

ence. A mania which at this period seized all the cabinets of Europe, caused the court of Madrid to direct all its attention towards the French revolution. Spain placed herself at the head of the powers leagued to counteract it. Her administration and her plans were suddenly changed. She seemed disposed to remain a passive spectator of our convulsions, and to confine herself to defensive measures, when an event affecting her more nearly than any other monarchy, caused her to join, against her interest, in the general resentment.

This deviation, which to the tribunal of sovereigns, must certainly appear extremely venial, was but of short continuance. The experience of twenty-eight months was sufficient. She concluded peace, after making exertions and sustaining disasters which rendered repose and economy equally necessary. It was imagined that she would now devote her whole attention to the payment of her debts, the improvement of her finances, the construction of her roads, canals, &c. No such thing: she determines, in preference to every other consideration, to punish the arrogance of her late allies. As a Frenchman, I cannot but applaud the resolution she has adopted, and hope that victory will crown her exertions.* But this war, be its issue what it may,

* This wish has not been entirely accomplished. During the war terminated by the peace of Amiens, the Spaniards with-

will be another check to the progress of her prosperity; and if it should prove unsuccessful, Spain has so many possessions to lose, so many advantages to regain, that peace is a duty incumbent on her more than any other power, as long as it is compatible with her security and her honour. And yet to gratify cabinet animosities, in compliance with the little passions of those by whom she is governed, has she been exposed eight times in less than a century to the vicissitudes of war!*

It is not in this way that a power formerly great, that a nation which once held the foremost rank, is to be regenerated and restored to its ancient elevation. Every century in a monarchical state produces at least two weak kings, some ambitious queens, like Isabella Farnese; some restless ministers, such as Alberoni and Florida

out doubt manifested courage and talents. They endured various blockades, and withstood many attacks with energy and perseverance. They proved their attachment to their old ally who had sometimes been their enemy. The state of inactivity to which they were almost invariably reduced, and the losses which they experienced, were the results of the most imperious circumstances. But does not this war, which ought to give them new claims to our esteem, authorise the reproaches dictated to the author by his affection for them? Will it not justify some of his predictions?

* These observations will not apply to the war in which Spain is at present engaged. The previous provocation which she received will long be remembered.

Blanca. Every century witnesses more than one dispute as important as those respecting the Falkland Islands, and Nootka Sound. An empire whose destiny is committed to such hands, may make a considerable figure in the newspapers of the time, but it runs the risk of exciting only the regret of posterity. A state in its full vigour of maturity and health may defy such storms; it is sufficiently robust to weather them; but exertions of this kind are rather too violent perhaps for a convalescent.

This truth is exemplified in Spain. Her inhabitants are endowed with a warm and fertile imagination. They possess an aptitude for all the arts, and have infant establishments of almost every kind. The sources of wealth flow beneath transparent strata at their feet. Good sense is an universal quality even among the lowest classes, and for some time knowledge is as generally diffused even among the higher orders. But their great versatility, and the numerous plans formed by one passion, and overturned by another, account for the stationary situation of this country. These too oft repeated alternatives of useless war and of peace more brilliant than solid, those short moments of prudence, succeeded by long fits of extravagance, assimilate the work of her regeneration to the labours of Penelope.

In order then to carry into complete effect measures adopted within these fifty years for the

promotion of her prosperity, she should prosecute her plans with greater perseverance and activity, and have less inclination for ostentatious enterprises; she ought to pay attention to her establishments for education, rather than to her Philippine company, and endeavour to improve Old Castile in preference to the island of Trinidad.*

To this end, the present moment seems to be the most favourable of any that has for a long time occurred. A minister in the flower of his age, to whose will every thing is subservient, and who appears seriously intent on the welfare of his country; a monarch to whom the purity of his manners and a robust constitution promise length of years; abundance of excellent plans; of men of genius to conceive new ones; of hands which require only practice and encouragement to become skilful; a nation proud, it is true, but which, unless absolutely insulted, will be found docile and affectionate; a nation in which the government is so organised, the agents of both the temporal and spiritual power are so distributed, and whose population is scattered in such a manner, that the discontented may with ease be watched and kept in awe, that there is not a rallying point to render them formidable;

* It has since been ceded to the English by the peace of Amiens.

and what is much more certain, that no great efforts of bounty would be required to appease them. How many circumstances here conspire to facilitate the execution of projects of national improvement, with all the confidence of uncontested authority, and all the deliberation of wisdom ; to dispose of every thing like the rightful owner, and not with the haste of one who is afraid of being ejected from his possessions ; to triumph over the obstacles which men and things throw in the way of the most useful undertakings !

