

reproaches of ignorance and indolence to which she had so long been exposed?

Even that would be better, replied the merchant, than to risk, by endeavouring to derive new and romantic advantages from the islands, exciting the jealousy of those powers which forbear to disturb them at present on account of their inutility, and who would not have suffered them to remain so long in the possession of a more active nation. It would also be more advantageous than to increase and extend their commerce at the expence of the manufactures of Spain, and at the risk of disturbing the tranquility of Europe. But my assertions are not so opposite to reason and policy as you seem to imagine.

I do not mean that Spain should continue to abandon the Philippines entirely to themselves. Let those kinds of agriculture and industry, to which the soil and character of the inhabitants render them proper, be encouraged, but

let these be entirely directed to the advantage of the people of the island. You say, their port is inaccessible in time of war. In that case, the chief task of the mother country is performed. It would be sufficient that now, in time of peace, that port should be opened to all the Eastern nations, and that the inhabitants should be permitted to make voyages from one part of India to another. This would suffice for their prosperity without endangering their safety. By this means the reproaches you would wish Spain to free herself from will be without foundation, and the mother country will signalize that virtue so worthy of a great power, the generosity of rendering her subjects happy, without expecting any other return than that resulting from a voluntary benefaction.

In fact, what reason can a government which is so successfully employed in making roads and canals to facilitate communication through every part of the country; which incessantly labours to encourage

rage agriculture and manufactures, to increase population, to emancipate the inhabitants from their ancient prejudices, to render the navy respectable, and to extend commerce to so many other colonies which without the Philippines would sufficiently contribute to the riches and splendor of Spain, be reproached with indolence and ignorance? a government which, not satisfied with the establishment of a free trade with Spanish America in general, has had the wisdom and courage to take particular measures in favour of those parts of that America which, as Trinidad and Louisiana, had a more immediate claim to its attention? Who that has a respect for truth will henceforth dare to give so odious and unjust a description of this nation? The only answer I can return to such declamations is, either the character of the Spaniards has been improperly estimated, or it is greatly changed.\*

\* The gloomy predictions of the Spanish merchant have been contradicted in part by experience. Of three vessels sent out by the new company, one indeed

This led me to a discussion of the manners and character of the modern Spaniards, in which we agreed much better than on the subject of the Philippine company. It confirmed me in the ideas I had conceived of them after a residence of several years in the country.

suffered, from a want of skill in those who had the care of it, considerable damages, which were repaired at the isle of France; but the two others arrived safe at Cadiz towards the end of 1787. Their cargoes were received with the greatest eagerness: their sales exceeded the price at which they were estimated on their arrival from fifteen to fifty per Cent. It is however feared, that this splendid beginning cannot be supported. The high price was attributed to novelty, and the scarcity of the commodities brought by the vessels. It is presumed, that if a taste for them were established, smuggling would furnish them at a cheaper rate; for the company, for want of having placed experienced supra cargoes in the vessels, made in this first expedition very dear purchases, and of a middling quality; it is even thought, that in future, the company must renounce the article of tea, which among the Spaniards has a rival difficult to supplant. Besides, the consumption of chocolate cannot be diminished but to the detriment of several colonies, the property of which is still more interesting to Spain than that of the new company.



The recapitulation I am about to offer to my readers, will inform them what is my own opinion.

I shall begin by a few words concerning such estimates of national character. They are portraits, which under a brilliant and ingenious pencil, have every merit except that of resemblance. It is not according to them that an idea can be formed of any modern people. For individuals to resemble each other, they must be under the influence of the same climate, have the same occupations, and profess the same religion. They must also live under a well-established form of government, and most of them give to their ideas, sentiments and exterior habitude of body, a constant and uniform turn. It is the concurrence only of all these particulars which can authorize us to apply to all the portrait of an individual. A difference among them, in any one of these respects, is sufficient to give infinite variety to their moral and physical features. For this

