones en España, que basta un partido adopte un hecho para que su contrario lo repudie. (I.e.) 20

## C. 3. Portugal.

Der Einmarsch der span. Truppen unter Rodil, in Portugal, bringt die Verjagung der Dons Miguel u. Carlos u. die Capitulación v. Evora Monte zu Stand. (216)

## C. 4 Norte.

25

Die nordischen Mächte protestirten nicht gegen Ferdinand's pragmática Sanción vom 29 März 1830. Als dieser v. Cortes (en la forma á que las redujera el despotismo, hacia ya algunos siglos), Juni 1833, sie anerkennen ließ, fueron representadas las potencias del Norte por sus enviados; lo cual venia á ser officielle Anerkennung der Isabelle ... 29 Sept. 1833 30 (Ferdinand f) erklärten sie insofern den span. Thron f. vacant, als sie weder die Isabelle noch den Don Carlos anerkannten. (219)

C. 5. Prusia.  
C. 6 Austria.  
C. 7 La Russie.

Vertrag v. Veliki-Luki v. 20 Juli, 1812. Sieh auch Proclamation v. Warschau v. 13 Feb. 1815 («Si el Norte se encumbra en alas del ímpetu sublime de los Castellanos, se desenlutó el universo.»)

Cap. 8 La Cerdeña.

Solar de la Margarita. Krakeehl m. Piémont. Vom 1' Juli 1837 cesó todo tráfico entre España y Cerdeña. (228) - Perez de Castro (l. c.)

io

C. 9. Ñapóles.  
C. 10.) El Papa.)

Seit 1834 - 24 Bischofssitze vacant. ... Der padre Cirilo, Erzb. v. Cuba, u. Abarca, Bisch, v. Leon, consejeros des D. Carlos, y ahora refugiados en Francia; ebenso Carlisten u. Refugies in France der Erzb. v. Zaragoza, die Bisch, v. Barbastro, Lérida, Urjel: Erzb. v. Tarragona residente en Italia, u. der Bisch, v. Orihuela, que estaba con Cabrera. Andre Bischöfe eingesperrt od. confinirt auf Befehl der Regierung, wie der Erzb. v. Sevilla u. Santiago, der Bisch, v. Menorca, Placencia, Calahorra, der v. Patencia, encerrado en la isla de Ibiza. So daß mit den Vacanzen durch Tod 20 zus. v. den 10 arzobispados v. Spain u. sus colonias 8 vacant u. v. den 50 obispados an 30. (233, 4)

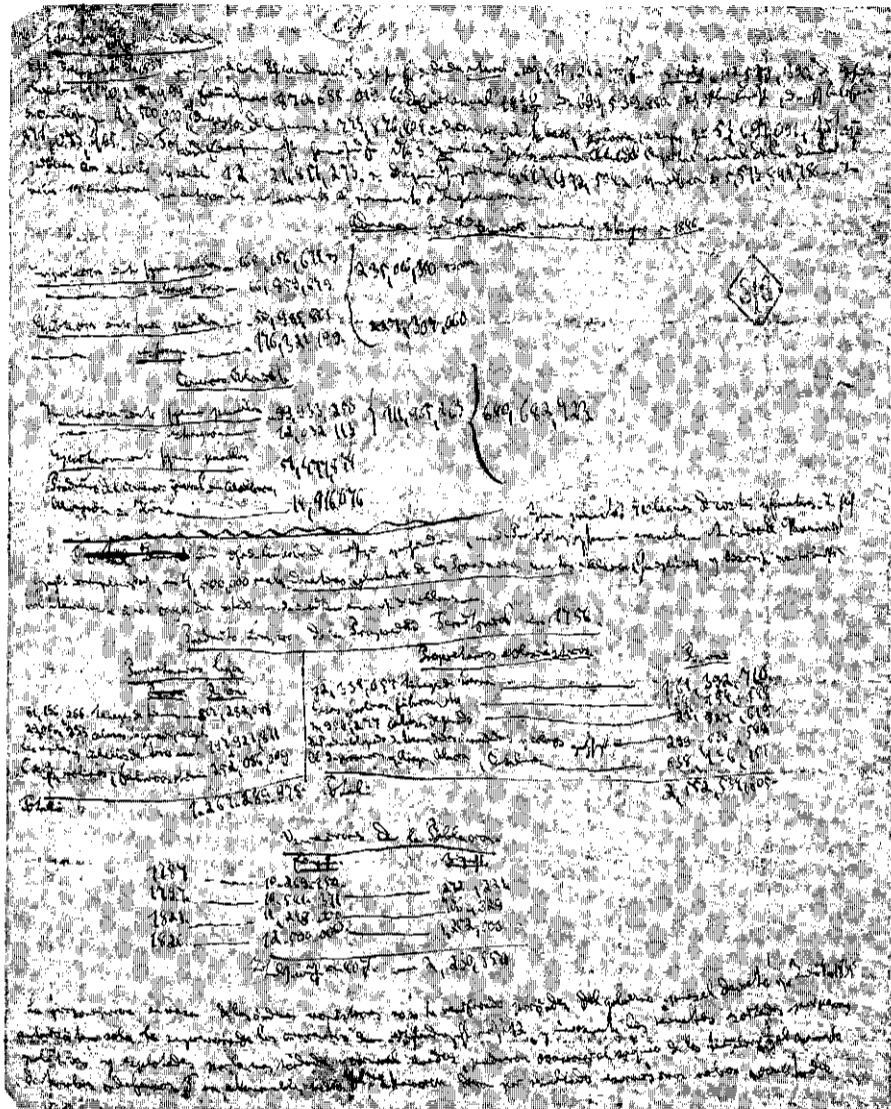
De los partidos Españoles.

Absolutistas y partido liberal fraccionado, tras de cuyas enseñas vese inmóvil, indiferente y yerta á la inmensa mayoría numérica es decir, á los 25 campesinos, masa pasiva, inerte y anonadada por el despotismo, al paso que mantenida en la ignorancia y empobrecida por el clero y el gobierno. (235) Hallábase Quesada capt. gen. de Castilla y el 8 Jan. 1833, envió desde Valladolid á la reina rejente una representación, que es fast acusación fiscal contra el ministerio. (Zea Bermudez) Aehnliches memoria

v. 25 Dec. 1833, Gen. Llauder mandando en Cataluña, von Barcelona.  
(237) Die Moderados haben beständig Staatsstrieche gemacht 1835, 36,  
40 Madrid in Belagerungszustand erklärt, zweimal entwaffnet u. aufge-  
löst die Nationalgarde, v. 15 May 1836 - 18 Nov. 1839 3 χ die Cortes 5  
aufgelöst. (238) Die Exaltados, emigrados v. 1823 od. atalayados inqui-  
sitorialmente nahmen kaum Theil an den ersten Bewegungen nach dem  
Thod des Königs, sondern nur die Moderados, Conde de Puñonrostro,  
Miraflores, Gen. Llauder Quesada etc (l. c.) Die Moderados votirten  
beständig Gesetze gegen Presse, Petitionsrecht, Municipal- u. Provinzi-  
alfreiheiten, Nationalgarde. (239) El porvenir de la España se cifra todo io  
en afanes productivos, y estos derramarán la vida social y moral por la  
muchedumbre. (240) |

|30| *Tanteo sobre hacienda.*

Nach dem *Presupuesto de 1837* präsentirt den Cortes durch Mendizabal  
die Zinsen f. die deuda *interior* «100,635,242 rs», f. die *estertor* 15  
«182,538,390». Die Gesamtausgabe: «1,570,227,499» Einnahmen:  
870.688.019. El deficit anual 44 >1/2% od. 699,539.480. Nach demselben  
Bericht, d. sich belaufen die Civilliste gen 43,500,000 rs, die gastos de  
la guerra á 773,876,404 u. die compras de tabaco, pólvora, azufre zu  
53,697,091, Zus. zu 871,073,495, so das Total der Einnahmen nicht hin- 20  
reichend f. diese 3 Punkte der Gastos allein. Total del Capital nominal  
de la deuda pública con interés y sin él 12,021,817,273. rs. Davon: un-  
verzinsbare 6,447,972,504 u. verzinsbare: 5,573,844,768 ... In Spain  
101 contribuciones, sin contar con las pertenecientes al presupuesto de  
la gobernación ... 25



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*Aduanas. Product des Comercio nacional y extranjero en 1836.*

5	<i>Importación</i>	<i>unter span.</i>			
		<i>pavillon</i>	168,156,671	rs	} 235,016,350 rs. vn.
	"	"	<i>extrangero</i>		
		<i>pav.</i>	66,859,679		} 227,307,060
10	<i>Esportacion</i>	<i>unter span.</i>			
		<i>pavillon</i>	50,985,861		
	"	"	<i>extrangero</i>	176,321,199	

*Comercio Colonial.*

15	<i>Importación</i>	<i>unter span.</i>			
		<i>pavillon</i>	99,933,250		} 111,965,363
	"	"	<i>extrangero</i>	12,032,113	
	<i>Esportacion</i>	<i>unter span.</i>			} 640,682,723
		<i>pavillon</i>	51,477,874		
20	<i>Producto del comercio jeneral in Mallorca, Menorca u. Ibiza</i>			14,916,076	

Spain presentirt 710 leguas de costas y fronteras. In solch Land daher die Conterbande nicht zu verhindern, m. dem Prohibitivsystem. - aranceles. - Subsidio de Navarra ist bezahlt unregelmässig, an 4,500,000 reales.  
 25 *Donativo voluntario de las Provincias exentas:* Alava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya contribuyen voluntariamente á las cargas del estado m. der unbedeutenden suma v. 3 millones. ...

*Producto Limpio de la Propiedad Territorial en 1756.*

*Proprietaries legos.*

30			<i>Rs. vn.</i>
	61,196,066	hanegas de tierra	817,282,098
	29,006,238	cabezas de ganado, except, las muías y caballos de tiro	197,921,871
35		<u>Casas, molinos, fábricas etc</u>	<u>252,086,009</u>
		Total:	1,267,289,978.

*Proprietarios eclesiásticos.*

	<i>Rs. vn.</i>	
12,334,057 hanegas de tierra	161,392,710	
Casas, molinos, fábricas etc	164,154,548	
2,999,277 cabezas de ganado	21,927,619	5
Das Producto líquido der tierras dadas á arrendadores y colones geschätzt	299,638,599	
El der provincias v. Aragon, <u>Valencia, Cataluña</u>	<u>638,136,151</u>	10
Total:	2,552,534,605.	

*Variaciones de la Población.*

	<i>Einwohner</i>	<i>Zuwachs.</i>	
1787.	10,269,150		15
1797.	10,541,371	272,221	
1821.	11,248,000	706,629	
1826.	<u>12.500.000</u>	<u>1,252,000</u>	
Totalzuwachs in 40 J.		2,230,850.	

La proscripción en masa de las órdenes monásticas no se ha verificado 20  
 por órden del gobierno; pues el decreto v. Juli 1835 autorizó tan solo la  
 supresión de los conventos deren Mitgliederzahl nicht 12, y únicamente  
 las revueltas escitadas por pasiones políticas y explotadas por la mas  
 sórdida y criminal avidez, pudieron ocasionar el saqueo de los templos,  
 y el asesinato de hombres indefensos. Tan abominables medios de des- 25  
 tracción dieron por resultado enormísimos robos, cometidos ||311 descara-  
 damente á la faz del público, y por tan considerable número de personas,  
 que llegó ya á hacerse imposible el castigar mas tarde á los culpables,  
 sin que el tesoro sacase de ello cantidad ninguna de dinero, pues ó lo  
 habían depositado los frailes en m[anos segur]as, o se apoderaron de él 30  
 los incendiarios. Vimos pillar y destrozarse cantidad inmensa de muebles  
 preciosos por su mérito artístico, p[er]der, rasgar ó quemar muchísimos  
 cuadros de inestimable valor, romper ó mutilar hermosísimas estatuas;  
 fundir los mas preciosos ornamentos de la iglesia de plata y oro para  
 sustraerlos así á las pesquisas del gobierno; enviar los diamantes al 35  
 extranjero, y en fin pasar á manos de revendedores de libros de lance los  
 restos de escojidísimas bibliotecas que se arrojaron por las ventanas.  
 Por otra parte, reducidos los conventos á cenizas, desaparecieron entre

llamas los archivos y títulos de propiedad. Die Schuldner der conventos, of course, se guardaron muy bien de denunciarse á sí mismos, y los que habían comprado algunas tierras á comunidades religiosas se apropiaban la parte mas lucrativa del terreno, retirando además los lindes de las propiedades limítrofes á espensas de los conventos. Aun mas, en aquellos momentos de confusion y desorden, incendiáronse magníficos bosques sin mas objeto que el de hacer daño. ... Vor der supresión der conventos, in den span, nicht privilegirten Provinzen, 16,037 religiosos á quienes se habían conferido órdenes menores; 7187 profesos, zus. 23,224 die ocupaban 266 monasterios u. 1670 conventos; sie representaban capital v. 724,102,411 reals, u. renta v. 22,418,838, wenig menos de 3 u. % . ... Zuzufügen die bienes del clero que quedaron intactos en Navarra u. den vascongadas, que al cabo y al fin tienen que venir á parar otra vez al estado, en cuanto vayan muriendo los frailes de aquellos conventos, ya algo avanzados en edad. En el mismo caso se hallan die fundaciones pias y propiedades der monjas ... Am 31 März 1840 verkauft v. der Masse der bienes nacionales bestehend aus bienes secularizados, fundaciones pias, monasterios, conventos de religiosos u. religiosas, jesuítas, inquisición, órdenes militares etc 29,529 fincas, geschätzt v. der Administración zu 554,107,323 reales u. compradas por el público f. 1,197,963,802 ... bleibt zu vender f. 2030 millones u. con el aumento de precio efectivo, cuya medida dan los bienes ya vendidos, 3530 millones.