But if Spain would derive advantage from circumstances so favourable, let her above all things renounce that growing ambition which causes rulers to mistake glory for prosperity ; which, adopting a modern maxim of the law of nations, imagines that nature has fixed the limits of states, as if any usurpation might not be justified on the same ground.

Let her own example teach her, that power depends not on extensive possessions, especially when a state has a spacious territory to begin with, capable of supplying all the means of improvement, a territory susceptible of such ameliorations in agriculture, and such an increase in its industry and population.

What advantage, for instance, would Spain derive from the conquest of Portugal, which is supposed, doubtless without sufficient grounds,

to be one of the favourite projects of its new government. It cannot but be sensible that each of the two nations has its prejudices, which an incorporation would only tend to aggravate. Without any hope of being ever able to gain the affections of the conquered people, it would be obliged to watch its new subjects, and to overawe them by extraordinary means, which would divide its attention, increase its expences, and expose it to perpetual broils.

But, supposing this incorporation effected without a struggle; in this case, in my opinion, Spain would incur dangers less imminent but not less formidable. Her European dominions would then be bounded by those pretended limits of nature, the Pyrenees, the Ocean, and the Mediterranean. Irrevocably allied with France—as she seems sensible that her permanent interest requires she should be—she would have no invasion to fear by land; and her distance from the maritime powers secures her from attacks by sea. She might then cultivate in security all the arts of peace. These are certainly sufficient to give happiness to individuals and prosperity to empires; but the art of war, how destructive soever it may be, is likewise necessary. It consolidates that strength, without which prosperity is but precarious. It is forgotten in the repose of uninterrupted peace. A nation becomes effeminate when it is surrounded only by allies,

when it enjoys a long exemption from alarm; and the empire, however flourishing it may be, falls an easy prey to a conqueror or a usurper: or if it is not exposed to dangers of this kind, it crumbles to pieces beneath the very weight of its prosperity.

Let those then, who would insure the permanent prosperity of Spain, not expect it from that extension of territory which can dazzle none but women and children. She wants allies we admit; but it is also necessary that she should have near and jealous rivals, to keep her upon the alert, and to prevent her neglecting those means of defence, and even of attack, which the passions of mankind will always render necessary. She requires long intervals of peace; but as long as the philanthropic reveries of the Abbé de St. Pierre are not realized, the possibility of war should not suffer her vigilance to be lulled to sleep; or that courage, which is one of the characteristic virtues of Spaniards, to run the risk of degenerating in the absence of danger.

It were perhaps likewise to be wished, that their government, renouncing its antiquated prejudices, and its ideas of false grandeur, would look forward without alarm to the prospect of the inevitable independence of the greatest part of its colonies; that, preparing itself for this separation, it might prevent its being attended with

the effusion of blood ; that it would treat its colonies, not as adult children who groan beneath the yoke of a cruel mother, but as children voluntarily emancipated, who would long retain a warm affection for their parent, and would become her closest allies ; that it were convinced that this pacific revolution gently guided by wisdom, would be facilitated by the conformity of manners, of language, of religion ; that it would profit by the example of England, whose tyranny towards her colonies retarded this union, but which, within these few years, has seen circumstances restore that natural cordiality which must subsist between nations which were so long connected, and still retain so many points of contact ; that it may learn from these same English, from the Dutch, and from the French, that it is neither the number nor the extent of colonies, but their organization and the excellence of the system adopted in respect to them, which constitute the wealth of the mother-country ; that the French part alone of St. Domingo was in 1788 more profitable to France, than Cuba, Mexico, and Peru put together are to Spain.—Here let me pause.—

I am aware of the ancient prejudices consecrated in the archives of the council of the Indies, and transmitted from one administration to another, ever since the conquest of America. I

am sensible that such wishes are premature ; but woe be to Spain if they remain long unaccomplished !

Ye modern Spaniards, be at least persuaded to renounce the projects of aggrandizement which are ascribed to you ! Has not your government, have not ye yourselves numberless other means of promoting your prosperity, of employing your zeal, your wealth, your talents, and your courage ?

Your zeal, for the last thirty years in particular, has been directed to useful objects. It has created Patriotic Societies, whose dawn was so auspicious, and which have hitherto, with very few exceptions, given birth to nothing but unaccomplished plans and unrealized wishes. In order to produce much greater advantage, it only requires to be directed and encouraged. For though you live under a government nearly despotic, your bosoms are warmed by the genuine love of country, and notwithstanding the efforts that are made to keep you in darkness, this sentiment begins to shine forth with increased lustre.