reason it would be easy to describe the ancient Scythians, or other pastoral nations, the savages of Canada and barbarians in general, who have but one simple and uniform mode of worship, few laws, and little communication with other nations. The Greeks and Romans also in the happiest times of their republics, almost entirely devoted to the love of their country, liberty and fame, inhabiting a confined space, where the influence of climate was in every place nearly similar, and all taking a part more or less active in government, might be generally described by the same lineaments. For which reason, among modern nations, the English and Dutch would be found nearer this uniformity, the first from that universal inquietude which fixes their attention upon government, whose operations are submitted to their inspection, and from that national pride which keeps their minds in continual activity, and which is not, as in other countries, confined to certain classes of society; and the latter because, notwithstanding

standing the various constitutions of their seven provinces, they have all a point of union which attaches them to their country and liberty, by their portion of an authority infinitely subdivided; and, because the nature of their soil, and their situation with respect to other countries,\*

\* I find in the republick of Holland, a confirmation of this observation. Six of the provinces resemble each other in the nature of the soil, which obliges them to commerce, and reduces them to almost a single kind of cultivation, and in their constitution, which is differently composed of aristocracy and democracy; while the province of Guelderland which has not one considerable harbour, is almost without canals, of which the soil is more unequal and less fertile than that of the rest of the republick, and which has been long since fashioned to the yoke of a master, contains inhabitants which sensibly differ from the subjects of the other united provinces. It is therefore upon Guelderland that the Despot, who has just reduced them to subjection, has made the first essay of his power; and, whilst the other provinces glowed with the noble enthusiasm of liberty, its states, chiefly composed of gentlemen devoted by interest to tyranny, sided for his success. They were the first to offer him assistance, and gave the warmest reception to those who came to assist them of his triumph. After this, let the portrait of a real Dutchman be applied to an inhabitant of Guelderland!

prescribes them all nearly the same taste and employments. But who can flatter himself with the idea of giving a good portrait of the German, Italian, and French nations? What a difference between the climates, productions, employments, laws and language of one province and those of another! Who would apply to an inhabitant of Westphalia the description of a Saxon or an Austrian; that of a Neapolitan to a Venetian; or that of a Fleming to an inhabitant of Languedoc?

The Spaniards are in the same situation as these three nations. There are in the inhabitants of their chief provinces such striking differences of climate, manners, language, habits, character, and even exterior form, that the portrait of a Galician would more resemble a native of Auvergne than a Catalonian, and that of an Andalusian a Gascon more than a Castilian. If the Spaniards have ever had characteristic marks, applicable to all the inhabitants of

of their Peninsula, it was when the Arabians, by establishing themselves in the nation, had stamped it with a particular impress, and notwithstanding the different causes which separated them from it, had communicated to it a part of their manners, ideas, taste for the arts and sciences, and of every thing of which the traces are still found in the provinces where they mostly resided; it was when the high idea they had of their nation, and which was justified by circumstances, appeared in their persons, and gave them all a resemblance to the description ill given of them; by representing them all grave, austere, generous, and breathing nothing but war and adventures. It was, in fine, when in their general assemblies, which they called *Cortes*, all took a part, more or less active, in government, directing or watching its operations, and when they felt more strongly than at present, that patriotism which acts so powerfully upon the opinions, affections and manners of those  
whom

whom it animates. But these three causes of uniformity in national character have almost entirely disappeared, and left the Spaniards more immediately to the influence of the climate, and the laws and productions of their different provinces; so that to describe them in their present state, they must be divided into Castilians, Catalonians, Arragonians, Navarrians, Andalusians, and Asturians, and to each of these people must be assigned a particular portrait; a difficult and disagreeable task, which could never be compleated without almost continually placing the exception by the side of the rule; in which it would be scarcely possible to be exact without descending to minuteness, to be just without being severe, or a eulogist without appearing to flatter.