*Presupuestos de España v. 1760-1839.*

		<i>Gastos</i>	<i>Ingresos</i>	<i>Deficit</i>
25	1760	306,737,866	392,506,410	85,768,544
	1778	861,171,735	630,217,409	230,954,326
	1798	2,729,799,168	1,127,939,138	1,601,860,030
	1817	713,973,600	578,164,411	135,809,189
	1820-3	664,818,324	552,800,000	112,013,324
30	1830	592,756,089	520,706,280	72,049,809
	1835	991,304,495	648,903,497	342,400,803
	1836	991,304,495	701,330,467	289,974,027
	1837	1,851,787,855	715,791,944	2,135,995,861
	1838	1,851,787,855	694,618,270	1,156,569,585
35	1839	1,650,273,151	694,618,270	955,654,881



*Cantidades Procedentes de América:*

En tiempo de		
Philip II	26,400,000	
Philip III	88,000,000	
Philip IV	154,000,000	5
<i>Carlos III</i>	240,000,000	
<u><i>Carlos IV</i></u>	<u>580,000,000</u>	
Total	1,088,400,000	

In 1840 (Nach dein Ministeriellen Anschlag) *Einnahme:* 1,030,091,063.  
*Ausgaben.* 1,711,912,797. *Deficit:* 681,821,734rs. ... 10

### Cuba

... *Einwohner* Weisse v. beiden sexos, 311,051. Negros y mulatos libres, 106,494. Esclavos: 286,942. Guarnición y viajeros: 26,075. *Zus.:* 730,562  
Einwoh. Die Producte v. Cuba 1826: 7,097,936 pesos fuertes; 1839 bis 15  
11,076,403. In 13 J. Wachsthum v. 36%. Import. 1826 v. 14,925,754 pesos  
fuertes, 1835 v. 20,722,071. Export: 1826: 13,809,838. 1835: 14,059,247.  
Fortschritte auch in Puerto Rico.

### Filipinas

Einwohner: 1791: 1,649,678. 1810: 2,575,406. Jezt: 3,385,832. Sieh *Don Tomás Comin* (publ. 1810) Werk über die Philipinen u. v. *D. Francisco Enriquez* (Publ. 11 Juli 1836 in Manila) Intendant der Philipinen bis 1836. (241-265)

### Apéndice.

#### Acontecimientos de 1840

... María Cristina sagte, que todo ese murmullo acerca de la ley de 25 ayuntamientos era producido por cuatro bullangueros ... Das Ministerium *Perez de Castro* decretirte Juli 1839 die 1837 erwählten u. in der Majorität ihm zugethanen Cortes. Die Neuwahlen gegen es. Decretirt neue Auflösung und zwar eh die Cortes hubiesen votado y hablado. Nuevas Cortes 1 September 1839 zusammen. Erste Question: der convenio 30 v. Vergara. Nach largos debates über die fueros der Nordischen Provin-

zen, decretirten die Cortes ihre Erhaltung, salva la union constitucional ... 7 October dieser Beschluß gefaßt, zugleich daß die Reg. den Cortes die modificaciones indispensables vorzulegen, um die fueros con dem interés general der Nation und Constit. auszugleichen. 18 Oktober war  
5 der Tag bestimmt f. die Diskussion der Thronrede. Minister ersuchen die Cortes dieß auszusetzen. 23 eröffnete sich die Diskussion. Starke Angriffe auf die Minister. Schon am 22<sup>n</sup> traten die ministros d. Marina u. der Gobernación aus; am 30 der Kriegsmin., Gen. Alaix; por no consentir en la disolución de las Cortes. Statt seiner Gen. Narvaez. Der, por primera  
10 entrada ||32| p[...] in seine Function, se presentò in den Cortes m. dem decreto de suspension de las sesiones bis zum 20 Nov., um «reorganizar complemento» [...] etc u. terminar aquella crisis á satisfacción der Krone u. der Cortes ... Dies beschlossen noch in derselben Sitzung u. bevor Na[...] erschienen, die Spanier zu erinnern, daß nach Art. 77 der Constit.  
15 sie keine Steuern zu zahlen, die nicht bewilligt durch die Cortes. Provincialdeputation v. Madrid richtet Representación an die Regentin das Ministerium aufzulösen. Dieses completirt 16 November; 18 Nov. erschien das Décret f. Auflösung der Cortes. Die autoridades, die assistirt hatten á las anteriores elecciones fueron de golpe destituidas. In Granada,  
20 Sevilla, Burgos, Valencia, el Campo de San Roque, der cap. gen. u. comandantes ersetzt durch notorische Reactionaire. Fast das ganze Personal der Administration geändert. Durch Décret vom 22 November gegen Art. 327 der Constitution die Neuwahl f. eine Hälfte der Provincialdeputationen suspendirt. So die Wahllisten f. die Cortes v. 1840 der constit.  
25 Behörde entzogen u. anvertraut á autoridades intrusas. Darauf circular an die jefes políticos vom 5 December erklärt das Gov. «su deber» die Wahlen zu «dirigir». Protestation der Provinzialdeputation v. Madrid. Manifest des Gen. Linaje, worin erklärt daß Espartero gegen die letzte Auflösung der Cortes ... Das Minist. brachte Cortes in seinem  
30 Sinne zus. ... reunies 18 Feb. 1840, eröffnet durch die Regentin u. Isabelle in Person. In der Thronrede angekündigt reaccionaire Gesetze gegen die Provincialdeputationen, Ayuntamientos, derechos electorales, la prensa ... 23 Feb. die Prüfung der Wahlen v. Cordoba discutirt. Lärm. Einmischen der Gallerien. Geleert. 24 Februar: Lopez v. der Minorität  
35 spricht über die Wahlen v. Oviedo; aplausos in den öffentlichen Tribünen, um den Congress zahlreiche grupos versammelt; Linienmilitär gerufen die grupos zu zerstreuen, einige Cavalleriechargen sobre ciudadanos sin defensa, einer davon muerto á lanzazos. Unterdeß größte Agitation im Innern der Cortes. Denselben Tag Madrid in Belagerungszustand erklärt  
40 durch simple bando des Capt. jen. Villalobos ... Kriegsgericht gegen die perturbadores v. 23-24 gebildet, findet sich «que habia entre ellos algu-

nos ajenies de policía». Sitzungen der Cortes 5 Tage suspendirt, wiederer-  
 öffnet 29 Febr. Lopez (29') nimmt wieder s. Rede auf über die Wahlen  
 v. Oviedo, erklärt, daß sie, wie die der Majorität nichtig, daß er austreten  
 werde, um an *solchen* u. so constituirten Cortes keinen Theil zu haben.  
 Arguelles u. Calatrava sprechen gegen den Belagerungszustand. 18 März 5  
 constituirte sich der Congress definitiv durch admisión v. 139 Deputirten,  
 etwas mehr als die strikt nothwendige Zahl u. der Belagerungszustand  
 v. Madrid wieder aufgehoben. Isturiz zu Präsident ernannt der Cortes.  
 Schon in der 1' Sitzung gaben Lopez, Caballero y Delgado ihre Demis- 10  
 sion; Beispiel v. vielen gefolgt. 21 März Project v. Antwort auf die Thron-  
 rede den Cortes vorgelegt u. dann verlas der ministro de la gobernación  
 die 2 famosos proyectos de ley f. eine neue Organisation der Provincial-  
 deputationen u. der Ayuntamientos (265-271) 12 Tage dauert die Diskus-  
 sion über die Thronrede fort. Project v. der Majorität gebilligt, ohne  
 Amendment. 6 April eröffnet die Diskussion über die Ayuntamientos. 15  
 (272) Ging im Congress durch u. im Senat u. sanctionirt v. der Krone (l. c.)  
 Den Franzosen nachgeöff. (l. e.) Während der Debatten vorgelegt die  
 Proteste v. Madrid, Sevilla, Granada, Cadiz, la Coruna, Alicante, Valen-  
 cia, Barcelona, Zaragoza etc. (274) Durch minist, circular vom 12 May an  
 die gefes políticos: die Ayuntamientos hätten nicht das Recht zu «entro- 20  
 meterse en cuestiones legislativas ventiladas en las Cortes». (l. e.)  
 11,516 ayuntamientos in Spain. (275) Mediaron dos meses, y por fin  
 quedó acordado el punto de los alcaldes, nombrándolos el rey en las capi-  
 tales de las provincias; los jefes políticos en los distritos y concejos de  
 2500 almas; y en los menores el consejero concejil, que junta mas votos, 25  
 queda hecho alcalde. Votóse den 5 Juni, u. den 9' se pasó al senado.  
 25' Juni (?) angenommen. (l. c.) 11 Juni reist Cristina u. Isabella f. die Bäder  
 v. Barcelona. (277) Nach Madrid kam Espartero m. 10 batallones el  
 13 August; al auxilio de la capital, amenazada por los tercios de Zariáte-  
 gui; mediaron amaños recónditos para que al desfilar el jeneral con su 30  
 tropa por delante del palacio, voceasen fuera el *ministerio*. Malógreseles  
 de plano el intento á los incitadores, mas no por eso desmayaron, pues  
 consiguieron al cabo que alguna oficialidad firmase una esposicion á la  
 Reina pidiendo el despido del ministerio. (279) Das Ministerium giebt  
 s. Entlassung; Espartero spielt nun zuerst eine politische Rolle; Christine 35  
 sieht ihn zuerst, cajolirt ihn etc (280)

13 Juli sanktionirte (v. Barcelona) Cristine das Gesetz wegen der  
 Ayuntamientos heimlich y se remitió á hurtadillas á Madrid. (281) (den-  
 selben Tag, wo Espartero einrückt in Barcelona.) Espartero gibt s. Ent-  
 lassung in einem Schreiben v. 16 Juli (1840) (282,3) 1 Sept. 1840 40  
 Revolution in Madrid. (285)

**[Notizen zu:]**  
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**Memorias para escribir la historia**  
**Contemporánea de los siete primeros años**  
5 **del Reino de Isabel II.**  
1 vol. Madrid. 1843. 2 vol. (Madrid 1844.)

Von demselben Burschen: «Apuntes Histórico-Criticos para escribir la revolución de España v. 1820-3.» (London. 1834.)

Palmerston habe Frankreich ursprünglich nicht bei der Quadrupel-  
10 allianz gewollt. Sein Cabinet mas de una vez opuso obstáculos á la  
cooperación francesa, ó sea á la aplicación des Art. 4. (62) |

|33| Edinburgh Review.

Vol. XXXVIII. Feb. 23-May 23

Treaty concluded at Weliki Louki between (20 July, 1812) the Emp. of Russia and the Cortes of Spain, of which the 3<sup>d</sup> article deserves [to be cited at length. "His M. the Emp. of all the Russias acknowledges 5 the *Legitimacy* of the general and extraordinary assembly of the Cortes held at Cadiz, *as well as tjhe Constit. which they have decreed and sanctioned.*" ... only 10years after, Russia ... represents the existence of this very constit. as a reason for breaking off all intercourse with Spain, and almost as a ground of war against that country. (244) *Art. 181* dieser 10 *Const.:* "the Cortes may exclude from the succession to the Crown, such individuals as have done acts for which they deserve to lose the crown." ... ground for sentence of outlawry against Spain. (245.) *Art. 3 der Const.:* "the sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; and for the same reason, the right of establishing the fundamental laws belongs 15 *Exclusively* to the Nation." (I.e.) In a supplementary despatch from Verona to M. Balgari at Madrid, Count Nesselrode attempts to vindicate his master from the charge of inconsistency: "Even supposing", says he, "that the nullity (der Const.) did not exist, his Imp. M. cannot recognise any law but *that of the welfare of Spain*; and *this is the only one which he 20 is resolved to follow*, this principle would render all treaties nugatory." (245) The Span. army, who appeared to have caught the spirit of liberty in their struggle for independence, early repented their fatal and criminal participation in the destruction of the Const., and the dispersion of the Cortes. (246) Even ... Lord Liverpool, that there never was an extensive 25 political change attended with less violence or bloodshed than the Span.

