revolution in ship-building. He had several pupils, who shared the merit with him. Spain has besides within herself some naval architects, who have improved the art, and who make his loss less felt by the Spanish marine. After some years the jealous temper of the minister Castejon, his friend before, set him aside, and the French government seized that opportunity of demanding him again. The court of Madrid sent him back to his country, continuing his salary, but with the reserve of reclaiming him when wanted. The revolution of France has deprived him of this recompense; he indemnified himself by serving her, and felt the effect of her storms. They afterwards showed him some kind of justice in employing him, but in a manner less brilliant than his talents deserved *.

Since he left Spain, I have heard him regretted even by those who opposed and envied his success; which proves that that nation is generous enough in many respects to render justice to those who have suffered from their national prejudices.

My experience has even proved that these prejudices are exaggerated, or at least that they ought to be more excused. Which is the nation that,

* He died at Paris in 1800, in circumstances verging on distress. In Spain he might have ended his days in comfort, where old servants, though no more wanted or liked, are never abandoned.

under similar circumstances with Spain, would not have shown her dislike with more acrimony? Is it supposed that, when Louis XIV pensioned foreign literati; when he went to seek out of his dominions celebrated artists and able manufacturers, he did not raise the hatred of the French, who thought themselves more entitled to his liberality, and were scandalized at the contempt of their merit, and the preference given to foreigners? The vanity and the patience of the Spaniards have been, during almost a century, put to many proofs. In the suite of the French prince who came to reign over them, appeared a multitude of foreigners who occupied all access to the throne; French favourites *, French valets-de-chambre †,

* The marquis de Louville.

† Almost all the valets-de-chambre of Philip V were Frenchmen. On my first residence at Madrid I knew two of them (Toussaint and Arnaud) who, towards the end of his life, had enjoyed great credit with him, and who had received his last breath. They were alive when I quitted Spain in 1787. And, by a singular turn of fortune, they survived for forty years a favour which rendered them important personages, of which they made no other use than to do good, particularly to their countrymen. Philip V, notwithstanding the advice of his grandfather, never ceased for an instant to think himself a Frenchman. I have, from one of his valets-de-chambre, an anecdote which he related himself, and which shows at once his good-nature and his attachment to his former country. The sending back the infanta destined for Louis XV excited at the Spanish court a sensation that bordered on madness. At the first news they had of this, queen Isa-

and French confessors * surrounded the monarch. The princess des Ursins and our ambassadors governed by turns in the cabinet. A Frenchman † came to reform their finances. French generals ‡ were put at the head of their armies; soon after an Italian abbot §, invited by the second wife of Philip V, shook the monarchy by his busy inclination for meddling with the affairs of Europe. His disgrace, the true reward of his tumultuous administration, did not make them easy again for a long time. A Dutchman ||, still more hot-headed, having gained the favour of the monarch, and accumulated in one year all dignities and all appointments, soon left Spain with execrations, carrying with him only the character of a state

bella, more irritated than any body else, broke out into abuse against the French, and obtained from her easy husband an order that they should all, *without exception*, be sent out of the kingdom. The order was signed. Philip V called his valets-de-chambre, made them open his wardrobe and prepare his trunks. The queen entered, and asked what these preparations meant. *Do n't you decree*, said Philip frankly, *that all the French should leave Spain? I am a Frenchman, and am preparing for my journey*. The queen smiled, and the order was countermanded.

* Father Aubenton.

† M. Orry.

‡ Marshal Tessé, the duke of Berwick, and the duke de Vendôme.

§ The abbé, afterwards cardinal Alberoni.

|| Ripperda.

criminal. Under the following reign, two foreign nations * ruled in the midst of the Spaniards. An Irish minister † raised himself by intrigues, of which their court is a very stage, and by the lightness of his yoke, and his quality as a stranger, preserved his credit under the new sovereign, who quitted Naples to reign in Spain. Soon after Charles III invited to his court an Italian ‡, to intrust him with the department of the finances; and some years afterwards another Italian §, who replaced the Irish minister. It was also by an Irishman ‖ that the discipline of the infantry was improved, whilst two Frenchmen reformed one ¶ the artillery and the other the construction of ships **. At London, at Stockholm, at Paris, at Vienna, and at Venice, the sovereign was represented by fo-

* The English and the Italian; the first by Mr. Keen, their ambassador, and the other by the musician Farinelli.