However, this revolution has not been so compleat as not to leave many features, by which the whole Spanish nation may still be known. A part of its manners have survived the event by

which they were changed. The influence of the climate has been modified, but not destroyed; in many respects the provinces have the same form of government. The court of a monarch, almost absolute, is still the center of all views and affections. All the modern Spaniards profess the same religion. In literature they have still the same taste, and copy the same models. In many respects they have preserved some resemblance to their ancestors, and this is what I shall endeavour to point out.

When Spain discovered and conquered the New World, not contented to reign over a great part of Europe, she agitated and convulsed the other either by intrigue or military enterprizes. At this period the Spaniards were intoxicated with that national pride which appeared in the exterior of their persons, in their gestures, language and writings. As there was then some reason for this, it gave them an air of grandeur which was at least pardoned  
by

by those whom it inspired not with respect. But by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances this splendour has been eclipsed, and the assuming manners it excused have survived it.

The Spaniard of the sixteenth century has disappeared, but his mask remains. Hence that exterior fierceness and gravity by which he is at present distinguished, and which have frequently recalled to my recollection two lines of one of our poets on the subject of original sin, notwithstanding the consequences of which the sublime station man was intended to fill is still easy to be known.

*C'est du haut de son trône un roi précipité,  
Qui garde sur son front un trait de majesté\*.*

The modern Spaniard still preserves in his air and gesture the marks of his ancient greatness. Whether he speaks

\* He is a king precipitated from his throne, who still preserves in his air some traces of majesty.



er writes, his expressions have an exaggerated turn which approaches bombast. The Spaniards will pardon me for treating them in this point with a little severity. To enable them to support it, let them recollect that each nation has its defects as well as good qualities; and that these are so joined, that defects are sometimes the consequence or excess of good qualities, in the same manner as good qualities are an excuse for, and frequently the consequences of defects.

I therefore shall not scruple to repeat that the Spaniard has an exalted idea of his nation and of himself, and expresses it without the least disguise of art. His vanity is not nourished by those pleasant exaggerations which provoke laughter rather than anger, and which characterise the inhabitants of one of the provinces of France. When he boasts it is gravely, with all the pomp of his language. In a word, the Spaniard, as a man of wit once said to me, *is a Gascon who has put on the buskin.*

I am

I am nevertheless much disposed to believe that the genius of the language may also be one reason for this pompous style. The Spaniards have not only adopted many words and expressions from the Arabic, but their language is impregnated, as it were, with the oriental spirit which the Arabians naturalized in Spain. This is found in all the productions of Spanish imagination, in works of piety, in comedies and novels. It is, perhaps, one of the causes of the slow progress of sound philosophy, because carrying every thing beyond the truth, accumulating images round the most simple ideas, and favouring whatever borders upon the wonderful, the sanctuary of truth is surrounded with illusion and rendered inaccessible. The Spaniard is so prolific, so disordered in his conceptions, that to say a man conceives brilliant chimeras, or that he receives them as realities, custom has introduced the proverb, *Il fait des châteaux en Espagne*, he builds castles in Spain, an expression, for the etymology of

of which, I think, it would be superfluous to seek elsewhere.

But the haughtiness of the Spaniard, which would be noble were it more moderated, and his gravity which always awes, and sometimes repels, are compensated by very estimable qualities, or are rather the source of those qualities. Individual pride, like that of a nation, elevates the mind and guards it against meanness; and such is the effect of Spanish haughtiness. In Spain there are vices and crimes as in other countries; but in general they bear this national characteristic. It is observable in the most obscure classes, in dungeons, and even under rags and misery. It compensates, to a certain degree, the genius of a language naturally diffuse, in which the ear seems to be gratified by an accumulation of sonorous words, and wherein multiplied expressions are frequently mistaken for an abundance of ideas. Haughtiness is commonly precise; it disdains detail and loves enigmatical



matical expressions because they are concise, and leave room to think, and sometimes to conjecture. Hence is it that the same Spaniards who, when their imagination is in the least warmed, display all the luxury of their language, are laconic when their mind is calm. Of this I might give a hundred examples, but I shall mention one only. I had occasion to speak to a Spaniard of the lowest class, and found him gravely careffing a little child. I asked him if he were the father? A Frenchman of the same rank would have modestly answered, Yes, Sir; or, at least, I believe so; and would have said much more on the subject than I should have wished to hear. The Castilian, without disturbing himself, or even receiving my question with a smile, answered me coldly: "he was born in my house," after which he immediately turned the discourse to some other subject.

