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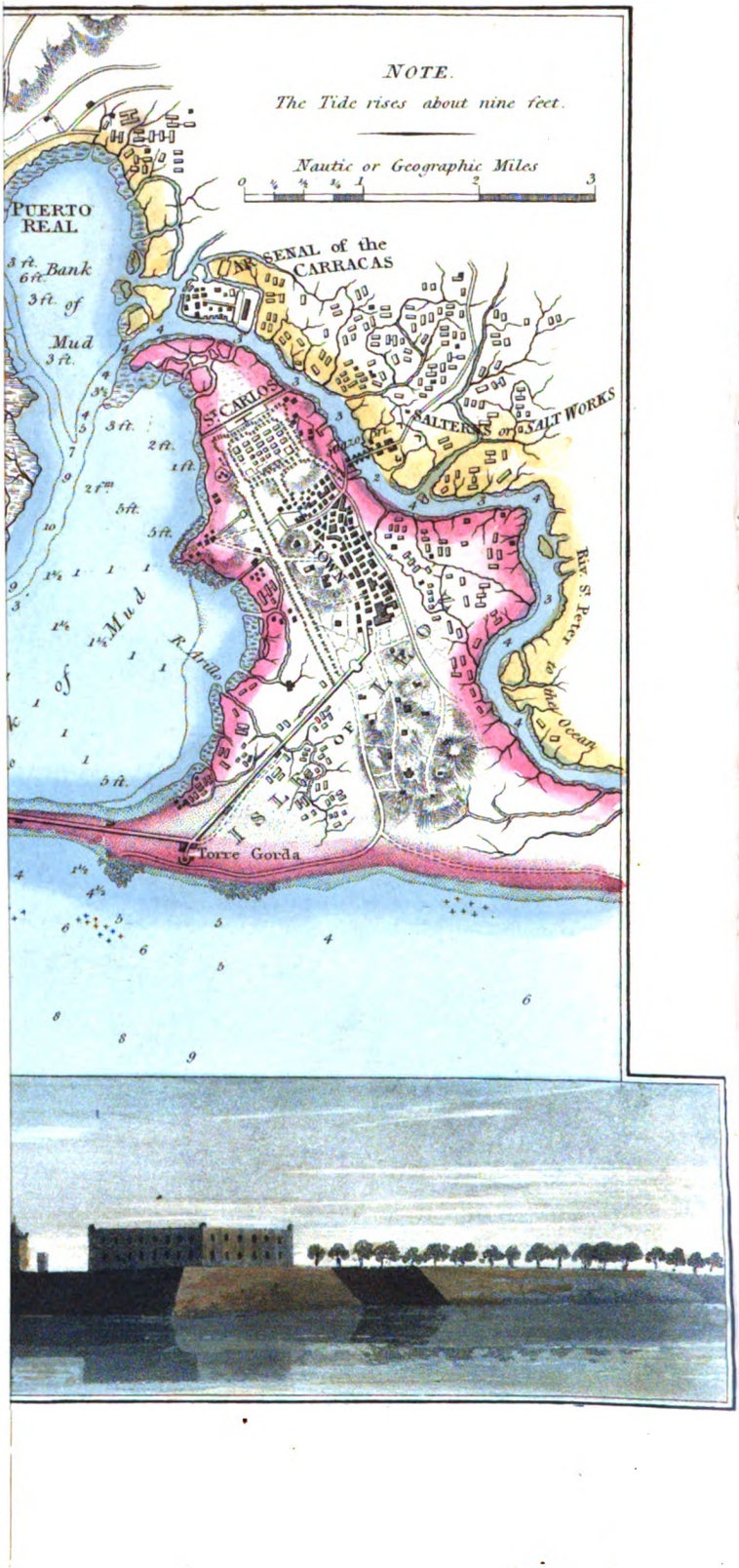

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TRAVELS

IN THE

SOUTH OF SPAIN,

IN

LETTERS WRITTEN A. D. 1809 AND 1810.

BY WILLIAM JACOB, ESQ. M.P. F.R.S.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON AND CO. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,
AND W. MILLER, ALBERMARLE-STREET;

By John Nichols and Son, Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street.

1811.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages contain the substance of Letters written to my family and friends during six months which I passed in Spain; they have, however, undergone such alterations as were necessary to render what was originally intended for private amusement, not totally unfit for public perusal; and those which relate to the Mahomedan dominion, have been entirely composed since my return. In addition to what I have borrowed from Ocampo, Masdeu, and Mariana, I am also indebted to a very accurate abstract of the state of the Moors in Granada, written by Simon de Argote.

It will be perceived, that I have only paid that attention to political subjects which the interesting events, daily passing before me, naturally demanded. I believe, it will be found, that my opinions of public

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characters, of the nature of the government, and of the disposition of the great mass of the people, are corroborated by all who have visited the Peninsula; and I feel additional confidence in the sanction they receive from the able letter of the Marquis Wellesley to Mr. Canning, which is printed in the Appendix.

The traces of national character are so strongly marked on the inhabitants of Spain, that few Englishmen who have visited that country, would find much difficulty in delineating its prominent features. Whatever opinions we may entertain with respect to domestic politics, we all unite in admiring the efforts of the Spanish people, in their attempt to liberate themselves from oppression. We all join in respecting the manly firmness with which, after repeated reverses, they continue to resist their invaders; in execrating the government which has so grossly abused their confidence; and in fervently wishing their ultimate freedom and happiness.

I am desirous to rectify an error into which I have fallen, respecting the conspiracy formed in Seville, to overthrow the central Junta. I have learnt since

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the following sheets were printed, that Lord Wellesley did not name the individual regiments implicated in that plot, nor did he find it expedient to communicate to the government so much of the detail of that project as I had reason to believe he did, from the information I acquired in Seville. While I pay this tribute to accuracy, it is a satisfaction to know, that the respectable authority which has enabled me to correct this error, has, at the same time, confirmed the truth of the other circumstances I have related respecting that conspiracy.

In preparing this work for the press, it has been my object to select such materials only, as I conceived would interest and amuse, while they might convey some information. To myself, amidst many anxieties, it has been a pleasing resource to retrace the scenes I had viewed, and to travel over again the roads I had passed.

——— JUVAT EXHAUSTOS ITERARE LABORES,
ET SULCATA MEIS PERCURRERE LITTORA REMIS.

London, March 1, 1811.

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ERRATA.

Page 11. l. 21. *for* " a broad street," *read* " Broad Street."
91. l. 18. *for* " Va ja" *read* " vaja."
95. l. 1. *for* " in this city," *read* " in Spain."
152. l. 1. *for* " fanega." *read* " fanegada."
195. l. 19. *for* " Zuarzo," *read* " Suaco."
195. l. 24. *for* " Zuarzo," *read* " Suaco."

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LETTERS FROM SPAIN.

LETTER I.

DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND—STORM—SURGEON'S ACCIDENT—SIGHT OF CAPE ST. VINCENT—VIEW OFF LAGOS—ST. LUCAR—FLEET BOUND FOR ENGLAND.

ON BOARD THE SARAGOSSA, 30 MILES N. W. OF THE ROCK OF LISBON, 11 SEPT. 1809.

I SIT down, in spite of the rolling of the ship, to begin a letter, which I shall finish at intervals, and have in readiness to send you by any vessel we may meet, or shall forward it the first moment of my arrival at Cadiz; which, if the wind continue in its present favourable state, will I hope be within two or three days. After waiting a few hours without the Needles for the Crescent to join us, we followed the fleet, under convoy of the Nymphe frigate, consisting of one hundred and fifty sail of vessels, bound to Spain and Portugal. The wind was favourable, and the weather remarkably fine, till we got off Plymouth, when it began to rain and blow very violently. Having been detained by the fleet, which was to wait off that port till joined by some other vessels, and thinking the three ships, the Ann, the Crescent, and Saragossa, of sufficient force to protect us from capture, I determined to proceed without waiting for convoy.

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The winds were sufficiently favourable for three days to carry us across the bay of Biscay, but too much to the westward to enable us to weather Cape Finisterre: the sea was so agitated that it produced sickness in the General, Don Ramon, and Mr. Ridout.

The wind becoming still more westerly, we could not get round Cape Finisterre, and were beating about for three days betwixt that point and Cape Ortegal without making any progress. On the 8th we had a most tremendous storm the whole day and great part of the night; the ship rolled most violently, and, to use the sailors language, "we shipped a sea." To add to our misfortunes, in the height of the storm, and in a dark night, the Surgeon of the ship was, by the rolling of the vessel, thrown with such force from the sky-light over the cabin against one of the quarter-deck guns, that both the bones of one of his legs were broken a little above the ancle. You may judge of the distress we were thrown into by this unfortunate accident, when you consider, that in the midst of the difficulties surrounding us, we had no surgical assistance at hand, the Ann having parted from us in the gale; and, indeed, had she been in company, the sea ran too high to admit her affording us the aid of her Surgeon. The young man bore his sufferings with fortitude; and when laid in a cot, gave the necessary directions with great coolness. I was anxious the bones should be set immediately; but as a swelling very soon took place, he determined to defer it till the next day: cold applications were applied, to lessen the inflammation, and he slept well. The next morning he prepared the proper bandages with his own hands, and gave directions respecting the mode of reducing the fracture. Under his instructions the operation was per-

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formed so accurately, even by persons previously ignorant of the business, that he is now as well, and as likely to recover, as if the best surgeon had been employed.

We have had fair wind ever since yesterday morning, and are at this time (for I began this letter three hours ago) very near Lisbon, running along the coast of Portugal at the rate of ten miles an hour and hope to reach Cape St. Vincent's this evening if the wind continue as favourable as it is at this moment. You can scarcely conceive the great difference that has taken place in our looks and spirits since the wind changed: while we were beating about between Cape Ortegal and Cape Finisterre, all was gloom and melancholy; now every one is alert, active, and as full of enjoyment as the narrow confines of our floating habitation will permit. I have found General Virues a most interesting and intelligent companion; and I have the pleasure of constantly conversing with him, as far as my progress in the Spanish language will allow. Don Ramon and Don Pedro, with Mr. Ridout, have proved a valuable addition to our society, and excepting the storm, the contrary winds off Corunna, and the Surgeon's distressing accident, we have passed the time better than could be expected on board a ship, even with all our present accommodations.

SEPT. 12, 7 O'CLOCK, MORNING.

We have had very quick sailing all night, and are now close to Cape St. Vincent's, with a wind that affords us the expectation of seeing Cadiz to-morrow morning. At the extremity of the Cape, from which we are now only a mile distant, stands a large Convent, built of white stone. The country round appears very barren; not a

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tree is to be seen through the whole extent of the coast. The rocks are strikingly picturesque, but, as far as I can judge, not higher than those of Portland.

10 O'CLOCK.

We are now abreast of the town of Lagos, near enough to see the country, which is covered with vineyards, and apparently thickly peopled. The churches and houses are all white; and, by the flat roofs and turrets seem in the style of Moorish architecture. There are several convents in sight, and a prodigious high mountain rises in the back ground, covered with woods. From the columns of smoke ascending, we suppose they are making charcoal, as I understand the cities of St. Lucar and Cadiz are chiefly supplied with that article from this place.

SEPTEMBER 14, 8 O'CLOCK, MORNING.

The last two days we have had continual calms, and have consequently made but little progress. We are however now in sight of St. Lucar; and our present fair, though gentle breeze, will probably carry us to Cadiz before night. We are in the midst of a small fleet bound thence to England, and I avail myself of the opportunity to transmit this letter by one of the ships. I have enjoyed good health and spirits, and am as comfortable as I can be, when removed from all the objects of my warmest affections.

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LETTER II.

REPORT OF THE POLITICAL STATE OF SPAIN, GIVEN BY AN AMERICAN—GENERAL VIRUES—ARRIVAL AT CADIZ—VIEW IN THE BAY—IMPRESSIONS ON LANDING—INTERIOR OF THE HOUSES—GALLEGOS—NARROWNESS OF THE STREETS—ALAMEYDA—COMPOSITION OF THE ROCKS—TEMPLE OF HERCULES.

CADIZ, SEPT. 1809.

AFTER closing my letter off St. Lucar, we sent it on board one of the vessels bound to England, and the mate who conveyed it was directed to procure every information in his power. When he returned, he communicated to us the report of the Captain (an American) of the state of affairs in Spain, which, though proceeding from an authority extremely questionable, occasioned us at the time a good deal of uneasiness: he related that a battle had been fought between the armies; that the Spaniards fired only once, and then over the heads of the enemy, when they instantly fled in all directions, abandoning their arms, entirely dispersing, and leaving the British alone to contend with the French, who, being consequently defeated, had retired towards Lisbon; that Buonaparte was expected in Cadiz in a few days, where the wealthy inhabitants and all the British were wholly occupied in embarking their property, and preparing for a removal.

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You will easily suppose this sad intelligence produced a damp on all our spirits; the worthy General, in particular, felt it in the severest manner, and the calm melancholy marked in his countenance made me sympathise with him sincerely in all his feelings. We were heartily glad when the first boat from the shore reached us to hear the whole account declared a falsehood, originating solely in the fertile imagination of this mischievous American.

Of all the foreigners with whom I have been acquainted, none ever obtained a larger portion of my respect, I may almost say affection, than General Virues: the contemplative and benevolent turn of mind which he discovered during the fourteen days we spent together in the narrow inclosure of the cabin of a ship, impressed these feelings upon me in a manner too powerful to be readily forgotten. He entered early in life into the Army, and now at forty years of age has attained the rank of Major-General. His whole time, however, has not been occupied in the service; he has been employed in the civil department, and was at one period Secretary to Godoy, Prince of Peace, and Prime Minister of Spain. He was nominated about five years ago one of a Board of Commissioners for investigating the evils under which Spain suffered, and for suggesting remedies to cure those evils. Much progress was made by the Commissioners in their investigation, and many useful plans were recommended and measures adopted to put them in execution; but the Cabinet of Madrid was solely directed by the Ambassador of France; and all these well contrived plans were forbidden to be adopted. The General clearly foresaw, even at that early period, every indication of the designs of France upon Spain gradually developing: he saw it with

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disgust, and retired from the Court to the government of St. Lucar to which he had been appointed.

