

full of beggars as before the foundation of this house was laid. For whilst all the habitations, now recently emptied, remain to receive new tenants in similar distress with those who quitted them, and whilst such a comfortable refuge is at hand for them; indolence, prodigality, and vice will have nothing to fear, but every thing to hope; and the most improvident will not hesitate to contract those bands, on which the propagation of their race depends.

I cannot quit the hospicio, without taking notice of the kitchen, on account of its singular structure. The chimney is an octagon, in the middle of the room, surrounded by sixteen stoves, eight of them large, and contiguous to it, and as many small, communicating by means of flues. The larger stoves are three feet diameter, by three and an half in depth. Under the kitchen is a cellar to receive the ashes.

The merchants of this city, ever since the commerce of Peru and Mexico was transported here from Seville, have risen in consideration; but, in the present moment, they have received a severe shock by the removal of the barrier, which had secured
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that monopoly to them. The consequence has been, a glutted market in the Trans-atlantic colonies, many failures in Cadiz, and not a few in those cities, which have eagerly engaged in new and flattering enterprises, without sufficient capitals to stand the shock of competition and the heavy losses inevitable upon the first laying open of an extensive commerce.

The Spanish government has never yet acquired any liberal ideas respecting trade, and even at the present moment, some of their best political writers resemble lag hounds hunting the stale scent, whilst the fleetest are already in possession of the game. Instead of throwing down every obstacle to commerce, they labour to contract its limits, under the vain hope of establishing a monopoly, without considering either their own want of capital, of industry, and of an enterprising spirit, or the utter impossibility of preventing smuggling, whilst other nations, with greater advantages for trade, can undersell them in the market. Until they shall be more enlightened, until they shall have banished their inquisitors, and until the happy period shall arrive,

arrive, when, under the protection of a free government, they shall have restored public credit, and placed it on a firm foundation; all their prohibitions, all their severities exercised on the property and persons of the illicit traders, all their commercial treaties, and all their commercial wars, into which ambition may betray them, will be frivolous and vain; because no efforts will ever prevail against the united interests of their own subjects, and of all surrounding nations.

Even at home, the watchfulness and energy of government have never been able to enforce its prohibitions; for, notwithstanding these, when I was travelling through Spain, all the men appeared in Manchester cotton goods, and no woman was seen without her muslin veil. In Spain, as throughout Europe, it is found, that when the price of insurance is less than the duties imposed on the commodity, no laws are sufficient to controul the operations of illicit traders.

Previous to the year 1720, the commerce of America was confined to Seville, not intentionally, but by a regulation of Charles V. in the year 1529, who, with a view of
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laying that commerce open for all his subjects of Castille, permitted merchants to freight their ships from the ports of Biscay, the Asturias, Galicia, Malaga and Carthagena, provided they returned to *Seville*; under penalty of death, and confiscation of their cargoes, in case of non-compliance with that absurd injunction. As for the cities belonging to the crown of Arragon, they were wholly excluded from the commerce of America, and could reap no advantage from the newly discovered continent. In consequence of these regulations, and the heavy duties of twenty per cent. imposed on all goods exported to America, or imported from it, beside the duty of tonnage on the vessels; the contraband trade became so lucrative, and of course so extensive in its operations, that little could be carried on to advantage under the sanction of the laws. And the manufacturers of Spain, who A. D. 1545, had such a demand for goods, that merchants were happy to engage with them six years before hand, contracting to take from them all that they could possibly produce; these same manufacturers lived to see the market lost, and were reduced from

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the height of commercial affluence, to penury and want.

A. D. 1720, the emporium was changed, and the commerce, which for two centuries had proved a source of wealth to Seville, was translated to Cadiz. At the same time the duties were lowered, and, instead of twenty per cent. on exports, rated according to their value, all bale goods and boxes paid a settled tonnage of five reals and an half of plate for the cubic palm, without examination, or any consideration, either of the nature or of the quality of the articles contained in them. The tonnage varied according to a table comprehending the sixteen ports of Spanish America, being different in each. The inexpediency of these regulations is too obvious to escape unnoticed by the reader.

These were not, however, the only mistakes made by the Spanish government in its commerce with the colonies; for, instead of dispatching small vessels frequently, as the market might require; previous to the year 1748, the whole trade was carried on by twenty-seven galleons, and flotas to the number of about twenty-three; the former sailing

failing annually to Porto Bello, the latter, once in three years, to Vera Cruz; the former for the commerce of Peru, the latter for that of Mexico; the smallest vessel being about five hundred and fifty tons, the others from eight hundred to one thousand.

The galleons first touched at Carthagena for the convenience of the merchants of Popayan and Santa Fé, who brought gold and bezoar stones, carrying back with them, in exchange, provisions and European goods. But the principal mart was Porto Bello, a town situated in such a barren country, and subject to such noxious vapours, that, except during the annual fair, which lasted forty days, it was deserted. Hither the merchants brought their gold and silver, with Peruvian bark, and Vicuña wool; and beyond this the Spanish trader could not send his goods, nor could the Peruvians dispose of theirs, upon their own account, in Spain.