† Mr. Wall, an Irishman, born at St. Germain, who, before he came to the ministry, was ambassador from Spain to England.

‡ Squilaci, a Neapolitan, formerly director of the customs, and who had scarcely arrived in Spain when he was created minister, marquis, &c. enjoyed great credit, until Spain, from the bosom of the people, uttered the cry of proscription, which alarmed both the monarch and the minister, *Viva el Rey, muera Squilaci!*

§ The marquis Grimaldi, a Genoese.

‖ O'eilly. ¶ Moritz.

** Gauthier.

reigners *. They were strangers who established manufactories †, who presided over the construction of canals and high roads ‡, who directed sieges §, who commanded armies ‖, who prepared plans of finance ¶, who made with immense profit advances to government **. In commercial places, foreigners carry all before them by their activity. The richest merchants at Barcelona, Valencia, Cadiz, and Bilboa are foreigners. I have often heard them declaim against the hatred which they inspire in Spain; and I own, if I was astonished at any thing, it was at the docility with which the Spaniards suffer them to be there, at the disposition even to love them, unless repulsed by disdainful and insulting pretensions. And if some Spaniards should look at them with envious eyes; if they should be uneasy at this great concourse of fortunate strangers, whose success seems to cast

* Prince de Masserano, an Italian, ambassador in England; count Lacy, an Irishman, minister at Stockholm; the marquis Grimaldi, ambassador in France, before he came into the ministry; count de Mahony, an Irishman, ambassador at Vienna; the marquis Squilaci, ambassador at Venice, after his retreat from the ministry.

† At Valencia, at Barcelona, at Talavera, at Madrid, &c.

‡ Le Maur.

§ The same Le Maur at Mahon; d'Arçon at Gibraltar.

‖ The duke de Crillon, at Mahon and the camp of St. Roche; prince Nassau, on the floating batteries.

¶ M. Cabarrus.

** The French merchants at Madrid.

a reflection on their idleness and ignorance, would they not be excused for having that attachment to the glory of their country, honoured with the fine name, if you please, of patriotism?

But at last the Spaniards, since the end of the last reign, have inherited exclusively from the foreigners so many places, that the reign of Frenchmen, of Irishmen, and particularly of Italians, who are suffered by the Spaniards with much impatience, seems now nearly at an end; and if we except the viceroyalty of Mexico, given to the Neapolitan marquis de Branciforte, brother-in-law to the Prince of Peace, and which at the end of two years was taken from him to be bestowed on a Spaniard; the place of chamberlain to the queen, occupied by the late prince Raffadali, a Neapolitan, disgraced by his court; if we further except a lieutenant-general, an Italian by the father's side, but Flemish by the mother's, the prince de Castel Franco, who commanded the army which Spain opposed to us from Biscay, and some general officers or commanders of corps, the Spaniards are in possession of the principal appointments, of all the ministry, of all the diplomatic missions*, and of the first places in administration. How many

* Except the same prince de Castel Franco, of whom mention is made in the text, and who is ambassador at Vienna; and the marquis de la Grua, a Neapolitan, nephew to the marquis de Branciforte, who after having been at Stockholm is now at Parma in quality of minister.

governments have not been overthrown or put in danger by the domination of foreigners, which ought to be very mild to be even endured! In France were the Medicis, Concini, Mazarin, and Law; in Flanders a duke of Alva; in Switzerland a Geyssler; in Portugal, when temporarily incorporated with Spain, the agents of that power. In Spain an Alberoni, a Ripperda, and a Squilaci. Sovereigns are, however, often more inclined to grant their confidence to those who must owe all to them; who have no other country than the court; no other property than their favour. Do they calculate their interest well? Do they not thus invite the dangers they wish to evade? The most prudent have little distrust, and wish to govern their subjects by affection. This is the only Machiavelism they use, the only one which philosophy can pardon them, the only one which guaranties the stability of their power.

At this price they may be without foreign favourites, or foreign legions, impotent ramparts against the rage of the people, and who are always odious, and more likely to provoke than to restrain it. At the riot in 1765 could the Walloon guards prevent the precipitate flight Charles III was obliged to make from his capital? Could the Swiss guards, notwithstanding their attachment, save Louis XVI?

But let us resume what we have to say concerning the Spanish navy.