He had been the protegé and pupil of Don Thomas Morla, who was Governor of Cadiz, and who, whatever may be thought of his courage or his patriotism, has evinced by his publications, that he is a good mathematician and a complete master of the theory of a soldier's profession. When Morla was called to Madrid, after the massacre of Solano and the capture of the French ships, Virues succeeded him in the government of Cadiz; a situation where I can conceive at that moment there was occasion for intrigue, conciliation, and subserviency to popular feelings, which General Virues in the simplicity and integrity of his character could not descend to practise. He was beloved by all who knew him till the unfortunate events at Madrid rendered Morla suspected of treason to the cause of Spain. Virues, impressed with grateful recollections of early attachment, justified or rather exculpated the conduct of his patron, whom he supposed to be an unwilling instrument in the hands of his superior officer when he agreed to the capitulation of Madrid. Be this as it may, the disgrace of Morla was visited on Virues, and he conceded so much to public feeling, that he resigned the command of Cadiz and went to England on a mission from the government. I shall always esteem that a happy event which threw him in my way and enabled me to treat him with those attentions which are grateful to a foreigner, and of which he appears very sensible.

We got into the harbour about twelve o'clock; but it being the custom here as well as at the ports in the Mediterranean, to have the state of the crew's health of every ship accurately ascer-

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tained before any intercourse with the shore be allowed, we were detained on board a considerable time, and should certainly not have landed that day if General Virues had not exerted his influence with the Pratique Master and passed his word for the health of all on board. These regulations appear troublesome; but such precautions are necessary to prevent the introduction of the plague and other infectious diseases. This necessity is now peculiarly felt from the recollection of the dreadful epidemic fever by which this city as well as Gibraltar, Malaga, and the adjacent towns on the South coast of Spain suffered so severely a few years ago.

The view on entering the bay of Cadiz presents the finest collection of objects that can be conceived: on one extremity of the left point is situated the town of Rota, a little farther the castle of Santa Catalina and the neat city of Santa Maria; at a greater distance, on the lap of a lofty hill, stands Medina; nearer the sea the town of Puerto Real and the arsenal of the Carracas; and on the extremity of the right hand point of land the city of Cadiz. To add to the splendour of the scene, this extensive bay was filled with the vessels of different nations displaying their respective colours amidst a forest of masts. The whiteness of the houses, their size and apparent cleanliness, the magnificence of the public edifices, and the neat and regular fortifications form together a most striking assemblage of objects. The ground opposite to Cadiz has little appearance of verdure; and, except the vineyards near Santa Maria and Rota, all looked brown and barren. I am aware, that in no other country must I expect the beautiful verdure of England, which, in spite of our hazy atmosphere, enlivens our prospects and gives them a richness

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and variety which I have looked for in vain in Germany, in America, and the West Indian Islands.

We landed between four and five o'clock, at the wharf without the Sea-gate, amidst a crowd of boats which made it difficult to approach the shore. The precautions of our friends, who had provided a house for our residence, and got our baggage passed through the gates with slight examination, prevented our feeling the inconveniences usually experienced at first landing in a foreign city. After I had entered the gates, and become a little reconciled to the nauseous effluvia of oil and garlick, I was greatly struck by the extraordinary scene around me; and could have imagined almost that I had suddenly been dropped from the clouds into the midst of a large masquerade: the variety of dresses and characters, the swarms of people, the height and externally clean appearance of the houses, with the curtains drawn across from one side to the other and the extreme narrowness of the streets, rendered still more so by the projecting balconies of painted or gilt iron grating, all produced feelings I never before experienced and which no language can describe.

We took possession of our apartments and were quickly settled: they are only one story from the ground, and with the exception of the staircase which is public and indecently filthy, are tolerably neat and comfortable. The floors are paved with brick, the rooms dark, and consequently cool, with large windows opening into balconies towards the street; which is so narrow that we can almost shake hands with our opposite neighbour. The furniture is not of the best kind; the beds, however, which are on tressels and removed in the day, are good; and the

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sheets, which are made of callico with a border of muslin about a quarter of a yard wide, are clean. I have hitherto had no reason to complain of the heat; in fact, it has not been warmer than some of our hottest days in England. Every thing here seems contrived to guard against heat; and the inhabitants are certainly successful in the effects produced by their precautions. The thermometer in my room has varied only from 72 to 75 since our landing.

I have visited —— who resides in a noble house. The gate at the entrance resembles that of a church, and within is a large quadrangular court, paved with marble; the ground floor is occupied by warehouses, and the apartments above in which the family reside are lofty and spacious; some of them are fitted up very splendidly, or to speak more correctly, with that mixture of magnificence and extreme homeliness so frequently to be observed on the Continent, and so far removed from the propriety and comfort which reign throughout an English dwelling.

The best houses have brick floors and stone or marble stairs. As the windows generally look into the patio or court, they are private and retired; and under the house is a cistern which, in the rainy season, is filled with water. Every dwelling is a separate castle, and capable of military defence. The streets of this city are remarkably well paved, which may in some measure arise from there being few or no wheel-carriages to destroy the pavement. Coaches are not in use, and most of the streets are too narrow to admit them. Carts for the conveyance of goods are almost unknown. The Gallegos, or natives of Gallicia, a strong and industrious race of men, perform those laborious occupations for which, in other

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cities, horses and carts are employed. These men, by the help of poles on their shoulders, remove the heaviest articles with the utmost facility; and being frugal, as well as industrious, execute their tasks at a very cheap rate. They emigrate from the northern provinces in search of employment in the more southern parts of the Peninsula, and every large town is filled with them: but a man from any other part of Spain, following the occupation of a porter, is from custom called the Gallego, a name at present implying the occupation as well as the country.

Though considerable attention be paid to the cleanliness of the streets, none is shewn to the entrances of the houses, which are the receptacles of every kind of filth; and, except in the entrances to the houses of the richer class who keep a Gallego constantly sitting at the door, you are almost suffocated by stenches before you reach the apartments.

As this city is placed on a peninsula, at the termination of a long sandy isthmus, there is no ground unoccupied, and little can be spared for squares. The Plaza de St. Antonio is the only one and is very small; but being surrounded with magnificent houses, and contrasted with the streets, (all of which with the exception of a broad street are very narrow,) it has a good effect and is the principal resort of the inhabitants. To the ladies it is the Mall; to the merchants the exchange; and to the officers, the parade. The Alameyda, or public walk, is very beautiful; always dry under foot and furnished with good marble seats on both sides; being close to the sea, the trees do not thrive, and indeed afford very little shade: the cool sea breeze is however enjoyed towards evening, and the

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walk is then crowded with the best company the city contains. The whole of the ramparts, which surround this compact city, form a series of agreeable promenades; whence the prospects of the bay, and the country beyond it, may be enjoyed to advantage. The sea breaking over the rocks, which surround and defend that part of the city, has in stormy weather a fine effect, and gives beauty and variety to the scenery.

These rocks being of a very singular structure, I shall venture to digress a little in order to give a slight description of the mode in which they appear to have been formed. The basis of their composition is probably pechstein; and in this, by its glutinous power, the shells, pebbles, quartz, sand and marble have been so intermixed and hardened in the course of years, as to form a compact kind of stone. This glutinous matter is at first of a greyish-black; but in process of time, when mixed and combined with other substances, changes into a very light yellowish colour: it possesses so much tenacity, that pieces of brick, tiles, chalk, shells, and other rubbish thrown into the sea become incorporated with it, and in time so firmly united as to appear a piece of solid stone. I can meet with no chemist who has paid attention to this substance, nor any book on the subject; but it appears to me to merit the notice of the scientific; it forms an excellent stone for building, is easily worked, and very durable.

There are many disputes about the situation of the celebrated temple of Hercules; some writers place it near Conil, a small town on the coast between this city and Gibraltar; others at the mouth of the river Santi Petri, which is one of the embouchures of the water of the bay of Cadiz; others maintain that it was at Cadiz,

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and, in proof of their opinion, point out fragments of ruins lying off this town, (visible when the sea is smooth and the tide low,) which they assert are the vestiges of that ancient edifice; while those who oppose that opinion, call these ruins the remains of ancient Cadiz. One fact may however be ascertained, both by these ruins and the general appearance of the shore, that the sea in this quarter has in the course of ages gained considerably on the land, and that the peninsula on which Cadiz stands was formerly much larger than it is at present. It is asserted, by some accurate observers, that while the sea without the streights of Gibraltar has incroached on the land, it has receded proportionably on the coast of Spain within the streights, especially at Malaga and Carthagena.

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LETTER III.

CLIMATE—TEMPERANCE—GAMING—THEATRE—VISITING—LADIES; THEIR ATTENDING THE CHURCHES—FEMALE INDEPENDENCE AND EDUCATION.

CADIZ, SEPT. 1809.

THE climate of Spain at this season is delightful and certainly tends to improve the spirits. The air is dry and clear, notwithstanding we are surrounded by water; the heat is not excessive, the thermometer seldom exceeding 70; and the walk in the evening by the sea side most refreshing and cool. The mode of living is also favourable to health and enjoyment, fruits and vegetables form the principal food even at the best tables; and though a species of cookery, approaching to French, is introduced at Cadiz, it is so combined with that which is purely Spanish, that the difference is scarcely to be distinguished. Very little wine is drunk during dinner, and immediately afterwards the gentlemen retire to coffee with the ladies. The habits of the Spaniards are very temperate and frugal, so far as regards the table and the furniture of their houses; but they keep a much greater number of domestic servants than families of the same description in England.

In their dress and personal ornaments both the men and women are very extravagant, especially the latter; and I am told that the money expended on a lady's silk stockings and shoes alone (for they never walk out twice in the same) is enormous. Gaming forms the

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principal amusement, and is carried to a very censurable extent in some of the private houses, where parties meet regularly every night and play for large sums at games of hazard. The game now in vogue is called Monte, a species of lansquenet, but more complicated, requiring little skill and played for any sum the parties may chuse to stake, provided it does not exceed the amount in the bank: it is quickly decided and consequently the more dangerous. Another game, called "Pecado" in plain English Sin, is also much practised: it well deserves its name, for the decision is so very rapid that money to a large amount may be speedily gained or lost without the slightest exercise of the mind. At such parties the quantity of gold and silver spread on the table is astonishing; and the rapidity with which it passes from one possessor to another strikingly exemplifies the uncertainty of a gamester's wealth. I understand that whist, back-gammon and chess, are unknown among the Spaniards: they probably do not possess sufficient stimulus, and require more mental exertion than is congenial with the disposition of the people. One of the chief amusements of the higher class of inhabitants is the theatre, and as the performance begins early and continues only about three hours, it does not interfere with the more serious business of gaming which usually concludes the night.

The first time I visited the theatre the principal performance was a Spanish opera; a species of entertainment rather tiresome even in England, where every variety of decoration and machinery is liberally furnished, where the music is good, the dresses tasteful, and the language familiar to the ear; but in this place, where all these requisites are wanting, I should have found it a very unsatisfactory

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mode of passing my time, if the company, the novelty of the scene and the varied dresses of the spectators, had not in some measure compensated its want of interest.

The house is not well calculated for hearing; it is long and narrow; the stage still narrower than the rest of the theatre. There is no gallery for the lower order of the people, and few of them ever attend a species of amusement for which they appear to have no taste; the people in Spain uniformly preferring a bull-fight or religious procession to any theatrical representation of life and manners.

Every part of the house is private property except one bench in front of the boxes, which is the resort of those who have no seats of their own. Most of the respectable families have a box to themselves, and single men a place in the pit; these are all numbered, and the seats turned up and locked, so that without the key no one can make use of them however crowded the house may be. In the front, and consequently at the greatest distance from the stage, is the box for the cabildo or city magistrates, but its situation is so remote that nothing can be heard distinctly even with the most painful attention. The stage-box belongs to the Governor, into which all British Officers are at present admitted. I had heard the Spanish dancing so highly spoken of that I expected a much greater gratification than I enjoyed from seeing their favourite dance the Volero; to me, it appeared far inferior in grace and expression to many performances of a similar nature which I have seen both in London and at opera houses on the Continent. Almost every man in the theatre wore a uniform; but had an hundred thousand men been collected

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from the different European armies, the officers could not have exhibited a greater variety of dresses than was displayed in this narrow compass; every one seems to wear his dress according to his own fancy, and deems it sufficient if it be military, without regarding its similarity to others of the same corps.

Adjoining the theatre there is a suite of coffee-rooms, where all kinds of refreshments are prepared for the company. In these apartments the ladies are seen drinking sangre, or iced water, and the gentlemen are employed in smoaking their segars, a practice which is carried to a disgusting excess.

The mode of visiting, after a first introduction, is very easy and familiar: you may enter the house at any hour, and, without being announced, proceed to the apartments of the family, where you generally meet agreeable company. On these occasions refreshments are seldom distributed beyond a glass of iced water, or a very cool liquor, called agrace, composed of the juice of unripe grapes, cooled with ice, and sweetened with sugar. The visit is always paid to the lady of the house, who is constantly dressed to receive company. Señora ——, at whose house I most frequently visit, is a fine woman, has a large family, dresses well, talks a good deal, and is generally surrounded with visitors; indeed, dress, cards, and occasionally music, form the principal pursuits of the ladies.

I must not omit to mention one occupation in which they pass a large portion of their time. They daily frequent the churches, yet I fear their religious ceremonies are performed rather with a view to amuse than instruct. They kneel, it is true, before the altar, or humble themselves before the image of some saint—lisp a few prayers—

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count their beads to ascertain the number is correct, but depart with little of that religious feeling so necessary for the regulation of worldly conduct.

The walking dress of the women, from the Dutchess to the servant maid, is entirely black, which gives an appearance of equality, and renders it difficult to distinguish one rank from another. In their houses they throw aside the mantilla, or veil, and appear in their dress much like the English ladies, but more decorated with lace and jewels. They frequent the public walks, the streets and the theatre unattended; nor is it deemed indecorous for them to enter the coffee-rooms, at the theatre, and take refreshments by themselves. Last night the Countess of W——, whom I had met in a private party, came into the coffee-room alone, sat by my side, chatted, ordered her glass of iced water, and, after offering me a seat in her box whenever I chose to accept it, returned to her place in the theatre. Thus you see, in Spain, the women possess nearly as much liberty as Mrs. Wollstonecraft could have wished; but, I believe, the cause of morals and domestic happiness derives no great advantage from this independence of the female sex. So far as I can learn, the state of education here is intolerably bad; and the education of women is, if possible, more defective than that of the men: a little reading and writing is quite as much as the ladies are expected to acquire, and if, by chance, they can talk a little broken French, it is the summit of their acquirements. This is the case generally, but there are some few exceptions. I have seen two, the wife of General Virues and her mother Señora Benedicho, both of whom are accomplished, intelligent, and interesting women: the mother passed the early part of

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her life at the Court of Madrid, where she became acquainted with the different English employed at that capital in diplomatic capacities: the daughter is a very beautiful woman, many years younger than her husband, and is very much attached to him; she has suffered a great deal from his misfortunes, and his absence in England. This excellent family is gone to Seville, where I expect frequently to enjoy its society, unless the General should be immediately ordered off to join the army, of which there is some expectation.

