## THE SPANISH REPUBLIC.

The Perils and Cares of the New Commonwealth.

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· Social Problems and Anxieties in Estremadura and Catalonia.

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The Republic or a Revolution More Terrible than the Revolution in France.

The young republic still lives; but will it live? That is now the question asked by its most sanguine friends. I confess there is not a cheerful outlook, and yet what better could be? It is something to overturn a system that is as old as the Romans, and which has been sustained by a people as loyal, as resolute and as difficult to excite as the people of Spain.

THE SITUATION IN MADRID. In Madrid the situation is this: We live from hour to hour. In the morning we marvel how we passed the day preceding, and speculate on what night may bring. The North is full of care and strife. The railway to France is the main artery of land communication with Europe. From Madrid to the frontier is a distance of perhaps 350 miles. To reach this frontier it is necessary to go through the Basque country. Scarcely a day passes but we are told that the railway has been cut, that stations have been burned and, the mails captured. The other day a conductor and a brakesman were taken from the train and shot. The passengers and a guard of thirty soldiers entered a house and defended themselves until reinforcements came. For four days last week we had no mail. This week we had one mail coming on time, but only one. I sent a despatch to one of your correspondents in Barcelona on Sunday evening. He received it Wednesday morning-two days later than mail time. To reach London we have to telegraph to Lisbon and thence by cable to New York. This is the way you receive your special despatches. Madrid, the capital of Spain, is the mest isolated city in Spain. The line to Lisbon is as uncertain as the others. The line to Barcelona is permitted to run by paying the Carlists a few hundred dollars a day, and, with this payment, it does not always receive permission. Now come stories of Carlist bands in Andalusia, the southern province, and the destruction of a bridge on the way to Cadiz. Carlism in the South is a new and suspicious feature-something unusual in Spain. Then we have bad news from Estramadura. Estremadura is a province adjoining Portugal, containing Bada-Wellington captured by storma province famous in the Roman times and under the Moors for its grain-now a pastoral country, with large flocks of merino sheep, owned by landlords who live in Madrid and Paris The peasants are simple, indolent, kindly, courteous, and yet the race that gave us Pizarro and Cortez. They have looked upon the rents they pay to absent landlords as an evil. They feel that in some time or way they should have an ownership of the land which they till, and upon which they and their ancestors have lived since the time of the Alonzos. Now that the Republic has come, they understand it to mean that they will pay no more of these heavy rents. So we have "demonstrations" at Badajoz and elsewhere, which excite all well-bred people in Madrid and make infinite clamor among the monarchists. "Have you not heard," said a diplomatist the other evening, "of this fearful news? Why, at Badajos they have begun a division of property." thought," was the reply, "it was the restoration o

EMIGRATION OF THE NOBILITY. While these evil tokens come from the North and the South there is a sense of unrest in Madrid. The nobility have nearly all emigrated. When they have not they have sent away their wives an daughters and portable pessessions. By the kind offices of a friend I had an appointment to visit the palace of a celebrated nobleman. When I called the person in charge said he was sorry he could show none of the treasures of His Lordship's house I was welcome to enter, but there were none of the pictures, nor the gems, nor the statuary. All had been quietly sent to Portugal. The ladies of the household were in France. "You see," he said, "we are in a time of revolution, and these scoundrels may at any time destroy the palaces. Somehow, as you know, Sener, they have that habit, and so we have taken precautions. So it is at the palace of Duke A, and B, and C," and so on-naming the principal dukes in Madrid. "Serrano is nere, but he sent his family to Bayonne in an ostentatious manner. The Duchess of Prim remains, busy with the

property."

education of ner children. Poor amadeus is the only Spanish grandee who has run away.'