This gravity, almost become proverbial, is however far from what it is  
gene-

generally supposed to be ; in fact it excludes in the Spaniards what we call affability. They do not anticipate, but wait for you. But this austere covering frequently conceals a good and benevolent mind, which will become manifest on the least examination. Strangers to the vain hypocrisy of French politeness, the Spaniards are sparing in professions. Their smile of benevolence is not the mark of duplicity, and their heart commonly opens with their features. How often have I been repulsed by the exterior of a Spaniard, and remained a long time without being able to approach him, or to conquer my repugnance, which was all that was necessary, to find in him a complaisance not affected but real ; an obliging manner, not that which promises but that which grants ! The Spaniards are, perhaps, in want of that urbanity which is bestowed by what we call a refined education, but which too frequently serves as a covering to falsehood and contempt. They supply this by that unaffected frankness and good-

nature, which announces and inspires confidence.

The great among them have no dignity, if we mean that which is circumpect in its affability, for fear of provoking familiarity, and which cares but little whether or not it be loved, provided it be but respected. Without forgetting who they are, they mark not in a mortifying manner the distinction of classes, and do not disdain to form connections among those beneath their own. They have no longer among them a Duke of Alba, a Don Louis de Haro, and a Penaranda, whose characters displayed in the face of Europe, have undoubtedly contributed to propagate the idea still entertained of the imperious haughtiness of the Spanish nobility of the first rank. If some have still preserved the traces of it, in them it is coolness, timidity, and embarrassment; or at least, if I may use the expression, their point of contact with the rest of the nation.

We

We must not forget likewise, that this exterior gravity conceals in persons of every class a cheerfulness, which to discover itself only needs to be excited. To prove this, I shall not have recourse to the Spanish theatres, where buffooneries are so well received; this would rather be an argument against my assertion, because it has been remarked, that the theatres of gay nations are more serious than those of grave ones, as if the mind were principally delighted with those emotions which are most opposite to its habitual state.

But to enable the reader to judge whether or not the Spaniards have the vivacity I have attributed to them, I will conduct him to circles where they are at their ease; to their repasts, even before the vapours of the food and wine have fermented in their brain; I will introduce him to their conversations which abound in sprightliness, pleasantries and equivoques, all the legitimate or illegitimate offspring of vivacity;

city; and will there ask him, if this be not more open and better supported than in French societies, circles or *petit-soupers*. Undoubtedly he will say, that this vivacity is too noisy, that it is vulgar. But contemptible is that delicacy which condemns men to tiresome insipidity. Let this cheerfulness however, be condemned or not, by the caprice of fashion, it does not the less exist because our prejudices have taken a contrary turn.

Similar observations may be made on other defects with which the Spaniards are continually reproached. If I have not quite absolved them from their idleness, I have taken the liberty to assert, that it was the consequence of transient circumstances, and will disappear with them. In fact, when we witness the activity which appears upon the coast of Catalonia, throughout the whole kingdom of Valencia, in the mountains of Biscay, and in all places where industry is encouraged, and commodities have an easy and certain sale; when on the other  
hand



hand, we observe the laborious life of the muletiers and caleffieros, who courageously conduct their mules and carriages throughout the whole country by the most dangerous roads; the husbandmen who, in the plains of La Mancha and Andalusia, harden themselves to the labours of the fields, which the nature of the soil, the distance of their habitations, and the heat of the most burning climate in Europe, render more painful than in other countries; when we consider the number of Galicians and Asturians who, like our Auvergnians and Limousins, seek at a distance the slow and painful means of subsistence; when we perceive that the idleness with which the Spaniards are so much reproached, is circumscribed within the boundaries of the two Castiles, that is, the part of Spain the most unprovided with roads, canals, and navigable rivers; it is but just, to conclude that this vice is not an indelible stain in the character of the Spanish nation; that it is only the result of the transient nature of things;

and that a government active and enlightened like the present, will find means intirely to eradicate it.