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LETTER IV.

MARKETS—CONVENT OF ST. JUAN DE DIOS—FRIAR PREACHING—HIS SERMON —CATHEDRAL — PICTURES — GOLD AND SILVER ORNAMENTS—UNFINISHED CATHEDRAL — CONVENT OF CAPUCHINS — ITS EXCELLENT PICTURES — DRAGON'S BLOOD TREE—SCARCITY OF GOOD WATER.

CADIZ, SEPT. 1809.

YESTERDAY, though Sunday, the market was excessively crowded, especially the fish and vegetable markets; the latter was supplied with a surprising profusion of every thing in season. Garlick in this place is a most important article, and is sold in strings three or four yards long, which are piled in stacks. The market also abounded with onions, grapes, melons, pumpkins, turnips, carrots, and celery of a prodigious thickness. The consumption of meat in this city is very small, and the little consumed is of a very inferior quality. The poorer and middle class of people live principally on fruits and vegetables, with fish which is sold fried in oil, at shops in different parts of the town.

I went to the Convent of St. Juan de Dios, where a friar was preaching in the quadrangle, adjoining the church, to a congregation standing under the shade of the arches; his address was either extempore or from memory, I believe the latter; it was pronounced with

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deliberation and solemnity, but apparently without feeling: his object was to shew the dignity, patience, and virtue of the blessed Virgin; he drew a parallel between her maternal love and that of other mothers, which was more ingenious than solid. He conducted his audience to Calvary, and expatiated on the sorrows which she must have felt at the sufferings her son endured, and handled this part of the subject with tolerable skill and effect; no moral improvement, however, was attempted to be drawn from the example of her sorrows, it being left to the hearers themselves to make the practical application of the story. If the few sermons preached in Spain be of this description, and the pulpit merely made use of to blazon the supposed sufferings or virtues of the Saints, without inculcating that moral and devout conduct so essentially necessary to human happiness, the state of religion and morality must be at a very low ebb indeed in this country. Mass was celebrated in the church of the convent, which was more crowded than the quadrangle in which the friar was preaching. We visited some other churches, where mass was performing to rather thin congregations. The churches are all superbly fitted up, and adorned with rich ornaments of gold and silver, and with good paintings.

I visited the cathedral, an old edifice, and on the outside destitute of all taste, but within elegantly and splendidly decorated, and furnished with a number of small private chapels and altars, before which the devout were kneeling and silently offering up their prayers. We applied to one of the priests who was at that time unoccupied, for permission to view the pictures and other ornaments

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as soon as he knew that we were Englishmen he directed a Sacristan to show us every thing in the church. Some of the pictures were good, but none excellent, nor any of them the productions of the best masters, the greater part being evidently copies from very indifferent originals. Near one of the altars are some good statues, representing the crowning of the Virgin by Angels. The story is ridiculous, but the figures are admirable; they were brought from Italy, and by the inscription appear to have been executed at Naples in 1693, by Palatano.

The great quantity of gold and silver ornaments and utensils used in the church service, and deposited in chests and closets, forms the most remarkable feature in the cathedral; much taste is displayed in the workmanship, and we were informed that the weight of the silver in one closet amounted to sixty arobas; this, with the workmanship, must have cost alone ten thousand pounds. There are other ornaments of gold, beautifully adorned with emeralds, rubies, and amethysts. The greater part of the riches of this church has been presented by persons returning from the transatlantic possessions of Spain. A new cathedral is now erecting, which, if ever finished, will be a most magnificent as well as expensive edifice; it was begun in 1722, and will still require many years to complete. The building is carried on at the expence of the Consulado, or Body of Merchants, of this city, which has expended upon it already upwards of a million of dollars. It is built of white marble, but the saline particles have changed the side towards the sea to a brown colour; the marble pillars within are very handsome, and

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of the Corinthian order; the dome designed to occupy the centre of the church is not yet commenced, and it is said that it will be so heavy that the pillars will be insufficient to support its weight. The interior is at present a mere heap of rubbish; and a Catholic church owes so much to the customary ornaments, that it is impossible to form an idea of the effect which may be produced in this building whenever it is finished.

The Convent of the Capuchins deserves notice; not with respect to the building, nor the internal œconomy of the house, but because the church contains the two best pictures in Cadiz, both painted by the celebrated Murillo. The subject of one of them is a crucifixion; the expressions are excellent, and the colouring in the best style of that master. The other picture was left unfinished when that artist died, and was completed by his pupil Osorio Meneses, whose manner of painting more nearly resembles his great master's than any other of his imitators; it is placed over the high altar, and represents the marriage of St. Catherine with the holy infant in the arms of his mother; the figures and colouring are admirable.

In the garden of the convent there is a tree, which, being the only one of the kind in Europe, may be considered as a great curiosity: it yields the resinous gum called Dragon's Blood. I was informed that it came originally from the East Indies, but at what time, or in what manner it was conveyed, I could not learn.

Good water is very scarce in this city: there are no springs on the peninsula but what are brackish, fit only for washing, and not for culinary purposes: every house has a cistern, or tank filled with rain

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water, but they usually prefer drinking that, which is brought in casks, by boats, from St. Mary's. To cool this water and render it fit for drinking, they filter it through small jars of porous clay, which renders it very pleasant and refreshing. The richer inhabitants use water cooled with ice, which is brought daily from the mountains of Ronda in large quantities, and in this climate is a great luxury.

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LETTER V.

SOLANO — HIS EQUITABLE GOVERNMENT PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION — WANTS CONFIDENCE IN THE PEOPLE—DECLINES JOINING THE PATRIOTS—EXASPERATES THEM—IS PUT TO DEATH.

CADIZ, SEPT. 1809.

AMONG the different objects which invite the attention of strangers in this city, the house of Solano the late governor, cannot be overlooked. The recent circumstances of his death, the revolutionary spirit of the people by whom it was occasioned, and the unnecessary cruelty with which it was attended, naturally induce every visitor to contemplate, with peculiar interest, the ruined residence of this unfortunate man. As you may take some interest in his fate, and the circumstances that led to his tragical death, I shall give you a sketch of his character and conduct.

Solano had enjoyed the government of Cadiz many years: and he had mixed in the social circles of the higher orders of its inhabitants on the most friendly terms. The officers of the army and navy respected him, and being a rigid assertor of the laws, the people looked up with confidence to his justice; and his time was occupied in promoting the comfort of the inhabitants and in ornamenting the city. The power which the governor of Cadiz possessed, under the old Spanish government, was so considerable, that it more resembled the authority of an

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independent sovereign than the delegate of a king of Spain. This power Solano certainly exercised in the most honourable and beneficial manner; and many improvements in the public walks and buildings of this town and neighbourhood bear testimony to his industry, taste, and spirit.

During the war with England, and while the port of Cadiz was blockaded by our fleet, the mutual interchange of civilities between the governor and the commander of the British squadron was never interrupted, though the former was acting under the penetrating eyes of the officers of the French navy. In fact, the private friends of Solano know that no man in Spain more severely regretted the state of degradation to which the government of his country was reduced. He had no confidence in the spirit of his countrymen, nor any conception that Spain contained men with energy sufficient to throw off the French yoke, or exhibit that determined character which was discovered at Baylen, Saragossa, and Gerona. Despairing of his country, he resigned himself to her degradation, and soothed himself with the resolution of performing every thing, within the sphere of his power, for the benefit of those over whom he presided.

When the events at Bayonne were first known in Andalusia, and the patriotic inhabitants of Seville had resolved to oppose the profligate usurpations of Buonaparte, Solano was absent from his government with the Spanish army on the frontiers of Portugal: having received intimation of the spirit of resistance prevailing at Seville, he hastened to that city. The chiefs of the insurrection there, Montejo, Saavedra, Tili, and Padre Gill, impressed with the warmest feelings of patriotism, relying on the justice of their

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cause, and not entertaining a doubt of what the conduct of a Spanish officer would be under such circumstances, communicated to Solano, in full confidence of his co-operation, all their secret and as yet undigested projects. Solano, with the caution and coolness of an experienced and wary man, doubted if the plans of the leaders were sufficiently matured to afford a prospect of success, or the energy of the people sufficiently roused to second their views. Solano required time to deliberate, and continued indecisive till the chiefs growing impatient at his hesitation required a second interview, and demanded a definitive answer. He promised to give them one the next day, but instead of waiting for that time he departed with the utmost celerity for Cadiz. He arrived there unexpectedly, and issued a paper, stating that his sudden return arose from the information he had received, that the next day the English fleet was to bombard the city.

Under pretence of this threatened bombardment he removed the cannon from the land side towards the sea, and dispatched messengers to Dupont, then advancing into Andalusia, to hasten his approach by forced marches. Upon the pretext that the casemates under the fortifications would be wanted as shelter for the inhabitants, when the pretended British bombardment took place, he removed the military stores, and even the gunpowder out of the city, and thus prepared for a quiet surrender of the place to the French invaders. Admiral Purvis, the commander of the British fleet, aware of the movements that were taking place in Spain, from his previous communications with the Royal Family on the subject of their removal to Mexico, hoped that Solano would have joined the standard of his country, and attempted

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by flags of truce to induce him to unite with the patriotic party. These communications Solano received at first with coldness, and afterwards decidedly rejected.

As soon as it was known at Seville that Solano had fled to Cadiz, the revolution immediately broke forth, the inhabitants flew to arms, and the sympathetic feeling which pervaded all Spain was displayed, in that city, with irresistible force. A committee, called in Spain a junta, composed of the most zealous, intelligent, and virtuous of the citizens assumed the government, directed the spirit of the inhabitants, and produced what Spain had not witnessed for many ages, a combination of order and energy. The feelings of Seville were communicated to Xeres, to Santa Maria, and even to Cadiz, though in the latter their effects were stifled by the efforts of Solano. Numbers of people, however, arrived from Seville inspired with feelings of patriotism and vengeance; many entered the city disguised like peasants; and a sufficient number soon arrived to kindle the suppressed patriotism of the Gaditanos. Solano received intimations from his private friends that the plan of an insurrection was formed, and that he was to be its first victim; he was apprised of the intention to assassinate him, on his return from the theatre, and was entreated by his friends not to attend; but he had too much courage to be awed by the intimation, and either the firmness of his demeanour, or some alteration in the plans of his enemies, preserved him for that night from the threatened attack. A party of his friends, who adjourned from the theatre to his house, aware of the danger that impended, urged him to seek his safety by flight; he rejected their counsel, affected to treat their fears with contempt, and avowed

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his resolution not to part with his authority, but in obedience to the commands of the power from which he had received it. The supplications of his wife, the endearments of his children, and the anxiety of his friends, were all exerted in vain, and he resolutely determined to maintain his authority, or to perish in the attempt.

Early on the ensuing morning the whole city was in a state of tumult; the populace, irritated by the patriots from Seville, indignant at the treachery of France, and clamorous for the death of the governor, surrounded his habitation. Some parties attacked it with musquetry, while others dragged cannon from the ramparts and assailed his residence. In the midst of the firing he escaped by the roof of his house, and took refuge in an adjoining one, the lady of which, an intimate friend of the family, hid him in a small closet which had been secretly built some years before.

When the insurgents gained possession of Solano's house, and discovered his flight, they pursued him to the house where he was concealed, which was searched with diligence, but without success. After committing some atrocities, and even wounding the lady of the house with a musket-ball, they were departing discontented with having missed the object of their vengeance; when the party was joined by an artificer, who had constructed the secret closet, and who conducted them to the hiding-place, where Solano was discovered, and delivered to the fury of the mob. The general cry of the populace was, "To the gallows! to the gallows!" whither this veteran was conducted; but such was the indignation of the people, that before he had quitted the house, where he was discovered, he was lacerated with knives and his cloaths literally torn from his body.

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Naked, and streaming with blood from numberless wounds, he preserved the firm step, and the manly dignity, of an officer. To the taunts of the multitude he appeared superior, but not insensible, and at every fresh stab that was inflicted, he fixed his eyes on the perpetrator with an expression of contempt; till a soldier, who had been long under his command, dreading the impending degradation of his old officer, plunged his sword in his heart, and terminated his sufferings.

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LETTER VI.

REMARKS ON THE POLITICAL STATE OF SPAIN — GENERAL COMPLAINTS OF THE JUNTA — DETERMINED HOSTILITY TO THE FRENCH — NEGLECT OF THE MANUFACTORY OF MUSKETS — BRASS CANNON.

CADIZ, SEPT. 1809.

I HAVE been prevented from leaving this place by the want of mules, or rather by the fears of the muleteers, who dread going to Seville, lest their cattle should be impressed to carry provisions and stores to the armies; I have, however, at last succeeded in hiring a set at an enormous price, having given a previous assurance that I could procure, from the English Ambassador, an order for them to return; and in a few hours I expect to depart.

The few inhabitants of this place who view public affairs in a gloomy light are forming arrangements for their removal to Mexico; and, among persons of this description, the independence of Spanish America is talked of as an event that will certainly occur, if the French should succeed in conquering Spain; but with the greater number no such apprehension of the enemy's success is considered within the limits of possibility, and the latter are as jealous of the monopoly of the commerce with their American colonies, as during the most assured dominion of the Mother Country.

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I have no idea, myself, that the conquest of Spain is an event likely to be accomplished with the force the French now have in the kingdom, which does not exceed one hundred and thirty thousand men; but unless more activity be employed by the Spaniards the enemy will never be driven out. They cannot advance through the passes of the Sierra Morena; and Lord Wellington's position at Badajoz prevents them from turning the Spanish army and penetrating by Estremadura to Seville. I do not depend much on Spanish accounts, nor on Spanish discipline, but I have seen some British officers, immediately from our army, and it is their opinion that no battle will be fought soon, but that both armies will remain some time in a state of inactivity; a state most desirable for the Spaniards, since it will afford them time to recruit, and discipline their armies; and, if they can only form officers, and procure sufficient arms, may enable them ultimately to expel the French.

The complaints of the inactivity, selfishness, inability, and intriguing spirit of the members of the Junta are universal: they have lately laid fresh restrictions on the press, and have suppressed the best paper in Spain, the Patriotico Seminario of Seville, which has greatly increased their unpopularity. It is moreover commonly asserted that no appointment, either in the army or the state, is given from the merit of the persons appointed, but merely from influence and intrigue. How far these accusations are well founded I have not been long enough in the country to ascertain, but I attribute a great part of them to that disappointment among the people, which arises from their extravagant expectations not having been fulfilled. When that opposition to France, which they here term a revolution, first

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commenced, every man fancied that a new era of prosperity was begun, that nothing more was wanted to remove those evils which the lapse of time, the exercise of tyranny, the unblushing practice of corruption, and the indolence of priestcraft had accumulated in the country, than a supreme representative government; and then, it was supposed, all would be instantly changed. This expectation has been of course dissipated, and those who entertained it, instead of blaming their own sanguine temper, accuse the Junta because they have not effected impossibilities.