Revolution, during 1820-3. (246) Louis XVIII, in his speech at the close of the Session in June 1822, declared, that "malevolence alone has been able to find, in the measures which I have adopted against contagion, a pretext for misconstruing my intentions. Intentions so pure could not be  
5 misconstrued by any but the malevolent, who seek, on all occasions, means to set fire again to the still smoking brands of *Discord* and *War*." (247) ... so indignant a disavowal of political motives for keeping up an army on the Span, frontier. (248) In May 1820, Count Nesselrode declared, in notes which were immediately made public, that "the Span.  
10 nation now owes the example of an expiatory act to the people of the 2 hemispheres." (248) When these sovereigns assembled at Troppau, they expressly included the Span. Revolution among the objects of their condemnation. (Circular from Troppau, 8 Dec. 1820) They declared their right to interfere in every case where a gov. had been changed by vi-  
15 olence, or where new institutions were established not consistent with "the Monarchical Principle", which "recognises no institution as legitimate that does not flow spontaneously from the monarch". Naples they selected as the object of attack, because "no other can be so immediately and certainly opposed". After the conquest of Naples, and the dissolu-  
20 tion of the Congress of Laybach, a circular despatch of the Pruss. Gov., dated the 5<sup>th</sup> June 1821, stated ... the perseverance of the Allies in their claims of universal jurisdiction in all changes of gov. "They will always mark rebellion, under whatever form or name it may appear, with the stamp of their disapproval. Wherever it appears, and they can reach it,  
25 they will repress, condemn, and combat its work." Gegen die language held at Troppau u. Laybach English Circular despatch d. d. January, 1821—tardy, feeble, and ambiguous. (I.e.) a few bands of peasants were easily excited to revolt ... the French administration availed themselves of these pretexts, of which they had in a great measure con-  
30 trived the very slight foundation ... they suffered the chiefs of the Span, insurgents to assemble, with forms of public authority, on the French territory; they countenanced loans for these insurgents; they not only received them as fugitives after defeat, but allowed them to march back into Spain for the purpose of new hostility; and, in the midst of all  
35 this instigation, support, and countenance, they had the meanness and bad faith to complain of the Span, troops for having pursued their enemies twice or thrice into vallies, which, in the intermingled territory and uncertainty of a doubtful frontier, are asserted by France to be part of her dominions ... On the 25<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1822, M. de Villèle sent a very ambig-  
40 uous note to the French ambassador at Madrid, which contained the important intimation, that "the *Continental Powers* had adopted the

resolution of uniting with France, (if there ever should be occasion), in maintaining her dignity and tranquillity". (249) 25 Febr. (1823) heftige speech des elenden Chateaubriand. (250) Ch. führt als Grund der Intervention auch an "he reduced sale of French mules in Spain". (251)

## Edinb. Rev. Vol. XXXIX.

*Oct. 23-Jan. 24*

In 1821, the Allies having disclosed more plainly the nature and objects of their conspiracy, Castlereagh's trusts (our foreign minister's) in their integrity had become more implicit, and his taunts on all who suspected them, more bitter. (471) Die Confederates in dem Circular v. Troppau 10 state the "necessity under which they feel themselves of putting a check on the new calamities with which Europe is threatened" by the changes that had recently been effected in Spain, Portugal, and Naples. (471) The French Gov., throughout the whole of these transactions, performed the most false and deceitful part. Under pretence of preventing the con- 15 tagion of a fever prevalent, in Spain, from crossing the frontier, a strong cordon was drawn; i. e. a considerable army was stationed on the | 1341 boundary[, and a large army] assembled in the Southern provinces of France. Constant assurances of a pacific disposition were given to the Engl, ministers, while tha[t force was preparing to march, and bands of 20 emissaries were poured into Spain, supplied with the means of exciting discontent, and even ins[urrecti]on, against the Const. Gov., by money and intrigues. The Army of the faith was increased, and almost subsisted by such aid. ([479,] 480) At length all anxiety (auffzs. Seite) was removed by the (engl.) Prime Minister declaring, in his place in Parliament, that a 25 "strict neutrality" was to be preserved; whereupon 13 days später the French army crossed the Bidassoa. (482)

Ferdinand's VII only pleasure is in making his horse observe his paces ... He possesses a very strong memory, and is so deep a dissembler, that he often eludes the observation of those who know him most 30 intimately ... He has been always cast down through his own faults; he has himself always created the germ of those evils which have come upon him; but he has always found a foreign hand to rescue him from every misfortune ... Although public opinion does not set him down as a devote, nor even supposes him to be sincerely religious, he will always 35 continue to favour fanaticism as the best auxiliary of absolute power, which is the idol of his soul. (484)

*Quin.*

*Ed. Rev. Vol. XL. p. 207 sqq. über die piemontes. Revolution. |*

1135] **[The Economist]**

6 Januar 1855.

*Declared value of Enumerated Articles in the month ended Dec. 5.*

	1852.	1853.	1854.
5	£.	£.	£.
	6,033,030	7,628,760	5,771,772
Decrease in 1854	261,258	1,856,988	

It must, however, be remembered that *at the close of 1852* the exports began rapidly to increase in consequence of the gold discoveries, and the  
 10 declared value in the 11<sup>th</sup> month of that year exceeded the declared value of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of 1851 by 844,814 /., so that the declared value of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of 1854, though below that of 1853 and 1852, exceeds that of 1851 by 583,556 l.

*Declared value of Enumerated articles in 11 Months.*

	1852.	1853.	1854.
15			
	65,280,134	80,784,515	79,073,838

1) *Corntrade.* The year commenced with high prices for all sorts of grain, especially wheat.

*January:* fine Danzig wheat quoted 84 s. to 85 sh.; red Baltic, 78 s.-  
 20 80sh.; Danish, 77-79 s.; St. Petersburg 70-72sh., new English red, 80-84 sh., prices having an upward tendency. The hostile attitude of Russia at the close of 1853 caused considerable excitement in the trade, and prices in January advanced 5sh. p. qr over the above quotations, being



then higher than at any period since the previous harvest; and in some of the agricultural markets, the finest wheat touched upon 100 sh. p. qr, fears of an absolute scarcity being seriously entertained, grounded on the fact of a deficient harvest, the prospect of war, and the requirements of France, Belgium, and Holland, (as well as other countries), all of which were strong competitors with us in making purchases for spring shipments in the Baltic. About this time, the quotations in the Baltic and nearer shipping ports showing a good margin on the then currency in this country, induced operations to a large extent for early shipment, the above causes giving a very general impression that, situated as this country then was, wheat would almost reach fabulous prices. The navigation abroad, however, opened early, and, liberal supplies coming in.

*February:* prices gradually receded, and in

*March:* considerable reaction, good red Hamburg wheats selling, ex ship, as low as 70 sh. per qr, being a reduction from the beginning of the month of 10 sh. This decline only brief u. in

*April:* first week had fully recovered itself; but so great a reduction in value, zus. m. den considerable weekly imports into the Unit. Kingd. wirkten depressiv auf die commercial minds.

*May:* no particular variations in prices; imports kept up considerably above the consumptive demand, and importers had no alternative but to land, or sell ex ship at a loss. Dieß continued until

*June:* during which month prices gradually gave way, although farmers' supplies were reported to be almost finished, and foreign shippers spoke of exhausted stores, holders of stocks in granary hofften dennoch, from actual scarcity, bald to rule the trade, der stimulus erhielt v. springing up good demand for export to France, Belgium, and Holland. Dieß of short duration, as *imports continued up to the month of July to a greater extent, than had been calculated upon, bis*

*July:* magical effect of the splendid weather of this month upon the crops; buyers disappeared almost entirely from the markets, and prices fell rapidly towards the end of July to 60-63 sh. for fine Danzig; 56-58 s. for Hamburg and Baltic red; Russian 50 s.; English 60-63 s. per qr.

*August:* they again somewhat rallied from this depression, but as the stocks in granary at this period were computed at 60,000 qrs of wheat, no sooner had the harvest commenced in the southern districts than holders showed anxiety to realise, and under influence of favourable weather and splendid appearance of the crops, a panic seized the minds of holders, and the downward movement continued without interruption until the middle of:

40

*September:* at which period the greater portion of the crop was secured in the finest possible condition in quality, and abundant as regards yield, while prices had dropped to 47-48s. for Königsberg mixed; 54-56s. for good English red; 45-48s. for lower Elbe; and 53<sup>4</sup> for good sound Baltic red. Up to the period of harvest, stocks in this country usually furnishing ports abroad, very much reduced, probably lower than for many years past; almost the entire consumption of the country fell at once upon the new crops. This heavy pull upon our home grown supplies caused a gradual but material advance, from the low price of new wheat in September—say 50sh. for good runs of new red; such qualities are now worth 74-75s. per qr. The *decline in the summer months*, when prices were lower here than in the Baltic *verhinderte Abschliessung v. fresh contracts f. foreign wheat, m. dem Glauben in die eignen abundant harvests die markets on the other side in ähnlicher Lage—scarcely more offering than the usual consumptive demand would take off: folglich das J. 1855 begonnen m. very small stocks of foreign wheat, and with prices almost as high as in the beginning of 1854, while we are depending almost entirely on our own farmers' supplies until spring. The imports this year amount to 201,175 qrs in 1853; (20,271 weniger) and the stock on hand, 6,440 qrs, against 63,889 last year (57,489 weniger). Gesamtdeficit v. 77,720qrs. ... 2 very deficient harvests, those of 1852 u. 53 ... by the beginning of September prices had declined about 30sh. However, in some of the earliest districts, the harvest had been interrupted by rains and a good deal hurried up and nearly spoiled: in France also the old crops were so exhausted that price soon began to rise and *America failing to supply us with flour in the last quarter*, we are now nearly as dear as in the beginning of last year ... Von dem London consum v. flour (526,450 sacks, barrels etc) 343,338 barrels come from the Un. St., nearly <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> of the whole imports of foreign in the year ... the real cause of the diminished quantity of food imported in the last 6 months of 1854 was the very reduced price in England in the same time, which made importation unprofitable, and stopped all orders to make future purchases.— |*

I [36] I *Shipping.*

During the course of [the] past year vessels rose to a higher price than they had ever been since the last war, and in some instances ships, which |

Karl Marx · Exzerpte zur Geschichte Spaniens · Heft 5

**[The commercial crisis in Britain (Draft)]**

I[37-39]I The English commercial crisis [...] other hand |

[Siehe MEGA® 1/14. S. 30-36]

**ZWEITER TEIL  
EXZERPTE UND NOTIZEN  
VON  
FRIEDRICH ENGELS**

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- Szüügyi*, Die letzten Tage der ungar. Revolut. (seit 1 Juli 49) Übers. - Leipzig, Händel, 107 S. 18 Sgr.
- Die letzten Wochen Ungarns v. der Schi, bei Kecskemet bis zum Verrath v. Vilagos. Erinnerungen aus der Campagne eines deutsch. Jägers. Vorw. v. Ruge. Leipzig. Verlagsbüro, 32 S. 3 Sgr.
- Klapka*, Memoiren, April-Oct. 1849. Mit Einleitung & histor. Actenstück, Karte v. Ung. & des Kriegsschaupl. um Komorn. Leipzig. O. Wigand 424 S. 100 Sgr.
- 10 *Esquisse de la guerre de Hongrie 1848 & 49. Traduite de l'almanach milit. austr.* 144 S. Vienne, Gerold 20 Sgr./

/[2]/ Ungarn p. 2.

1850, II

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1851. I

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1851. 2.

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/[1]/ *Deutschland.* 30

1848.

<i>Berlin's Volkskampf.</i> Übersichtl. Schilderung der März Ereignisse & des Kampfs in der Nacht 18/19 März - v. L. B. Berlin, Springer 48. 51 S.		Sg.	7.
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- Braß, A. Berlins Barrikaden. Eine Gesch. der März Rev. 6 Federzeichn. Berlin, A. v. Schröter, 48. 127 S. -* 12 Sgr.
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1849, I

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- Dunder, Platz-Oberlt. die Nat. Garde, Denkschrift über die October-Revolution in Wien, 8 Liefg., Wien, 35 Schaumburg & Co. 5 Liefg. 516 S.* 3 1/2 g.
- Fenner v. Fenneberg Gesch. der Wiener October Revol. Leipzig Verlagsbureau. 288 S.* 1 g. 3 1/2 Sgr.

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- Carl, A.* (A. Streckfuß) & *Hexamer*, die Staatsumwälzungen 1847<sup>19</sup>. Berlin, Sacco, 30 Hefte, 1444 S. & 3 spät. Hefte à 3 Sgr. 90 Sgr.
- Daul, A.* Tageb. eines polit. Fluenti. (Pfalz & Baden) 5 St. Gallen Seh. & Zoll. 107 S. 77\* Sgr.

[[2]] *Deutschl*

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- Der Herr wird König sein immer & ewiglich, oder Skizz. aus der bad. Empörung.* Berlin, Brandis 1850, 56 S. 5 Sgr.
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## 1850. I

<i>Violand</i> , Ernst, die sociale Gesch. der Revol. in Oestreich. Leipzig O. Wigand, 280 S.	40	Sgr.	
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- Zurkowski, kurze Darst. des Feldz. in Baden & Pfalz  
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- [[3]] *Deutshl. pag. 3.*  
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1851. I

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[[5]] *Allg. Militaría.*

1848. I.

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<i>Jacobi</i> , hann. Obstlt. <i>das 10. Armeecorps, des deutsch.</i> Bundesheeres. Kriegsverfassung & Verwaltung seiner Conting. Hann. Hahn, 48. 456 S.	Th. 2%		15
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1849.

- Burow, über den takt. & strateg. Werth der Festung Posen.* Strasburg in Pr., Köhler. 32 S. 5 Sgr.
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1849. II

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2 1/2 g-

1850. II.

*Bugeaud, Marsch., Bemerkungen über mehrere Einzelheiten des Krieges. M. e. Plan. A. dem Franz. Freiburg, Wagner, 115 S.* " 12 Sgr. 10  
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[[6]] *Allg. Milit. p. 2.* 20

1850, 2.

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*Plan & Umgebung v. Linz & Lage der Maxim. Thürme. Passau, Pustet (s. oben Schönauer)* 8 Sgr. 30

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1851, I.

- v. *Muffling*, Feldmarschall, Aus m. Leben. 403 S. Berlin Mittler 67-V<sub>2</sub> Sgr.
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- Rothenburg*, Pr. Lt. die Schlachten v. 1848 & 49. Neue Lieferungen meist Schi. Holst., Pläne pp Berlin, b. Verfasser cplt. 87 Sgr.
- 15 Atlas zur Gesch. des Consulats & des Kaiserreichs v. Thiers. Mannheim, Bensheimer (quer Folio, ca. 20 Kart. & Pl.) 1-8. Lieferung. 9-11 Lieferung, 8 Karten, à T<sub>2</sub> Sgr. 60 Sgr.

1852. II

20

/[5]/ *Italien.*

1849. I

- Biedenfeld*, F. v. *Feldzug der Oestr. in Italien* 1848, Weimar Voigt, 235 S. Th. 1.-
- Die kriegerischen Ereignisse in Italien.* Zürich, Schult- 25 heß 348 S. 31 Sgr.  
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- 30 *Pichler*, Hptm. *aus dem wälsch-tirol. Kriege.* Wien, Keck, 52 S. 8 Sgr.