Your wealth is locked up in your coffers, or transferred to funds, whose managers take it at a low interest, and employ it in speculations by which they are the only gainers. Why do ye not expend it, not on religious foundations, already too numerous, and which seem rather designed to encourage idleness than to soothe distress, but

on establishments useful to your country, advantageous to yourselves, and calculated to diffuse abundance and life from one extremity of your country to the other? In this respect, at least, imitate your haughty rivals, who ought never to have been your allies. Consider the miracles of this kind which public spirit has performed in England. Look at the numberless canals, planned and completed at a prodigious expence, not by kings or ministers, but by private individuals, who, for their own advantage, enliven vast districts. In some of your provinces you have already canals of irrigation, which may serve you for models. Increase their number. Your country, parched as it appears, possesses far more resources of this kind than a hasty traveller is aware of. It wants shade; second the views of government by the general multiplication of your plantations. You will thus skreen your cattle, your fields, and yourselves from the intense heat of your climate. Invite and take into your pay artists capable of supplying your manufactures with machines calculated for saving time and manual labour. Without waiting for the commands of government, make cross-roads, pay more attention to your breeds of horses, and to the improvement of your agriculture. This luxury will be infinitely more advantageous than your gala dresses, and your numerous dependents and equipages.

Your talents of every kind are sufficiently conspicuous. You excel in the art of printing. Your cloth-manufactures, especially those of Guadalaxara and Segovia, approach very near to perfection. Within these twenty years, those of silk have improved, in an alarming degree, for your rivals. In your roads in Biscay, Navarre, the Sierra Morena, and in the vicinity of the metropolis; in the docks of Carthagená; in the dyke which you have opposed to the fury of the ocean which threatens Cadiz; in several of your modern bridges, in a great number of your ships of war, you possess master-pieces of ingenuity. In your capital, in your royal residences, in several of your large cities, civil architecture has produced edifices, remarkable at least for the judgment with which they were planned, and for the regularity of their proportions. You have several engravers of eminence, who only want encouragement, and a public capable of appreciating their merits. Some of your painters revive the honour of your school, too little known beyond your own frontiers, and which your government is at length about to hold up to the admiration of the rest of Europe, through the medium of the graver.*

* Eight or ten years ago, the court of Madrid conceived the design of causing the greatest part of the pictures which adorn the royal residences to be engraved; but either from the idea that the Spanish artists alone were not adequate to the task, or

Other arts, less brilliant but more useful, are cultivated among you with success. You are improving the manufacture of iron, and have begun to refine copper. The productions of your gold and silversmiths are not destitute of elegance. Few European coins display such perfection as yours. Your government will soon have no occasion to relinquish to foreign genius the task of conceiving, and to foreign hands that of executing plans of amelioration. Talents have long enough been one of the branches of your imports; they have at length become an indigenious production. It should be the duty of your government to seek them out and to avail itself of their aid.

Finally, *your courage*, has without doubt abundant occasions for exercising itself in time of peace. It requires courage to attack the abuses which account for your languor and tend to prolong it. Courage is required to diminish the multitude of priests and monks, who disgrace you, and prey upon your vitals, who are not less pernicious to religion than to agriculture. It is required to effect the partition of those possessions the immense extent of which is the cause of the

from the desire to excite a national emulation, by raising up rivals to them in foreign countries, it divided among them and the engravers of France, Germany, &c. the master-pieces of its immense gallery. This work is proceeding, and some Persian artists are engaged upon it. The drawings of the pictures which they are to engrave, beginning with the Spanish school, are successively transmitted to them.

imperfect cultivation and depopulation of Andalusia, and of the two Castiles.

Courage is required to check the destructive career of the *majorats*, that institution of pride which runs counter to the sentiments of nature, inasmuch as it accumulates all the advantages of fortune on the first born and his progeny, and thus dooms a great number of possessions to useless inactivity.

Courage is likewise required to strip the *Mesta* of its ruinous privileges, and to restore to the proprietors the exclusive benefits of their fields and pastures.

But courage is above all required, to wean the people from their superstitious habits; to overturn those altars on which they cannot sacrifice without trembling; and to deliver them from a tribunal which they dread as much as they revere, and which is not even necessary to despotism, if the latter can combine prudence with energy.

It is the governors alone who have hitherto been deficient in these different kinds of courage, by which Spain would soon be regenerated. They exist in a great number of the governed. How many statesmen animated with that useful courage which accomplishes important enterprises, has not the eighteenth century alone produced!

Look at an *Alberoni* awaking the Spanish nation, in a violent and injudicious manner, it is true,

but which nevertheless roused it for a few years from its stupor.

A *Macanaz* venturing to attack the abuses of that inquisition, of which he afterwards undertook the vindication.

A *Campillo*, defying the clamors of the farmers-general, those locusts of the exchequer, and replacing in the hands of government the administration of all the branches of the revenue of the crown.