The English, by an article in the peace of Utrecht, had the privilege of sending annually a ship of five hundred tons to Porto Bello, loaded with all kinds of merchandise;

dise; but under covert of this indulgence they commonly freighted one of twice that burthen, accompanied by tenders from Jamaica, with which, when near the port, they exchanged provisions for piece goods; and by that contrivance, usually carried more articles of commerce than five or six of the Spanish fleet. From A. D. 1737, the fair, and, together with it, Panama and Porto Bello, have declined. (*V. Dampier's and Ulloa's Voyages.*)

As long as the court confined the trade of Peru to galleons, it gradually decreased, infomuch that instead of employing fifteen thousand tons, it was sunk, in the year 1740, to less than two thousand. (*V. Campomanes Educacion popular.*) But no sooner had the marquis de la Ensenada substituted register ships in the place of galleons, to proceed directly by Cape Horn to the place of their destination, than the trade revived; and when, in the year 1765, the barriers were in part removed, and all Spain, the provinces of Biscay alone excepted, was permitted to send its productions to Jucatan and the windward islands of Margarita and Trinidad; and when, instead of the duties

of the tonelada and palmeo, only six per cent. was laid upon all goods exported; the commerce, which had been like the summer's brook, soon resembled a great river, and enriched all the countries through which it flowed.

In consequence of the benefits which merchants, manufacturers, planters, and the revenue received by the partial removal of these impediments to commerce, government, although reluctantly, at last (A. D. 1778) agreeable to the remonstrances of Count Campomanes, consented to lay open the trade of America to all its subjects, those alone excepted, who, not being bound by the general laws of the peninsula, could not safely be admitted to the enjoyment of this privilege. The inhabitants of Biscay have, however, no reason to complain, because they possess an ample compensation for their loss in the peculiar immunities, which they inherit from their fathers, and more especially in the freedom of their ports.

Such have been the general regulations. But Spain, like England, and other nations of Europe, has granted, from time to time, exclusive

exclusive privileges to chartered companies, not only to the injury of its citizens at large, and of its manufacturers in particular, but to the oppression of those provinces, which have been subjected to a monopoly. If a country could be found uncivilized, yet free, and abounding with capitals unemployed in trade; or if large sums were required for hazardous undertakings, more than could be raised on the credit of a private company, in such a case, the grant of a monopoly, with peculiar privileges, might be endured; but that a trade, once open, should be confined for the benefit of a few, to the disadvantage of the many, is inconsistent with every principle of equity, and of commercial policy.

A. D. 1728, Philip V. granted by charter to a company, taking the name of Guipuzcoa, the exclusive trade of Caraccas, in the province of Venezuela, with the privilege of reshipping, by smaller vessels, all its surplus commodities for Cumana and Guayana, with Trinidad and Margarita, two islands at the mouth of the Oronoco, that this company might exchange European goods for gold, silver, hides, cacao, sugar,

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and such other fruits as these countries produced; but in the event, cacao became their staple commodity. A. D. 1752, the province of Maracaybo was added to their grant.

This company at first employed twelve vessels to carry on its trade, with nineteen to guard the coast from smugglers, varying these numbers as suited their convenience; and for both these purposes they engaged two thousand five hundred seamen. Such an expence, with the heavy charge of management by directors, supercargoes, factors, agents, clerks, &c. &c. required considerable profits, beyond what the private adventurer would have been happy to receive, had the trade been free; and therefore, as was most natural, produced exaction operating against the colonist, a contracted commerce checking the manufacturer at home, and severities exercised in vain to restrain the operations of the illicit trader. (*Vide Campomanes Educ. pop.*)

The ports they used in Spain were S. Sebastian and Cadiz, into which, in five years, from 1770 to 1774, they imported
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one hundred seventy nine thousand one hundred and fifty - six fanegas of cacao, each fanega being one hundred and ten Castillian pounds; and by this large importation sunk the price of chocolate in Spain to one-half of what it had been before.

The cacao is the fruit of the *Theobroma foliis integerrimis*, one of the Polyadelphia, Pentandria, and flourishes in America between the tropics, but more especially in the province of Venezuela. The fruit grows on the trunk and on the branches, and never fails at any season of the year. In Spain they mix six pounds of the nut with three pounds or three and an half of sugar, seven pods of vanillas, one pound and an half of Indian corn, and half a pound of cinnamon, six cloves, one drachm of capficum, some roucou nut, to improve the colour, and a small portion of musk, or ambergris, to give it a pleasant scent. Some people, however, use only the nut, with sugar and cinnamon. The Indians, to one pound of the nut put half a pound of Indian corn, with an equal quantity of sugar, and some rose-water.

The vanillas are pods filled with minute seeds, from a parasitical climbing plant, described under the name of *Epidendrum Vanilla*, Sp. Pl. 1347, belonging to the Gynandrous class, (*v.* Pulteney's View of the Writings of Linnæus.)

A. D. 1780, the Carraccas company received the severest shock in the capture of a rich convoy by Lord Rodney, valued at more than two hundred thousand pounds; and a few years after, their capital was absorbed in a new establishment, called the Company of the Philippines.

This company, instituted agreeably to the ideas suggested by the Abbé Raynal, in his view of the European settlements, took its rise in the year 1785, with a capital of twelve hundred thousand pounds, and with valuable privileges granted to it for a term of twenty-five years. Previous to this establishment, two ships sailed annually, one from Acapulco, a sea-port of Mexico, and crossing the Pacific Ocean, carried the treasures of America to the Philippines; the other, returning by the same course from Manilla, the capital of Luconia, came to Acapulco, where it was met

met by vessels from Lima, loaded with cacao, quicksilver, and hard dollars; in barter for which the merchants sent back china ware, spices, perfumes, silk, calicoes, muslins, and printed linens, the produce of the East.