The three ports we mentioned are not the only ones in which ships of war are built. There are stocks at the Havannah ; a fund of 700,000 piastres has been destined for the maintenance of these works, where ships are built cheaper than in Europe.

Spain and her colonies could furnish all the wood required by her navy. In 1785 people of the profession were of opinion that only with the assistance of South America, Spain might have increased her navy with fifty ships, and furnished every thing requisite for those already in the service. The following are the resources still left her in Europe.

Andalusia, which produced the best white oak, is exhausted. Her forests are not sufficient for the repairs in the department of Cadiz, which is obliged to purchase timber from Italy, and sometimes to use the cedars of the Havannah.

Carthagena also affords no supply. The white oak the least distant is in Catalonia, and that far up the country.

Ferrol is furnished from the mountains of Burgos, Navarre, and the Asturias. But the forests of the first of these provinces are much thinned. The two others are still well stocked, but their timber is only of a middling quality.

The principal cause of this scarcity of timber in the capital, is the inconsiderate step which government took about 1756. Before roads had been made for their conveyance, trees for the

construction of 112 ships of the line were felled; timber for no more than fifty could be removed; part of the remainder rotted on the ground, and the rest was stolen.

To remedy this scarcity, the colonies present great resources. Cuba still produces much cedar in the interior, though many people, judging from the appearance of its coasts, consider it as exhausted. There is also, near Cumana, timber proper for ship-building. There was an intention in 1776 to fell it; but the death of Arriaga, the minister of the marine, prevented its execution. Let us pity the government whose useful enterprises depend on the life of one man.

Spain is therefore still at the mercy of the northern powers, at least for masts. It was ascertained by the account delivered in by the bank, in 1788, that this article alone had cost her in 1785 more than eight millions and a half of reals.

Spain, in her communication with the North, continues to make use of Dutch vessels; but she might soon do without them, if the commerce she has for some years past carried on directly to the Baltic should continue to prosper. She is still nearer doing without the help of foreign nations for a supply of hemp. For a long time she has received from the North all she used in her navy. Latterly she has begun to draw some from Navarre, Arragon, and especially from Grenada; so that at

present almost all her ropes, cables, and sail-cloths are made of Spanish hemp *. Our sailors, as well during the American war as during their stay at Cadiz, extended to the present time, had an opportunity of appreciating its good quality.

The copper of Mexico and Peru is used for sheathing the Spanish vessels; there have been for some years, at Port Real, near Cadiz, and at Algesiras, two workshops for preparing the plates.

The navy of Spain, no doubt, is still far short of perfection. But what strides has she not already made in one century! Under Philip IV she bought her ships ready built from the Dutch, as well as the cordage for her fleet and her galleons; her sails she bought from the French; copper from the Germans; tin and lead from the English; her galleys from the Genoese. She left her woods to rot at the root, and abandoned the growth of hemp. In regard to Mexico and Peru, which contributed to her degeneracy, she neglected to draw from her own mines their means of defence. The evil increased, if possible, under Charles II. Spain was then, like himself, weak and languishing. If we consider her situation at

* The department of Carthagena is obliged to send abroad, particularly to Italy, for the hemp of which cables are made; and in 1804 several cargoes arrived from Riga. It is partly because the calamities under which Spain has of late years suffered, have caused all branches of agriculture to languish.

that period, we cannot but admire the state to which three succeeding sovereigns restored her. Charles V, who left her so flourishing, would not know her again, but his puny and last scion would still less recollect her.

She has at least a navy which puts her on a level with the different maritime powers. For want of wars in Europe, in which for a long time she has taken no very active part, the vicinity of the Barbary states furnishes her with frequent opportunities of exercising her ships. But in these transient and inglorious engagements it is difficult for her officers to acquire reputation. Barcelo, who from being master of a sloop attained to the highest rank in the navy, is almost the only one who owes his reputation to these expeditions. Of these states, two in particular always keep employed a part of the Spanish navy, and even of the army; these are Algiers and Morocco. It is not because their strength, especially their marine, is formidable. They would have no means of maintaining it, if the powers who wish their trade to be respected did not furnish them with ammunition and naval stores, and if they did not receive, even from Marseilles, timber for the construction of their vessels.