Without dwelling on the fault in the original constitution of the body, a number too great for an executive and too small for a legislative power, yet combining both, it is natural to suppose that the Junta would participate in those habits which the state of society, to which they were accustomed, unavoidably engendered, and were consequently ill qualified to advance the mighty undertaking they were chosen to accomplish: their popularity is now totally lost, and it is the universal wish that they may be removed, and an individual, or small council of regency, be appointed with full powers to succeed them. The Archbishop of Toledo, the only member of the Bourbon family remaining in Spain, has been mentioned as a person worthy of being intrusted with the executive government: but he is a young man of neither talents, nor character, and is said to be governed by his sister, who is the wife of Godoy, and possesses considerable energy of mind. The Archbishop's high rank might possibly have given him considerable influence had he been surrounded by ministers of talents and virtue. This idea however is now abandoned, and as the Marquis Romana is expected at

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Seville, all eyes are fixed on him, in the hope, that he will overturn the present system, and either assume the supreme power himself, or place it in more able hands.

I am sorry to observe that there does not appear to be any leader in the government, nor any one man of talents, sufficiently eminent, to give him the necessary preponderance; there is no unity in the operations of government, and unless some man of powerful mind should arise and be elevated to a commanding station, I see no chance of improvement in the affairs of Spain. Many accuse, and perhaps with justice, the most opulent and elevated members of the Junta of disaffection to the cause of their country, and a disposition to aid the views of Buonaparte. Men in their situation, with large estates in that part of Spain occupied by the French, may very naturally wish to return to their homes and their ease, even though submission to the enemy should be the necessary consequence.

The Marquis Wellesley, it is said, keeps aloof from the parties and factions of the Junta, and interferes in none of their internal squabbles. This neutrality is by no means pleasing to the people of Cadiz, who say that the fate of Spain is in his hands, and that he ought to remove the Junta and establish an energetic government; not duly considering the very delicate nature of his situation, and his present unfitness to judge of what may prove most salutary for a country, with whose customs, feelings, interests, and prejudices, he is yet but imperfectly acquainted.

I have thus given you a slight sketch of the state of politics in this place: it is somewhat at variance with the ideas generally entertained in England, but I have endeavoured to be as accurate as the

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short time I have been here will allow. The determined spirit of hostility towards France, which is felt by a large proportion of the inhabitants of this country, would make the conquest difficult, even if the very name of an army had ceased to exist; they are so much accustomed to individual revenge that the enemy would be daily cut off in small parties, and literally would possess little more than the ground which his armies might occupy. Some measures are now taking of great importance, evidently suggested by Lord Wellesley. The fleet at Ferol, which the French obtained possession of in January last, is on its way to this port; four sail arrived this morning, and the remainder is shortly expected. This important part of the naval force of Spain is thus out of the reach of Buonaparte. The Duke of Albuquerque leaves this city to-day, and is to have the command of a corps of ten thousand men; report says he is to act under Lord Wellington, who, as well as the other British officers, places more confidence in him than in almost any other of the Spanish generals.

Nothing can shew in a stronger light the indolence and want of combination among the Spaniards than the state of the manufactory for musquets in this city. The Government can raise as many men for the army as it desires, and very little food is requisite to subsist them; but musquets are absolutely necessary, and the demand for them is considerable; for like most raw levies, the troops when defeated are too apt to ensure their safety by throwing away their arms. This, in spite of the great assistance derived from England, has occasioned their present scarcity, and the establishment of manufactories of this important article has been in consequence most strenuously and frequently urged as indispensible: but it is now more than

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fourteen months since the commencement of the manufactory, and not a single musquet has yet been produced. They are erecting a handsome building, when plenty of others might have been appropriated to the purpose: and the time lost in the new building would have enabled them to finish and send to their armies thousands of arms for the men enlisted and ready to use them.

They have in this place a large train of artillery, mostly brass battering twenty-four pounders, and they are the most beautiful I have ever seen. These in the present state of Spain are of little use; but of field ordnance, of which they particularly stand in need, there is a great scarcity.

I am now going to embark, and hope to be at St. Mary's in an hour or two, where the coach is waiting for us; and I expect to reach Xeres this evening, whence I shall write to you again.

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LETTER VII.

DEPARTURE FROM CADIZ — SANTA MARIA — BEGGARS — ROADS — FACE OF THE COUNTRY — XERES — WINES — RENT OF LAND — POPULATION OF XERES — RECRUITS — CLIMATE.

XERES, SEPT. 1809.

WE left Cadiz about noon, and passed to the Mole with our baggage: it was only slightly searched at the gate, on account of our being Englishmen; but that of several other persons who were going out was rigorously examined. There is a law prohibiting the gold coin from being carried out of the city; a law easily evaded, when the price of gold, relative to that of silver, is very high.

Previously to our setting out, we called on board our ship, took a slight repast, and procured some provisions to refresh us on the road to Seville, on which we were informed they could not be obtained at the inns. We landed at St. Mary's about two o'clock, and found our equipage waiting for us; it was a coach solidly constructed, resembling in shape those which we see painted in pictures two hundred years old; it had no iron springs, but was suspended, by large leathern straps, from upright pillars before and behind, and lined with yellow plush. Mr. Ridout, Don Ramon, myself and my servant, were tolerably accommodated in the inside, and our three drivers sat on the trunks before; we had six mules, and rattled over the stones of the city at a good pace.

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As we intended returning thither, and merely drove through the streets, I cannot at present attempt a description of the place, and shall only observe that it has good streets, splendid looking houses, and contains, in ordinary times, about twelve thousand inhabitants; it is now much more populous than usual, owing to the influx of strangers from the northern parts of Spain, who have been driven from their abodes by the enemy, and have fixed their residence in the place, to be ready for embarkation, if the flames of war should spread into Andalusia. Among the temporary residents of this description are the Archbishop of Toledo and his sister; they maintain but little splendour, and live almost in seclusion. The Dutchess of Orleans, wife of the celebrated Egalité, resided at St. Mary's a considerable time, and, I understand, was universally beloved by the inhabitants.

We were pestered by numbers of the mendicant tribe, who attempted to obtain donations by the cries of "Viva los Ingleses!" and "Murio Napoleon!" sounds, to which it was difficult to avoid replying with a few copper coins.

The Alameyda, or public walk, which we passed in going out of the city, is extremely shady and beautiful, and well furnished with marble benches. The country around is very pleasant, the plants and trees all different from those I have lately seen, and the whole scene bears a stronger resemblance to the West Indies than I had expected to meet with in Europe: the hedges are mostly formed of the aloes and the opuntia, called here the tuna, or prickly pear, which make an excellent fence; these being intermixed with flowers of various kinds, produce a very beautiful appearance.

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The road was crowded with carts loaded with staves, for wine-pipes, going to Xeres; with horses, mules, and asses, bound to St. Mary's, carrying fruits and vegetables for the market of Cadiz; together with considerable flocks of sheep and droves of oxen, attended by the owners, well mounted on Andalusian horses, and each of them with a gun slung over his shoulder. This road, which is very good, was constructed by the government, and is called a camino real, or royal road; but as there was a nearer rout our drivers gave it the preference. This led over a steep hill, and was execrably bad. At first the country appeared barren, but, as we approached nearer to this city, we passed through extensive fields of wheat stubble, mixed with vineyards and a few olive trees. The approach to Xeres is striking, and the entrance is by the end of the Alameyda, a pleasant and well shaded walk.

At this place there is a bridge over the Guadalete, a river not navigable within two miles of this city, even by boats. This river, though small, is very celebrated in Spanish history on account of the battle fought on its banks, between the Gothic Christians of Spain and the Moorish invaders from Africa in the year 711, which decided the fate of Spain during several successive centuries, and established the power of the Moors, who conquered nearly the whole peninsula, and whose empire, after the usual transition from war and rapine, to civilization and luxury, was finally terminated in the year 1493 by the conquest of Granada.

The streets of this city are wider than those of Cadiz: there is a good paved foot-path, and it is well lighted: some of the houses are splendid, and that belonging to Mr. James Gordon, a gentleman to

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whom I had particular introductions, possesses every comfort and accommodation to be expected in an English habitation. The principal commerce of this place consists of wine, especially of that species so generally known by the name of Sherry. The quantity annually made in this place is about 40,000 pipes, of this 25,000 are consumed in this city, in Cadiz, and the vicinity; 15,000 are exported, of which about 7000 are sent to England; and the remainder to the United States, or to the different Spanish dominions in South America. The value of the wine, when new, is from eight to ten pounds per pipe; it increases in value by age, and that which is sent to England is always mixed with brandy, which occasions a further augmentation in the price. Most of the wine merchants in Xeres have distilleries, to make brandy to add to their wine, but do not export any. A large quantity of it is likewise consumed in the mountainous part of Andalusia, where it is mixed with anniseed, and very much used by the lower class of people during the winter. There are no staves nor iron hoops made in this part of Spain, so that supplies are obliged to be obtained from foreign countries, for the packages in which they even export their most important production. The United States of America furnish the staves, and the iron hoops are sent from England.

Besides the wine sent to England, under the denomination of Sherry, there are some sweet wines made in this neighbourhood, which are much valued by the natives, and among others the tent wine, as it is called in England. Very little care is employed in the original making of their wines: the growers are generally poor, and indebted to the merchants of this city, who, by advancing them

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money before the vintage, are enabled to take advantage of their embarrassed circumstances, to purchase at rates, which keep those growers in a perpetual state of dependence. This want of capital is felt in a still greater degree by the owners of the olive trees, the variable produce of which, frequently leaves them too deeply in debt, in unfruitful years, to enable them to clear themselves in those which are more productive. To this deficiency of agricultural capital may probably be attributed the languishing state of the cultivation in Spain.

The Gordon family has been long established at Xeres: it came originally from Scotland, and settled here in consequence of its attachment to the unfortunate house of Stuart, and its adherence to the Catholic religion. Mr. James Gordon, though married to a Spanish lady, sent his daughters to England for their education, who after some years residence in the convent at York, returned to this city. One of them is married to a colonel in the Spanish army who is now with his regiment in La Mancha. Mr. Gordon, besides being a wine merchant and a distiller, is a very large farmer; he has purchased 2400 acres of good land, which is mostly in tillage, and is principally cultivated by the German soldiers who were captured at the surrender of Dupont's army at Baylen: he has also some young men from the Lothians in Scotland: and with these labourers he conducts his farms to advantage, and has introduced all the improvements which have been recently practised by the best agriculturalists in Great Britain.

The rent of land in these parts is extremely low, but the number of years purchase paid for land is very great, for which I can learn no

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satisfactory reason: thus Mr. Gordon has bought a farm at 33 years purchase, the purchase money not amounting to more than £12. sterling per acre; consequently the rent could not be more than 7*s.* 6*d.* per acre, and yet it is good land, and almost spontaneously produces very excellent wheat. At present the demand for men for the army has increased the price of labour excessively, and compelled the farmers to give employment to the prisoners; and the Germans, who are laborious and docile, are now preferred to the natives, who are too much attached to their old habits to acquiesce in the improvements which Mr. Gordon has introduced.

The Junta hire the mules and carriages wanted for the army at such very exorbitant rates, that it evidently would prove more advantageous to purchase them and form them into corps with drivers; but this would require ready money, of which, I understand, there is at present a great scarcity in the treasury. Indeed nothing can be worse than the plan adopted at present for the conveyance of provisions and stores to the army; for as the owners of the mules are not paid the price of them when taken by the enemy, it is very common for the muleteers, upon approaching the armies, to abandon the carts and escape with their mules, through obscure roads, to some place of safety.

Xeres contains about 40,000 inhabitants, including the Pueblo, or township, which is very extensive, though thinly inhabited, and consists chiefly of scattered farms and vineyards, upon which some few of the owners reside, though far the greater part live within the city. The pueblo extends over a track of country 45 miles in length and 18 in breadth, and is consequently as large as some of our Eng-

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lish counties; yet, exclusively of the city, the whole consists of no more than 101 large farm houses, 77 smaller ones, 555 houses attached to the vineyards, 23 houses situated in olive grounds, and 55 houses in fruit and vegetable gardens. Such is the state of population in one of the best peopled districts of Andalusia, and perhaps in the finest climate and the richest soil in Europe; every thing has been done by nature, but the institutions of the government, and the indolence of the inhabitants, have effected nothing to improve the advantages she has bestowed.

The inhabitants boast of their patriotism and zeal in the cause of their country, and express their detestation of the French on all occasions. This detestation has been evinced in the most inhuman manner, by the murders committed upon several of the prisoners; nor would even those who are on their parole, and occupied in the labour of the fields be exempt from apprehension, if they ventured to mix with the inhabitants, or neglected the precaution of working in parties separate from the Spaniards. I was informed that Xeres had furnished 7000 recruits for the armies; a tale which I cannot believe, though asserted confidently by every one who has the means of information. It does not appear probable that 7000 men could be taken from a population computed at 40,000 souls, when all the married men, the only sons, and the numerous ecclesiastics, are exempt from the conscription: besides, had the whole of Spain furnished recruits in the same proportion, their armies would have amounted to at least two millions of men, but it is well known that they never exceeded one tenth of that number.

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As I have promised to pass a few days here with the hospitable family of the Gordons, and have received pressing solicitations from other people to visit them on my return from Seville, I shall defer seeing the churches, the Roman antiquities, and the Convent of the Carthusian Monks till that time.

This evening is delightful; the twilight in this climate tinges the sky with a variety of beautiful colours, much resembling the warm hues of Claude, but of which no one can form an adequate idea who has not visited the South of Europe. The "moon walking in brightness," the refreshing coolness of the breeze, and the soothing tranquillity of the scene, are truly enchanting; nor are the feelings rendered less agreeable by the occasional tinkling of the bells, attached to the numerous strings of mules, that pass under our windows.

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LETTER VIII.

COUNTRY AROUND XERES—CASTLE OF LEBRIXA—ITS ANTIQUITY—CONVENT—ITS LIBRARY—MASSACRE OF FRENCH PRISONERS—SCULPTURE OF ALONSO CANO—HISTORY OF CANO—ROMAN DESERTION.

LEBRIXA, SEPT. 1809.