There is another defect which has much affinity to idleness, at least it manifests itself by much the same symptoms; which is slowness; and from this it would be more difficult to exculpate the Spaniards. It must be allowed, that knowledge penetrates but slowly into Spain. In political measures, war, and all the operations of government; nay, even in the common occurrences of life, when other nations act, they still deliberate. Mistrustful and circumspect, they fail in as many affairs by slowness, as others by precipitation. This is the more extraordinary, as their lively imagination should seem of a nature to be irritated by delay. But in nations, as in individuals, there is not a single quality which is not frequently modified by a contrary one, and in the struggle, the triumph is always on the side to which the mind is most forcibly disposed by the circumstance of the moment.

ment. The Spaniard, naturally cold and deliberate when nothing extraordinary moves him, is inflamed to enthusiasm, when his haughtiness, resentment, or any of the passions which compose his character, are awakened either by insult or opposition. Hence it is, that the Spanish nation, apparently the most grave, cold, and slow in Europe, sometimes becomes one of the most violent when circumstances deprive it of its habitual calm and deliver it up to the empire of the imagination. The most dangerous animals are not those which are in the most continued agitation. The aspect of the lion is grave as his pace; his motions are not without an object; his roarings not in vain. As long as his inaction is undisturbed, he loves peace and silence, but if he be provoked, he shakes his mane; fire sparkles in his eyes; he roars tremendously, and the king of animals appears.

It is this combination of slowness and violence which perhaps constitutes the most formidable

formidable courage; and such seems to me to be that of the Spaniards. The causes which retained them in continual inactivity have disappeared. The vicinity of the Moors, which was not the least of them, has long lost its effect; as well as the united motives of hatred, jealousy and fanaticism which increased its intensity. The wars of the last century, and that of the Spanish succession, were not sufficient to keep it up to the height at which it then was. Spanish courage therefore, may seem abated; but it is capable of being roused, and is easily excited upon the least signal. The revolution in this respect is not sensible, except in circumstances in which courage is useless, or sometimes prejudicial, and rather the vice of a ferocious people, than the virtue of a polished nation. The name alone of infidels excited fury, but the age of the Pizarros and Almagros is forgotten, happily for Spain and humanity. The colonists of Spanish America, and the natives she has still preserved,

no longer tremble under the yoke of the mother country.

If religious intolerance exists in Spain, it is only in declamation, and the zeal of persecution is considerably abated. The Spaniards begin to think that religion may permit policy to treat as useful neighbours, those whom they had only viewed as irreconcilable enemies. In Spain, as well as in other nations, the progress of knowledge and philosophy, though it may have been slow, has sensibly softened the manners. The traces of ancient barbarity successively disappear. Assassinations were formerly common in Spain. Every man of respectability, and every one who held a public employment had his assassins at command; which were hired in the kingdom of Valencia, as it is pretended witnesses are in some of the French provinces. This dreadful custom was in some measure the consequence of the weapons then in use. One of these was a species of triangular poniard which, concealed under

der the cloak, was drawn forth to take vengeance in the first moment of repentment. A stroke from it was much more dangerous than one from a sword, the use of which cannot be secret, and requires some dexterity; and it was more to be feared than the common poniard known by the name of *rejon*. The use of these perfidious weapons is not yet entirely abolished, and furnishes a ground for the accusations with which foreigners continue to vilify the Spaniards. It is seldom that the manners of a people are corrected by violent and precipitate means. A minister of the present reign has made the sad experiment. The long cloaks and round hats pulled over the face favoured disorders, and particularly those which endangered the safety of the citizens. He wished to use coercive means, and even open force, to prevent their being worn for the future in the capital. The people mutinied, and the minister was sacrificed; the manner of dress so suddenly attacked, was in part continued after his disgrace; but milder and more  
slow