A *La Ensenada*, conceiving many bold and useful projects, seeking and finding able assistants.

A *Galvez*, shaking off the ancient prejudices which confined the trade with Spanish America to a single port.

An *Olavidè* attacking with a vigorous arm the most sacred abuses; creating, organizing, enlivening an immense colony; covering forests and deserts with flourishing towns.

A *Carrasco* defying the hatred of the great proprietors of lands, in order to strip them of their illegitimate acquisitions.

A *Count d'Aranda* rallying for some years around the throne philosophical principles, whose application, tempered by prudence and modified by local circumstances, would have promoted the prosperity of the subject, without diminishing the authority of the sovereign.

A *Cabarrus*, attempting, in despite of etiquette and envy, various excellent innovations which make the Spanish nation acquainted with resources, the existence of which it scarcely suspected.

A *Roda*, a *Campomanes*, a *Florida Blanca*,* endeavouring, not without success, to circumscribe the spiritual authority within proper limits, and knowing how to make a distinction between respect for religion and stupid veneration for its ministers.

These and many other examples demonstrate, that, especially in the last century, no sooner was the government willing to encourage difficult undertakings, than it found intrepid agents ready to second its views. Let it then but manifest courage itself, and the nation will not remain behind-hand.

All despotic governments are at least attended with this advantage, that a single act of their will, executed with decision, and followed up with perseverance, is capable of producing wonders, even among nations without information,

* Notwithstanding some errors, the Count de Florida Blanca certainly deserves a distinguished place among the enlightened and courageous men who have conceived, and in a great measure executed, plans of utility to their country. He obtained without intrigue, he retained without meanness, and for the space of twelve years, he in many respects, justified the confidence of one of the best sovereigns that Spain can boast of.

and almost destitute of public spirit. Of what then is not Spain susceptible, with a nation fertile in genius, abounding in energetic characters, a nation which, if restored to its native vigor, would only have occasion to be directed and curbed!

What a glorious task has fate allotted to you, O youthful minister,* whom I had an opportu-

* I know not but what I may have been found fault with for this advice, rather bold perhaps, which, nine years since, I ventured to give for the first time to the Prince of the Peace. This fault, if it be one, is not however without an excuse. More than one writer of talents, far superior indeed, to mine, have like me, taken the liberty to express, unasked and with impunity, similar wishes even in respect to sovereigns. They have been looked upon not so much in the light of improper lessons, as of indirect tributes of homage addressed to none but those who are thought worthy of hearing the truth, as tributes whose motive cannot appear suspicious, which can neither degrade him who gives, nor wound the feelings of the person who receives them. Had I consulted only my private sentiments, I might to be sure, like any other writer, and upon just grounds, have composed a panegyric on the Prince of the Peace. To this end nothing more would have been necessary than to have called to mind the relations which subsisted between me and him, when he was still Duke of Alcu^dia; the effusions of his confidence in the most critical circumstances; the soundness of his understanding, which I had opportunities of appreciating; the goodness of his heart, of which, had I been willing to accept them, I might have received proofs, when, expressing my anxiety respecting the fate which might await me in France, at the most dangerous period of our revolution (1793) he offered me an asylum in Spain. The recollection of these cir-

nity of closely observing at the brilliant commencement of your career! The path is open for you. The favor of the sovereign removes every obstacle that might impede your course. It is capable of conducting you to glory much more durable than itself, and more worthy of your ambition. You are in an age favourable to the conception of sublime plans, and to the hope of carrying them into execution. You may, if you please, refute the slanderers of your nation, you may exalt it again to the rank it once held in Europe, and secure yourself a distinguished place in history.

You already occupy some of its pages, which you cannot have a wish to erase. You conducted a war much less calamitous for your country than it might have been, and concluded a peace the sacrifices of which bear no proportion to the previous disasters. Without refusing to talents the part which they may justly claim in a catastrophe which astonished Europe, we should be tempted to believe, that the fortunate planet under which you were born, has extended its influence to your ministerial operations. The name which you assumed subsequent to those great and important events, seemed to contain an epitome of the duties which you had resolved to prescribe for yourself. But, if I could forget that I am a

cumstances is indelibly impressed on my mind. Let me here be permitted to introduce, rather late perhaps, the sincere and disinterested testimony of my gratitude.