When the Philippine company began its operations, this traffic ceased; and now, under the specious idea of saving time, with freight and insurance, required in conveying the gold and silver, but chiefly silver, of Peru and Mexico, by Europe to the east, these precious metals are sent directly westward to the place of their final destination, whilst the more bulky and perishable produce of the East, to the same amount in value, is diverted from its former course, and made to describe, in the opposite direction, that segment of the circle, which had anciently been traced by the silver and the gold.

The Philippine islands, almost innumerable, and cast up by volcanos, are healthy, fertile, and, beside all the grains of Europe, produce gold, copper, iron, ship-timber, hemp, alum, salt-petre, cattle, hides, sago, rice, raisins, cacao, sugar, tobacco, wax, fish, and couries, which are the money of

Indostan. These, with the silver, indigo, and cochineal of America, the company barter with the merchants of Asia for muslins, cottons, silks, spices, tea, quicksilver, and china ware, which, with the superabundant produce of the islands, are now brought by the Cape of Good Hope to Europe, and are admitted under easy duties into Spain with a drawback of one-third on their exportation.

Nothing could be more flattering to the hopes of the minister, than a plan apparently so well contrived, and carried on under the auspices of a most able and enterprising foreigner, who had already signalized himself by the formation of the bank. Yet pleasing as the prospect was, all his hopes, and all the expectations of the nation are upon the point of vanishing. With heavy charges of administration, with every disadvantage in the purchase of commodities, the chief articles of trade are either spoiling for want of a market, or sold to a considerable loss. As for tea they never use it; china ware is little in request, and even with us will scarcely pay the freight; the silks, the muslins, and the cotton goods, whilst they could find purchasers, had a tendency to
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destroy their favourite manufactures; and now, since these latter articles must abide the issue of a fair competition with the English, the company may be said to have received its mortal wound.

In a country subject to despotic power, if the minister of the day will purchase confidence, he must bid high for it; if he will have trading companies incorporated, with commanding capitals, he must grant them monopolies, with exclusive privileges, inconsistent with the general good. Yet after all, such companies will hold these privileges by a most uncertain tenure, and when they come to balance their accounts, may find, that whilst they flattered themselves with the hope of gaining more than just and reasonable interest for their money, they have lost the capital itself.

Should this be the event with the Philippine company, the nation will have reason to rejoice, and the private merchant may triumph in its fall, not on account of its ostensibly exclusive privileges, but because the whole of America and of Africa being open to its speculations, no limited capitals can stand a competition with it in

the market. Had they met with the support they had reason to expect, they must have swallowed up the whole trade of Spain and in the issue have been the ruin of that country.

They have already extended their operations to Vera Cruz, to Buenos Ayres, and to most sea-ports of America, and at the present moment they are purchasing slaves on the coast of Africa. These formerly were supplied by the English, agreeably to an article in the peace of Utrecht, known by the name of the *Affiento*. Since the expiration of this grant, various contracts have been made, and among others, one recently with Dawson and Baker, of Liverpool, who have agreed to furnish three thousand annually to the Spanish islands, and upon this contract have received three hundred thousand pounds for those they have supplied already.

The treatment of the negroes in the Spanish settlements is so humane, so wise, so just, and so perfectly agreeable to the principles of political œconomy, that I rejoice in the opportunity of giving to their government the praise, which is so peculiarly

liarly its due. The slave, both in his person and his property, is under the protection of the laws, and retains the right of redemption upon equitable terms. These are settled by arbitrators, the slave having the privilege of choosing one, and the master having the nomination of the other; and in case of their disagreement, the judge fixes upon a third.

As to acquisition of property, it is rendered easy to the slave, if he has either industry, or any desire to be free; because he may claim the numerous festivals, beside two hours in the middle of the day, to cultivate his garden, to feed his poultry and his pigs, and to carry his commodities to market. But supposing him to be a good servant, oppressed by a cruel master, and not to have acquired sufficient property for his own redemption, it is not uncommon for another planter, being a witness of his fidelity, to lend him money for the purchase of his freedom, and thus the generous master gains a valuable servant, whilst the slave becomes happy in a master, to whom he can feel himself attached. From the apprehension of this, many planters, distinguished

guished for severity, are said to be gentle to those slaves, who by their amiable disposition, or by more than common excellence, have merited attention.

Is not this regulation more beneficial to the whole community, than if all the slaves indiscriminately were restored to freedom? In the Spanish islands its good effects have been experienced to such a degree, that most of the artificers, the tradesmen, and mechanics, are negroes, who by their industry and frugality, or by their singular fidelity, have obtained their freedom; and to the credit of this institution it has been observed, that two of the best battalions at the Havannah are composed of blacks, who have been slaves.

It were much to be wished that we might be warranted, with equal justice, to bestow commendations on the Spanish court for liberality of conduct towards the colonies; but unfortunately, the same spirit of monopoly prevails in that, as in the other courts of Europe, the same narrow policy, the same contracted views; producing both at home and abroad languishing manufactures, a crippled trade, with poverty

and want of population, and in the colonies, discontents, tending towards dismemberment of empire.