1849 II.

<i>Eberle, Ant. e. Tiroler Schützen Comp, im wälsch. Gränzkr.</i> 1848. Inspruck, Wagner, 64 S.	1%	Sgr.	
<i>Kriegsbegebenheiten bei der k. k. östr. Armee in Italien.</i> (Abdr. der offiz. Ausgabe) Wien, Rohrmann, 2 & 3 Abschn. 292 St. ( <i>Der erste Abschn. erscheint später.</i> )			5
<i>Prozeß des Gen. Ramorino.</i> A. dem Ital. Zürich, Schultheiß, 90S.		<u>1 Th.</u>	
	11	Sgr.	

1850. I.

<i>Allemandi, i volontari in Lombardia &amp; nel Tirólo Aprile</i> 1848. Berna, Dalp, 1849	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Sgr.	
<i>Beiträge zu e. Charakteristik des Kriegsschaupl. &amp; Kriegführung in Oberitalien.</i> Zürich, Orell Füssli, 152 Seit.	15	Sgr.	15
<i>Böhm, Prof., Tiroler Landesvertheidigung 1848, &amp; über den Antheil der Inspr. Univ. an derselben Inspr.</i> 49, Wagner. 46 S."	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Sgr.	

1850. II

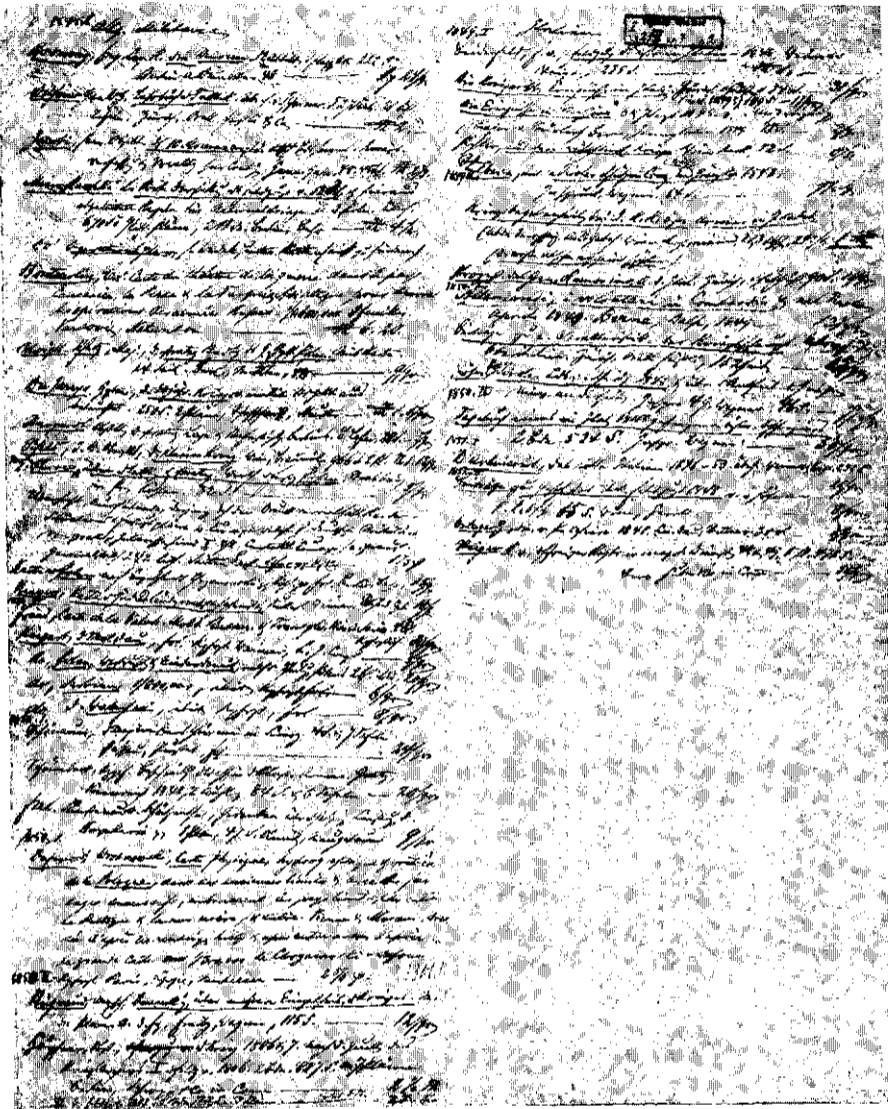
<i>Tagebuch eines in Ital. 1848 gefangenen östr. Offiziers.</i> 2 Bde. 534 S. Inspr. Wagner	50	Sgr.	20
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1851. I

<i>D'Arlincourt, Das rothe Italien 1846-50. übers.</i> Weimar, Voigt, 232 S.	25	Sgr.	
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1851. II

<i>Beiträge zur Gesch. des ital. Feldzugs 1848. v. e. höheren k. k. Off.</i> 65 S. Wien, Gerold.	8	Sgr.	25
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- Steiger*, R. v., die Schweizer Regimente in neapol. Diensten 48 & 49, 5 Pl. 472 S. Bern, Huber & Co. in Comm. 55 Sgr.
- [[7]] *Chesney*, Col. Observ. on the past & present state of fire arms & on the probable effects in war of the New Musket. London, Longman, 1852.
- Puységur*, Maréch. de, Art de la guerre par principe, &c. par règles. 10
- History of Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de *Turenne* London 1735.
- Histoire critique & militaire des campagnes de la Révolution, par le Gén. *Jomini*. Paris 1811. 15
- Clerk*, John, Essay on Naval Tactics. 1782.
- Bonaparte*, *Louis Nap.*, Essai sur le passé & l'avenir de l'artillerie. II tomes.
- Reinaud & Favé*, du feu grégeois & des origines de la poudre. Paris 1845.
- 20 *Favé*, Ild., Capit, Histoire & Tactique des trois armes & plus particul. de l'artillerie de campagne. Paris 1845.
- Meyer*, Histoire de la Technologie des armes à feu.
- Grimoard*, Histoire des conquêtes de G. Adolphe. 25
- Mémorial d'officiers d'infanterie & de cavalerie d'après les documents officiels. Strasb. 1846.
- Paixhans*, Gen., Constitution milit. de la France. P. 1849.
- Siborne*, History of the war in France & Belgium (1815) (*Joinville*) des forces navales de la France comparées à 30 celles de l'Angleterre.
- Dupin*, force militaire de la Grande Bretagne.
- Wittich*, Hptm. im pr. 17. Inf. Reg., Das Fähnlein oder die Compagnie als wahre tactische Einheit. Wesel 1849.
- 35 Instruction provisoire sur le tir, à l'usage des bataillons des chasseurs à pied. Paris, Dumaine, 1848. (Dumaine Hpt. milit. Verleger in Paris.)
- Favé*, Cap., nouveau système d'artill. de camp, de Louis N. Bonapar. Paris, Dum. 1851. |

[[9]] 1851. I

Swätnoi Ph. russ. Chrestomatie 1. Cursus 2. Aufl. 147 S. Reval, Kluge.	24	Sgr.	
Schmidt J.A.E. russ. Gramm, bei Schuberth & Co. Hamburg 300 S.	45	Sgr.	5
Cebusky, A. böhm. Gramm, (kurzgefaßte) Ahnsche Methode (!) Wien, Seidel	16	Sgr.	
Janezic, A., vollst. Taschen Wörterbuch der sloven. Spr. Klagenfurth, Sigmund (nicht cplt.) I Bd. & II Bd. I. Abth. zus.	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	Sgr.	10
Murko, theor. pr. Gramm, der slowen. Sprache in Kärnten, Krain, Steiermark & dem illyr. Küsten- lande. 2. Aufl. 216 S. Grätz 1850, Ferstl.	25	Sgr.	
Tomek, Wladiwoj, kurzgef. böhm. Sprachl. für Böh- men 86 S. Prag, Calve.	5	Sgr.	15
Wolanski, Tadeusz, Schriftdenkmale v. den Slaven vor Chr. Geburt. 1 Lfg. 3 Taf. 24 St. hoch Quart, Gnesen 1850, Lange	25	Sgr.	
Ziak, V. P., abgek. böhmische Sprachl. f. Deutsche. Brünn 1850, Winiker. 252 S.	15	Sgr.	20
Storch, Piaton, Der Bauernstand in Rußland 1850 - Leipzig, Voß,	60	Sgr.	
Grimm, Jac. über den Liebesgott. Über den Urspr. der Sprache Berlin Dümmler.	15	Sgr.	
<i>Neugebauer</i> J. F. die Südslaven & deren Länder in Bezug auf Gesch., Cultur & Verfassung. 392 S. Leipzig Costenoble & Remmelmann	75	Sgr.	25
<i>Paie &amp; Scherb</i> , Cèrnagora. (Schreititel) 253 S. Agram Suppan 2 Tit. Aufl. 51.	24	Sgr.	
Nikolitsch, etymolog. Theil der russ. Gramm, für Deutsche. 190 S. Mitau, Reyher	227 $\frac{1}{2}$	Sgr.	30
[[11]] Mai 22. Miklosich, über die Sprache der alt. russ.			
Chronist. Wien	8	Sgr.	
Stärke pp der russ. & alliirten Armeen	5	Sgr.	
Wickede, d. militar. Kräfte Deutschlands	15	Sgr.	35

## Notizen zur russischen Militärorganisation und Heeresstärke während des Krimkriegs

	j[1]]I Corps: Sievers. Lithauen & Augustowo.	
	II " Paniutin Polen.	
	III " Osten Sacken Volynien & Bessarabien.	
5	7. 8. 9. Inf. Div. xxtruppexx Brig. 14. Cos. Reg. & 3 Res. Div. v. der Res. Armee.	
	IV " Dannenberg Walachei.	
	10. Inf. Div. GL. Soimonoff 16000	} 61440
	11. " " " Pawloffl. 16000	
	12. " " " Liprandi 16000	
10	4. L. Cav. Div. " Nirod I. 6000	
	Drei Rt. Art. Brig. 160 Kan. 7440	
	V. " Lüders.	
	13 Inf. Div. (Obrutcheff II) Caucasus	
	14 " " Möller II. Ì	
15	15 " " Marini > Walachei, Bessarabien	
	5. Lt. Cav. Div. Fischbach ) Moldau, Odessa, Krym	
	Drei Art. Brig. Fuß & 1 Rt. A. Brig.	
	VI Corps-HenoßaeB-L, Moscauer	
	1 Grenadier Corps 33 of 9	
20	1 Gardecorps,	
	1 & 2 Reserve Cav. Corps	
	1 Dragoner Corps	
	Zusammen 368 Bat. 460 Schw. Reg. & 14 do. irreg. Cavali.	
	996 Kanonen - oder 486000 M.	
25	I Aufgebot der Reserve 98000 M. 192 Kan. (= 6 Divis. ?)	
	II do. " do. 115000 " 280 "	
	Total 699000 M. 1468 Kan.	
	Dann 1. Orenburger Armee 2 <sup>te</sup> Finnländische Armee 3 Sibirische Armee 4 <sup>te</sup>	
	315000 M. Reserve 5, 93, 200 beritt. 3300*. Fuß Kosaken mit 224 Kanonen	
30	(wovon 60000 M. 110 K.) für einen europ. Krieg brauchbar.	
	[[2]] Finnl. Corps - 12 000 M.	12000
	Reserve VI Corps. - 2 Bat. pro Res. = 24 Bat. à 700	16800



Friedrich Engels · Notizen und Exzerpte

4 <sup>te</sup> Bat. des Gren. Corps. = 12 Bat. Res. des do.				
24 Bat. - 36 Bat.	700	25200		
Res. des I Corps. 24 Bat.	700	16800		
12 Bat. Grenadiere in Warschau	12 000			
8 " I Corps, 2 à 3 do. linkes Weichselufer	7 000	19000	5	
Grenad. theilweise Ì in Südöstl.		100000		
Theile des I & II Corps, 10000 Cosak. / Polen				
Rest der Gren. des I & II, 1 Div. VI Cps, diverse Res. in Wolynien & Podolien		60000(?)		
Bessarabien & Krym 3 & 4 Cps à 25 000 M. 5000C			10	
2 Div. 5 Corps 8 000 " 1700C				
2 " 6" 10 000 " 2000C		112000		
Cavallerie & Kosak. 2500C				
Kaukasus: Kauk. Corps, 13. Div., Miliz, &c.	<u>30000</u>			
	392000		15	
Garde in Petersburg & Reval	<u>50000</u>			
	492000			
Garde, active 3 Bat. 36 Bat.	= 40000 M.			
4 <sup>te</sup> Bataillone 12	10000			
5 & 6 <sup>te</sup> do. à 700 24	16800	66800	20	
Grenadiere: 1,2,3 <sup>te</sup> Bat. 36	40000			
4 <sup>te</sup> do. 12	10000			
5 <sup>te</sup> & 6 <sup>te</sup> 24	<u>16800</u>	66800		
I Corps, 48 Bat.	40000			
5 & 6 à 700 24	16800	56800	25	
II do. idem	56800			
III Corps in Bess.	25000			
IV " " "	25000			
5 <sup>te</sup> & 6 <sup>te</sup> Bat. à 600 48.	28000	78800		
V Corps, 1 Div. Caucas. =	6000		^n	
2 do in Bessarabien =	14000	20000		
VI Corps 1 Div. Podol.	12000	40000		
II Div. Crym	28000			
3 Cav. Marin. Corps à 15000		45000		
Reserve 5 & 6 Bat. 5 & 6 Corps 48 à 600		28800	35	
Res. Cavallerie		10000		
Kosaken	<u>60000</u>			
	523800			
Finn. Corps 12000 Caucas. 30000 Orenburg 15000.	<u>55000</u>			
	5788001		40	

Handwritten notes in Russian, organized into sections labeled I through VI. The text discusses military organization and troop strength during the Crimean War. The notes are written in cursive and include various numbers and names. A small rectangular stamp is visible in the lower right quadrant of the page.