Ten or twelve years ago the navy of the emperor of Morocco did not consist of more than twenty-two or twenty-three vessels, good and bad, of which the largest were frigates of twenty-

two guns. But his land forces are not to be despised, at least in point of number, because every native is a soldier from the age of twelve years. With this army, badly disciplined, and possessing little courage, the emperor of Morocco has often attempted, but always without success, to take from the Spaniards the town of Melilla, situated at the eastern extremity of his territory.

The Algerines are, or at least were for a long time, a desperate and more formidable enemy. Fifteen or sixteen years ago they had five frigates, from twenty-four to thirty-four guns; three chebecks, of ten, eighteen, and twenty; four half galleons; and three galliots. With this force they tormented the Spaniards till 1784. The court of Madrid at length lost all patience, and, disencumbered from her war with England, determined on another attempt to root out this nest of pirates. She used for this expedition part of the naval stores and artillery destined for the grand combined attack upon Jamaica, the preparations for which had been rendered useless by the peace of 1783. Algiers was bombarded by admiral Barcelo during eight successive days. Near four hundred houses were damaged; but the buildings belonging to the government remained almost unhurt. The attacking squadron consisted of seventy sail, of which four were ships of the line, and six frigates. It lost only one bomb-ketch, but this fruitless ex-

pedition cost the Spaniards four hundred soldiers, and fifteen hundred quintals of powder. The Algerines opposed two half galleys carrying five guns, five galliots of two and four, a felucca of six, two chebecks of four, two bomb galleys, and six sloops carrying one twelve and one twenty-four-pounder.

The expedition in the following year, commanded also by Barcelo, was still more fruitless; although Portugal, Malta, and Naples had assisted Spain with a part of their naval forces. They composed in all a hundred and thirty sail. The Algerines defended themselves with forty-six sloops of war, four bomb-ketches, three armed gun-boats, and three galliots. They lost three or four of their sloops, and had three hundred men wounded; but proved to the combined powers that it would require a greater force to subdue them; and that, if *this horde of brigands* deserved the indignation of all commercial powers, it certainly did not altogether merit their contempt.

In the interval of these two expeditions the heat of the Spanish government had, however, cooled a little, to make room for attempts at negotiation, which the minister, suspicious and jealous of our connexion with the Algerines, took care to make without acquainting us with it. They failed, and the second expedition took place. The Spanish minister was determined to repeat this operation every year, until the regency of

Algiers, fatigued and exhausted, should at last be obliged to make overtures to Spain. He suffered himself however to be persuaded by the officers who had conducted the expedition, and negotiations for peace were renewed by means of a count d'Expilly, half Frenchman, half Austrian; they were afterwards confided to admiral Mazarredo, who was sent for that purpose to Algiers. When the party in Spain that was not for peace saw a stranger on the point of concluding it, they were determined to deprive him of that glory. The Spanish negotiator exceeded the orders of his employers, and his too rapid progress very nearly caused his disgrace. All these negotiations proceeded not only without our consent, which it would have been difficult to obtain, but even without our being made acquainted with them. They obstinately persisted in believing that the principal assistance to the Algerines was furnished by the trading port of Marseilles, and to suspect at least that the cabinet of Versailles was an accomplice with the people of Marseilles. However that may be, the gold of Spain was more efficacious with the Algerines than its bombs had been. Florida Blanca, who some months before had boastingly said, and had published in the court gazette, that Spain would teach Europe how to treat these barbarians; that she was going to give a great example to those powers who had the

meanness to be tributary to them; this minister, who in his turn was obliged to tread in the same track, thought to do his country a great service by purchasing a peace with the Algerines at the price of 14 millions of reals. Ah! Mr. de Florida Blanca, you have presided over the fate of the Spanish monarchy for fifteen years. Your administration was not without éclat, nor even success. You had an attachment for your own country which often bordered on hatred to all nations. You served it, if not with bright discernment, at least with loyalty and disinterestedness. The nobleness of your sentiments overbalanced the stiffness of your character and the excesses of your irascible temper. You have particularly acquired esteem by the firmness with which you have supported a disgrace of which I was a witness, and which the cause I served obliged me to applaud; but you must confess that your conduct with respect to the Algerines was not wise, nor the most brilliant part of your ministry.

Since the peace concluded in 1785, Spain had again some disputes with the Algerines. She felt at last that the possession of Oran and of Mazalquivir, situated on their frontiers, would be an eternal source of misunderstanding between her and that regency; that it was useless; and that the position favoured the desertion of her troops. Oran besides had suffered two evils at once, a siege by the bey of Mascara, and an earthquake

which had made the place a heap of rubbish. Spain, therefore, towards the end of 1791 determined to renounce her pretensions to it, as well as to Mazalquivir, in favour of the regency, reserving only to herself some commercial advantages.