In consequence of oppressive regulations attempted in Peru, that rich province was well nigh lost to Spain, if its political separation may be considered as a loss. For the Marquis de Sonora, to whose memory is due much encomium for his removal of impediments to trade, and for many regulations highly beneficial to the commerce of his country, when he attempted to establish in Peru a royal monopoly of tobacco, with some taxes odious to the people, he kindled the flames of civil war; (A. D. 1781) and had it not been for the indiscretion of the rebellious chief, the event would have been the same which England experienced upon a similar occasion. The leader of this revolt was Tupacamaro, casique of Arequipa, who, pretending to derive his origin from the sacred line and to be descended from the sun, called himself the Ynca. He had met with friendship and protection from the corregidor; yet he began his revolt by causing this man to be hanged; and such were the numerous instances

stances of his cruelty and devastations committed on the persons and the property of both foes and friends, that many of the Indians joined with government against him. He was at last taken prisoner, and hanged; and by his death a period was put to the civil war, yet not till more than two hundred thousand persons had perished in the conflict.

The minister of the Indies rendered essential service to the mines, by lowering the price of quicksilver from eighty hard dollars to forty-one, that is, to eight pounds four shillings the quintal or hundred weight. The mines of Spain, chiefly that of Almaden, formerly produced a sufficient quantity of this semi-metal for the colonies. They were at that time under the direction of the famous Bowles, an Irishman of singular abilities, and of such integrity, that after having gained millions for the king, his widow has been left to spend the residue of her days in poverty. At present, Spain can furnish only sixteen thousand quintals, and therefore, to supply the deficiency, a contract has been made with the count de Greppi, the imperial consul at Cadiz, for
twelve

twelve thousand quintals annually, for which government agrees to give fifty-three hard dollars, felling it again at sixty-three. There was indeed a good mine of quicksilver at *Quancavelica*, in Peru; but by covetousness and bad management, it fell in, and was lost. Even after this, Ulloa might have re-established it, had he not been so indiscreet as to detect and to oppose the mal-administration of some men, who were in power.

In consequence of thus reducing the price of quicksilver, and lowering the tribute of gold to one in twenty, and of silver to one in ten, instead of taking, as formerly, twenty per cent on each, the produce of both increased, and in Mexico, A. D. 1776, double the usual quantity of silver was coined, amounting to more than two millions and a half of sterling money.

The whole produce of the Spanish mines in America amounted, in the year 1776, to thirty millions of dollars, or, in sterling, four millions and a half; but in the space of six years it rose considerably, and is now stated at five millions four hundred thousand pounds.

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On the first discovery of America, this treasure centered in Spain; and, as far as laws could operate, was confined to the peninsula. The consequence of this was, the ruin of their manufactures at home; for, as the cortes justly complained to the emperor Charles V. the quantity of gold and silver in stagnation there, raised the price of labour. (*v. Campomanes Educ. popular, part iv. page 112, note 98.*) Yet, in process of time, the secret was developed, that no human power can stop the natural progress of these precious metals; and Spain, exhausted of its silver, was overwhelmed with base copper money, poured into it from surrounding nations. (*v. Campomanes, E. P. part iv. p. 272.*)

The fact itself is notorious, that the country is destitute of specie, at least relatively so; and count Campomanes, with great propriety, points out the real causes which have produced this effect. As such, he states the expensive wars carried on in the support of foreign dominion; and, in consequence of their having lost their manufactures, the sums expended to purchase
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from their more industrious neighbours the most common articles of clothing.

In the year 1784, the value of exports to America was as follow, being reduced to pounds sterling:

	Spanish produce.	Foreign produce.	Total produce.
Cadiz	1,438,912	2,182,531	3,621,443
Malaga	196,379	14,301	210,680
Seville	62,713	30,543	93,256
Barcelona	122,631	21,240	143,871
Coruña	64,575	39,962	104,537
Santander	36,715	90,173	126,888
Tortofa	7,669	289	7,958
Canaries	24,974	—	24,974
Gijon	4,281	10,190	14,471
	<u>£.1,958,849</u>	<u>£.2,389,229</u>	<u>£.4,348,078</u>

The duties upon these produced one hundred seventy thousand and eight hundred pounds.

The value of imports from America was as follow, being reduced to sterling.

Cadiz

	In money and jewels.	In merchandise.
Cadiz	- 8,297,164	2,990,757
Malaga	—	18,605
Barcelona	- 102,140	91,233
Corunna	- 741,283	90,001
Santander	- 40,843	100,974
Canaries	- 109,807	52,366
	<hr/> £.9,291,237	<hr/> £.3,343,936

The whole import was £.12,635,173, being more than double what was stated by the abbé Raynal; and the duty upon this amounted to five hundred twenty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty-three pounds.

The various prices of commodities coming from America were, A. D. 1775, in Cadiz, *viz.*

Cochineal, the best, from ninety-seven to one hundred and four ducats of eleven reals of plate the arroba, or about sixteen shillings the pound.

Indigo, from twenty-one to thirty-four reals of plate the pound, the real of plate being four pence halfpenny.

Cacao, from twenty-six to forty-one dollars the fanega, but mostly at forty. As, therefore,

therefore, sixteen fanegas are equal at Cadiz to twenty-five Winchester bushels, it may be reckoned at £. 3. 16s. 9d. the bushel.

Sugar, moderately white, twenty-five reals of plate the arroba, or about four pence halfpenny a pound.

Hides, from Buenos Ayres, Caraccas, and Orinoco, about five pence a pound, or eighteen shillings the hide when raw; but from the Havannah considerably less.

Vicuña Wool, from Peru, about two pence halfpenny a pound; and from Buenos Ayres, at two pence nearly; but the best sheeps wool, when washed, may be purchased there for less than two and three pence the arroba of twenty-eight pounds.