WE left Xeres early this morning, and came to this place by a dusty track through fields lately covered with corn, but which, from the want of rain, are now converted into barren plains. The environs of Xeres on this side are pleasant, and abound in cultivated gardens and vineyards, inclosed within hedges of aloes and tuna. The face of the country is rendered still more agreeable by the intermixture of olive trees, whose dark-green hue forms a pleasing contrast to the lighter shade of the hedges. We passed a number of farmers with their wives, mounted on horses, mules, and asses, going to a fair about seven leagues distant, near Medina. This fair, held in the Pueblo of St. Martin, continues three days, and is the most considerable cattle fair in Andalusia; it is remarkable for its horses, which are prized in Spain above all others; numbers of these animals are bred in the neighbouring plains by the Carthusian monks, who thence derive considerable emolument, as well as from their agricultural pursuits. We passed over some extensive plains leaving the high mountains of Borno on the right hand, and

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the Guadalquivir, at a considerable distance, on the left. We had a distant view of the city of St. Lucar, and, though we did not approach within two leagues of it, the clearness of the atmosphere was such, that the objects were more distinct than they would have appeared in England at the short distance of a mile.

Our first view of Lebrixa was very impressive. Near the town is a Roman camp situated on an eminence overlooking the surrounding country, from the centre of which rises a once magnificent castle, built in very remote times, and improved by the Moors; but which now lies partly in ruins, and partly converted into a convent for monks, conspicuous only for the solemnity it adds to the scene. The town is by no means well built, though some of the public edifices have the appearance of magnificence. There is a certain liveliness in the aspect of the place which is not a little improved by the brilliancy of the atmosphere. After a slight repast we went to view the castle, the prospect from which is very extensive. The lower part of the walls is very thick, and built with Roman bricks; the upper part is evidently of Moorish construction, from the horse-shoe form of the arches, as well as from the materials of which it is composed. The Roman part, which is in some places thirty feet in height, gradually diminishes in thickness, each tier of bricks standing farther in than the one below it, so that the wall somewhat resembles a flight of steps; at the bottom it is so thick, that the excavated cells of the monks are about nine feet in length. I had no means of accurately ascertaining the thickness at the part where the work of the Romans ceases, and that of the Moors begins, but I conjecture it to be about five feet, and the Moorish addition

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being perpendicular, of course continues the same thickness to the top; in former times several ditches surrounded it, the remains of which are still visible.

The Spaniards, in general, feel a pride in tracing the origin of every thing belonging to them to high antiquity: this place is said to have been founded by Bacchus, but some derive its name from the Phœnicians, who certainly traded to this part of Spain at a very remote period. Whatever may have been its origin, there are no antiquities now remaining, prior to the time of the Romans. At the side of an archway, which leads to the castle, there is a marble statue of a female as large as life; and though it has lost the head, the rest of the figure is in tolerable preservation; the drapery discovers considerable ability, and it is undoubtedly a Roman work; though the pious Catholics of Lebrixa sanctify it with the name of the Virgin, or more familiarly, call it "Mariquita la Marmoleja."

We visited the convent which is built within the antient castle; the president, when he found we were Englishmen, treated us with civility and attention; he pressed us to take our dinner with him, which, however, we declined, and he piously expressed his gratitude to God, for having inspired the King of England with the resolution to support the cause of the Spaniards, declaring his confidence of success, because the holy Virgin was on our side. I was curious to see the library of the convent, as well as the private collections in the cells of the different monks: from inspecting a man's books, it is as easy to judge of the turn of his mind as from knowing his associates; to a monk, indeed, his books must be his most valuable

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associates, and a greater impression is likely to be produced by them upon a recluse, than on one, who, by his intercourse with the world, feels their influence frequently counteracted. The library of this institution, however, contains little that can expand the mind or enlarge its views, and consists principally of sermons, homilies, and lives of saints, histories of particular churches, monasteries, and processions, a few classical books, and some French ecclesiastical histories; the Bible, indeed, translated into Spanish from the Vulgate, and very handsomely printed in twelve volumes, is conspicuous, but, I fear, is less read than any in the collection. I examined the list of forbidden books, and certainly was not surprised to see Gibbon's Roman History, Priestley's Lectures on History, and Helen Maria Williams' Letters from France, among the proscribed; but I should not before have supposed that Blair's Sermons, or Pinkerton's Geography, contained any heretical doctrines that could possibly have shocked the feelings of the most orthodox Catholic; they were, however, inserted in the prohibited list.

The venerable president, notwithstanding his sanctity, and his pious reliance on the assistance of the Virgin, related a tale with exultation, which must raise a blush for the depravity of human nature. A number of French under Dupont, taken prisoners at Baylen, were sent to this town for security; but the inhabitants fearing, or pretending to fear, a conspiracy among them, rose, and in cold blood massacred the whole party, amounting to upwards of eighty men. No enquiry was made respecting the conspiracy previously to the massacre, nor has any subsequent investigation of the conduct of those who perpetrated the deed been attempted. That

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eighty unarmed men should project an insurrection in a town containing five or six thousand inhabitants, in the heart of an enemy's country whence they could have no hope of escaping, is too improbable to be readily believed; yet on this wretched pretence were these unhappy victims sacrificed, by the indolent wretches whom I at this moment see loitering in the market place in a state of the most despicable apathy; a set of beings too idle to labour, but who, when their vengeful passions are roused, are capable of the most horrible deeds of cruelty.

The Parroquia, or parish church, is a very handsome building, equal in size to most of our cathedrals, and much more splendidly adorned: it is abundantly supplied with the most costly, and even elegant furniture; and the precious metals are profusely displayed in its images, lamps, and candlesticks. It contains some fine statues by Alonzo Cano, the most distinguished of the Spanish sculptors. A virgin and child, the work of this artist, placed over the principal altar, together with the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, are very well executed: their celebrity was so considerable that several Flemish artists visited this place, solely for the purpose of improving themselves from the study of such excellent models. There are likewise in this church some very fine paintings representing the Nativity, the Epiphany, the Ascension, St. John the Baptist, and St. John the Evangelist; which are also attributed to Alonzo Cano, who not only excelled his cotemporaries in sculpture, but equalled most of them in painting and architecture; it is, however, denied by Don Juan Augustin de Bermudez, that these pictures are his production, for he asserts that they are painted by one of his pupils, named Pablo

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Legot. As I shall frequently have occasion to mention the works of this celebrated master, and as he is scarcely known in England, you may possibly wish to have a sketch of his life: which I shall extract from the work of Bermudez, who has published the best account of the different Spanish artists.

Alonzo Cano was born at Granada in the year 1601: his father was an architect of some celebrity, and instructed him in the rudiments of his art in that city. From Granada the family removed to Seville, where he studied painting under Francisco Pacheco, and afterwards under Juan de Castillo. He acquired a knowledge of sculpture under Juan Martinez Montanes; but were we to judge from his works, which are distinguished by their simplicity, excellent taste, and grandeur of form, we should attribute his progress rather to his diligently studying the specimens of Grecian sculpture which the palace of the Duke of Alcalá afforded him, than to any assistance he could derive from cotemporary artists.

The best of his early works are found in Seville, and consist of three paintings in the College of St. Alberto, and two in the Monastery of St. Paul; the architecture, sculpture, and paintings of which institutions were all executed by this artist before he had attained his thirtieth year. He fled from Seville in consequence of a duel, and repaired to Madrid, where he met with his fellow student Velasquez, who recommended him to the protection and patronage of the Duke de Olivares, through whose influence he obtained an employment upon the royal establishment, as designer and director of several public works: nor were his talents as a painter unemployed, for at this period he painted many of those pictures which are scattered

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over different parts of the kingdom; he also erected a triumphal arch at the gate of Guadalaxara, in Madrid, to commemorate the marriage of the King with the Archdutchess Mary of Austria.

Cano removed to Toledo in 1643; and, upon suspicion of having caused the death of his wife, was confined in the prison of the Inquisition, and suffered torture before that tribunal; but no confession being extorted from him he was liberated, and, resuming his profession, enriched the cathedral of that city with his works. Between this period and 1650 he painted in Valencia, and at the monastery of the Carthusians at Porta-celi, whence he returned to his native city, and was appointed a prebend in the cathedral of that place. This dignity was bestowed upon him more with a view of employing his talents as an artist, than from the expectation of his performing any religious duties; and he was, in consequence, allowed one year before he entered into holy orders; this time, at the expiration of the first period, was extended to a second year, when feeling no inclination for sacred duties, and refusing to be ordained, the cabildo applied to the king, and his stall was declared vacant.

Cano, deprived of his benefice, repaired to court to make known his complaints; but finding he could obtain no redress without undergoing the ceremony of ordination, he was induced by the Bishop of Salamanca, who esteemed his talents more than his piety, to enter privately into deacons orders; the bishop then exerted his influence, and obtained the restitution of his benefice in Granada, with the profits which had accumulated during his suspension. He continued in that city till his death, in 1667, and enriched the cathedral, and

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other churches with his productions in painting and sculpture. This artist literally appears to have felt "the ruling passion strong in death;" for when the priest who attended him presented the crucifix, he turned his eyes away, and refused to look at it because the sculpture was so badly executed; but asked for a plain cross, which being brought to him, he devoutly embraced it and expired.

Alonzo Cano was one of the best painters ever educated in Spain, and was still more celebrated as a sculptor; though the former appears to have been his favourite art, he more eminently excelled in the latter, which he seemed to regard as a relaxation from the severer study of his principal pursuit. He appears, with all his faults, to have been humane and charitable; for it is related, that when he had no money, he would give his sketches and paintings to the poor to relieve their necessities. I hope you will not be tired with this digression on the biography of so celebrated a man. His name you probably have never before heard; but in Spain he has great celebrity, and I thought I could not better occupy the solitude of an obscure posada than by compressing into a letter some observations respecting an artist, from the sight of whose labours, in different parts of Spain, I expect to receive considerable gratification.

During the wars between Julius Cæsar and the Pompeys, this town was the head quarters of the army of the latter, and is remarkable from having been the place whence three Roman knights, A. Bebius, C. Flavius, and A. Trebellius, deserted to join the standard of Cæsar. All the cavalry in the place had determined to revolt from the party of the Pompeys, and follow the fortunes of their

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more skilful adversary; but being discovered by a slave who was entrusted with the secret, they were all seized except those three, who arrived in safety at the camp of Cæsar, a short time before the decisive battle of Munda, which terminated the civil wars of the Romans in Spain.

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LETTER IX.

MARESMA — PELLON — ENTRANCE TO SEVILLE — RELIGIOUS PROCESSION — INN—IRISH HOSPITALITY—MARQUIS WELLESLEY'S RECEPTION—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE JUNTA—MISCONDUCT OF THE JUNTA—POLITICAL FEELINGS.

SEVILLE, SEPT. 1809.

THE country in the immediate vicinity of Lebrixa is very rich, abounding in olives, vines, and corn; and for several miles we experienced a pleasing variety of gently swelling hills, till we entered on the extensive marshes called the Maresma, which are only passable in dry weather; one day's rain making such an impression on its rich soil that, no carriage, nor scarcely a horse can proceed without going many leagues about by the Camino Real, through Utrera and Alcalá. The Maresma is the most extensive track of rich pasture I ever beheld: it extends, in the direction we crossed it, almost to Seville, a distance of eight computed Spanish leagues, each of which amounts at least to four English Miles. The continuance of dry weather has parched the earth and left but little appearance of vegetation, but from the deep cracks, occasioned by the heat, it is evidently a rich alluvial soil of very considerable depth: the eye is tired by the extent of the horizon, and no object interposes to diversify the scene except the herds of cattle, and troops of horses which feed, or rather starve, at this season on a soil which at other times is the most luxuriant known in Spain. The river Guadalquivier runs through

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the plain, and in winter overflows its banks, so as to inundate the whole country to the very foot of the mountains.

On this plain we found one wretched venta, a single house, without a neighbour within ten miles; the accommodations were as miserable as the situation was solitary; the house was too filthy within to be endured, and we ate the provisions, we brought with us, in the open air under the shade of the house, from which no species of refreshment could be procured except bad water for ourselves, and barley with chopped straw for the mules. After dinner we left Pellon, and continued our journey towards this city; as we approached it, the appearance of cultivation encreased; several extensive melon gardens gave variety to the prospect, and afforded us a most grateful repast after the dusty roads, and excessive heat we had endured.

We reached Seville after sun set, but, it being a bright moonlight evening, the public walks and buildings, at the entrance of the town, had a fine effect; we passed one of the walks by the side of the river, and entering by several narrow streets into one of the squares, met a religious procession, which obliged us to stop till it had passed us. It consisted of a number of friars chanting psalms, preceded by men with large glass lanthorns fixed on staves, about eight feet high. To these succeeded a priest, bearing a banner, with either a crucifixion, or the virgin painted on it, and the singers, attended by the rabble, closed the whole. To me it had a ludicrous appearance, but the people stood silent and uncovered till it had passed, and the inhabitants of the houses brought lights to the balconies, in compliment to the Rosary, as it is called.

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We drove to the Posada de Sol, where we were not a little disgusted with the filthy appearance of the house, and the brutal manners of the host: he first hesitated to receive us, and, after running over a long list of Marquises, Counts, and Members of the Junta, who either were in his house, or expected to arrive the next day, he refused to admit us; which eventually proved a most fortunate circumstance, for having a letter of introduction to a Mr. Wiseman, an Irish merchant long established in this city, I called on him to request his assistance in relieving us from our embarrassing situation: instead of recommending me to another inn, he offered me accommodations in his own house, and procured an apartment for Mr. Ridout, till we could meet with convenient lodgings. In this friendly mansion we met with genuine hospitality, and were introduced to an agreeable society, partly consisting of several English gentlemen of Marquis Wellesley's family.

The day after my arrival I waited on our Ambassador, who received me with dignified, but not distant politeness: his conversation discovered an accurate knowledge, and comprehensive view of the state of Spain, while his liberal conduct, and uniform attention to his countrymen, must ensure him their respect and esteem. The arrival of this celebrated nobleman in Seville produced an extraordinary sensation, a sensation certainly neither prepared, nor fostered by the body to whom he was sent, whose narrow souls were jealous of his character, and apprehensive lest his powerful talents should detect, and expose their contracted policy and futile projects. All the respectable inhabitants of the city, among whom were many of those men whose information, patriotism, and energetic minds, had planned

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and effected the first revolution, became the leaders on this occasion also, and conducted the triumphal entry of the British Minister. Seville was emptied of its population, and the expecting crowds patiently endured, without the city, the heat of the sun, the privation of their meals, and of their siesta, and tranquilly waited from morning till dusk, to welcome the approach of a man whose high rank and distinguished capacity, were considered as pledges of the generous and disinterested intentions of the Monarch he represented.