Notizen zur russischen Militärorganisation  
und Heeresstärke während des Krimkriegs. Seite 1

Notizen zur russischen Militärorganisation und Heeresstärke

Garde	6 Div.	96 Bat.	90000	
Gren.	6 "	96 "	90000	620000 Inf.
6 Corps	36 "	576 "	480000	
Cavalerie & Cosaken.				
Garde & Gren.	192 Bat.	180000 à 800 M.	=	153600
1 & 2 Cps. & Res.	192 " à 850 M.	163200 à 800 "	=	153600
3. 4. 5. & 6 Cps	192 à 500.	96000	=	96000
Do. Reserve	192 à 800.	153600 à 700	=	134400
Fini. Corps		12000 Fini. Corps	=	14400
10		604800 Inf.		552000
		ab 1 Div.		8000
				544000
Cavalerie		96000		80000
Cosaken		50000		46000
15 Artillerie		90000		80000
		840800		750000
	14400	33600		Inf. Cav. & Art.
1. Fini. Corps & Res.	48	1 Corps 48 Bat. in Finland &c.		48000
20 2. Garde Res.	48	Bat. à 700 in Petersb.		33600
3. Garde Corps	48	Bat. à 900 in Lith. & Polen		43200
4. Gren. Corps	48	" Polen &c.		43200
5. do	24	" 700 " do &c.		16800
6. do	24	" 700 " Ostsee		16800
25 7. I Corps	48	" 900 Polen &c.		76800
siehe weiter				
8. II Corps	32	" 900 Bessarab. Cherson		28800
	16	" 900 nach der Krym		14400
	24	" 700 Bess., Podol. &c.		16800
30	24	" 700 ?		16800
9. III C.	48	" 500 Krym		24000
	48	" 700 ?		33600
10. IV c.	48	" 500 Krym		24000
	48	" 700 ?		33600
35 11. V. c.	32	" 500 nach Krym &c.		16000
	48	" 700 ?		33600
12. VIC.	32	" 500 Krym		16000
	16	" 500 Polen		8000
	752			577600.

Friedrich Engels - Notizen und Exzerpte

Die 48 Bat. Res. I Corps vertheilt:		<u>33600</u>	
5. & 6" Polen 24 B. = 16800		544000	
7 & 8 ? 24" = 16800.1			
	[[3]]I Stellung:		
1. Fini. Corps 12 000 } Res. 6 Cps 24 B. 16800 }	in Finland 38000	38800	5
2. Garde, bis zu 6 Bat. p. R. 66800 in & bei Petersb.		66800	
3-6" Gren. Bat. 26800 M. } 5&6 Bat. des I Corps 16800 }	Reval bis Suvalki	43600 30 000	
4. Warschau. 12 Bat. Gren. 12 000, 8-10. Bat. I Corps		19000 230000	10
		in Polen	
5. Poln. Armee: 24 Bat. Gren. 24000. } 38. " I Cp. 700 26600 } 48 " II Cps 40000. } 16 " 6 " = 11200 } Res. II Cps 16800. } Div. Res. 25000. } Cosak. 20000 } Cavali. 10000 }		173600 M. 100000 in Polen 73600 in Westrußl.	15
6 Donauarmee: 4 Corps 25000. } 5. C. 2 Div. 14000. } 3 Corps 25000. }	in Bessar. 84000		
7. Krym: 2 Div. 6 Corps 28000 } Reserve dort od. auf Marsch. 17000 } C a v a l i . ' " 10000. }	Krym	54000	25
8. Circassian & Asien: Caucasus 30000 } 9 Div. 5 Corps 6000 } Kosaken 10000 }		46000	
9. Orenb. Corps, Astrachan		<u>15000</u>	30
		540800	

Notizen zur russischen Militärorganisation und Heeresstärke

		II Stellung:	
	1	Fini. Corps in Fini. & Res. 6 Corps	38800.
	2.	Garde Res. in Petersb. .5. & 6 Bat., 24 Bat.	16800.
	3.	III Garde Div. 16 Bat. in Reval	16800
5	4. 1. & 2"	" 32" nach Polen	33600
	5.	Warschau wie oben	19000.
	6.	Linkes Weichselufer wie oben	100000
	7.	Rechtes	73600.
	8.	Donauarmee	84000
10	9.	Krym&Taurien	54000
	10	Caucasus & Orenburg	<u>61000</u>
			497600
	11	Grenad. Reserve & I Corps do nach Polen	<u>43600</u>
			541200
15	Gegen Oestreich:		
	N? 4.	33600	
	Ne 5.	19000	
	N5 6.	100000	
	N? 7.	73600	
20	N? 11.	43600	
		269800. M	
	Gegen die Allirten im Schwarzen Meer.		
	N2 8."	84000	
	N? 9.	54000	
25	Cauc.	<u>46000</u>	
		<u>184000</u>	
	An der Ostsee		
	N?"1	38800	
	N? 2.	16800	
30	<u>N? 3</u>	<u>16800</u>	
		72400	

Friedrich Engels · Notizen und Exzerpte

Formation 1. Januar			
Res. 6. Corps	24 B.	16800	} 115200
I Ostsee: Fini. Corps	16 B.	14400	
Res. Garde	48 "	33600	
Gren.	24 "	16800	
I Corps	48 "	33600	
II Polen Pod. & Bess. Garde	48 B.	43200.	} 200000 10
Gren.	48 "	43200.	
" Res.	24 "	16800.	
I Corps	48 "	43200	
II "	32 "	28800	
" Res.	24 "	16800	
VI c.	16 "	8000	
III Krym: 3 & 4 Corps	96 B.	48000	} 95000 15
5. & 6 "	64 "	32000	
IV Reserve:		<u>15000</u>	

*Ha-noA-k-oH-h n-kpebiü*  
Napoléon premier |

[[4]] I. Ostsee:			
Fini. Corps.	16 Bat.	14400	} 20
Res. Garde	48 "	33600	
Gren.	24 "	16800	
VI Corps	48 "	33600	
	136		98400
Cav. Art			<u>36600</u> 25
			<u>135000</u>
II Polen			
Garde	48 Bat.	43200	} 30
Grenadiere	46 "	43200	
Res. "	24 "	16800	
I Corps	48 "	43200	
Res. " "	24 "	16800	
VI c.	16 "	8000	
			171200
			<u>63800</u>
			235000
III Bessarabien &c.			35
II Corps	32.	28800	} 45600
" " Res.	24.	16800	
			<u>15400</u>
			61000

Handwritten notes in German, likely a military report or organizational chart. The text is dense and includes various numbers, names, and military terms. A small rectangular stamp is visible in the center of the page.

Notizen zur russischen Militärorganisation und Heeresstärke während des Krimkriegs. Seite 5

Notizen zur russischen Militärorganisation und Heeresstärke

IV Krym.				
3 & 4 Corps	96.	48000	}	94400
5 & 6 "	64.	32000		
Res. Div.				
5  2 Corps	16	14400		
V Reserve.				
II c.	24.	16800	}	134400
III c.	48.	33600		
IV "	48.	33600		
10  V "	48.	33600		
I "	24.	16800		
				<u>59600</u>
				194000
Ostsee	125000	10		
Polen	220000	25	44	
15 Bessarabien	55000	6		
Krym		9		
Reserve	<u>190000</u>			559000
2/5	590000			<u>15</u>
				544000
20		4		134000
				<u>15000</u>
				159000
				26000
	135000			145000
25	235000			
	61000			
	169000			
	<u>145000</u>	150000		
	7450001			
30 I Finnl. Corps & Reserve VI C. Finnland & Cronst.				
Garde - Petersb. bis Reval				
Res. des Gren. & I Corps Reval bis				
4 <sup>te</sup> Bat! " " Suvalki		5 & 6 <sup>te</sup> Res. Bat. bleiben in Petersburg		
17 000 Grenad. in Warschau		7 & 8 <sup>te</sup> xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx		
35 8 Bat. I Corps				
linkes Weichselufer I Corps 8 Bat. & 14 xxx		In Polen die Linie xxxxxx		
100,000 M. Gren. (Theile des Corps in Polen)		bis zur Weichsel besetzen		
I & II Corps				
10 000 M. Cos.				
40 Rest d. Gren., I & II Corps in Wolyn.		Regimenter in Bess. & Pod.		



Friedrich Engels - Notizen und Exzerpte

[[5]] I. Garde: (Sievers?)	3 Div. 6 Brig. 12 Reg. 6 Gren. 2 Jäger: 36 Bat. 1 Schützenbat. 1 Sappeur do	
	3 Div. 6 Brig. 12% Reg.: 4 Kürass. 2 Ulan. 1 Drago. 2 Husar. 2% Kos. % Tatar. 1/4 Gensdar. & 1 reit. Pionier Divis., zus. 60 Esc. regul. 17 1/2 irreg. Cav. & 2 Kan.	5
	1 Div. 3 Brig. Fuß 2 Abth. reit. Art. 6 schw. \p. o 1 schwere \ reit. 1 Raket. Batt. 3 leichte. / 4 1/2 leichte / 11 1/2 leichte reit. Batt. sind Kos. Batt. zus. 116 Gesch. (56 schwere)	10
II Grenad (Muraviof?)	9 Gren \ 3 CavalJ	
	erstes 9 <sup>tes</sup> Gren., 1-3 <sup>tes</sup> Cav. Reg.	15
	1 Div. J j j j ^ I Brig. 4 Regt 32 Escad. (8 Esc. p Regt) 13 & 14 Hus. 13 & 14 Ulan. Reg.	
III 1 Corps:	1. Div. 1 Brig. 1 Inf. Reg. I Husar. Brig.: 1 & 2 Hus.Reg.) I Ulan. Do 1 & 2 Ulan. " I leichte Cav. Div.	120
<i>Paniutin</i>	2 " 1 Jäger I Art. Div.: 1 <sup>te</sup> reit. 1,2,3 Fuß Brig. 2 " 2 leichte reit. 8 leichte 4 schwere Fußbat. 42 Kanonen	
	2 Div. 1. 3 Inf. " 4 » " 2 " 3 & 4 Jäger	25
2 Corps:	3 Div.: 5 & 6 Inf. 5 & 6 Jag R. & 1 Schütz. Bat. 4 Div.: 7 & 8 Inf. 7 & 8 Jag R. 3 & 4. Hus. 3 & 4 Ulan. Reg II 1. Cav. Div.	30
	5 " : 9 & 10 " 9 & 10 " II Art. Div.: 2 reit., 4, 5, 6 Fuß Brig.	
3 Corps: Ujakoff ( <i>Osten Sacken</i> )	6 " : 11 & 12 " 11 & 12 " & 2 Schütz. Bat. 7 Div. 13 & 14 " 13 & 14 " 5 & 6 Hus. 5 & 6 Ul. Reg. III 1. Cav. D.	35
<i>Selvan</i>	8 " 15 & 16 " 15 & 16 " III Art. Div.: 3 <sup>te</sup> reit., 7, 8, 9 Fuß Brig.	
<i>Samarin</i>	9 " 17 & 18 " 17 & 18 " & 3. Schütz. Bat.	
4 Corps: Samänoff <i>Dannenberg</i>	10 Div. 19 & 20 " 19 & 20 " 7 & 8 Hus. 7 & 8 Ul. IV 1. Kav. Div.	40
<i>Pawloff</i>	11 Div. 21 & 22 " 21 & 22 " 4 Art. Div.: 4 <sup>te</sup> reit. Brig. 10, 11, 12 Fußbrig.	
<i>Liprandi</i>	12 " 23 & 24 " 23 & 24 "	
5 Corps: ( <i>Lüders</i> )	13 Div. 25 & 26 " 25 & 26 " 9 & 10 Hus. 9 & 10 Ul. V "	45
<i>Molière</i>	14 Div. 27 & 28. " 27 & 28. " 5 Art. Div.: 5 reit., 13, 14, 15 Fußbrig.	

Notizen zur russischen Militärorganisation und Heeresstärke

Marin	15 "	29 & 30 "	29 & 30 "			
6 Corps:	16 Div.	31 & 32 "	31 & 32 "	11 & 12 Hus.	11 & 12 Ul.	
				VI I. K. D.		
	17 "	33 & 34 "	33 & 34 "	6 Art. Div.:	6 reit., 16,	
5				17, 18 Fußbrig.		
	18 "	35 & 36 "	35 & 36 "			
Caucas. Armee:	19 Div.:	37 & 38 "	37 & 38 "	} 9" Drag. Regt.	10 Esc	
	20 Div.	39 & 40 "	39 & 40 "		1 Div. Art.	4 schw.
	21 Div.	41 & 42 "	41 & 42 "		6 leichte	Batt.
10		Elite Brig.:	10 Gren. & 4 Carab. Reg.	g Gebirgs	24 Mort.	
		7 Schütz. Bat.	2 Bat. Train & Sapp. zu 12, 8 & 10 Gesch.		108 Einhör.	
					48.6 U Kan.	
15 I Res. Cav. Corps:	1 Cürassier Divis:	1, 2, 3, 4 Cur. Reg.	} à 6 Esc.	1 reit. Art. Divis.	1 schwere	
	1 Ulan. Div.:	15, 16, 17, 18 Ul. Reg.				3 leichte Batt.
	II "	2 Cur. Div. 5. 6. 7. 8. Cur.	} à 6 Esc.	II reit. Art. Div.	1 schw.	
20 III oder Dragoner Corps:	2 Ul. Div. 19. 10. 21. 22. Ulan. "	1 & 2 Drag. Div. 1-8 Drag. Reg.				3 leichte Batt.
		2 reit. Pionier Esc.	3 leichte	1 schwere Batt.	reit. Art.	
		(III reit. Art. Div.)				