Cotton, clean, about three shillings a pound; but as the island of Cuba is found to produce it in vast abundance, the price must fall considerably.

Copper, from Mexico and Peru, twenty-four dollars the quintal, or about eight pence a pound, on a supposition that one hundred and four pounds Spanish equal one hundred and twelve English. From Chili it is twenty-five per cent. cheaper.

Tin, from America, was twenty dollars the quintal, whilst that from England sold for twenty-five; the former being something more than six pence halfpenny per pound. (*v. Campomanes, Apend. a la Ed. pop. p. 144.*)

Tallow might be brought from Buenos Ayres, where it sells for two and six pence the barrel of twelve arrobas, or ten pence the hundred weight: but heavy duties check this branch of commerce. (*Camp. E. P. p. 333.*)

A gentleman from Peru gave me samples of wool which came from two animals each resembling the *Vicuña*, one called *Alpaca*, the other *Llacma*; the latter coarse, but the former very fine and excellent for hats. It is to be lamented that these have not yet found their way into the market.

The whole trade of Cadiz engages about one thousand vessels, of which nearly one-tenth are Spanish.

The wines most remarkable in Cadiz are Sherry and Pacaretti, both from Xeres and its vicinity. The former is sold for forty-eight pounds a ton, the latter for fifty-six; and these, when they come to England,

England, in the out-ports, pay, customs, sixteen guineas; excise, eleven pounds eighteen shillings the ton, being four hogheads or two pipes; in London £. 2. 16 s. more.

Merchants are liable to peculiar disadvantages in Spain, not only from the nature of the government, which is perfectly despotic, and from the ignorance, misinformation, or inattention, too often to be lamented in the best of ministers; not only by absurd prohibitions, by monopolies, and by oppressive duties, but by the misconduct of the provincial governors, who frequently are influenced by mercenary views, in the judgment they pronounce between contending parties.

A late military governor, much favoured by the king, being supreme in all civil and fiscal causes, when he was new in office, refused taking bribes, and ruled his rapacious officers with a rod of iron; but long before he was disgraced, he became infected with the love of money, and received it upon the most infamous occasions without a blush. Under his protection, merchants defrauded the revenue, and bankrupts found shelter

from their creditors. This was notorious; yet, when he was recalled, such had been his predecessors, and such were they likely to be, who should be appointed to succeed him, that he retired lamented, and carried with him certificates of his good conduct, signed however, chiefly by the monks, whom, previous to his departure, he had much caressed.

On his retreat, his power was divided, and the civil government was administered by the alcaldes mayores of the city, each alternately holding it a week. One of these having, for the trifling consideration of twenty dollars, granted an order to a creditor in Spain to seize, for his own private benefit, the effects of a bankrupt; the agent of other creditors in England, taking the alcalde by the hand, with forty dollars, readily procured a reversal of the order, and thus purchased substantial justice for his employers.

Another alcalde having promised, for one hundred dollars, not to grant an attachment to a person, who had pretensions to some property, yet granted it, and being reproached for his conduct, replied with coolness,

coolness, " How could I avoid it, when
 " he gave me forty dollars ? but be not un-
 " easy, for to-morrow I will take off the
 " attachment."

Obnoxious to such abuses, how can
 commerce flourish ?

The province of Andalusia, watered
 throughout its whole extent by the Gua-
 dalquivir, if properly cultivated, should
 produce corn sufficient, not only for its
 own consumption, but for exportation. Yet
 the wheat annually imported is little less
 than one million and an half of fanegas ;
 the fanega being commonly one hundred
 weight, but at Cadiz, about three pounds
 less. Nearly one half this quantity, in the
 year 1787, came from Africa ; eighty-five
 thousand fanegas were imported from Ame-
 rica, and the remainder was furnished by
 Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia ; the whole
 amount that year being one million four
 hundred and forty-eight thousand fanegas.

It is remarkable, that though they have
 an opportunity of constructing tide-mills,
 yet, for want of these, they grind their corn
 with mules, which costs them ten reals, or

two shillings nearly, per quintal or fanega.

To prevent a scarcity of corn, and to make a profit by the sale of it, the city has established a public granary, from which the bakers are supplied at a given price; and, according to that, the magistrates regulate the affize of bread. I visited this vast repository, and was much surpris'd to see the heaps of wheat full of all kinds of trumpery, not only barley, but vetches of various kinds, and a variety of noxious feeds. Had the grain been winnowed by the machine now in common use all over Scotland, it would have been more beautiful to the eye, and much more wholesome for their food.

When I had satisfied my curiosity in viewing and contemplating the articles of commerce, under the protection of a friend, with whom I had spent much time at Madrid, I made a little excursion to see the arsenals at the Caraca. Cadiz itself is strongly fortified towards the sea by rocks, and, on the land side, by works erected at a vast expence. Beyond these are market gardens on the strand, watered by norias; and

and here begins the narrow causeway leading to the isle of Leon, which is an extensive flat, uncultivated, and scarcely susceptible of cultivation. Although barren, it produces considerable profit by the numerous salt-pools, which require very little trouble or expence; because the sun and air quickly occasion the water to evaporate, leaving the salt crySTALLIZED.

The village of Port Royal, through which we passed, is one long street, well paved, and very pretty. Here my curiosity prompted me to visit M. de Langara, who gave me a polite reception. Pleased with his countenance and manner, I most sincerely pitied his misfortunes.