Frenchman, I should say, that already you have deviated, perhaps, from those obligations, by involving your country in a new quarrel, the least pernicious consequence of which will be the retardation of the complete revival of its prosperity,—of that prosperity whose every source is in your hands, and which does not want your good wishes, if we are to judge by many facts, and a multitude of testimonies. We know that military and political affairs are not the sole objects that engross your attention; that you are desirous of encouraging the arts and manufactures; that so far from fearing talents, you take delight in employing those which modesty or want of encouragement had consigned to obscurity; that you send abroad intelligent men to learn in foreign countries those lessons in taste, of which your establishments either for luxury or pleasure still stand in need, and to study on the spot those models which national pride should not be ashamed to imitate.

We have more recently been informed, that, seconded by the eminent persons who enjoy your confidence, you have ventured to oppose a tribunal, once formidable even to sovereigns, and that, in this conflict, victory declared in favour of the temporal power.

These measures of wisdom, these acts of vigour, are auspicious omens. You appear sensible, that it would be vain to attempt to regenerate a

nation, if it be left under the yoke of fanaticism. Yours has for some time been eager after information; and this tendency, it would now be dangerous to counteract. The waters, whose course you attempt to stop with a dyke, overflow or break it down with violence. Their tranquil current would have fertilized and enlivened the country through which they passed. Their impetuous eruption lays it waste. So knowledge, if it has still to contend with the institutions which are unfavourable to its progress, will disturb the tranquillity of your country, and perhaps overturn the throne. It is by giving it a welcome reception, that authority will preserve itself from the fatal consequences with which the struggle might probably be attended. It may be aptly compared with those revolutionary Frenchmen whom sovereigns thought fit to persecute, in order to check the propagation of their alarming doctrines. Those French, who, previous to the rupture, were watched with jealous severity, were, at that time, much more formidable on account of their secret plots, than they have been since peace renewed the bonds of amity between the two governments. Such too will be the case in regard to knowledge. Would you render it dangerous, refuse it admittance, treat it as an enemy! Do you wish it to be productive of benefit to the people, and at the

same time innocent in respect to kings, treat it as an ally.

These truths are not strangers to all courts. Yours is worthy of hearing them. To persuade their adoption is a task befitting your conciliating disposition, and the soundness of your understanding. It would, perhaps, be the surest way of preserving your country from the progress of that revolutionary spirit with which it is said to be threatened. Give Europe, whose eyes are fixed upon you, occasion to say:

By the mildness of his administration he rendered despotism supportable. He does not turn a deaf ear to the counsels of that salutary philosophy, which the excesses of some of its followers have not been able to bring into discredit. He is desirous that the priests should be the supports of the throne, but will not suffer them to be its rivals. He allows them to be the guardians of orthodoxy, but prevents them from being the instruments of persecution.

Constant and faithful to the connections which nature and experience direct his nation to cultivate, he thinks that it ought to have eternal allies, but only momentary enemies. War he deems a calamity that is sometimes inevitable; but he does not employ it as a necessary material in the edifice of his glory. He thinks that in the shade of peace alone can thrive the arts which he loves, manufactures which he encourages, and

in particular agriculture, that has so long needed those gradual and judicious reforms which are absolutely impracticable amidst the bustle of war.

Your flatterers will, perhaps, tell you, that it is your picture which I have delineated. Your friends will say, that I have only drawn your horoscope, accompanied indeed with the most flattering appearances, but which it is necessary to fulfil, in order to deserve the gratitude of your country, and the praises of posterity.

SUPPLEMENT.

SINCE the preceding pages were written, the Prince of the Peace has acquired a still higher degree of consideration, more extensive influence, and, consequently, more numerous means of realizing the hopes that the author then fondly conceived of him. It would be base adulation to affirm, that he has accomplished them all; but it would be unjust to say, that he has disappointed them, and to deny that of late years, Spain has been indebted to him for various beneficial institutions; that he has proved himself equal to the important posts which he fills; and that proofs, both of a good heart and a sound understanding are discoverable in the use he has made of the unlimited influence which he possesses.

In addition to the observations which I made in 1803, I ought, in order to complete my retrospect, and to bring it down to the present year, to take a rapid survey of the events worthy of notice that have occurred between these two periods.

If, during this interval, a third war has disturbed the repose which Spain so much needed to ac-

comply with the work of her regeneration, it was not the result of any false measure, or occasioned by any ambitious view. A provocation rarely to be paralleled in history, has obliged Spain again to take up arms. So sudden a rupture, instead of overwhelming her with dismay, as it might have done under a weak administration, has increased her energies to a degree of which her detractors would have thought her incapable. We have seen with what astonishing activity she equipped three squadrons. She extorted admiration from her very enemies. The engagement which soon succeeded these efforts, cost her, it is true, some ships, and one of her best admirals; but the honor of the monarch remained inviolate, and the valour of her seamen has acquired new claims to the public esteem.