The shouts of the people, and the acclamations of the multitude, were genuine and unequivocal demonstrations of the strong feelings of the nation; but the conduct of their rulers discovered merely that routine of compliments which the hollow intrigues of a court may teach, but which he, who had ruled such courts in India, knew in what manner to appreciate. The welcome of Lord Wellesley at Cadiz had perhaps been increased by the news of his brother's victory at Talavera; and certainly one cause of his Lordship's enthusiastic reception in that city may be attributed to that fortunate occurrence; but at Seville all was pure, unmixed joy for the arrival of a man whose nation was venerated, whose character had preceded him, and to whose high qualities they looked up for deliverance from the government of a body of men fortuitously raised to the unlimited exercise of the executive and legislative power of a great nation.

If reports, which I have very good reason to believe, be true, his Lordship has been placed in difficulties which have required all his sagacity, and all his address to surmount. It is affirmed that the leaders of Seville, who were the first movers in the opposition to

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France, disgusted with the Junta, and despairing of its conducting the defence of the country with the requisite skill and energy, had formed a plan for its overthrow, had communicated it to such patriotic citizens as could give a right impulse and direction to the popular mind, had gained over several regiments, and even the guards of the Junta, to their party, and had actually prepared a vessel to transport the different members to Manilla, as soon as the conspiracy should have broken forth; every thing was in readiness, and the whole plan was so admirably arranged that success appeared certain; when some of the chiefs intimated, in their secret councils, the necessity of consulting the English Minister; they represented to their coadjutors that, his Lordship, his nation, and his Master were too much attached to the liberty of Spain not to aid their patriotic designs; that to omit consulting the representative of such an ally, was to suspect the good faith, and insult the integrity of their best friends; that, if successful, England, always venerating freedom, would be more firmly united to Spain than before; and that success itself, if obtained without the participation of England, would cause many in Spain to doubt if she approved the proceeding: and that, at any rate, concealment would discover a want of confidence, either in the justice of their cause or in the generosity of their ally.

Influenced by these suggestions, it was resolved that the plan should be communicated to his Lordship. When it was made known to him, his situation must have been truly embarrassing; with his conviction of the incapacity, not to say treachery of the Junta, with the persuasion that all its efforts tended to check the animated feelings of the country, he must have wished success

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to the conspirators; yet with this Junta, bad as he might think it, he was commissioned by his Sovereign to communicate, and most assuredly was not sent to effect a revolution that would overthrow its power. To have favoured the conspiracy in private, and have acted towards the Junta as if he were ignorant of the plot, would have been practising an artifice unworthy of his character; he therefore revealed the danger that impended, and after obtaining a promise of oblivion for all those concerned, he named the different regiments which had been gained over by the patriots. Though the Junta affected to pay little attention to his communication, and scarcely thanked him for the information he had furnished, each of the above regiments was immediately commanded to join the army, and precisely in the order which his Lordship had pointed out; yet, when the subject was afterwards discussed, it was intimated to him that they were sent to the frontiers, not in consequence of his information, but from arrangements previously made.

The scarcity of provisions, both in the British and Spanish army, is an evil of incalculable magnitude; to this may be attributed principally the loss of the sick of Lord Wellington's army, after the battle of Talavera. To the redress of this evil the Marquis directed all his attention: he formed a plan similar to that which had been successfully employed in India; he communicated it to the Junta, and earnestly pressed its adoption. To his repeated instances, no answer could be obtained but the common Spanish expressions of delay, "veremos" or "mañana," by which they always stifle every attempt at activity in council or action. The presumption of these men is equal to their indolence and indecision; they have lately, without concert, without means, and without en-

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courragement from any experienced officer, ordered the army of La Mancha to march to Madrid, and with so little secrecy, that the enemy became acquainted with their plan almost as early as themselves. I must however cease my censure upon the Junta: I intended merely to have said of Lord Wellesley, that, to which I conceive him entitled; and I have been insensibly led to dwell on the demerits of the ruling power in Spain.

The best informed people here think that a revolution in the government is absolutely necessary to save the country. A change which, by concentrating the feelings of the people, and directing them properly, without the cumbrous load of forms now existing, would do more to baffle the enemy than any effort which the present body are likely to devise. That the feelings of the people are right, no one doubts; and it is a fortunate circumstance in the present crisis, that, that part of the clergy which has the greatest influence on the bulk of the people coincides with it, or rather contributes to lead it right. No priest of any description, under the rank of a bishop, is even suspected of a disposition favourable to France; the hatred towards Buonaparte is indeed kept alive by the clergy, and such is their zeal, that I believe to oppose him effectually, they would sacrifice even their benefices.

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LETTER X.

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT — GARAY — MARQUIS DE VILLEL — COUNT TILLI — DON VINCENTE HORE — REQUELME — CARO — CALVO — CORNEL — JOVELLANOS — SAAVEDRA — COUNT ALTAMIRA — CAUSES OF THE CHOICE OF MEMBERS — POWERS OF THE MEMBERS FROM VALENCIA — CAUSE OF ERRORS IN SPANISH POLITICS — EVILS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

I FEAR my last letter so strongly condemned the conduct of the Junta, that you will suspect I am influenced by motives of personal dislike; on the contrary, so far as civility and attention are to be considered, I have every reason to be satisfied with the behaviour of that body, with the individuals of which, I am pretty generally acquainted. Garay, the secretary of state, seems a man of plain good sense, without finesse, and tolerably assiduous in business; he is very accessible, and as his cabinet is in the apartment adjoining to that in which Señora Garay holds her evening parties, persons, who come to him on public business in the evening, are amused by conversing with the ladies till their turn for admission to the minister arrive. At Señora Garay's evening party, called the Tertulla, there is generally some good company, with a considerable mixture of vulgar looking men, dressed in boots and shabby military uniforms, and smoaking segars. The ladies as well as Garay are fugitives from Madrid, who following their husbands, and fathers, have assembled at

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Seville. Though among this party evident marks of departed grandeur are visible, no repining is heard; they bear their situation with resignation, and only vent their feelings in execrating the French. The apartments occupied by Garay, are in the Alcazar, or antient palace, and are literally destitute of all furniture except a great number of common chairs, with rush bottoms, and one small table on which the lights are placed. The walls have some few arabesque ornaments and inscriptions. The floors are of brick; and the only part that looks respectable is a door covered with crimson damask, which was put up when the late King Charles the Fourth occupied these apartments.

The Marquis de Villel, another member of the Junta, whom I have frequently visited, was for a short time governor of Cadiz, but rendered himself so obnoxious that he was forced to abscond; he interfered with too many of the voluptuous pleasures of that city, and having attempted to lengthen the petticoats of the actresses, and cover the necks of some of the ladies of rank, he became so generally odious that he could remain there no longer. His stupidity, his frivolous turn of mind, and his ignorance, unfit him for any office requiring mental exertion, and yet, it is said, that he has considerable weight in the Junta.

Count Tilli, one of the representatives from Seville, was known there only from his ill-gotten wealth, and his generally profligate character; he was, however, an active member of the first Junta of Seville, and is supposed by his influence with the mob, to have caused the murder of the amiable Count Aguilar, one of the victims of popular feeling in this city. When it was determined to create

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the Central Junta, for the superintendance of the general affairs of the kingdom, by electing two members from each provincial Junta, Tilli, though one of the most worthless, was chosen by the Junta as the representative for Seville, merely, as it should seem, for the purpose of getting rid of him. Padre Gill, an ecclesiastic of worth, of patriotism, and of eloquence, had been one of the most energetic opposers of the French; he saw through the selfish views and bloody schemes of Tilli, loathed his association, and conceiving that, after the formation of the Central Junta, that of Seville would still retain its influence and its power, and that its proceedings would be more respectable without the presence of Tilli, and knowing that the influence which his wealth gave him over the populace of Seville would make his removal difficult, if not impossible, in any other way, he promoted his nomination as a deputy to the Central Junta; and thus, while Seville was rid of him, he thought but little of the mischief he might do when made a part of a higher body, which, whatever may have been the design of those who elected it, was sure to become the depositary of all the power, both legislative and executive.

The other deputy from Seville, Don Vincente Hore, was chosen for reasons similar to those which procured the election of Tilli: he had been formerly a protegé of the Prince of Peace, and had filled the office of pander to the lusts of that minister. When the revolution broke out, he was warned by the fate of the unfortunate Count Aguilar and became a furious patriot. Padre Gill, and the other patriots, blushed at such an associate, and, to remove the disgrace from their body, sent him as a vocal to the Central Junta.

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I am afraid I should only create disgust were I to dwell on other characters among the vocals, as they are designated. I shall, therefore, pass over Riquelme, Caro, Calvo, Cornel, and others, to enter upon a more grateful subject, and give some account of Jovellanos. He is now an old man, but his life has been spent in the exercise of virtue, in the cultivation of his mind, and in devising practical plans for ameliorating the condition of his country; he has learnt, by suffering a long and unmerited imprisonment, to raise himself above misfortune, and to prefer the good of his fellow-creatures to those gratifications and indulgences which his subsequent elevation might have insured. He laboured diligently, during his exile in Majorca, to point out the evils which oppressed the agriculture of Spain, and prepared himself for legislation, by contemplating the sufferings which the old laws of entail, and mortmain, had inflicted on the nation. At the first assembling of the Junta, it is said that Count Florida Blanca, who had been minister of Spain under the antient regimen, gave more importance to the rank of the grandees, and even to the vicious part of the antient forms and institutions, than was compatible with the more correct, practical, and simple views of Jovellanos; that these two men formed the central points round which the other members rallied, and that the majority, not being men of enlarged minds, coincided with the opinions of Florida Blanca more, than with those of Jovellanos. This adherence to the opinions of the former occasioned the appointment of Count Altamira to the presidency of the Junta, and the retention of a cumbrous load of forms and ceremonies, only tending to cramp the exertions which Spain is now called upon to make. In private, Jovellanos is frugal and simple in his manners,

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beloved by his friends, and esteemed by all who know him; he is even now a diligent student, and has acquired a knowledge of the best writers in the Greek language superior to that of any man in Spain.

Saavedra, the minister of finance, and a native of this city, though of an advanced age, discharges the duties of his office with integrity; but it is supposed that his faculties have been much injured by an attempt to destroy him by poison, administered at the instigation of the Prince of Peace. It has injured his health, and his memory, but he still retains his benevolent dispositions, and his patriotic abhorrence of the French. His house, the domestic arrangements of his family, and the whole economy of his establishment, more resemble those of a well regulated family in England, than is generally seen in this country. His daughters, though not destitute of accomplishments, have been taught to set an unusually high value on the cultivation of their minds, and they are the best informed women I have met with in Spain.

The Count Altamira, as president of the Junta, ought, from his rank perhaps, to have been first noticed. I have only seen him in the public streets. He has the physiognomy of a baboon, and is said to possess little more intellect than that mimic of man. He is escorted to the Alcazar by a party of the horse guards, in a chariot of a most despicable appearance, drawn by two mules, while the populace sneeringly call him the King of Seville.

The sittings of this assembly are from ten till three in the morning, and in the evening from eight till eleven: every thing is secretly conducted, but it is known that, the meeting is divided into com-

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mittees, which attend to the different branches of the administration, and report to the whole body the result of their separate labours. They meet in a most beautiful saloon within the Alcazar, and are always in full dress, with swords. The election of these men, in most instances, was the result of accident, and those who chose them never delegated the powers they have since assumed, nor seemed to suppose that such powers were necessary.

It appears that Spain was virtually governed, at the commencement of the revolution, by numerous provincial Juntas, formed, on the spur of the occasion, without any other election than popular opinion; and the whole kingdom became a number of independent, instead of federal republics. The necessity for union, and the more enlarged views of the British Government, which could not treat with these insulated bodies, made a central government indispensably necessary. It was difficult to reconcile the interests of different provinces, and to conquer the jealousies mutually entertained; it was not to be expected that these provincial juntas, each exercising within its district the full power of sovereignty, and held together merely by the name of Ferdinand, could be brought to relinquish the authority they had exercised, and exercised with energy, and quietly resign it into the hands of another set of men, to whom they were entire strangers, and of whose views they were doubtful. Conceiving that by the election they delegated very little power, they became less careful in their choice, and, as in the instance of Count Tilli, and Don Vincente Hore, even selected some, from mistaken motions, whose characters and talents rendered them, of all others, the most unfit for the trust.

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I have, now before me, the instructions from the province of Valencia, the most enlightened in Spain, to its deputies, which will shew what the views of that province were, when those deputies were chosen. I shall only translate such passages as manifest how very limited their ideas were of the power they delegated.

"The powers of the Central Junta are limited to understanding and deciding every thing which relates to high government, such as peace or war, the direction of the armies, the government of America, and the nomination of diplomatic agents, and ministers."

"The Provincial Junta will continue permanent, with the supreme authority of its kingdom; and the deputies at the Central Junta will depend on it, so as to labour and explain according to the advice given to them, always being subject and obedient, maintaining correspondence with them, and possessing no power to differ from the opinions of their constituents."

"The term of the duration of the deputies shall be one year, with the capacity of re-election; but the provincial Junta retains the power to dismiss them whenever it shall be found convenient."

"In matters of great importance, which do not require prompt decision, such as treaties of peace, declarations of war, and establishment of imposts, they must wait for the previous decision and vote of the provincial Junta before they resolve."

"Each provincial Junta shall attend to the collection of its revenues, and to the satisfying its respective obligations, so that the army, the navy, and all classes are to receive their pay from the hands of the provinces, and not from the Central Junta, without making, as heretofore, a common mass of all the funds."

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"The Central Junta shall be employed in regulating the constitution of the kingdom, in reforming the civil and criminal codes, the revenues, &c. but it must communicate to the provincial Juntas its ideas on each subject, and adopt those resolutions which shall be approved by the majority of them."

"When the Central Junta grants a pension to any person, it must consult beforehand with the provincial Junta that is to pay it, and it will be its duty to resolve on it."

"The provincial Juntas, besides the other matters pointed out, will undertake to reform the economical and political system of their several districts, and will, for the information of the Central Junta, make known to it their regulations: they will confer all civil and ecclesiastical offices, giving notice to the Central Junta, which is to confirm their appointments: and the courts of justice shall protest against all infractions of their laws."

I have reason to believe, that all the other deputies were fettered in a manner similar with those from Valencia; but, having released themselves from their originally narrow restrictions, it is very difficult to obtain any information respecting them.