flow measures, the example of the court, and those about it, added to the activity of a vigilant police, have considerably contributed to correct the evil. The species of mask, under the name of a hat, which encouraged insolence by insuring impunity, is totally laid aside; and the cloak, very convenient for those who know how to wear it, now favours nothing but idleness.

The use of the fatal poniard still exists in some parts of Spain, especially in the southern provinces, but it is wholly confined to the lowest rank. Some bra-voes make it a bug-bear to the weak, and with the violent and passionate it is the instrument of immediate vengeance. The ecclesiastics have made it a part of their mission of peace and charity to disarm their parishioners. The archbishop of Granada, in particular, has with this view successfully employed his arguments from the pulpit. Poniards and assassinations are, however, still common in Andalusia; where the  
power-

powerful influence of climate yet is manifest, when not counter-balanced by moral agency. During the summer, a certain easterly wind causes in that province a kind of phrenzy, which renders these excesses more common than at any other season of the year.

But let the natural face of Spain be renewed; let roads and canals cross the districts hitherto almost inaccessible; let a more easy communication render the vigilance of the agents of government more active and certain; let an increasing population expose to the public eye, and to public punishment, the villains who reign but in solitude, like wild beasts in a desert; let the progress of agriculture, industry, and commerce give employment to mischievous idleness; in a word, let the present plan of government be executed, and it will soon appear, in this respect as in others, that the influence of climate will yield to such powerful causes. The revolution in manners, within the last half century,



ture, evinces the truth of this prediction. It was not until the present century that two barbarous customs were by degrees abolished, which ought long before to have been proscribed by reason and humanity. I mean the *Rondalla* and the *Pedreades*. The former of these is a kind of defiance which two bands of musicians give to each other. Without any other motive than that of giving a proof of bravery, they meet with swords and fire-arms, fire at each other, and then close with swords. Will it be believed that this custom still exists in Navarre and Arragon? That of the *Pedreades* has but lately been disused. This was also a kind of combat between two companies, armed with slings, who attacked each other with stones.

Such manners are equally shameful to those who retain them and the government by which they are tolerated. However, as there is scarcely any vicious custom which has not its reasons as well as apparent advantages, there are certain  
per-

persons who are displeas'd these institutions should be abolished, alledging that though they cannot be denied to be proofs of ferocity, they are equally so of courage, which they contribute to maintain among the people. Nothing but pity remains for those who shew by such arguments that reason, in their opinion, is incompatible with true courage, the only one which the glory and safety of nations require; as if in any war the arms of barbarians had ever been known to combat with advantage against disciplined troops; or the ferocity of wild disorder to insure success in military operations. The abettors of such paradoxes undoubtedly regret the revolution, which it is said the work of Cervantes has operated in the manners of Spain, by throwing an indelible ridicule on those adventurers who, neglecting the duties of their station, and the care of their families create themselves dangers to enjoy the vain glory of braving them; who offer the aid of their restless valour to those  
who

who ask it not, and whose importunate services are at least useless in countries where charity watches to assist the wretched, and where the weak are protected by a well regulated police.

The bull-fights are what principally seem to be some remains of barbarism in the manners of the Spaniards, but at the same time they are more susceptible of apology. These combats, to which the Spanish nation has the strongest attachment, though highly repugnant to the delicacy of the rest of Europe, are considered by many Spaniards as one means of preserving, in their nation, the energy by which it is characterised; from the habit of exciting violent emotions, which are disagreeable to none but weak minds. For my part, though I wish to respect a taste which I confess is by no means in unison with my own, I have never been able to comprehend what relation there is to strength and courage, in a spectacle where those present