Amidst these unforeseen embarrassments, notwithstanding the interruption of those periodical tributes which arrive from India to replenish the public exchequer, the court of Madrid continues to fulfil its engagements; and adhering to her ancient principles of integrity, Spain is still one of those powers with whom governments and individuals may treat with the greatest security.

Neither have the other branches of the internal administration suffered by this fatal diversion of the public treasure. Bold plans, and useful enterprises are conceived and executed.

The government has suppressed those barbar-

ous spectacles to which the Spanish nation was attached with a kind of phrenzy, notwithstanding the remonstrances of reason and the injury which agriculture sustained from them.

Proofs of wisdom and courage have been exhibited in another way. The Spanish government has risen superior to those religious scruples which served to sanction the enormous multiplication of ecclesiastical possessions. A portion of them has been sold, and been restored to general circulation.

High dignities, even those of the church, no longer skreen their possessors from the severity of justice, and hypocrisy is unmasked and punished even in the episcopal chair.

No means are neglected for diffusing that information, at which neither the throne nor the altar can possibly take alarm; for relieving Spain from the calamities which befall her; and for making foreigners acquainted with the treasures which she contains.

The works which appear in other countries on the arts and sciences, of real utility, are made known by extracts, translations, or comments.

The study of surgery is encouraged.

The limits of botany are extended either by discoveries which natives of Spain are daily making in her immense possessions, or by the researches which she permits travellers of other countries to institute.

Foreign physicians of eminence are invited to consult with those of Spain, respecting the means of eradicating the yellow fever, and preventing its return.

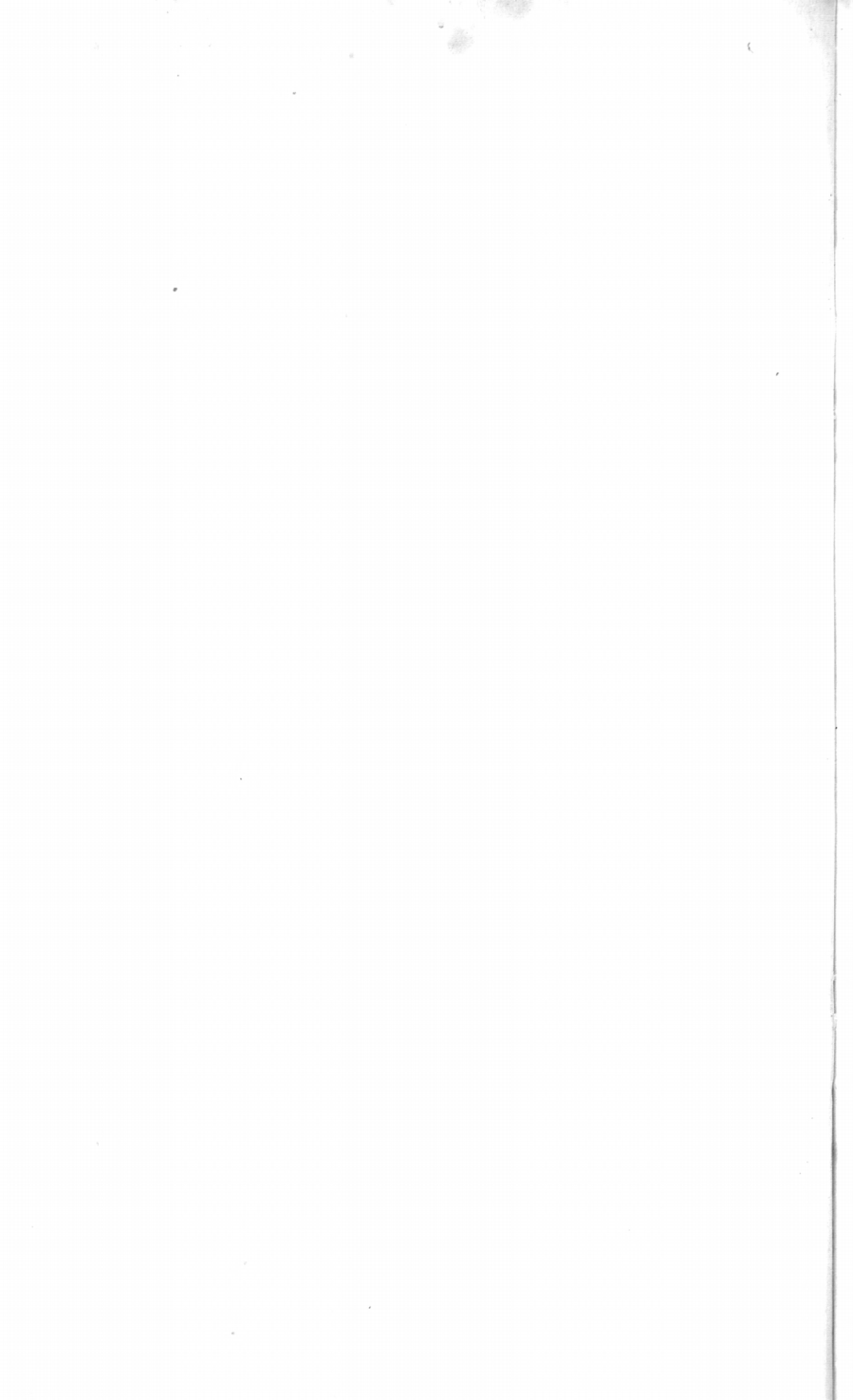
The inestimable discovery of the cow-pox is adopted with enthusiasm, and superstition does not impede its propagation.