THE WANT OF PATRIOTISM. The prolonged absence of Figueras in Catalonia excites comment. You have heard all about his ourney there and his movements from your Barceona correspondents; but general news from Catalonia does not comfort us. This is, perhaps, the most important province in Spain—the New Eng-land of the Republic. The Cataians are rich and industrious, have a productive country and are mainly merchants. They are the only Spaniards who travel much in Spain. But while the Catalans have always been rich and enterprising they have also been republican. That spirit of radicalism which we saw in Marseilles and Lyons during the French revolution-which made the nanchester school in England and gave a party to "Bright and Cobden;" which we saw more conspicuously in our own New England in anti-slavery imes-has long existed in Catalonia. Prim came from this country, and likewise Figueras, and the ission of the President in the North is to pacify the extreme republican tendencies of the people, who are impatient because their Utopia comes so slowly. The enemies of the new Commonwealth rejoice over the embarrassments encountered by the President, just as they rejoiced over the deteat of Mr. Gladstone. It is amusing enough, but you will be surprised to hear, that when Mr. Gladstone was defeated in the Irish University bill the monarchists were in glee. "Now," they said, "see what evil a republic. Lord Gladstone has been turned out of power by an indignant English people because he could not send an army to suppress the Republic, and now Sir. Insraeli will send one." will strike an observer in this spirit is the want of patriotism, and especially among a people who have been conspicuous for patriotic self-devotion. Here comes a consideration which s a painful feature in the present condition of Spain. There is really no patriotism in the upper classes. The tendency of a monarchy and an aristocracy based upon pride and corruption and foolish, feudal privileges has been to degrade those very classes in Spain which we would suppose to be the defenders of Castilian honor. THE OPERATIONS OF THE CARLISTS AND ALFONSISTS.

Let me explain this more clearly. I have given you an idea of the exact situation in Madrid-the severing of all communications, the destruction of severing of all communications, the destruction of commerce and the paralysis of trade. These are now the crowning evils in Spain. Well, they are the work altogether of the upper classes. Don Carlos represents the extreme section of the monschists, and believes in divine right. Don Carlos himself is skulking beyond the frontier, in some French disguise, but his followers are in arms in the Biscay country and in Catalonia. Protected by the mountains, with France as a refuge and a base of supplies, and appealing to the informatic tastes of the peasantry of that odd, attractive, sunny region, the followers of Don Carlos prey upon the commerce, the industry and trade of Spain, to restore a prince who was never in Spain in his life; whose ancestor, Ferdinand, abandoned his crown ignominously, and whose first act as king would be to restore the extreme powers of the Church. Here in Madrid there is a Carlist committee, composed of Spainish noblemen, who print newspapers, farnish money and sustain an active propaganda. This they do in open day, and the Republic, carrying to the extreme its views of liberty, makes no objection. While the friends of Don Carlos are in arms against the peace and prosperity of Spain the friends of the Prince Don Alfonso are actively conspiring. I saw a Spanish friend the other day who had come from Paris. He was an Alfonsist. He had seen Queen Isabella. "How is Her Majesty "I ventured to ask." "Oh, my friend, she is very unhappy. The ingratitude of the people cuts her to the heart. She has given up the throne for her son and they will not call him back. Montpensier is behaving ill. He wants to be Regent and no one will trust him. Se he will not pay out any meney, and he had a let from France the other day from the Orleans property. And the generals, the had a let from France the other day from the Orleans property. And the generals, the had a let from France the other day from the Orleans property. And the generals, the would have resented any suspicion of his honor, who was actually lament now the crowning evils in Spain. Well, they are

since then the lavorite plan of attack has seen interpellate the government—to ask extraordina questions—whether it is true the socialists ha arisen; whether there is any loundation for trumor that there is to be a division of propert whether the government has taken, or means take, steps to discountenance the spread of the rumors. In a time like this and in a country rumors. In a time like this and in a country as sensitive as Spain the effect of these questions and insinuations is to soy discontent. The other day Castelar suddenly turned upon his tormentors in a brief two minutes? speech, which thrilled Madrid. "In view," said Castelar, "of the spectacle which this Chamber presents, in view of the gravity of the situation and the necessity there exists for the government to preserve all its powers—not for itself, but on account of the great dangers to which are exposed liberty, right, the nation and the Republic—the government cannot resist making a protest. No Chamber ever did what this body is doing, namely, create a government in order to spit upon it—to blacken it, to buffet it and bring its authority into contempt." (Here there was a burst of cheering and cries of there was a burst of cheering and cries of the Republic!") "If you do not like this Live the Republic!") "If you do not like this government; it to does not inspire you with confidence; it you believe that its lies on to fire guarantees, necessary to insure order, turn it out! but do not take away all authority and respect, and then ask for energy. Gentlemen, this Government has proved that it desires to re-establish authority in all the branches of the Commonwealth; to secure a disciplined army; a disembarrassed treasury; to carry out the promises which its members gave when they were in the opposition and seeking for power. Above all, what we need in circumstances so grave and solemn is that you will have faith in our caution, our prudence and patriotism." (Here there was renewed cheering and cries of "Let us dissolve immediately.") "No one," said the supremely cloquent man, "has warred upon demagogy as I have done. But I must say since I came into the government I have seen the demagogy of the lower classes, with scarcely an exception, entirely submissive, and I have seen constantly the insurrection of the demagogy of the upper classes. I have seen the chamagogy of the upper classes. I have seen the chamagogy of the upper classes consists of some—lailude to no one, neither do I exclude any enewhole and the submission of the demagogy of the upper classes. I have seen the chamagogy of the upper classes consists of some—lailude to no one, neither do I exclude any enewhole and the submission of the demagogy of the upper classes consists of some—table of a second of the continuous continuous to see the demagogy of the upper classes consists of some—table of the continuous co