**Notizen zur „Ordre de bataille  
des 1. Treffens der russischen Armee“**

**Ordre de bataille  
des 1. Treffens der russischen Armee.  
"14 Mai.**

An der Aluta:	12	Infanterie Div. G. L. Liprandi & 2 Reserve Reg.	5
Turnu und Simniza:	10.	I. D. G. L. Soimonoff	
Giurgevo:	9	" " Samarin & 2 Brig (!) der 4 Cav. Div.	
Oltenitza:	11	" " Pawloff	
Kalarasch:	14	" " Möller & einige Brig, des 6 Inf. Corps	10
	15	" " Marin (minus die Brigade Engel- hardt)	
Obere Dobrudja:	7	" " Uschakoff	
Trajanswall:		1 Res. Brig, des 5. Lüders Corps	15
Zwischen Rassowa und Silistria:	V	Armeecorps (Gros (?)) & die Brig. Engelhardt (15 Div))	
Gegen Basardschik:	3	Cav Div - GL. Grotenhjelm.	

**Exzerpte aus Werken von  
Johann Nobili und Arthur Görgey**

Hill **Ungarischer Feldzug.**

I. Ungarischer Rückzug hinter die Theiß.  
Oestreicher. (Windischgrätz)

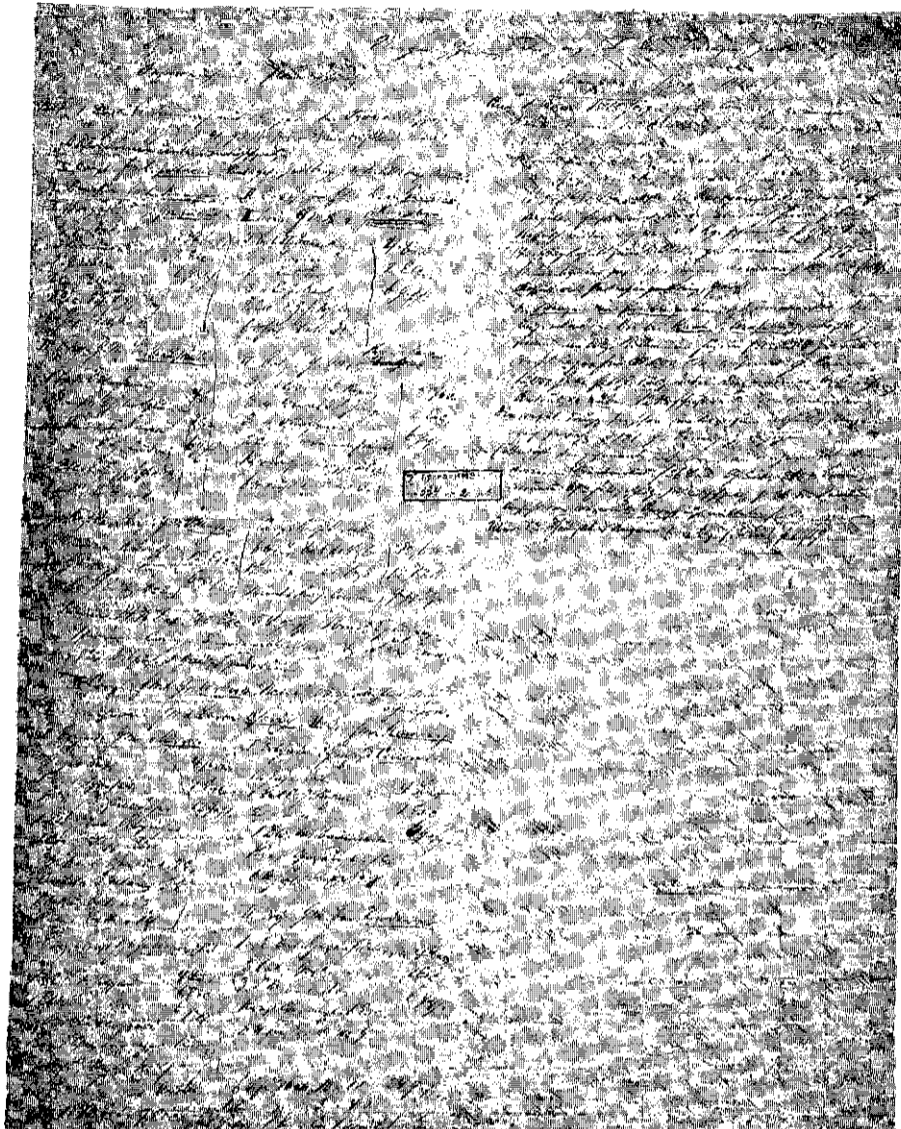
1848. 1 November? Simunich mit 1 Brigade bei Tyrnau? schlägt Guy on  
5 (Görgey. p. 91-93.) soll heißen an der Gränze bei Jablonitz-Nádas  
Die östr. Armia unter Windischgrätz:

I Corps: FML. *Jellacic*. Stabschef: Zeisberg G.M. Artiii. Maj. Mosmüller.

<p>I Division FML. <i>Kempen</i>.</p> <p>1 Brigade. Oberst <i>Grammont</i>:</p> <p>10 5 Jäger Bat.</p> <p>3 Liccaner "</p> <p>2 Gradiscaner " 3¼ Bat</p> <p>2 Comp. 2 Wallachen " 2 Esc.</p> <p>2 Esc. E.H. Franz Jos. Drag. 6 Gesch.</p> <p>15 6 U Fuß Batt. N?2.</p>	<p>II Division FM.L. v. <i>Hartlieb</i>.</p> <p>II Brig. GM. v. <i>Karger</i>.</p> <p>3 Bat. II Banat Reg.</p> <p>2 " Brooder</p> <p>2 " Latour   4 Bat.</p> <p>3 " E.H. Karl   2 Esc.</p> <p>2 Esc. E.H. Franz   6 Gesch.</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Jos. Drag.</p> <p>6 U Fuß Batt. N? 5</p>
<p>II Brig. G.M. Bar. <i>Neustädter</i>.</p> <p>1 Bat. Ottochaner</p> <p>20 3 Comp. " Ogulin Szluiner</p> <p>3 Bat. I Banat 4 Bat.</p> <p>3 " E.H. Ludwig 2 Esc.</p> <p>2 Esc. E.H. Franz Jos. Drag. 6 Gesch.</p> <p>6 U Fußbatt. N5 1.</p>	<p>II Brig G.M. v. <i>Kriegern</i>.</p> <p>3 Bat. Warasd. Kreuz.</p> <p>3 " Warasd. S. Georg.</p> <p>3 " Ottochaner 3% B.</p> <p>2 Comp. Wiener Freiwill. 2 Esc.</p> <p>König v. Sachs. Kürass. 6 Gesch.</p> <p>2 Esc.</p> <p>6 U Fußbatt. N? 3.</p>

Friedrich Engels · Exzerpte und Notizen

Corps Res. Cav. Brig.: GM <i>Ottinger</i> .		Corps Res. Artiii.		
Wallmoden Kürass.	} 12 Esc. 6 Gesch.	6 t <sup>e</sup> Fuß Batt. N2 4 & 6	12, 6 U	
Heinrich Hardegg do.		1 2 ' " 1 & 2	12,12 U	
6 t <sup>e</sup> Cav. Batt. N? 1		Munit. Res. Colonnen	Geschütze	
Summe 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>6</sub> Bat. 20 Esc. 54 Gesch. 1 Brücken Equipage.			5	
I Pionier Comp. Bänderialhusaren & Seressaner zur Dispos, des Hauptquartiers. [7, 8]				
II Corps: FML. Gr. <i>Wrbna</i> . Stabschef Oberst v. Pott, Art. Maj. Scherpon.				
I Division. FML Baron <i>Csorich</i> .		11 Div. FML. <i>Ramberg</i>		
1 Brigade GM. von <i>Wyß</i>		I Brigade: GM. Fürst <i>Collredo</i>	10	
2 Jäger Bat.	} 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Bat. 4 Esk. 12 Gesch.	12 Jäger Bat.		
1 Bat. Schönhals.		1 Bat. E.H. Stefan.	4 Bat.	
1 " Fürstenwärther		2 η ι ι	1 Esc.	
1 Landwehr Bat. Reisinger		1 LW. Bat. Baumgarten	6 Gesch.	
1 Comp. Sappeure		Kreß Chevauxl. 1 Esc.		
E.H. Karl Chevauxl. 2 E.		6 t <sup>e</sup> Fußbatt. N? 8		
Civallart Ulanen 2 E.				
6 t <sup>e</sup> Kav. Bat. N? 2.				
Raket. Batt. " 14			20	
II Brig. Oberst Fürst <i>Jablonowski</i> .				
1 & 2 Bat. Nassau		II Brig.: GM. Baron <i>Lederer</i> .		
1 LW. Bat. do.	4 Bat.	1 & 2 Bat. Khevenhüller		
2 Bat. Ceccopieri	} 1 Esc. 6 Gesch.	3 Bat. Heß,	4 Bat.	
Kreß Chevaux légers 1 Esc			3. LW. Bat. do.	1 Esc.
6 t <sup>e</sup> Fußbatt. N? 7			Kreß Chevauxl. 1 Esc.	6 Gesch.
		6 t <sup>e</sup> Fußbatt. N? 9	25	
Corps Reserve Artillerie 6 U Fußbatt. 10 & 11 Ì 24 Gesch.				
		12 " " 3 " 4 /		
Zusammen 15 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>6</sub> Bat. 7 Esc. 54 Gesch. 1 Pionier Comp., 1 Brückentrain.				
[9,10]/			30	



Aus Johann Nobili: Der Winter-Feldzug 1848-1849 in Ungarn und  
Arthur Görgey: Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn. Seite 1

Aus Werken von Johann Nobili und Arthur Görgey

[2] Ungarischer Feldzug I. A. - Rückzug der Ungarn bis  
Pesth.  
Oesterreicher (W.)

III oder Reserve Corps: FML. *Duca Serbelloni*.

I Inf. Reserve Divis.: FML. *E. Schwarzenberg*.

I Brig. GM. *Schütte*.

Gr. Bat. *Rattay*  
" " *Chmielnitzky* 4 Bat.  
10 " " *Ferrari* 6 Gesch.  
6 Jäger Bat.  
6 U Fuß Batt N° 12.

II. Brig. GM. *Liebler*  
Gr. Bat. *Strastil* t  
15 " " *Martini*  
" " *Richter* ) 4 Bat.  
1 Bat. *Ceccopieri* 6 Gesch.  
6 U Fuß Batt. N° 13 .

20 Divis. Res. Art.: Maj. *Schmidt*.

Raket. Batt. N° 23. \ . . . . .  
12 té Fuß " 5 /

II Cav. Res. Div. GM. Fürst Franz  
Liechtenstein

I Brig. G. M. *Parrot*  
*Civallart Ulanen* 4 Esk. >  
*Kreß Chevauxi.* 5 " I 13 Esk.  
*Ficquelmont Drag.* 4 " [ 6 Gesch.  
6 U Kav. Batt N° 3

II Brig. G.M. *Bellegarde*:  
*Karl Auersperg Kür.* 6 \ ^  
*Max* " " 6. 6 Gesch.  
6 U Kav. Batt. N° 4  
Div. Res. Art. (Maj. *Schmidt*)  
*Raketen Batt. N- 13* 6 Gesch.  
1 Muniz. Kolonne

*Corps Res. Artiii. : 12 U Fuß Batt. 6, 7 & 8,*  
1 Comp. *Sappeure* 6 U Kav. " 5, 6, 7, 8,  
25 4 " *Pioniere Raket. Batt.* 15, 16, 17, 18 } 66 Kan.  
8 *Brückentrains* *Muniz. Haupt Reserve Col.*  
*Die Bat. im Durchschnitt 1000 M. exact. Die Escadr. 120 M.*  
Dazu noch *Simunichs, Frischeisens & Schlicks Corps.* [11, 12]

Recapitulation: I Hauptarmee:

I. Corps <i>Jellachich:</i>			
1. Divis. FML. <i>Kempen</i>			
1 Brig. Oberst <i>Grammont.</i>	3600 M.	6 Kan.	
2 " GM. <i>Neustädter</i>	4240	6 "	5
2. Divis. FML. <i>Hartlieb.</i>			
1 Brig. G.M. <i>Karger</i>	4240 M.	6 Kan.	
2 " GM. <i>Kriegern.</i>	3600 "	6 "	
Res. Cav. Brig. GM. <i>Ottinger</i>	1440 "	6 "	
Res. Artillerie Maj. <i>Mosmüller</i>	"	24 Gesch.	10
II Corps <i>Wrbna.</i>			
1 Div. FML. <i>Csorich</i>			
1 Brig. GM. <i>Wyß</i>	4340 M.	12 Gesch.	
2 " Oberst F. <i>Jablonowsky.</i>	4120 "	6 "	
2 Divis. FML. <i>Ramberg.</i>			
1 Brig. <i>Colloredo</i> GM.	4120 "	6 "	15
2 " GM. <i>Lederer</i>	3450 "	6 "	
Res. Artiii. Maj. <i>Scherpon</i>	"	24 "	
III Reserve Corps: <i>Serbelloni.</i>			
1. Inf. Div.: FML. E. <i>Schwarzenberg.</i>			
1 Brig. GM. <i>Schütte.</i>	4000 M.	6 "	20
2 " " <i>Liebler.</i>	4000 "	6 "	
3 Div. Res. Art.		12 "	
2 Cav Divis. G. M. Franz <i>Liechtenstein</i>			
1 Brig. <i>Parrot</i> GM.	1560 "	6	25
2 " GM. <i>Bellegarde</i>	1440 "	6	
Div. Res. Art.	"	6	
3. Corps Res. Art.	"	66	

(W. G. total 43113 M) 44150 M./



131 Ungar. Feldzug. I. Rückzug bis Pesth.  
Oestreicher (W.)

Nebencorps der östr. Armee:

- I *Simunich* FML: 5 Bat. 2 Esc. 12 Gesch. 4500 M. 12 Gesch. bei  
5 *Göding* an der March Anfang November.  
II O. L. *Frischeisen*: 4 Comp.  $\frac{1}{2}$  Esk.  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rak. Batt. 860 M. 3 Gesch. bei  
*Feschen* gegen die *Jablunka*.  
III. Div. FML. *Schlick*. 8 Bat. 6 Esk.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Batt. 7800 M. 27 Gesch. (*sollte*  
anfangs 14000 M. zählen): Concentrirte sich bei *Dukla* in Galizien.  
10 IV Div. FZM. *Nugent*, 6450 M. Inf. & Cav. ? Kan. in der *Murinsel*  
gegen *Perczal*.  
V. Div. FML. *Puchner*, 7 à 8000 M. in *Siebenbürgen*.  
VI Die neuen Aushebungen in der Milit. Gränze & im Banat die Ser-  
ben, den Listen nach zahlreich, in Wirklichkeit schwach.  
15 VII *Hammerstein* FML. in Galizien, ein paar Besatzungen & einige mo-  
bile Colonnen für die *Bukowina* & die *Siebenbürgische* Gränze.  
44000 Zusammen Oestreicher  
4500 I  
800 also ca. 63550 M.  
20 7800  
6450 ) gegen Ungarn.  
Zustand der östr. Truppen im November, Dezember p. 15, 16., im De-  
zember p. 20. Absicht slovakische Freicorps zu errichten p. 17.