In this manner that famous conquest of cardinal Ximenes fell again into the hands of the barbarians. On the 26th of February 1792, six thousand five hundred men, who formed almost the whole Spanish population, evacuated the city, went round the bay, and proceeded to Mazalquivir, where they embarked for Carthagena. Every thing was removed in sight of the Moors, who entered immediately after. Oran could not be preserved but at great expense, and was of no real utility; it would require at least four thousand men to defend it only in part. There were four intrenchments, in form of an amphitheatre, necessary to guard a spring of water, without which the inhabitants could not subsist at Oran, and which the Moors have often attempted to destroy. Spain has given a proof of its wisdom in relinquishing these places. She should not stop there, but should likewise abandon the other presidencies of Africa, which are burdensome to her, and which vain glory alone can stamp with value. She maintains there, particularly at Ceuta, several thousands of galley slaves under the name of *présidiarios*. Those who drag their chains, naked or in rags, and who are employed in laborious works,

amount to four or five thousand. The others, who are less numerous, enjoy a kind of liberty, and go themselves to seek their work. They both receive equal pay, which is very moderate; and in this refuse of the human species are confounded, to the shame of reason and of equity, assassins, rogues of all kinds, smugglers, deserters, and other unhappy beings, who expiate in this contagious society other faults of a less heinous kind.

It was the navy that led to the consideration of the Barbary states. She will as naturally conduct us to commerce, which can have no consistence without her, and which shall be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Spanish commerce in general. Corn laws. Interior commerce. Coasting trade. Commerce of Europe.

THE commerce of Spain has perhaps more branches than that of any other country in the world. It has immense countries to provide for. It has even a great quantity of productions to export, some of which are very much desired, and others absolutely necessary. It played the most active part at the splendid epoch of the Spanish monarchy. Foreign merchants in great numbers came to exchange their goods for the produce of the Spanish territory and of Spanish industry. But under the successors of Charles V these advantages vanished, and Spain for a long time carried on only a passive and disadvantageous commerce. At present, though her agriculture and her manufactures have still much to acquire, it may be presumed, that if she had only herself to provide for with the goods she wants, what she receives from foreigners would at least be balanced by her exports; so that the possession of her American colonies, and the obligation she is under of

providing them with a great number of articles, are the only causes why the balance of trade in Europe is against her. It is true, this is compensated by the produce of the mines, which enables her to pay this balance; and from this may be learned that the colonies, at least at present, are not so hurtful to her as is still believed; on the contrary, that in proportion as she augments the productions of her soil and of her manufactures, she finds in her colonies a sale for them, the greatness of which serves in its turn as an encouragement to her industry.

Some of my readers will perhaps think this assertion paradoxical; it would even have been erroneous fifty years ago; but it is more than probable since Spain has awakened from her slumbers. It is proved by those who have studied the extent of her actual resources.

Spain can in the first place draw from her own soil an abundance of almost every necessary of life. We have spoken of her wool and of her cloth, which, though not perfect as yet, may suffice for the wants of the inhabitants. We shall see under the head of Valencia what she makes of her silks. Her brandy, her liqueurs, her fruit, and her barilla, even her oils, make a considerable branch of exportation on her eastern and southern coasts. She has in the interior a sufficient quantity of common wines for her own consumption; wines little known elsewhere, whether from caprice, or because the more northern nations dislike their luscious and

heady quality. Her agriculture, when more improved and encouraged, will furnish her with grain sufficient for exportation. Notwithstanding its imperfect state at present, some provinces, such as Andalusia and Castille, often grow more corn than they can consume. But the difficulty of interior circulation makes this fertility of little advantage to the rest of the kingdom. Bad roads, not a navigable river, not a canal that is in full employ. The conveyance, too, is not only slow but very expensive. It is still remembered at Madrid, that thirty years ago, the supply of that capital, neglected by want of foresight, demanding an extraordinary dispatch, the government were obliged, in order to convey 250 *fanegas* * a day, to assemble from all parts no less than 30 thousand draft animals.