contid have been, stiffed at any time had france paid the least respect to nutral obligations. But with France as a base of supplies for war and a refuge in case of defeat; with Carlist committees raising money in Paris and London, this contest is continued, and its effect is to virtually sever Spain from the Continent. The induces of England, so far asit can be understood, is against the Republic in what is called the lederal Britain would be compelled to defend the integrity of Portugal. This was followed by the movement of the English fleet to Lisbon. New, as nothing is in less danger from Spain, for this generation, at least, than the independence of Portugal, the measure has sorely wounded the Spanish liberais. They remember the avidity with which the English recognized Napoleon after the coup-of-feat. They had not been supplied to the Spanish in this, that the French aprung from a usurpation under mutiny against the authority of the Empire, while the Spanish came by the gentle and natural operations of law. They see, furthermore, that while the French Republic only came into life anid massacre and civil war and palaces in fames, not a stock has been freed in anger by a single partisan of stock has been freed in anger by a single partisan of a stock has been freed in anger by a single partisan of a stock has been freed in anger by a single partisan of a stock has been freed in anger by a single partisan of a stock has been freed in anger by a single partisan of a stock has been freed in anger by a single partisan of a stock has been freed in anger by a single partisan of the partisan distance of the stock of the stock of the partisan distance of the stock of the pursuing his irony in a mauner almost pitiless, prays furthermore "that heaven may so guide the deliberations of the Constituent Assem-bly, soon to meet, that France will gain a regular bly, soon to meet, that France will gain a regular and permanent government, winning the confidence of Europe and the admiration of the weld by its respect for the rights of all."

Not overlooking the aid given the Carlists by France, Señor Castelar says he "netes with exceeding pleasure the assurances of Count Rémusat upon that subject, and trusts that events will show he has not hoped in vain." Whether it be altogether wise for the new Republic to bandy phrases with France, or to yield to a temptation quite irresistible to a rhetorician as brilliant as Castelar, I will not say. But I mark the tone of the French note as an indication of apathy felt towards the Republic by a republican President like Thiers, and the tone of the reply of Señor Castelar as an evidence of the extreme sensitiveness of the new government to the tone of European public, opinion.

## DISSOLUTION OF THE CORTES.

MADRID, March 24, 1873,

of its creation. Slavery has been abolished in Porto Rico and the Cortes has dissolved. Spain is now called upon to pronounce upon the work that has been done, and to say, in electing a constituent Congress, whether she desires a federal or a unitarian republic, or whether she wishes new men to control her destinies. THE EFFORT TO DEFEAT EMANCIPATION.

At two o'clock this morning the Cortes which proclaimed the Republic passed into history. For a long time its members had been discussing the bill to abolish slavery in Porto Rico. The efforts made to defeat the bill were described to you in a recent letter, in which I dwelt upon the power and progress of the Pro-Slavery League. enemies of the Republic fomented opposition to the bill for two reasons. If slavery were abolished in Porto Rico it meant the downfall of slavery in Cuba and would injure their class. If it were not abolished, then there would be an angry feeling among the republicans, who would feel that their leaders, while in opposition, had made pledges they dared not or could not redeem when in power. As Zorrilla when in power was in favor of emancipation, and there were radicals enough to pass the bill if it came to a vote, the only policy left to the reactionists was to prevent a vote. By the rules of the Cortes no measure can be passed into a law unless a majority of the members elected-one-half plus one-attend and vote. It was, therefore, resolved to defeat emancipation and kindred measures by absenting themselves from the Cortes, and preventing that majority that was necessary to a quorum. Many members resigned. Others quietly slipped home. Day after day the