The pencil and the graver are employed in supplying Europe with faithful copies of those monuments of sculpture and architecture of different ages, and different nations—of the Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Goths, Spaniards, scattered in a hundred places over the surface of Spain, with many of which the Spaniards themselves were wholly unacquainted; and national jealousy takes no umbrage at the delegation of this task to foreign artists.

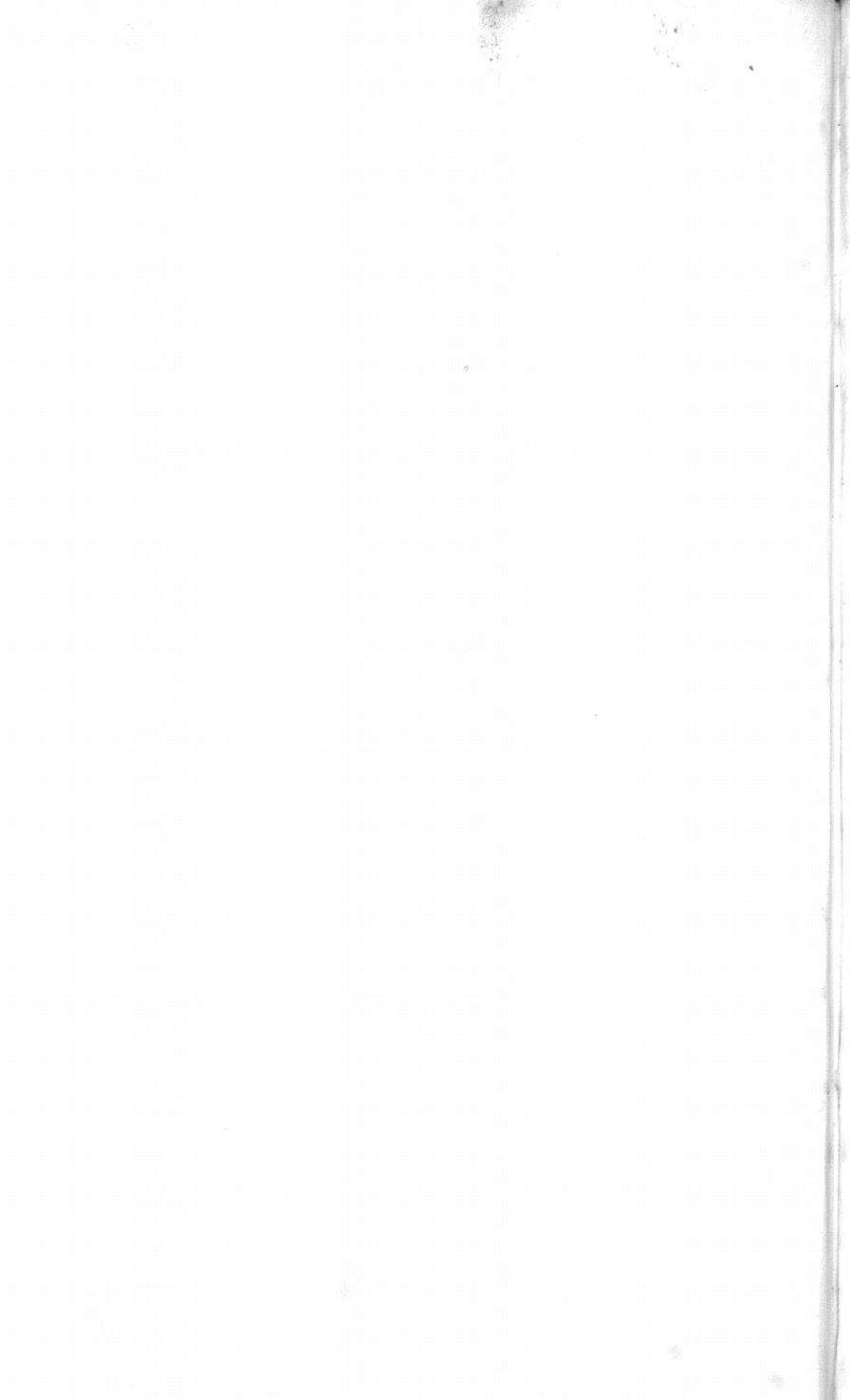
It is at the most arduous junctures that all these exertions are making. Shall it still be said, that Spain is several centuries behind the other countries of Europe? Shall it still be affirmed, that her government is sunk into an incurable lethargy?