Spain is therefore sometimes at the mercy of foreigners, even when some of her provinces are provided in abundance. But, notwithstanding the outcry which scarcity occasions, she never is deficient in more than a thirtieth part of what she consumes in ordinary †.

* A measure of corn weighing in some parts 90, 100, and even 105 pounds, of which the average price is about 16 reals.

† The years 1803 and 1804 present perhaps an unique example in the annals of Spain, when her misfortunes came on all at once. Contagious disorders, inclemency of the season, scarcity of hands, all united in reducing the produce of the harvest of every province to almost nothing. She was obliged to procure from abroad near nine millions of *fanegas*, the price of which

The following is a proof of it.

Her total consumption may be valued at 60 millions of *fanegas*; the following calculation will render this assertion at least plausible.

Sixty millions of *fanegas*, weighing on an average 90lbs. each, make 440,000,000 pounds of corn, which divided amongst 10,500,000 consumers, allow for each somewhat less than 520 pounds a year, *i. e.* less than a pound and a half per day.

The exactness of our calculation may be called in question by all who, like the French, insist that every individual of a nation consumes one with another two pounds of bread every day; but it will not appear so to any one who observes—1st, that the *fanega* of several cantons of Spain weighs more than 90 pounds; 2dly, that the population is not quite ten millions and a half; 3dly, that maize supplies the inhabitants in some provinces instead of corn; 4thly, that the Spaniards consume in general less bread than the French. It may therefore be considered as very probable, that the

rose beyond all proportion. It is no exaggeration to value the cost at 45 millions of hard piastres, calculating the *fanega* at 100 reals; and it is known that at Seville and Cadiz, places so favourably situated, the *fanega* was sold for 150 and even 200 reals. What are we to think of a country that, in spite of the defects of its administration, could provide for such an enormous increase of expense?

common consumption of Spain is about sixty millions of *fanegas*.

Forty ships at most that bring the corn cannot contain more than two millions, and this is notwithstanding sufficient for these temporary wants exaggerated by a false terror. Spain therefore left entirely to herself can never experience a real famine*. Where is the nation that could not without much effort diminish her consumption a thirtieth part? It will not be doubted after what passed in France in 1794 and 1795.

In the mean while, on the slightest appearance of scarcity, the only remedy known in Spain, as well as elsewhere, is the prohibition of exports, a measure at least unnecessary and often disastrous, because it deprives the fertile provinces of the certainty of an advantageous market, which ought to be encouraged to assist them in triumphing over local obstacles.

In Spain there is not at present any fixed law concerning corn. Until the reign of Charles III the exportation of it was prohibited almost without interruption, and the price fixed at an invariable rate. The inconvenience of these shackles was at last felt, and M. de Campomanis, at that

* See in the preceding note the modifications of which our assertions are susceptible in very extraordinary circumstances.

time fiscal of the council of Castille, succeeded in breaking them. In 1765 an edict established that the interior commerce in corn should be entirely free; that public magazines should be formed where on pressing occasions it might be sold at the current price; that liberty should be given to diminish it when it had kept up to a certain price three succeeding market days; that corn might be imported, and introduced six leagues into the country, &c. This regulation was soon after modified; exportation was even entirely prohibited in 1769; but the regulations of 1765 were re-established in full in 1783.

All these variations can only tend to nourish the timidity and idleness of cultivators. A more stable law, and particularly one more observed, is wanting. For that which permits exportation is continually eluded by the caprice or cupidity of the alcaldes and commanders on the frontiers; and when nothing opposes, there are so many formalities to be observed before exportation can be effected, that it happens very rarely in the way the law authorizes it. The manner of conveyance must prevent the smuggling of corn out of the kingdom, more than most people imagine; on the other hand, it is certain that much enters Spain at different ports. Galicia and the Asturias often receive a considerable foreign supply, although the people consume a great deal

of maize. Biscay conveys it into the province of Alava, into Navarre and Arragon, and even to foreign ports, by the way of St. Sebastian. All the eastern coast of Spain is continually in want of corn; and the kingdom of Valencia procures it from abroad, when at the same time La Mancha, which almost always has abundance, cannot supply her. Even Andalusia, notwithstanding her fertility, receives foreign corn by her ports of Cadiz and Malaga*. Hardly any where but towards the frontiers of Portugal could corn be exported with advantage. That kingdom never grows corn sufficient, and the neighbouring provinces of Spain have often an abundance and to spare.