benches showed a simmer attendance. Many friends of emancipation gave it up as hopeless. The Cortes would crumble away into a helpiess minority, and, instead of dissolving in a peaceful, legal, decorous manner, it would become a mass of ruins, leaving the government it had made to get on as best it could. THE GOVERNMENT TAKES THE OFFENSIVE. But the government made a rally. It was neces-

sary to do two things; emancipation must be prolaimed, and the Cortes must dissolve legally. Castelar, who had been watching the debate, hoping for the best and waiting for the opportune moment, at length, the day before yesterday, made a great address. In this—a synopsis or report of which I hope to send you, for such value as it may have two or three weeks after the result comes to you by telegraph-the orator summed up the whole question, and showed that Spain was committed to emancipation as a condition precedent to any peace. There could be no reform in the Antilies, no hope of the preservation of the Spanish power in the West Indies, unless emancipation began the reforms which Spain owed to her rich and patient and long-suffering colonies. The address was moderate, concillatory, making every allowance for the prejudices and interests of the slaveholders, and showing that the passage of this bill, or a measure embodying its essential features, was necessary to the honor and safety of the country. is not often that a speech makes an impression deep and grave enough to affect a Legislatire, but after the words of Castelar it was clear that there would be a fight on the slavery question; that the majority who had made the Cabinet should support it at least in their just and wise measures of reform. The government resolved upon a decisive plan. Figueras had returned from the provinces, representing the uneasy feeling of all classes over the prolonged state of inaction in the Assembly, and saying that, un-

less it came to an end, he would not be in any way responsible for the peace of the nation.

THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME It was resolved, therefore, to go into the Cortes nd announce that the government would resign its powers unless three things were done-to

Porto Rico.

II. The appointment of a permanent commission to counsel the government until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, whose duty will be to

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III. Permanent session of the Cortes until a vote
of dissolution was reached. THE EMANCIPATION BILL.

bill. The speech of Castelar had convinced the conservatives of the fact that unless that bill was passed now there would be no assurance that the new Assembly would not pass another one, giving indemnity to the slaves instead of the masters. As the Cortes stood the conservatives held the balance of power. On one side were the republicans in power; on the other, the radicals seeking power, and vainly believing that Spain would submit to their rule. On all questions the conservatives had acted with the radicals. But when the announcement was made by the government that a course had been resolved upon they held a con-sultation. "What do we care," said they, "for one party more than another? Why should we aid the radicals, who are republicans at heart, to overthrow the republicans who are frank and honest? Why displace Figueras and Castelar and Margall, who are among the first men in Spain, whatever they think, for a lot of indifferent, heady politicians ?" And so thinking they resolved to support the government and carry through its

THE LAST STRUGGLE OF THE REACTIONISTS. The Cortes assembled-the last day of its lifeand all seemed quiet enough. We were to have another dull, droning day, and a dozen, perhaps succeeding. The seats were empty and there was no crowd outside. The day was raw, and an unusually keen, cold wind came down from the Guadarrama snow tops, which may have had its part in keeping people at home. The conference between the conservatives and the government had taken place, and it was resolved to amend the bill for emancipation in one or two unessential particulars. Suddenly the President announced, in a guiet way, his programme. The radicals gave way, as they have always given way when met with a resolute resistance. The question then arose on the manner in which the Commission member by ballot the radicals would be apt to control the Commission, and thus have during the interim. The republicans proposed that each member should vote for four names, and the names having the largest number to be elected. This was the minority principle something like what you have in Illinois. If it were adopted there would be a positive minority of republicans on the commission, and men, too, they have always been, practically a majority. Upon the voting of this measure there was a scene. By the constitution no member of the Assembly can hold an office. But as is so often the case with Spanish laws, it was a dead Since the republicans came into power they have, naturally enough, been appointing their friends to in the Assembly have been waiting for the dissolution to take their offices. The President of the law, directed the Secretary not to call the names of several Deputies who had been named to office. The vote was so close that if these names were not called the republicans would lose their proposition. This exercise of the power of sement led to a scene. The President insisted that he was right, and read the law. The republicans called upon the Secretary to read the names of the radicals who held office during the monarchy and remained in the Assembly. For a few minutes it seemed as if the Cortes would break into a mob; but the sense of the Assembly was against the President, and the proposition was