Ever since the war, the exertions of Spain have been incessant to render her marine respectable; but more especially at the time when I was there, all was in motion, and the minister of the marine was making the most strenuous efforts to equip a formidable fleet. This was done to vindicate their claims upon the Mosquito shore, although that territory was never subject to the crown of Spain, and the independent princes, who have dominion there,



had been for ages in alliance with the English nation.

When I returned to England, I examined the nature and extent of the settlement which caused so much uneasiness to Spain. It consisted of no more than five hundred and sixty-nine freemen, including the women and their children, with one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three black slaves, and two hundred and four head of cattle. The uneasiness arose, therefore, not from the number of the settlers, but from their contraband trade; from their communication with the Mosquitos, who, in time of war, had been used to molest the Spaniards; and from the apprehension that, by their means, the English, in some future war, might establish themselves in force on the lake of Nicaragua.

This settlement was certainly valuable to England as the connecting medium between Jamaica and the Spanish Main for the exchange of our manufactures with Guatemala against indigo, cochineal, silver, and hard dollars. Indeed the indigo, growing wild on all that coast, yields the best commodity, and no country produces finer
§ sugar-

sugar-canes. The infant colony made about a hundred and fifty hogsheads in one year; but being obliged to pay the foreign duty in England, the mills were suffered to decay. Mahogany was a principal article of their commerce; and of this the annual export was about three million feet. Beside these articles, they sent to England four tons of turtle-shells, paying a duty of one shilling a pound, with a hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of sarsaparilla, the duty of which, at seven pence a pound, was three thousand five hundred pounds; a sum more than sufficient to discharge all the expences of this new settlement.

Such was the value of our possessions on the Mosquito Shore, that neither the minister who signed the preliminaries of peace at the close of a disastrous war, nor his immediate successor in office, who ratified that peace, would agree to their relinquishment; yet, in the year 1787, the settlement was evacuated, and our most faithful allies were abandoned to the mercy of their inveterate enemies.

The

The magazines at the Caraca, all well arranged, are full of stores, and new docks have been constructed at a vast expence, for, being sunk in a bed of soft clay and loam, they are consequently difficult to construct, and require unremitted labour to keep them dry. For this purpose they use chain pumps, to the number of sixteen, each worked by eight men, who alternately pump four hours, and rest eight. These are criminals, mostly smugglers, condemned to this painful service, some for three, others for seven, and not a few for fourteen years. The smugglers are, however, distinguished from the thieves by a single chain, whilst the latter carry two. In this dock-yard alone are a thousand of those miserable creatures. I observed here a practice worthy of imitation. To preserve their store masts from the worms, from the wind, and from the sun, they are buried in sand, and by this simple method are preserved for many years.

In order to shew how much their naval power has advanced in the space of a few years, I shall subjoin a statement of their
 9 marine

marine as it stood in the years 1776 and 1788.

Force.	A. D. 1776.		A. D. 1788.	
	Number of ships.		Number of ships.	
112	—	1	—	10
94	—	—	—	3
80	—	5	—	3
74	—	—	—	42
70	—	41	—	—
68	—	—	—	5
64	—	4	—	5
60	—	6	—	—
58	—	—	—	4
54	—	—	—	1
40	—	—	—	2
34	—	—	—	40

I take no notice of the smaller frigates, they being of trifling importance.

By this statement it is evident, that in twelve years the naval force of Spain has been nearly doubled, considering merely the guns; but when we take into consideration the number of their leading ships; in point of respectability, it will appear to be much more than doubled; and if we pay attention either to the views of government, or to the peculiar taste and disposition of the new sovereign, we may conclude that no expence

pence will be spared, nor the most watchful attention wanting, to render their navy still more formidable. In the summer of 1790 their fleet of observation consisted of twenty-eight ships of the line, among which were four ships of 112: beside these, they had six of the line stationed in the Mediterranean, and a strong fleet in America.

It is a question worthy of discussion, whether Spain ought to aim at being distinguished as a naval power; or whether the sums annually expended with that view would not be more profitably employed in exciting industry, by opening communications, promoting agriculture, cherishing manufactures, encouraging trade, and by adopting every plan, followed by the most enlightened nations, to facilitate commercial intercourse. Should she adhere to the colonising system, a powerful navy will be needful to protect her commerce, and to secure her monopolies; but then it should be inquired, will the proportion of trade obtained, beyond what she would enjoy, if she had lost her authority over these distant provinces, or if their trade was free,

pay

pay the expence of arming thus in times of peace, and of employing such a multitude of revenue officers to guard extensive coasts? but more especially, will it indemnify her for all the commercial wars, in which she may be engaged to support her trade?

These are questions proper to be resolved; and her best politicians think, that she would be richer and more powerful without colonies. If their opinion is well founded, it is absurd to expend so much upon their navy.

No country can boast greater advantages for trade than Spain; and even without a single ship she might be powerful and rich. Her wine, brandy, raisins, figs, almonds, oranges, and nuts; her olives, oil, soapashes and soap; her silks, linens and cottons, were they properly encouraged, with the finest wool, not omitting the *esparto*, so valuable for cables, &c. her iron, superior in quality to that of other countries, with tin, lead, and copper in abundance; to which might be added her surplus corn, were the land in proper tillage; all these productions of the soil, with
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the manufactures, which, under a good government, must naturally find establishment in Spain, would be such a never-failing source of wealth, that should any of the surrounding nations wish to disturb her peace, she could have no cause to fear, because upon a well-peopled, compact, and united empire, no lasting impression can be made. But supposing Spain, with such advantages of soil and climate, producing such a rich variety of articles for trade, without exhausting colonies, armed for self-defence, but not inspiring either jealousy or fear, should confine her views wholly to domestic industry; which of all her neighbours could feel any inclination to molest her? In such circumstances must not every one of them rejoice in her prosperity?