The superfluity of corn in Spain is principally in Old Castille, and is conveyed by St. Andero and the neighbouring ports to Galicia, the Asturias, Andalusia, and even to France, as happened in 1782 and 1783. Even this exportation is not

* The kingdom of Valencia procures corn principally from Italy and Barbary. That which she receives from La Mancha is dearer, because it can be conveyed only by mules. In time of peace the price is less, because the muleteers bring corn to Valencia when they come to the coast for salt fish, an article indispensable in the country: but in time of war they must return empty. Besides, frequent dry seasons cause a scarcity in La Mancha, and therefore the assistance this province can give to Valencia is far from being certain.

effected but in spite of the rooted prejudices in old Castille; prejudices which from experience should cease; and the regulation of 1765 has been justified by the increase of corn almost one third since it was put in force.

About the same time another measure was adopted for the encouragement of agriculture, viz. the institution of *positos*. These are magazines of corn established in more than five thousand communes in Spain, to insure the subsistence of the people against all accidents, and to prevent even alarm, which in this delicate matter is often equivalent to the evil itself. Whenever one of these *positos* is determined on in any place, the municipal magistrates (*ayuntamiento*) oblige every inhabitant who has a field, whether proprietor or only tenant, to contribute a certain number of *fanegas*. The following year the inhabitant takes what he had furnished, and replaces it with a somewhat larger quantity of new corn: and so on every year, until the aggregate of all these exceedings, called *creces*, has filled the magazine. But this event is protracted by the cupidity of the managers; for there are few *positos* in Spain that do not enrich their superintendants at the expense of the poor. For some years past, however, an attempt has been made to prevent these abuses by bringing back the *positos* to their primary object, to make them an encouragement to the husbandman, and even to consecrate the

surplus to the relief of those who may want grain at the season for sowing *.

Besides these public granaries, there are many established by private charity, which furnish the less opulent cultivators with corn for sowing. There are also, in some places, as at Valencia and Malaga, *monts de piété*, or *erarios*, the funds of which are destined to make advances to labourers for one year only. These funds are taken from the produce of the *spolios y vacantes* †.

All these helps, however, all these palliatives, which prove more the good intention than the judgement of those who instituted them, are not sufficient to give life to agriculture. Its languor proceeds from a radical fault, which would not be done away if even the plan for facilitating the conveyance of her productions should be put in complete execution. In Spain, property is too much extended, and the country too thinly inhabited. A number of circumstances combine to discourage agriculture. We shall only quote one. The

* This resource of the agriculturists was cut off by the last war, the king having seized the *positos* for the supply of his armies; promising to make satisfaction, *in more prosperous times, for these temporary and forced spoliations.* That at Madrid, however, still exists, and was a great relief to the inhabitants during the disastrous year 1804.

† But they are ill conducted.

privileges of the *mesta*, extended even to the proprietors of permanent sheep-walks, oblige the husbandman to leave his fields open at all times; so that from the day after the harvest until he sows his fields again, they belong more to the public than to himself*.

How different is agriculture now in Spain to what it was in the time of the Moors! We have instanced lately an unanswerable proof of it in the protracted publication of a work by an Arabian doctor of the 12th century, which had been till 1751 covered with the dust of the Escurial, but was at last translated, and given to the public in 1802. It appears by this work, which shows its author to be extremely well versed in books on agriculture of all countries, that in his time this science was brought in Spain to the highest degree of perfection. Mention is made of a great number of useful vegetables, for which the soil of Spain was very proper at that time, but to which it is in our days almost an entire stranger: such are the sugar-cane, a species of rice that grows

* The defects of agriculture have been exposed in the most luminous manner by *don Gaspar Melchior de Jovellanos*, in a paper which makes part of a volume of Memoirs published in 1796 by the Patriotic Society of Madrid. The remedies are there pointed out as well as the evils; but the advice of a citizen equally commendable for his zeal as for his talents, clashed too much with the interest of many not to remain a long time without effect.

without the continual assistance of water, the cotton tree, the pistachio, the banana tree, the sesame, &c. without counting many other plants exclusively appropriated to the taste and manners of the Arabians. Besides these advantages, which this industrious people had over the inhabitants of modern Spain, they had also those resulting from a profound study of the nature of various soils, of the composition and uses of the best manure, and of the labour necessary before sowing*. Many existing proofs show that the success in practice of this people answered to their calculations in theory; and must make us regret that the country which so unwisely expelled them has not inherited their method.