Beaten again, beaten finally, the storm passed and there came sudden and sweet sunshine. These strange Spanish people pass from one extreme to another so suddenly-from joy to tears, from anger to sobbing affection—that you can hardly understand the phenomena that followed. The govern ment moved a permanent session: it was carried. navy, and so on: they were all passed. Then came the emancipation measure for Porto Rico. For days this had been debated. Speeches for it and against it had been made. It was discussed with a vehemence that agitated the Republic. Its friends despaired of passing it under any circumstances. And yet when it was called for a vote the whele Cortes arose and said "Yea," and there were shouts and cheers and shaking of hands. The session had passed into the night. No special incident transpired, only a full Assembly, crowded galeries, the journalists eating supper in their box, and a sense of satisfaction, good will, kindliness, free breathing, as of men who had at last passed the rocks and the eddies and were now in a smooth, open sea. And so it continued until after midnight, until two o'clock in the morning, when the business ended, the vote of adjournment was carried. Members cried, "Live Spain!" and "Live the Republic!" and the Cortes which Amadeus summoned, as the last hope of his crown, passed

into history.

THE MOST PRACEFUL DAY OF THE REPUBLIC. It was two in the morning when the Cortes dissolved. But in this strange capital, where you make evening calls at midnight, two in the morning is a busy, merry hour. The cases were crowded with men waiting for news, which the night, with its rawness, forbade them to do in the streets. The Sabbath came, and Madrid showed, in its brightness and activity, that a happy day had come. "This is the most satisfactory day the Republic has known," said a friend; "the only day of perfect rest." The Cortes was dissolved without a contest, although the stubbornness of the maority had time and again brought the capital to the verge of a combat. Slavery was abolished in Porto Rico, and Spain was now to pass upon the Republic and the form of the new constitution. THE EFFECT OF THE EMANCIPATION BILL.

As for emancipation, the effect of the bill is this slavery ceases absolutely in Porto Rico from this day. The masters receive an indemnity that will probably average \$200 a head in American money. To pay this indemnity the sum of seven millions will have to be provided, the loan to be raised upon the resources of Porto Rico. It is hoped this loan will be taken in the United States. The negroes are compelled to make contracts with some of the planters or with the government for three years' service. This will prevent vagabondage. They may make the contracts with their masters or with whomever they please. At the end of three years this obligation ceases, as it the end of three years this obligation ceases, as it is hoped they will then know enough of freedom to enjoy its biessings. In the meantime exact and wise laws for education will be put into operation. What has been done for Forto Rico will be done for Cuba as soon as the condition of the island will allow the election of representatives to the Cortes. In the absence of such representation it was felt the Cortes could not legislate; and although the republicans were anxious to pass a law for Cuba they were compelled to admit the force of this argument. The first act of the new Cortes will undoubtedly be the passage of a similar measure for Guba.

THE CONSTITUENT CORTES.

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THE CONSTITUENT CORTES.

The Constituent Cortes, or the body which will make the constitution for the new Republic, will be elected in May, and will assemble in June. In the meantime this Cabinet remains in power, subject to a committee which has power to advise with the Cabinet, and if at an necessary can the Cortes together. In other words, the committee will have as much power as the committee that watched over M. Thiers during the recess of the Assembly. It may advise and counsel, but will have no legislative or initiative responsibility. Now that the Cortes has dissoived the Cabinet can carry out many reforms to which no legislative body would have readily consented. Executive power in Spain can do a great deal by decrees; and the friends of liberty and reform expect a great deal from the resolution and vigor of the men in power.