*Erste Aufstellung der Oestreicher, Ende November?*

- 25 An der *Leitha*: 1 Theil des I Corps *Jellacic*  
Res. Cav. Div. *Liechtenstein*.  
An der *March*: v. 2 Corps Brig. *Wyß* bei *Angern*.  
" *Jablonovsky* " *Schloßhof* & *Marcheck*  
Bei *Wiener Neustadt*: Oberst *Horvath* mit 8 Co. 2 Esk.  
30 Bei *Jablonitz* & *Szenitz* Mähren: *Simunich*. (der *Bergrücken* sei ver-  
schanzt gewesen s. *Görgei* p. 112.) *seit 10 November*.  
  
*Operationsplan von Windischgrätz* p. 21, 22. Statt *Preßburg* auf dem rech-  
ten Ufer zu *umgehen* will er es in der Front angreifen. Vgl. *G.* p. 111.

*Jellacic* sollte immer den rechten Flügel bilden, daher s. viele Cavali.  
*Wrbna* dagegen mit den Res. Corps vereint bleiben.

*Simunich* Leopoldstadt nehmen & dann über die Bergstädte Schlick entgegen.

*Schlick* über Kaschau *Simunich* entgegen & Ober Ungarn unterwerfen, via Losoncz auf Waitzen oder via Miskolcz auf Pesth, sonst nach Discretion zu handeln. 5

Disposition für den Angriff 14-16 Dezember p. 28.

*Simunich* Preßburg umgehen, auf Tyrnau, den Feind zu Detachirungen verleiten, am 14. 3 Brig (II Corps *Wrbna*) erst am 17. angreifen. 10  
10 Brig. (Rest der Armee) auf dem rechten Ufer am 16 angreifen. Also was G. befürchtete.

Am 15 standen: (II Corps) Brig. Wyß & Jablonowsky bei Angern

Br. Colloredo in Marcheck.

Br. Lederer bei Deutsch Altenburg (rechtes Ufer) 15

Br. Neustädter bei Haimburg & Wolfsthal

Br. Ottinger & Br. Grammont bei Prellenkirchen.

Br. Kriegern & Karger bei Bruck.

Inf. Res. Div. & Art. Res. bei Prellenkirchen

In der Attacke am 16 doch die richtige Idee, Umgehung Preßburgs auf 20 dem rechten Ufer mit ganzer Kraft, s. Görgei.

Am 16. Dezember Angriff der Oestreicher auf das Rechte Ufer./

### /[1]/ Ungarn (Görgei Bd. I.)

Am 1. November 1848 Görgei zum Obercommandochef ernannt. Die ungarische Armee bei Kittsee & Preßburg, - Guyon gegen *Simunich* 25 gegen Tyrnau.

Görgeis Plan (Rückzug bis Raab, der Regierung etc. bis hinter die Theiß ) von Kossuth verworfen! Die Grenze bleibt besetzt. (G. p. 96. 97.) Er setzte die Reorganisation der Armee auf regulären Fuß durch wurde aber auch hierin sobald Kossuth wieder weg war, v. der Regierung gehemmt, p. 98. Sein Vorschlag Kossuth zum Dictator zu ernennen, p. 99 - Beschreibung des Zustandes der ungarischen Armee: p. 100-108. (118[,119]) Kossuth will Partheigängerkrieg, Görgei nicht.

Die Schanzen von Preßburg unnütz & unvollendet, dabei unzumänglich. Die bei Raab & Wieselburg hatten Görgei's Zustimmung im 35 Allgemeinen. Kollmann führte sie aus & zwar als verschanzte Lager für 80000 M. während Görgei kaum 12000 hatte p 119. 120, dabei die ein-

Aus Werken von Johann Nobili und Arthur Görgey

ander bestreichenden Redouten etc. *über* 12 Meter Schußweite von einander.

Die regulären Truppen seien schon im November zum Abfall v. Ungarn reif gewesen, p 121. Görgei's Bemühungen dagegen.

5 (Übersicht der gesammten v. Oestreich an Ungarn überkommenen Streitmittel (26 Bat. 59 Esk. 2402 Kanonen worunter 672 Feldgeschütze.) Windischgrätz p. 4. 5. Seine Ansicht von revolutionären Bewaffnungsmitteln p. 6.

Über die Thätigkeit der Ungarn November Dezember s. Windisch-  
10 grätz p. 18/19. |

### [3] Ungarischer Feldzug I. Rückzug bis Pesth. Ungarn (G.)

Bei Nadas stand eine ungarische Brigade in schlechtem Zustand vgl. G. p. 26. Nach Aussagen eines Überläufers (Orosz) bei Wg. p. 27 hatte  
15 Görgei im Anfang Dezember 8 Brig.: 1 bei Nadas, 2 bei Preßburg, 5 bei Kittsee & bis zum Neusiedler See, ferner starke Truppentheile bei Komorn, Raab & Ofen. Die Brig, à 3 à 4000 M. also ca. 28000 M. & 70 à 80 Geschütze.

Am 14 oder 15 Dez. greift Simunich die Brigade Guyon bei Nadas an;  
20 Görgei begeht den Fehler Verstärkungen an Guyon zu schicken.

16. Dez. Die Truppen auf dem rechten Ufer hatten Befehl nur schwachen Widerstand zu leisten (?). S. 122) aber die Brig, in Parendorf verwickelte sich in ein ernsthaftes Gefecht. |

## Donau-Armee

### I. Donau-Armee.

I Corps. <i>Jelacic.</i>			
I Division: FML. <i>Kempen</i> später <i>Schulzig.</i>			
1 Brig. Oberst <i>Grammont.</i>	3600 M.	6 Kan.	
2. " GM. <i>Neustädter</i> (xxxxxxxxxxxxx)	4240 "	6 "	5
II Division: FML. <i>Hartlieb.</i>			
1 Brig. G.M. <i>Karger.</i> —————	4240 "	6 "	
2 " " <i>Kriegern.</i> —————	3600 "	6 "	
III Res. Cav. Brig. GM. <i>Ottinger.</i>	1440 "	6 "	
Res. Artillerie.—————	24 "		10
II Corps: <i>Wrbna.</i>			
I Division FML. <i>Csorich.</i>			
1 Brig. GM. <i>Wyß.</i> —————	4340 "	12 "	
2 " Do. Fürst <i>Jablonowsky</i> —————	4120 "	6 "	
II Division FML. <i>Ramberg</i> Ramberg blieb vor Comorn Comm.			
1 Brig. G. M. <i>Colloredo.</i> —————	4120 "	6 "	
2————— <i>Lederer.</i> (blieb vor Komorn)	3450 "	6 "	
III. Reserve Art.—————	24 "		15
III Res. Corps.: <i>Serbelloni.</i>			
I Div. (Inf.) FML. E. <i>Schwarzenberg</i>			
1. Brig. GM. <i>Schütte</i> —————	4000 "	6 "	
2.————— <i>Liebler</i> —————	4000 "	6 "	
3. Res. Art. der Division—————	12 "		
II Cav. Divis. GM. Franz <i>Liechtenstein.</i>			
1 Brig. GM. <i>Parrot.</i> —————	1560 "	6 "	
2.————— <i>Bellegarde.</i> —————	1440 "	6 "	
3. Res. Art. der Divis.—————	6 "		
III Corps Res. Artiii.—————	66 "		
	44150 M.	216 K.	30

Donau-Armee

B. Nebencorps.

I Simunichs Divis.

1. Brig. <i>Lobkowitz</i>	$3\frac{1}{3}$ B. 4 Esk.	= 4000 M.	12 K.
2. " <i>Sossay</i>	$2\frac{1}{2}$ —————	= 3600 "	6 "
5 Π. <i>Frischeisen</i> später <i>Götz</i>	Brig. 3 Bat. $\frac{1}{2}$ Esk.	= 3000 "	12 "

**Exzerpte und Notizen  
zur Belagerung der Festung Silistria  
in den Jahren 1828, 1829 und 1854**

Itili **Silistria**

11. Mai. Erstes bedeutendes Bombardement gegen Silistria (Bresche in der Wasserfront).
12. " Wiederholtes Bombardement, heftig (uncapped shells) gegen die Tschengel Bastion v. der Wasserseite. Keine approche & Batterie auf der Insel Schiblak. 5  
Nacht 11/12 eine 4K. Batt. auf der Insel Salhané errichtet, neben Schiblak. Auch die Insel Hopper besetzt, für Munitions-Reserve
13. 10
- 14.
- 15.
16. Russische Brücke v. der Insel unterhalb Silistria *geschlagen* 20000 M. *übergesetzt* bald darauf auch 20000 M. von der Dobrudscha angerückt. Starkes Feuer v. den Inseln. Nasmyth nimmt die russ. Stärke zus. auf 35000 M. an. 15
17. Starkes Feuer der Belagerer. Tirailleurgefecht vor Arab Tabia. Tschengel Bastion beschädigt & mit Schanzkörben reparirt.
18. Türkische Batt. 4 Kan. auf *Salhané*. Inf. gegen Tschengel. Wenig Feuer. Stärker in der Nacht. 20
19. Erste Rekognoszirung gegen Arab-Tabiassi & Eröffnung der I Parallele östlich v. Silistria ca. 3500 Schritt v. der Festung. Neue Batterie auf Salhané gegen Jelanli. Das Vorterrain v. den Türken *nicht rasirt*.
20. Russ. Rekognoszirung gegen die Außenwerke, zurückgewiesen. II Parallele. 25

Zur Belagerung der Festung Silistria

21. [Mai] Erneuert, Sturm beabsichtigt. 2 tscherkessische Offiziere gingen über.
22. Feuer gegen Arab Tatua v. 7. Batt., sehr gut schossen die Russen.
- 5 23. 15 neue Kan. gegen Arab Tabia & 3 neue Batt. gegen Jelanli auf Salhané.
24. Nichts neues.
25. Nichts. Nachmittag Angriff auf Arab Tabia. Inf. hinter Cavali, montirt - Nachts Sturm auf Arab Tabia & Jelanli, bis 10 Uhr abends. Die Russen schossen Raketen auf die Forts.
- 10 26. Russen machten Contre- & Circumvallations-Redouten.
27. Nacht 26/27 3 Stürme (3 Kolonnen), abgeschlagen, Russen verloren 1500 Tote & 3000 Verwundete. Nasmyth weiß nichts davon. Die Russen halten bloß das Vorterrain chaud.
- 15 28/29. hat Nasmyth den ersten bedeutenden Sturm (drei wirkliche Angriffe in  $\frac{1}{2}$  Stunde.) Die Türken hatten 4 Bat. & 500 Arnauten in Arab Tabia unter Hussein Pascha.
28. Neuer Sturm Russen 186 Tote 349 Verwundete G. L. Silvan f Oberst Fostanda & Oberst Graf Orloff junior schwer verwundet.
- 20 29. Nacht 29/30, türk. Ausfall. Russen Verlust 15-1800 Tote.
- 30.
31. Regelmäßige Belagerung eröffnet.
1. Eine Redoute soll von den Russen genommen sein. |
- [[2]] Silistria 2000 Schritt Diameter 10 front à 550 Schritt 2 a 4 Fuß
- 25 hohes Glacis 8-10 Fuß Grabentiefe, 8 Fuß hohe 20 Fuß dicke inwendig mit Pallisaden revetirte Brustwehr, Bastione à 10 Geschütze, 4 pro Face 1 pro Flanke. Graben trocken. 1500 Schritt vor der Festung senkt sich das bulgarische Plateau - noch 800 Schritt von Müftiereh Tabia ist die ganze Festung einzusehen - 4 Kontreforts & ein Brückenkopf nöthig.
- 30 1828 21 Juli Beginn der Cernirung 10 August 36 Donaukanonenboote. Erst im September kam Belagerungs-Geschütz, aber keine Munition, 10 November die Einschließung aufgehoben, die Artillerie theils zurückgelassen, theils auf dem Rückzug verloren an die Türken.
- 1829 17 Mai. Cernirung. Schilder Minen - 17 Mai Vertreibung der
- 35 Türken aus den noch vorgefundenen russ. Redouten v. 1828. Eine Batterie 31 Geschütze 1000 Schritt vor der Festung; 18 Mai. Demontirbatterie 600 Schritt. 26 Mai eröffnet. Gleichzeitig II Parallele 4 Juni & 12 Juni Vorgehen aus der 3 Parallele. 17 Juni Couronnement des Glacis. 20 Juni erste Minensprengung, 21 2'' 25 3'' 27 4'' 28 5'', 29 6''. Fünf Batterien fertig für die Crête des Glacis. 30 Schritt v. Hauptwall. - 29. 10 Uhr Übergabe. 35 jours de tranchée ouverte, 9 Tage nach praktischer Bresche.
- 40