Of what importance would not agriculture be to Spain, were it more encouraged! Nothing is equal to the natural fertility of most of her provinces: their corn is of the best quality; the wheat loses no more than five per cent. in the grinding, whilst in the northern countries it loses fifteen: hence the difference in price of this kind of grain is very striking. Sometimes the wheat of Andalusia has fetched at Seville double the price of that imported into Cadiz from the north.

Until government shall enliven the interior of Spain by roads and canals, scarcely any other

* A learned Portuguese, M. Correa de Serra, resident for some time at Paris, has given an excellent abstract of this work in No. V and VI of the *Archives Littéraires*.

trade will be carried on than that of wine and oils, conveyed by mules and asses from one province to another: of grain, likewise carried by beasts of burden to supply a neighbouring province; and particularly that of wool, which from the two Castilles takes the road to the northern ports. Materials necessary for manufactures, goods that pass either from the frontiers or from the sea-ports into the interior, are conveyed in the same expensive manner.

Spain is little more advanced in the coasting trade. If the Catalonian and Biscayan vessels be excepted, this commerce is almost entirely in the hands of the French, the English, and the Dutch, three nations who have the advantage over the Spaniards in being more active, in understanding their business better, and navigating at less expense and with fewer seamen. What till now obliged the Spaniards to be somewhat active, has their almost perpetual wars with the Barbary states; these have only tended to inspire a disrespect for their flag. Government, however, has recently felt the necessity of removing this principal obstacle to their navigation in the Mediterranean.

With respect to foreign trade, Spain as yet plays a very passive part. To be convinced of this, let us make a rapid tour round her coasts.

Those of Catalonia appear at once an exception. Scarcely any of the reproaches that we cast on the Spaniards are applicable to the Catalonians.

The port of Barcelona exports silk stuffs, middling cloths, cottons, chintzes, wines, and brandy, all the production of the country; and to know what share the Catalonians have in this trade, it is sufficient to say that, in 1782, of 628 vessels which entered Barcelona, 317 were Spanish. It is true that by the same port some silk stuffs from Lyons, stockings from Nîmes, and many cotton goods enter Catalonia, in spite of the prohibition: but particularly a great quantity of salt fish, an article for which England receives near three millions of piastres per annum, enters Spain by Barcelona;—a remarkable circumstance in the history of commerce, that a nation of heretics should supply a catholic kingdom with an eatable which they alone know how to prepare for the taste of the consumers, take from their coasts the salt with which the fish are cured *, and catch those fish near the same island of Newfoundland of which they made the discovery. It would seem as if this dependence was an irrevocable decree of fate; for the attempts made to substitute fish caught on the coasts of Biscay and the Asturias have been in vain, and only served to prove that laws, policy, interest itself, disappear before the caprice of taste †.

* The salt which the English use for their cod is procured on the coast of Setubal, and still more of Alicant; where their vessels, sometimes in ballast, come to take in their lading to carry it to Newfoundland.

† The consumption of English cod diminished during the war that terminated with the peace of Amiens, although

The other ports of Catalonia are very nearly in the same case with Barcelona. Tarragona and the neighbouring ports receive provisions, and export dried fruits: Tortosa exports or imports corn, according as the crop in Arragon and Catalonia has been good or bad; and particularly exports a great deal of alkali.

The ports on the coast of Valencia likewise carry on a considerable trade, generally to our advantage. We send there linens, woollens, haberdashery, spices, and grain, and take back their equivalent in wine, wool, dried fruit, alkali, and barilla. We go to Gandia for the wool employed in our manufactures at Languedoc and Elbeuf, and carry there our cloth, linens, haberdashery, &c. The English also send their cloth there, and the Dutch fetch brandy.

Alicant has been till now the most flourishing trading town, after Cadiz and Barcelona, in all Spain, and her port has received the most national vessels. Of 961 which entered it in 1782, six hundred were Spanish, and most of them Catalonian. Alicant exports more than any other town in Spain, wines, brandy, almonds, aniseed, salt, saffron, &c.

neutrals brought it to Spain under the name of French. The Norway stockfish has supplanted the former in some provinces, especially in Barcelona, where it is preferred to the English cod; but all the rest of Spain have a distinguished predilection for the last, though not so good as the Norway.