So the young Republic passes into smoother seas. The dangers end, but the difficulties begin. The reforms necessary to the salvation of Spain will nover be admitted without a struggle. History shows it is so much easier to tolerate a difficulty.

or an abuse than to destroy it. "After me the deluge," as the French king said, and ruling men are as content to have an easy time, and let the deluge have its will when it comes. With all my wishes and hopes for the Republic—shared as I know they must be by all reasonable people in America and England—I cannot overlook or underrate the difficulties that he before the new Cabinet. And the question arises. Are these the men who can command a State, and build it to rise up from its misfortune and shame and be strong and free? They are worthy, honorable and gifted men. No one, how much he dislikes the Republic, denies the ability of Figueras, the probity of Margall, the genius of Castelar. Are they men to win in this work? Or do they belong to the race of men like Vergniaud, Roland and Bailly, who were swept away in the high floods of the French Revolution? Can Spain revive without some Cromwell, or Napoleon, or Bismarck to take command and halldy a republic by a nolicy of

out service with the control of the common wealth survive the cruel, pitting the new Common wealth survive the cruel, pitting policy of isolation—to which referred in another policy of isolation—to which referred in another policy of isolation—to which survive the cruel, pitting policy of isolation—to which referred in another policy of isolation. The work of the Republic of Spain?

Recurring again to this question, let me say also that there are wise men in the republican party who are not unbappy because of this European isolation. They contend that nothing will benefit spain more clearly in the end than a period of isolation. Dumas says that "Airica begins at the Pyrenees." This yearning for activity in the diplomatic affairs of Europe is censured as an unleast the provide of the provide

teast, when the officers of this army did not teach the troops an example of muthay and treason. To begin, every officer is a politician. When a new party comes into power the generals are all retired on half pay and party officers placed in command. When an officer is retired his duty is to conspire. Thus we find Espartere conspiring until he became Prime Minister. Then we had O'Donnell conspiring against Espartere and Narvaez conspiring against O'Donnell, who in turn overthrew Narvaez, only to be overthrown by Genzales Bravo, who was expelled by Prim and Serrano, each of them generals of the army and noblemen of Spain. Not long ago there was an insurrection in the South and at the head of it was General Contreras. Instead of shooting Contreras for treason he was sent to the North as Captain General of a prevince. Can you imagine, for instance, every officer in the Atlantic States in the American regular army throwing up his command because General Haucock, a democrat, was assigned to that department? Can you fancy what the response of General Grant would be—how swiftly these pretesting officers would be cashiered? Well, we had a parallel case in Spain. A general was placed in command of an expedition against the Carlists. He was politically unpopular, and at command of an expedition a

SPAIN AND SPANISH CUBA.

Therefore, no phrase has been more carnestly shouted by the republicans themselves than this—
"Spain and Spanish Cuba." When the Republic was born Martos shouted it to an approving Cortes. who answered back, "Live the Spanish Cuba."
And the republicans have shown unusual energy
in making war upon Cuba. They have dailied with
the Carlists, but have sent extra ships and troops
to Havana. This will surprise you, but if you knew
the truculent and flery feeling here you would see
that to resist it would be mere than the Republic is
worth. Nor do I think any of the Carlists desire to
resist it, for they are Spaniards and breathe the
living thought of Spain.

AMERICAN DIFLOMATISTS IN SPAIN.
Again our diplomacy in Spain has contributed

resist it, for they are Spaniards and breathe the living thought of Spain.

American Diplomatists in Spain.

Again our diplomacy in Spain has contributed largely to this feeling. In no country have we been so badly served; and it is a country where we needed our best service. An ordinary diplomatist could do well in Paris or London, for there he would meet beauthy conditions of society and politics, and nations strong and willing to do all that good neighbors could require. But, going back to the beginning of this generation, when we had the sentimental Washington Irving, who was as competent to represent a Power like America at a Court like that of Spain as he would have been to command an army. We had until the close of our civil war a succession of preposterous or incompetent or misplaced representatives. Mr. Soulé was a fair type of what I might call the swashbuckler in diplomacy. He represented there, irrational, aspiring South. He wanted Cuba, and when he was not putting upon the Ministry the coarse, hard pressure of a Frenchman representing the slave power in America, he was fighting duels with the French Ambassador and the Duke of Alva. So until the war we had Ministers who carried into Spanish society the traditions and hopes of the slaveholders, trifling with Spain, endeavoring to profit by its weakness, and longing to gain national distinction at home by securing in someway—petit larceny, none better offering—possession of Cuba. When the war came we had General Schurz, who was not long enough in Spain to know the way from the Palace to the Escurial, and hurried home to the war. General Schurz was a foreigner, which was a disadvantage; and after him came another foreigner, who was put away here by Lincoln because he had some influence in Illinois and it was easential to the peace of the republican party to have him as far from Illinois as possible. Then came a superannated member of a young party, whose usefulness at home was over, and, having onca been an abolitionist candidate for the Presidency, wa

was destroyed in this cruel way, and americal many no more influence here than Paraguay or Buenos Ayres.