Men thus brought together, to administer the affairs of a great country in the hour of alarm and confusion, though possessed of the greatest talents, patriotism, and experience, could have done nothing without consulting their constituents, and, before this could have been effected, the enemy would have driven them from their place of assembly. I am, therefore, far from blaming the Junta for assuming the power, and using the name of Ferdinand, to sanction and give authority to its proceedings; but it has appeared to me proper to point out the cause of the election of such men as now

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enjoy the supreme power. It is still difficult to explain how it came to pass, that men who had displayed such activity and energy, at the commencement of this important struggle, should have been found so deficient in judgment and foresight, as to be negligent in the choice of those to whom they delegated their power.

The public mind, never having been turned to political subjects, extreme ignorance upon these topics has been the natural consequence, and their best writers have never ventured to discuss matters relating to the extent, or limits of power necessary for the functions of government; but have generally confined themselves to political economy, as adapted to the actual state of Spain, at the period in which they wrote. Those persons, who had paid any attention to political subjects, had borrowed the ideas of Montesquieu, who certainly impressed his readers with jealous fears of the danger of unlimited power; which, however calculated for the tranquil times of Europe in which he lived, are ill-adapted for the present day.

In all my conversations with the Spaniards, who clamour for the convocation of the Cortes, I have felt a persuasion that they are not looking at the proper means of salvation; that an executive, not a legislative power, is what the present state of their country demands; that a dictator, not a senate, is the great desideratum. Whatever the state of this government may be hereafter, nothing can be worse than it is at present, and no change can injure the people, except French subjugation, an evil which, I believe, will never befall them, in spite of all their blunders and consummate indolence. The present system unites the evils of the three forms into which governments are usually divided, without possessing the ad-

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vantages of either, and in one desolating view, presents the debility of a worn-out despotism, without its secrecy or its union; the insolence and intrigues of an aristocracy, without its wisdom or refinement; and the faction and indecision of a democracy, without the animated energy of popular feeling. Hence all is doubtful, wavering, and indecisive, the resolutions of one day contradicting those of the preceding, and the labours of one section interfering with those of another, in a manner that produces universal confusion.

I shall dismiss this subject with observing, that the members are paid an annual salary of 4000 dollars; without which, many of them, whose estates are situated in parts of the country occupied by the French, and from which they can draw no revenues, would be unable to subsist, even with all their parsimonious economy.

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LETTER XI.

GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE CITY — STREETS — HOUSES — WALKS — PUBLIC BUILDINGS—FABRICA DE TOBACO—SNUFF—ST. ELMO—BAD NAVAL EDUCATION — IGNORANCE OF PROFESSORS — AQUEDUCT — CANNON FOUNDRY — COPPER MINES OF RIO TINTO—WALLS AND GATES.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

I BELIEVE, in my former letters, I wrote so fully on the politics of this country, that it is time to quit that subject and enter upon others, in which perhaps you will feel greater interest. The appearance of this city is very different from any that I have seen; each house occupies a large space of ground, and all have an open court within them called the Patio; in the centre of this space there is usually a fountain of cool water, occasionally surrounded with orange trees, and other evergreens. The streets are extremely narrow; very few are wide enough to allow two carriages to pass, in many there is not sufficient room even to admit a single carriage, and the marks of the wheels are frequently visible on the walls of the houses. Several of the streets indeed are so very narrow, that I have touched the opposite walls at the same time. The houses being lofty the sun never penetrates to the bottom of these streets, and they have, on the hottest day, almost the coolness of our cellars. The pavement in general is bad, and there is not, even in the widest streets, any foot-

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path for passengers, which however is of little consequence where there are very few carts or coaches. There are not many squares, nor open places in the city, but the environs have some beautiful public walks, one of them, by the side of the river Guadalquivir, is usually frequented by the principal inhabitants of the city. There are besides, two other very delightful walks, but as their situation is remote from the residence of the higher class, they are not places of much resort, though the municipality keeps them in excellent repair. Several of the public places are adorned with fountains, but as the water they contain is seldom cool, stalls are erected in various parts of the city for the sale of that necessary article, previously filtered through jars of porous earth.

If there be little to admire in the streets generally, the public buildings are objects deserving the highest admiration. The Spaniards have always possessed considerable skill in architecture; and, as I have viewed the buildings of this city with great pleasure, I shall attempt a description of some of the most remarkable.

I shall begin with noticing a public building, which though of modern date partakes somewhat of the style which prevailed in Spain during the time of Charles the Fifth: it was erected for the purpose of carrying on the manufacture of tobacco, which being an article subject to heavy taxation has become a royal monopoly, so that no tobacco, nor snuff is permitted to be sold, in this part of Spain, which does not belong to the crown. This edifice is very large, is surrounded with a ditch, and has an handsome entrance from la Calle Nueva, the neatest street in Seville, of which the front of this building forms one side. It is two hundred yards in length, and an hun-

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dred and five in breadth, and its appearance gives an idea of strength and solidity. I went through the interior of it, consisting of twenty-eight courts, round which the rooms for the different branches of the manufactory are arranged. It contains upwards of an hundred mills for grinding the snuff, which are turned by horses and mules, while some hundreds of men and boys are employed in rolling leaf tobacco into segars; but at present, either from the diminished consumption or the contraband trade from Gibraltar, there is not one-eighth part of either the mills, or the apartments for other branches of the manufactory employed.

The snuffs made here are of various kinds. The rappee is a bad imitation of the French snuff of that name; but that which is most esteemed is mixed with an earth from Almazarron, between Lorca and Carthagena, called Almagre, a species of ochre; it is mixed with the tobacco in a damp state, and gives it the colour, as well as that pungency and flavour, which are so much admired. By calculating the quantity of snuff manufactured and ready for delivery, I found it would produce when sold about two millions of dollars, but this is calculating it at the price at which it is delivered here, which is about ten times as much as it costs the government, unless the expences of the establishment are, as I suspect them to be, most extravagantly high: indeed I learnt, that though the number of labourers was reduced to one-fifth of the usual establishment, yet, that, that of the officers, whose salaries are considerable, is the same as when the consumption and consequently the revenues were much greater. I was greatly struck with the rigorous examination the labourers underwent on their leaving the fabrica: they were almost stripped naked, and

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examined as closely as if they had been working in a diamond mine; and yet, in spite of all these precautions, I was informed that they contrived to secrete considerable quantities.

I went from the Fabrica de Tobaco to see St. Elmo, a naval institution founded by Ferdinand Columbus, son of the discoverer of America, in the year 1526, but the building was not finished till several years after. Its extent and beauty are very considerable, as it was erected at a period when the architecture of Spain was at its height. The objects of this institution are most miserably neglected: it was originally designed for one hundred and fifty youths, but the number at present amounts to no more than seventy; they are divided into four classes, in one of which merely reading and writing are taught; the other three are designed for the different branches of mathematics: some pretensions are also made to teach geography, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry; but, having neither books, nor instruments, nor professors possessing any knowledge, their progress, I fear, is very trifling. The principal employment of the elder boys consists in copying from charts on Mercator's Projection; but their copies were fac-similes of those from which they were taken, and, as they have no Gunter's scale, nor any other scale of lines, sines, rhumbs, and tangents, they are incapable of constructing charts on a scale different from those before them. The name of algebra is, indeed, upon the list of studies, but the professor did not affect to understand it, and, on every subject connected with nautical science, displayed little more knowledge than most of the masters of our coasting merchant ships; he had heard of ascertaining the situation of a ship by lunar and stellar observations, and by two

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altitudes of the sun; but understood neither the practice nor the principles, nor even the mode of calculating azimuths and amplitudes! After seeing this institution, the superiority of British navigators is no longer surprising. In our schools for naval education, such as Christ's Hospital, Greenwich School, and especially the Academy at Portsmouth, every facility is afforded to the pupils, which instruments, books, and tutors can bestow; and it is the boast of science, that some of the bravest officers, that ever conducted British seamen to victory, have been the best practical mathematicians and astronomers of their age. But to return from this digression: the library is very deficient in books; with the exception of the French Encyclopædia, and a few works on astronomy in the same language, there are none adapted to a naval institution. The religious part of the establishment is, as usual, not neglected; a handsome church, with some tolerable pictures, rich plate, and a good house for the spiritual tutor, seem to have had more attention bestowed upon them than any other department. The expences of this institution are defrayed by a small tonnage duty upon every ship that sails to America.

The aqueduct which supplies the city with water terminates at the gate leading to Madrid; it is called Los Caños de Carmona, not because the water is conveyed from that city, but because the name of this gate is Puerto de Carmona. It has been a matter of dispute, whether this be a Roman, or Moorish work, to me it appears a mixture of both; it was probably constructed originally by the former, and afterwards, as the work decayed, repaired by the latter. The

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arches are of different construction, some resembling the Roman, others the Moorish; which last approach nearer to the form of a horse-shoe, and terminate within the perpendicular that supports them. The water is conveyed from a hill, where it rises, near the town of Alcalá, about eight miles from the city. The aqueduct stands on arches twelve feet in diameter, and is supported by pillars nearly thirty feet high, in the part which I examined; but these necessarily vary in height according to the level of the ground over which the aqueduct is carried. The water is conducted in an open canal on the top of the arches, and forms a constant stream three feet wide and two feet deep, and is esteemed excellent; a part is received into a large reservoir near the gate, and the remainder is conveyed by pipes to the Alcazar, the public fountains, and the houses of private individuals. It is obvious that the Romans, as well as the Moors, were acquainted with the method of taking the levels necessary for conducting water to their cities, though they do not appear ever to have applied that knowledge in the construction of canals, to transport heavy productions from one part of a country to another. It is also no less evident that they were unacquainted with the fact, that water in a tube or pipe will ascend to its original level, or they would have supplied their cities with water by means of pipes, in preference to the far more expensive mode of conveying it by aqueducts.

The royal cannon foundery is a very fine building, where two hundred men are constantly employed in casting and boring guns of a large calibre. The shape and ornaments of the guns are very beautiful, and they are turned and bored by the machinery used in England for similar purposes. The greatest deficiency, I observed, was

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the total want of machinery to facilitate labour; neither the steam engine, nor the water wheel has yet been introduced, and, consequently, the labour of mules and of men is solely employed, even in the heaviest operations. It is, however, the best arranged institution I have hitherto seen in Spain. The principal manager is Señor Vedal, a native of Catalonia, who politely attended us through the building, and explained every part with great minuteness. He is not only a practical man, but understands chemistry and mineralogy; he is also well acquainted with the English, French, and Swedish writers on those subjects, and speaks with rapture of the recent discoveries of our countryman Davy, whose account of the new metals reached him only a short time ago. I expressed some surprise at the great number of brass guns, and remarked that the English used iron for battering cannon, which were equally serviceable, and cost no more than one fifth the expence; he admitted the fact, but observed that, as in Spain all the copper mines paid a certain proportion of their produce to the King, that, that produce, which thus costs nothing, was used for cannon, and sufficiently supplied the exigencies of the State. How obvious must it appear, to any one of the least reflection, that, if this copper were sold by the government and iron purchased, a considerable saving would accrue! but, as this might require some little combination and arrangement, it is not likely to be adopted under present circumstances.

Señor Vedal has a small collection of mineralogical specimens. The only ones I had time to examine were those of copper from Rio Tinto, the mine nearest to Seville, which is now worked by a company to considerable advantage; about three hundred men are em-

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ployed in it, and the entrance being on the side of the mountain, the ore is procured at a small expence. They have no occasion for a steam-engine, having met with no water in the mine. The veins dip from north to south, are formed of quartose matter, in which sulphuret of iron is intermixed with sulphurets and other combinations of copper, and some specimens of muriate of copper have been found. It is generally believed that there are veins of silver under the latter.

The walls of Seville are supposed to have been constructed by the Romans, and the turrets are by the historians attributed to Julius Cæsar; they are of little use in the present state of the art of war, and the new facine batteries, lately erected, are not more serviceable: indeed the place is incapable of defence without an expence on the fortifications which the position does not merit. Some of the gates are very magnificent, especially that of Triana, which leads to the bridge of boats over the Gaudalquivir. The gate of Xeres possesses more simple grandeur, and over it is this inscription:

HERCULES ME EDIFICO;
JULIO CESAR ME CERCO
DE MUROS, Y TORRES ALTAS;
Y EL REY SANTO ME GANÓ
CON GARCI PEREZ DE VARGAS.

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LETTER XII.

LA LONJA—AMERICAN PAPERS—JUAN DE HERRERA—CASA MONEDA—ALCAZAR—TIME OF ERECTION—INTERIOR—MOORISH GARDEN—ANCIENT SCULPTURE HOUSE OF DON JOSSE MARIA PEREZ—HIGH MASS—RELIGION—PREACHING—AURICULAR CONFESSION.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

ONE of the buildings in Seville which displays the best architectural taste is La Lonja, built originally at the expence of the merchants, and designed for an exchange. It forms a square, and each front is two hundred feet in length, and being raised on steps, has a magnificent appearance. The staircase leading to the upper rooms is superbly built of coloured marble, about twenty-five feet in breadth, with balustrades, supported by pillars of the same substance: the apartments consist of three rooms in front, each one hundred and eighty feet long, and four others, lighted from the patio, of smaller dimensions; the whole forms a grand building, and does honour to the taste of the age in which it was erected.

The apartments are furnished with book-cases, which contain all the correspondence with America, from its first discovery to the present time, arranged and neatly docketed; and reference may be made to any paper with great facility. The original letters of Cortez and Pizarro are deposited in these cases, and will some day probably

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throw light on the history of that period. It is certain that the Spanish historians have neglected to examine these valuable documents, and the writers of later date have contented themselves with quoting Robertson, whose book, with all its deficiencies, contains more accurate views, and more extensive knowledge, of the affairs of the Spaniards in America three hundred years ago, than the work of any author of their own nation.

La Lonja was completed in the year 1598 by Juan de Herrera, one of the most celebrated architects in Spain. In early life he visited Italy in a military capacity, and availed himself of that opportunity to study the various models of art with which that country abounds: he was an excellent mathematician, and applied his knowledge and taste to the study of architecture. After the death of Juan Bautista de Toledo he was employed in completing the Escurial, which established his fame, and occasioned his being created a knight of St. Iago, Quarter-master General of the Royal Palace, and Superintendant of the Royal Mansions. I wished to make a sketch of this building, and one of the Canons of the Cathedral introduced me to the house of a lady opposite, where I had a good view of it. As I used the camera lucida, the astonishment of the good lady and her domestics was not a little excited; and perhaps I might have been taken for a magician if I had not been the friend of a priest, for nothing could exceed their surprise when they saw the building before them reflected on the paper, reduced to a small compass, and every part exact.