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.





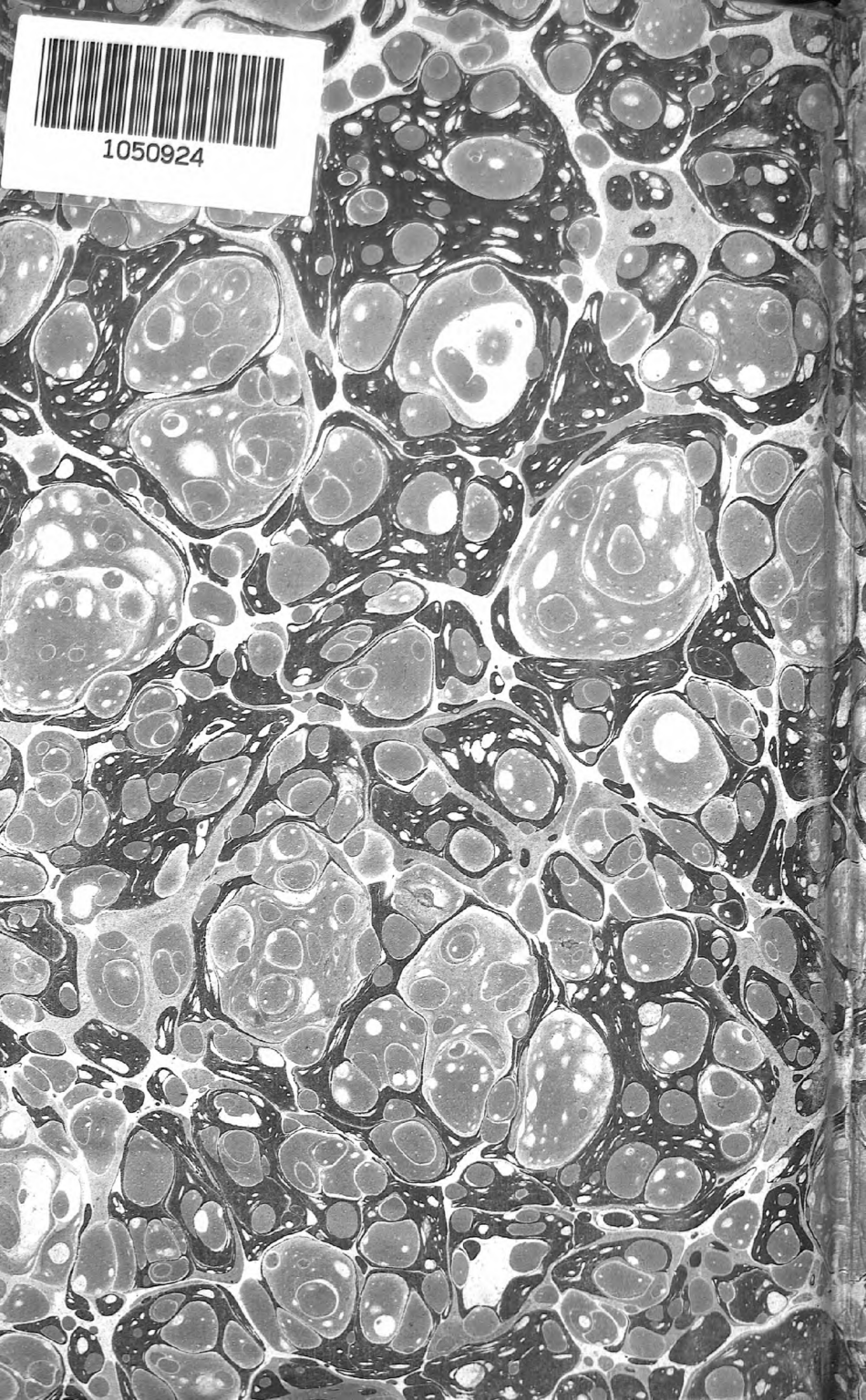


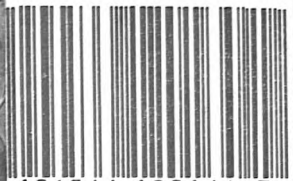






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