GENERAL GRANT'S DIPLOMACY IN SPAIN.

All this 'time question after question had been growing up between the two countries. It became the custom to postpone everything concerning the United States, and our Ministers were too busy with their own scandals to put any pressure upon the Cabinets. So Spain fell into a tranqui, indifferent state of mind about America, until, with the accession of Grant, a new era began. It so happened that General Grant himself was personally interested in Spanish questions. He had served in Mexico and knew the customs of the country. The Minister he selected had held a delicate and important mission to the spanish Republics of the Pacific. He knew the Spanish Republics of the Pacific. He knew the Spanish tongue and had seen much of the Spanish people. Educated in the democratic party of New York in its strongest days, of an aggressive temper, imbued with the principles of Jefferson and skilled in diplomacy, as the secretary to Mr. Buchanan when Minister to London, his coming here changed affairs. Whether from ambition, or a craving activity of a mind that would not be at rest, or the influence of that cleaving, incisive, aggressive spirit men learned in Tammany Hail twenty-five years ago, or whether it was that he felt behind him the personal, impelling influence of Grant, with his earnest views on Cuba and Spain, this correspondent cannot say. But a new era had come. The Spaniards became restive. When a serious question arose it was not remanded to eternity. The Minister called for an answer, and when he called a second or third time he waited until he received it. Prime Ministers were told that when he called a second or third time he until he received it. Prime Ministers were to General Grant was in earnest and would denial. This activity, this persistence, this ing a question from morning until night, we turbing to the lethargic Spanish mind. Selpitancy had never been known in dipic was quite undiplomatic. At length, when Sagasta was in power and we were harrying the soul of poor Catacazy, Sagasta took a happy thought. He felt sure that the impertmence and creal assiduity of the American Minister would not be approved in Washington. So he sent word informally to Mr. Fish that the Cabinet would prefer another Minister in the place of General Sickles, who was not agreeable to the Cabinet. President Grant said, "Very well." If Señor Sagasta does not like General Sickles he cau do without a Minister. So our Minister received do without a Minister. So our Minister received his letter of recall. He was to retire from the mission and leave a charge d'affaires in his stead. On the day of his return to Madrid Sagasta fell from

the day of his return to Madrid Sagasta fell from power and he remained.

But the cause of the Minister had this result, the became one of the most biterly criticised and unpopular men in Madrid. Madrid is a capital largely filled with reactionists, who have money and power and social standing. When any questions came about Cuba—when slavery was discussed and the Republic was coming to life—the American Minister was the cause of it all. He was the Marplot, the Mephistopheles, the harassing element that had come to disturb and divide happy Spain. And there are Spaniards who really believe that the ultimate ambition of Grant is to have his Minister made fresident of a Spanish Republic.

element that had come to disturb and divide happy Spain. And there are Spaniards who really believe that the ultimate ambition of Grant is to have his Minister made President of a Spanish Republic.

These, then, are among the reasons why America is so disliked by Spaniards who do not honor the Republic: why it is that the republicans themselves are sensitive to the idea that they are under American influence, and why any sudden or impetitous action on the part of our government would overthrow the Republic; in a day. Relations of confidence between America and Spain will come, if at all, slowly, and can only be reached in a long time.

HOFES AND FRARS FOR SPAIN.

When disaster or misadventure comes to a man he hesitates a long time before he accepts the real cause. It is so very easy to preach reform—so difficult to begin at the right end. Nothing is easier than to assign to twenty motives or pretexts or accidents what comes from our own inability or lack of courage to do what is wise. So it is with this new Republic of Spain. It is so easy to denounce the rapacity of America, to resent the indifference of England, to bitterly complain of the more than indifference of France, it is so conforting to say that but for these nations the Republic would rise among the nations the result of the painful and radical character. Until they are accomplished there is no nuture for Spain. Reforms must begin in Madrid, and they must be of the most painful and radical character. Until they are accomplished there is no nuture for Spain. Reforms must begin in Madrid, and they must be of the most painful and radical character. Until they are accomplished there is no nuture for Spain. Reforms must be should have the course to be come like Greece or Mexico, or Egypt before the Khedive. Greater than Babylon in her day, saw wil