War, among the rude inhabitants of infant countries, has only plunder for its object. This kind of depredation a well-disciplined people have no need to dread; and among the civilized it has been long since forgotten. But the flames of war have been too often kindled among polished nations, with a view to conquest; and projects of ambition

tion have seldom failed to spring from wealth and power. Yet the more enlightened begin to see the folly of such pursuits; and all, who are skilled in political arithmetic, are able to demonstrate their inexpediency. Not to mention the expence of conquests, both in men and money, it is found by experience, that an empire, not merely when possessing distant provinces, but as it extends its limits beyond certain bounds, becomes proportionably weak. Whenever this truth shall be universally acknowledged, only one source of devastation will remain.

At present, the greatest danger to the prosperity of Europe is from commercial wars. But when the colonies, still subjugated to the European powers, shall cast off the yoke, and the commercial nations, better acquainted with their true interest, shall duly cultivate the arts of peace, this source of contention will be dried up, and the only surviving contest will be that of industry; or, in the language of the east, men will beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.

The

The benefits arising to mankind from this species of contention, are described by Hesiod, with such beautiful simplicity, that I shall take the liberty to quote him.

A twofold envy, kindling twofold strife,
 Marks the vicissitudes of human life.
 On widely different principles they move;
 Who hates the one, the other must approve.
 Parent the one, of fierce protracted jars,
 To man, predestined source of endless wars.
 Night, fable goddess, gave the better birth,
 By Saturn wooed in lonely caves of earth.
 This spurs the lazy on to noble deeds,
 While the bright flame just emulation feeds.
 The idle neighbour of the growing great
 Envy that source of wealth, which forms his state.
 Who plants, who sows, with him in both to vie,
 Shall find some mimic mortal ever nigh.
 Pregnant with good this mild contention lives;
 By her each meager artist eats and thrives:
 Beggar on brother beggars keeps his eye,
 And learns from them his humble suit to ply,
 E'en poets, kindling at another's name,
 Subdue their hunger by pursuit of fame.
Perses, these precepts, which my lines impart,
 Grave on the living tablet of thine heart.
 Nor let that worse ambition fire thy mind,
 To join the mad pursuits of mad mankind:
 To whom enough from Ceres golden store
 Earth yields for present day, but yields not more.

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With this contented, soothe thine anxious soul;
 Nor risk thine half by grasping at the whole.
 View foreign riches with indifferent eyes,
 Toil is the ways and means of rich supplies.

HESIOD'S WORKS AND DAYS.

As we returned from the caraca, on the caufeway, a little above the level of the fea, and afterwards in the highest part of the city, I observed a porous kind of rock, composed of flinty gravel, and broken shells, united by a cement, such as was sufficient to connect, but not to fill up the interfices between them. This fact should be treasured in the memory, because it accords with many others, and points out a remarkable event in the history of the earth, subsequent to the grand revolution occasioned by the deluge.

As we returned to the city, I had the satisfaction of seeing a company of young gentlemen, who amused themselves in the foss of the ramparts, with their favourite diversion of the balloon. Their ball, about eight inches in diameter, is made of leather, strongly inflated by means of a machine, so as to be exceedingly elastic,

after which it is smeared with clay. This they smite very obliquely against a wall, with their right hand; and to give it a greater momentum, as well as to protect the fist, the hand is inclosed in a wooden case, in which are many wide and deep furrows, crossing at right angles, so as to leave a corresponding number of blunt points. The antagonists, at the distance of about fourscore yards, receive the balloon as it rebounds, and before it falls, one of them drives it back again, varying the angle within a given space, so as best to elude the attention of his opponents. This game, a species of fives, yet more elegant than ours, requires much strength and good address.

In the evening I went to see the theatre. It is large, elegant, and commodious; but as plays would not accord with the solemnity of Lent, they compromised the matter, and contented themselves with an exhibition of ropedancers, tumblers, pantomimes, and puppet shows, with some most whimsical dances, in all which they had excellent performers. The dancers were in the
 stile

file of lunatics, every one clothed in some antic dress, and the scene represented the court-yard of a madhouse. They began with country dances, then suddenly they changed to the cotillion, the allemand, the galliego, and the fandango, passing with quick transitions from one to the other, and concluding with a rich variety of figures.

As it was Lent I heard many sermons, but not one, which to me appeared interesting. The most polished orators confine themselves to churches; but as it is found useful to have some, who can adapt themselves to the understandings and feelings of the vulgar, many preachers are appointed to harangue the multitude assembled in the market place, and this they do with a vehemence of voice and gesture suited to their congregations. I observed often three or four of these engaged at the same time, yet keeping such a proper distance as not to interfere.

One Wednesday evening, I went to the Franciscans to hear a penitential sermon delivered by a father of that society, who was famous for his discourses. This being

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finished,



finished, all the lights were extinguished, and instantly the scourges were applied. We could readily distinguish a difference in the sound, according as the part subjected to discipline was more or less covered with elastic muscles, and in proportion to the degree of energy with which it was applied; but moderation was the prevailing sentiment, and many scarcely let the left hand know what the right hand did. How much more fervent is the zeal of Catalans, who seem as if the scourge drew blood at every stroke! Here not a voice was to be heard; whereas at Barcelona the people uttered not only groans and howlings, but a mixture between both more horrible than either.