30000 Schuß gegen Silistria. 336 Ctr. Pulver versprengt. Nur 16-20 Geschütze. Demontierung. Daß die Minen allein offenbar nicht geholfen beweist der türkische **Abschnitt.** |



**Notizen zur Belagerung der Festung Silistria  
im Juni 1854**

- Mai 20 Juni 1. Die Belagerungsgeschütze herübergebracht gegen Arab Tabia. Türkische Minen unter dem Glacis v. Arab Tabia & den Contreescarpen. Starkes Feuer der Russen.
21. 2. 1 Uhr Mittags Mussa Pascha durch eine Bombe der Russen getödet. 6 Uhr Abends die russische Mine gegen Arab Tabia gesprungen, explodirte rückwärts gegen die Sturmkolonnen in den Trancheen. 5000 Bashi Buzouks unter Mehemet Pascha kamen herein (bestätigt v. den Russen, ohne Details, sie kamen v. Rasgard).
22. 3.
- 23 4. Belagerungsarbeiten gegen Arab Tabia fortgesetzt.
24. 5.
- 25 6.
- 26 7. Nacht 7/8 die Arbeiten xxxxxxxx fertig & Mine unter der Bastion v. Arab Tabia
27. 8.
- 28 9 Rekognoszirung der Russen m. 31 Bat. 37 Schw. 8 Sotnj. 12 Batt. unter Commando v. Paskewitsch in Person, wobei xxxxxxxx 4 à 600 türkische Reiter v. Chrulew geschlagen, xxxx ließ er 60 Pferde nach Handgemenge den Türken.
29. 10. xx  
gesprungen u. eine Bresche gemacht; die Coupure, obwohl nicht vollkommen, war aber schon gemacht & der Ausfall der Türken folgte unauffällig  
(Die russischen Batt. waren 100 yards vor der Verschanzung, ebenso das Glacis noch nicht vollständig gekrönt).
- 11.
12. Die Festung vollständig offen & europäische Offiziere v. Schumla kamen herein. Arab Tabia groß aber schwach.

## Balaclava

### [[ill Balaclava.

#### Englischer Bericht

Die Redouten erst No eins nach heftigem Kampf, No 2, 3 & 4 rasch genommen. In Reserve standen das 93 Reg. & bei Balaklava die Marine, sowie ca. 100 Racoons. Die Türken formirt f. die Flügel des 93., aber 5 hinter den Hügeln & bei der II Schanzenlinie.

Die I & IV Div. - Cambridge & Cathcart - bestellt, sowie die Cav. Divis., die sich links, neben Cathcart aufstellte.

Die französ. I. Div. & 2 Reg. Chasseurs d'Afrique weiter links. Charge der russ. Cav. durch die Hochländer 93 & die schwere Cav. Brig, zurück- 10 geschlagen. Brillante Attake. (**Südlich** von der Chaussee)

Rückzug der Russen von einem Theil des eroberten Terrains. Versuch die Kanonen aus den Redouten (v. denen keine wird verlassen) wegzuführen. Befehl die leichte Cav. vorzuschicken unterstützt v. Cathcart. Die Russen hatten wieder Schlachtlinie formirt mit Batterien in Front & Flanke. 15 Cardigans Charge, toll & geschlagen.

Die Chasseurs d'Afrique greifen in der linken Flanke an & degagiren die Engländer, die in der *rechten* Flanke von russ. Lanciers gefaßt sind.

Die schwere Cav. demonstirt um die rechte Flanke ohne zur Charge zu kommen & durch das Feuer der einen v. den Russen besetzten 20 Redoute gehemmt. Kanonade, endlich Ruhe. Die Engländer ziehen sich auf die zweite Schanzenlinie zurück & geben die erste auf, obwohl die demolirte Redoute einen Moment v. den Türken unter Cathcart wieder besetzt war.

I. Column: *Uffingmann's Lager* - *fund. Berg. Lager*  
1. 10.11  
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Balaclava

Russischer Bericht.

Die centrale Colonne, Levutski Avant Garde (4<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> Bat. 16 Kan.) Semjakin Gros (9 Bat. 10 Kan.) v. Tschorguna auf Kadykoi.

Die linke Colonne, Gribbe (3V<sub>2</sub> Bat. 10 Kan. 8 Schw. 1 Sota.) auf Kamara (später unterstützt v. den combinirten Ulanen) besetzt das Dorf, & bildet den linken Flügel der Linie.

Der rechte Flügel gebildet: 1) durch die Husarenbrig. Ryiov, die sich rechts v. Centrum aufstellt, (14 Schw. 9 Sotnj. 20 Kanon.)

2) & eigentlich durch Schabokritzki, T<sub>1</sub> Bat. 2 Schw. 2 Sotnja 14 Kan. Die erste Redoute durch Azof gestürmt, halb 7 Morgens. No. 2 & 3 Redouten v. Feind verlassen & sofort besetzt von Ukraine. No. 4 Redoute v. Odessa genommen, aber rasirt & verlassen. Stellung zwischen den 3 behaupteten Redouten.

Charge der russ. Cavai, nach dem engl. Lager, durch Flankenfeuer der Hochländer 93. & die Attake der schweren Brigade geworfen. Schabokritzki auf die Höhen rechts geschickt.

Charge der leichten engl. Brigade, v. den Flankenangriffen, der Lanciers geworfen & heftiges Kartätschen- & Schützenfeuer.

Degagirt durch die **Chasseurs** d'Afrique, die selbst vor den Bajonetten von 2 Bat. Vladimir zurückgehn.

Stellung am Abend:

1 Bat. Dniepr in Kamara.

4 Bat. Azov, 1 Bat. Dnepr zur Vertheidigung der Redoute 1.

2 Bat. Ukraine in Redoute 2 & 3.

8 Bat. in erster Linie, Cav., Art. & Schabokritzki in der festen Stellung.

Um 4 Uhr Nachmittag hörte die Kanonade auf. |

||2|| I Colonne v. Tschorguna auf Kadykoi: General Maj. Levutzki

4 B. Ukraine 16 Kan. Regt. Jäger Ukraine.

IV VI

30 4 " Odessa 4 schwere 6 leichte Kanonen gegen Reduten No. 1 & 2 bei Kadykoi

2/<sub>3</sub> " Schützen

8 <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> Bat. 16 Kan.

4 B. Asov.

Hinter ihm: G. M. Semjakin

1 " Dniepr 10 "

Regt. Asov

35 13 % Bat. 26 K.

4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Bat. Reg. Dniepr Inf.

IV VI

4 schwere 6 leichte Kan.

außerdem Regt. Odessa

Jäger & 6 Kanonen VI leichte Batt.

Friedrich Engels · Exzerpte und Notizen

II Colonne: v. Tschorguna auf Kamara.

3 Bat. Dniepr	G. M. Gribbe, schickt die Kosaken	
Vz " Fußkos.	ins Baidarthal.	
<u>10 Kan. 8 Schw. 1 Sotn.</u>	1. 2. 3 Bat. Dniepr Inf.	
3 1/3 B. 10 Kan. 8 Schw. 1 Sotn.	IV VI	5
	4 schwere & 6 leichte Kan.	
	1 Schwadr. Combinirte Ulanen	
	1 Sotnja 53 Regt. Donski Kos.	
	Später das 6 Combinirte Ulanen Regt.	
	von Baidar kommandirt. Auch Fuß-	10
	kosaken (Tschornomorski) & ein Theil	
	des & Schütz. Bat.	

III Rechter Flügel. Cavali.: G.	Ryioff.	
145 Schwadr. 20 Kan. 9 Sotnj.	6. Hus. Brigade. 11 & 12 Hus. Reg.	
	1. Uralsche Kos. Regt.	15
	drei Sotnj. 53 Donskoy Kosaken	
	12. leichte reit. Batt.	
	3 <sup>te</sup> schwere Kos. Batt.	

IV Äußerst rechte Flügel: G. M.	Schabokrizki:	
hier war der Angriff der	Drei Bat. Vladimir "j 2 Comp.	20
Chasseurs d'Afrique.	4 Bat. Suzdal	
	6. Schütz.	
	<b>J</b> Bat. Inf.	
7 1/3 Bat. 14 Kan. 2 Schw. 2 Sotnj	10 schwere Kan. (I) 4 leichte (II)	
	2 Schwadr. G. H. von Weimar	
	Husaren.	25
	2 Sotnj. No. 60 Popoffsche Kosaken	

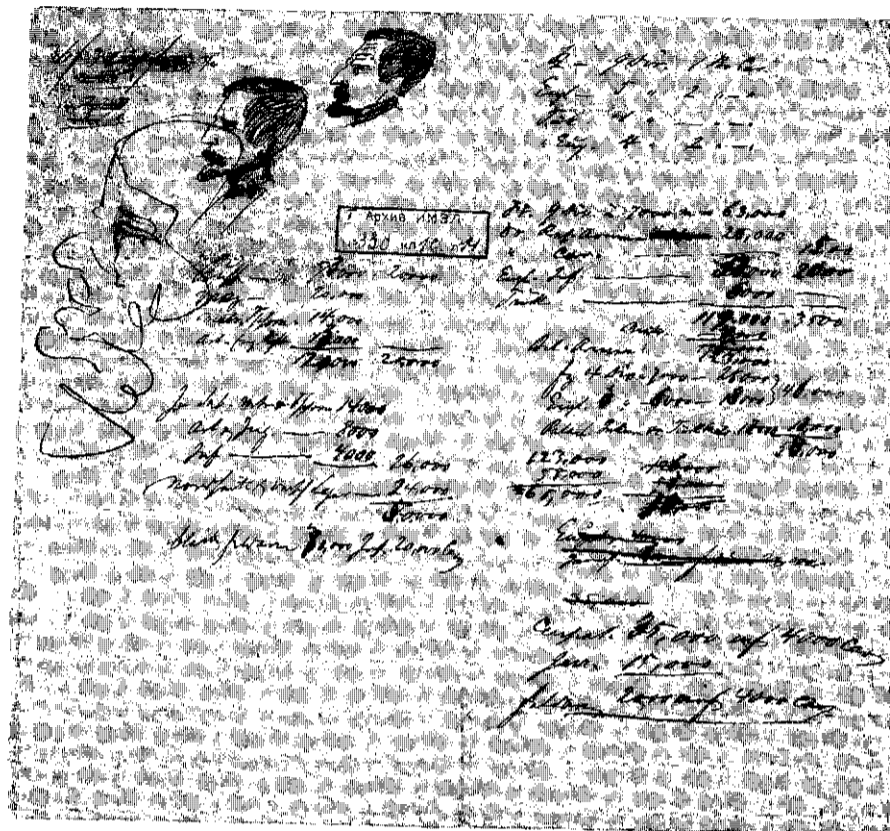
Totaleinsatz:			
24 1/2 Bat.	70 Kan.	24 Schw.	13 Sotnj.
<u>600</u>	5-22	80	
14700 Inf.	900	1920	800 Kos.
900 Art.			
2 600 Kav.			
<u>1 000 Kos.</u>		24 >1/2 B.	
19200		400	
		9800 Inf.	35

Balaclava

Engländer: I Divis.	8 Bat.	=	3000 M.	
IV Div.	8 "	=	3000 "	
Cav. Div.	10 Reg.	=	20 Schwadr.	= 1200 M.
Türken: ca. 8 Bat.	8 Bat.	=	4000 "	
5 Franzosen v. der I Div,	6 Bat.	=	<u>3000 "</u>	<u>12 "</u> = <u>800 "</u>
			13000	2000
& engl. Marines.				

**Notizen zur Stärke der russischen, britischen,  
französischen und türkischen Truppen  
auf der Krim**

Russen	73000	20000			
Matrosen Reg.	20000				
Matrosen Tschornomorskij	14000				
Art. franz. Küste	13000				
	120000	20000			5
In Sebastopol Matrosen v. Tschornomorskij		14000			
Art. & ing.		8000			
Inf.		<u>4000</u>	26000		
Nordseite und verschanzte Lager			<u>24000</u>		
			50000		10
bleibt Feldarmee 70000 Infanterie 20000 Cavalerie					
Franz.	9 Div.	1 Br. Cav.			
Engl.	5 "	2 "	"		
Türk.	1 "				
	Eupatoria	4 "	2 "	"	15
Franz.	9 Div.	à 7000 M.	=	63000	
Do.	Res. Armee			20000	
	Cav.			1500	
Engl. Inf.				30000	2000
Türk.				6000	
				119000	3500
	Matr.	<u>4000</u>			
				123000	
Belagerung? Armee					
Franz.	4 Div.	à 7000		28 000	} 46000
Engl.	3"	6000		18 000	
	Balaclava	Inkerman etc.	Türk. Matr.	12 000	
				<u>12000</u>	
				58000	



Notizen zur Stärke der russischen, britischen, französischen und türkischen Truppen auf der Krim



Notizen zur Stärke der Truppen auf der Krim

123000  
58000  
65000

Eupatoria 35000 infantry 4000 Cavalry  
5 Garrison 15000  
Feldarmee 20000 infantry 4000 Cavalry