At times when the market place was not occupied by orators, the scribes took possession of it with their benches, at which they sat with pen, ink, and paper, to write and read letters of all sorts, and to execute every kind of deed. The common price of a letter is eight quartos, or two pence farthing; and although this sum is trifling in itself, yet, considering the

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number

number of illiterate people, who constantly employ them, they contrive to make out a comfortable maintenance.

Before I left Cadiz, I had the satisfaction of being witness to the ceremonies attending a funeral. After the physicians have turned their back upon a patient, nothing remains for him but confession, absolution, the eucharist, extreme unction, death; and no sooner is the last event announced, than all the friends of the deceased assemble, *dar la pesame*, that is, to condole with the afflicted widow, who, clothed in mourning, and stretched upon a bed, yet scarcely visible for want of light, receives their compliments, and in a low voice speaks to each of them. As it is supposed that no one in the family of the deceased can pay attention to the wants of nature, some friend takes care to send in a dinner ready dressed, with plenty of every thing the season can produce. When the visitors retire, the widow, son, father, brothers, uncles, cousins, and relations, each by name, unite in a message of invitation to all the friends of the deceased, requesting their

attendance when the body shall be carried, the day following, to the grave, and at the service to be performed the day after the interment for the repose of the departed soul.

In obedience to this summons, they assemble at the house of the deceased, and walk in procession to the church, where the corpse is placed during the service before the altar, with the face uncovered, and the hands uplifted, as represented on our ancient monuments, with this difference, that the deceased has a crucifix between his hands. After the funeral service, the nearest relatives assemble in the vestry, when all their acquaintance pay their respects, each by bowing to them, as he passes silently before them. This finished, they return in solemn procession to the house, where the salutation, with the same silence, is repeated.

If, as in the case of the gentleman whose obsequies I attended, the deceased was a person of condition, on the day succeeding the interment, the church is hung with mourning, all light is excluded, excepting

that of numerous wax tapers, a funeral pile is erected, and all the relatives assemble round it to attend the service of the mass for the soul of the deceased. On the loss of a husband, the disconsolate widow is under obligation to abstain six months from all public amusements; but the widower is acquitted for a few days abstinence from these.

Few places are more healthy than Cadiz. Yet when the solano, or south wind, blows, which comes to them over the scorching plains of Africa having only the intervention of a strait, all the passions are inflamed, and during its prevalence, the inhabitants, who are most irritable, commit every species of excess.

For the pleasures of social intercourse, I did not meet with any city more agreeable than this. As all nations are here assembled within narrow limits, by their mutual intercourse they soften each others manners; and as, notwithstanding the late shock, commerce flourishes in a degree, with its never failing attendants, wealth and hospitality; a stranger may pass away his time
with

with the highest satisfaction to himself: For my part, excepting the vice-consul Mr. Duff, and the imperial consul Count de Greppi, I chiefly associated with Spaniards. Among these the principal was Don Antonio Ulloa, the well known companion of D. George Juan, to whom I had been particularly recommended. I found him perfectly the philosopher, sensible and well informed, lively in his conversation, free and easy in his manners. Having observed at his door two soldiers mounting guard, I expected some pride of appearance, but I met with nothing like it. This great man, diminutive in stature, remarkably thin and bowed down with age, clad like a peasant, and surrounded by his numerous family of children, with the youngest about two years old, playing on his knee, was fitting to receive morning visitors, in a room, the dimensions and furniture of which, for a few moments, diverted my attention from himself, the chief object of veneration. The room was twenty feet long by fourteen wide, and less than eight feet high. In this I saw

saw dispersed confusedly, chairs, tables, trunks, boxes, books, and papers, a bed, a press, umbrellas, clothes, carpenters tools, mathematical instruments, a barometer, a clock, guns, pictures, looking-glasses, fossils, minerals, and shells, his kettle, basons, broken jugs, American antiquities, money, and a curious mummy from the Canary islands, or at least its trunk with the head and arms, for having been the common play-thing of his children, they had amused themselves with drawing its teeth, and breaking off its limbs.

Among the extraneous fossils, he shewed me a variety of sea-shells, collected by himself near the summits of the highest mountains in America, some on the surface, but many bedded in the limestone rock. When I went to take my leave of him, on quitting Cadiz, he presented me with his Natural History of South America, a work highly deserving to be translated.

As usual, before I left the city, I inquired into the value of provisions, and found here, as in other cities, one contractor, who supplies the carcases at a stipulated price, making



making his contract for twelve months. These the magistrates fell to the butchers, taking a profit for the city, and fixing the retail prices to the consumer. To avoid unusual fractions of a penny, I shall give these in Spanish *quartos*, of which eight are equal to two pence farthing.

Beef sells for fifteen *quartos* the pound of sixteen ounces; veal for sixteen; mutton twenty-one; hog's lard twenty-four; bread seven. Wheat is forty-seven reals the fanega, or five and ten pence nearly for a Winchester bushel.

The pay of a labourer is six reals, or something more than fourteen pence a day; but artificers require double. Merchants reckon one hundred and eight *varas* to be equal to one hundred yards; but in reality four hundred and five *varas* make three hundred and seventy-one yards. The feet and inches bear the same proportion.

Five fanegas of corn are reckoned in trade to correspond with eight Winchester bushels, but the proportion is sixteen to twenty five.

Eight