The Casa Moneda, or mint, is at present very little used; owing to the scarcity of silver, few of the presses were at work, but enough

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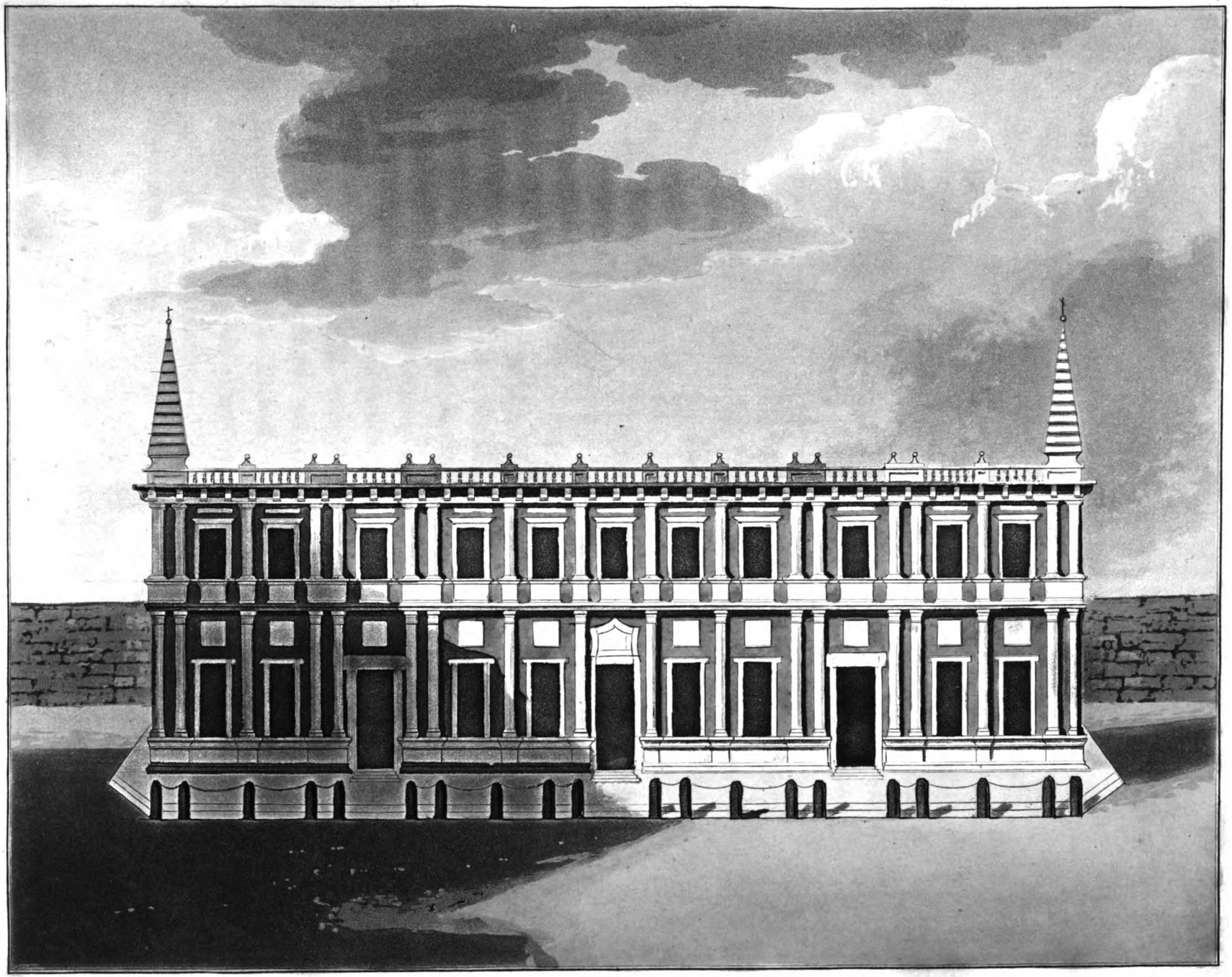

La Lonja de Sevilla.

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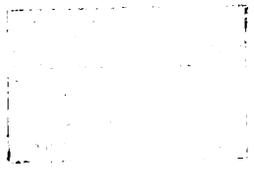

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were employed to shew the imperfection of the machinery: the presses are worked by manual labour, and the dyes are very bad; the slowness of the work renders the coinage expensive even here, where manual labour is comparatively cheap.

The Alcazar, an ancient palace, is an object that naturally attracts the attention of every one who visits Seville. It was originally built by the Moors; but no information of the date of its commencement can be obtained. The greater part was constructed by Peter the Cruel, between the years 1353 and 1364, who exactly copied the Arabian style of the ancient part of the edifice; and the remainder was erected by Charles the Fifth. There is one Arabic inscription, with the date of the Hegira, corresponding to the year 1181 of the Christian era; and the name of the architect who built, and of the king under whom it was erected, are in the same place. The latter is called Nazar, of whom I could learn nothing in any history I have met with; indeed the Spanish historians, Mariana, Ocampo, Ortiz, and others, have, in their writings, either omitted the series of the Moorish kings, or passed them over very slightly, so that their works, from the year 750 to about 1250, instead of meriting the title of histories of Spain, ought to be denominated histories of the Goths who retired from the Moorish conquerors to the extremities of Spain.

The outside of the Alcazar is miserable in its appearance; but the first court after entering the gate has a very grand effect: the front, looking into that court, is purely Arabic in its style, and the inscriptions favour the idea of its being built by that people; it is,

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nevertheless, ascertained to have been constructed since the conquest, by the Christians; and, indeed, the arms of Castile and Leon are mingled with the Arabic characters. The flight of stairs leading to the royal apartments, now occupied by Garay, is of marble; and some galleries, of the same material, lead to other parts of the building. The courts are ornamented with marble fountains, and are well shaded with corridors, supported by marble pillars. The hall, now occupied by the Junta, formerly called the Hall of Ambassadors, is a beautiful apartment, adorned with elegant designs in stucco, and with a floor of the most transparent marble, of various colours. The rooms adjoining are occupied by the different committees, or, as they are called, sections, into which the Junta is divided, and the whole palace, which is very extensive, is filled by the different branches of the government, whose clerks have offices very well adapted for the dispatch of business from their proximity to each other.

The garden of the Alcazar is said to have been laid out by the Moors, and is preserved in its original state; it contains walks paved with marble, parterres laid out with ever-greens, and well shaded with orange trees. In many parts of it there are baths, supplied by marble fountains from the aqueduct I described in a former letter, and they have a contrivance for rendering the walks one continued fountain, by forcing up small streams of water from minute pipes in the joining of the slabs, which in this climate produces a most grateful effect. As a specimen of an Arabian garden, in its original state, this is an interesting object, and we naturally associate with it recollections gathered from the Eastern writers, especially from the Song

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of Solomon, in the Scriptures, in which the descriptions very well agree with this garden; for, in addition to the other circumstances, it is completely walled round, and is secluded from every one except the inhabitants of one part of the palace.

The saloon, which was occupied by the Junta of Seville when its energy directed the public mind of this city, contains a collection of Roman antiquities brought from Italica, an antient city, about four miles hence, and celebrated as the birth-place of the Emperor Trajan. I observed some fine statues which, though partly mutilated, shew the superiority of the antients over the moderns in the art of sculpture: a colossal figure, supposed to be Apollo, is remarkably well executed; and the statue of a vestal, in good preservation, discovers great skill in the figure and disposition of the drapery. The Roman inscriptions collected in this place are very numerous, and worthy the attention of those who are fond of studying them. I hope my taste will not be too severely condemned if I remark, that the Moorish antiquities afford me greater pleasure than the Roman; to me they possess more of novelty, have been much less described, and are in every respect better adapted to the climate.

As I am writing to you on the subject of the Moorish antiquities, I must say that I have been more highly gratified by seeing the private house of Don Josse Maria Perez, a merchant of this city, than by any other remains of that people. This house was built by the Moors, and was the residence of one of their chiefs. The whole is most voluptuously contrived for a warm climate, but one of the apartments exceeds every thing I have seen. It is in the most per-

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fect preservation, though certainly not less than five hundred years old: the form resembles a double cube, the one placed above the other, its height about sixty, and its length and breadth about thirty feet; the ornaments begin at about ten feet from the floor, and are continued to the top of the room; they consist of a kind of variegated net-work of stucco, designed with such regularity and exquisite beauty, that, without the aid of a drawing, I should despair of doing it justice. It is said that this kind of stucco is composed of lime mixed with the whites of eggs; but whatever be its composition, its durability is such that, after the lapse of at least five centuries, not a flaw or crack is to be seen in the whole of the surface, and it is as hard as a stone: this apartment would alone be a sufficient proof to me of the superiority of the Moors over the Spaniards in their taste for decorating their dwellings.

On Sunday I went to the Cathedral, to see the ceremony of high Mass. There is a pomp and splendour in the Catholic worship, when performed in a country where that religion is established, which, like any other pageant, dazzles for a moment, and confines the attention to the imposing spectacle; but it is so different from any of our feelings of religion, that the impression it makes upon us, differs little from that which the best scenes in a theatre produce. On those, however, who from early and repeated association have connected these ceremonies with religious ideas, and with the strong feelings of adoration and gratitude, the effect produced must be very great, though I should suspect very transient.

I have frequently visited this Church before, and every time

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with such increased admiration, that I am afraid to attempt a description of it, from a consciousness of the difficulty to do justice to my own impressions. From the climate, it is necessary to exclude the heat, and of course the light; there are consequently but few windows, and those of painted glass, barely sufficient to give light enough to distinguish, on first entering, the various surrounding objects. This produces a solemn effect on the high altar, which is brilliantly illuminated with wax-tapers of an enormous size. The decorations of this altar are splendid and sumptuous beyond description; the quantity of gilding on the borders of the different compartments, filled with images and pictures, the massy silver and gold ornaments, and the rails of bronze, tastefully designed, compose a most impressive whole. The priests kneeling before the altar, and in silence offering up their devotions, the clouds of ascending incense, and the pious on their knees, in the most striking attitudes, altogether form a scene that at once captivates the imagination, and suspends the reasoning faculties; it is a scene to be felt but not described; the sensations it produces may be indulged, but cannot long delude a reflecting mind.

My English ideas were not to be seduced by this imposing spectacle, and I could not refrain, after a few minutes, from calculating what portion of all that is valuable in man, of moral rectitude, of benevolent propensity, and of patience in adversity, is produced by all this costly machinery. That some part of this machinery may be useful it would be unjust to doubt, and rash must that man be, who would hastily and inconsiderately level to the ground even these supports,

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feeble as they are, of the virtue and consolation of a whole people. The great distinction between the English Clergy and those of the Catholic Church, as well as some of our English sectaries, is, that the former, in all their public services, strive chiefly to enforce practical virtue, while the latter lay the greatest stress on the adherence to their peculiar rites and doctrines.

Religion in every country is calculated to produce an effect on manners as well as on morals; in England, among those who read but little or not at all, the effect is accomplished by public preaching; but in Spain, where preaching is by no means common, the knowledge of Religion is kept alive by sensible representations of the events of the Gospel history. These are exhibited in the Churches, or the Calvarios, on the days set apart for celebrating the leading facts of the Christian Religion, or on days consecrated to the memory of particular Saints. From these the people collect with tolerable accuracy the true accounts of the life and miracles of our Saviour and his Apostles; but they receive with equal credit legends of Saints, which from the manner in which they are taught, they cannot distinguish from authentic facts; but virtue, which ought to form the ultimate object of all true Religion, which elevates man to the highest rank of which he is susceptible, and assimilates him to a superior order of beings, is left to the Confessor to be impressed on the mind of the penitent.

Auricular confession is but a poor substitute for public preaching; or rather, public teaching, which the Reformation introduced, is an excellent substitute for auricular confession. The dignity of the

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pulpit makes reproof more severe, denunciations more alarming, advice more powerful, and consolation more soothing; while the intimacy, and sometimes the familiarity of auricular confession, makes the penitent feel but too forcibly that the spiritual guide has all the passions and weakness of those who rely on him.

I should, however, be sorry to see this practice abolished till some better were introduced in its stead; for though it be obvious that the profligacy of the higher classes is not corrected by their Religion, and whatever dominion they may allow their priests over their faith and their rituals, they allow them very little over their morals, yet, with the middle and lower ranks of society, who form the most virtuous and moral class of the people, they have a beneficial influence. With the higher order, the great struggle of the confessor is to keep the mind free from doubts, to enforce submission to the dogmas and ceremonies of the Church, and prevent the inroad of heresy. With the other classes there is no such task; they never read books written by foreigners, nor ever converse with them; they have no doubts on points of faith, no scruples in matters of ceremony, and the task of the confessor is more directly addressed to the formation of the moral habits of sobriety, honesty, and veracity. On these points they have evidently been successful; for I have never been in any country where the mass of the people has approached the conduct of the Spaniards in these respects; in chastity, as far as I can judge, they have not been so successful; whether the evil arise from the celibacy of the clergy, the voluptuous climate, or the remains of Moorish manners, I cannot determine; but there is, in this respect,

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a degree of profligacy extending to all ranks in this country, which I trust will ever remain unexampled in our own. A priest, with whom I was conversing on this subject a few days ago, assured me, that of the numerous females who came to him for absolution, he seldom found any who confessed the violation of any commandment but the seventh.

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LETTER XIII.

RELIGION — SHRINES — ORACION — PROCESSION OF THE HOST — ROSARIO — MODES OF SALUTATION — FAMILY DEVOTION — USE OF THE CROSS — ROBBERY OF A BISHOP — INQUISITION: EXTENT OF ITS POWER — OLAVIDE — INTERIOR OF THE INQUISITION.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

THE subject of Religion is too important in this country to be slightly passed over. Its ceremonies, indeed, so frequently recur, expressions derived from it are so commonly used, and the habits of the people are so formed by it, that it merits the greatest attention. The feelings of religion are supported by every object that presents itself to the view: at the corners of most of the principal streets, the shrines of various saints obtrude themselves upon the passenger; even the fronts of many of the houses are adorned with their images, to which the pious stranger uncovers his head with humility, and silently expresses his devotion by making the sign of the cross.

In the midst of the gaieties which commence about five o'clock in the evening, when the Paseo, or public walk, is crowded with company dressed in their most splendid attire, and indulging in the liveliest conversation, the sound of a bell announces the approaching hour of sunset. At this signal, which is called oracion, every one, as if by magic, seems fixed in his place; every head is uncovered,

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and the whole company repeats, or is supposed to repeat, a mental prayer: after a few minutes devoted to these formalities, the lively scene is resumed, and the conversation continued from the point at which it met this pious interruption. This ceremony takes place in every part of Spain; and where theatres or other public amusements are open, the sound of this bell suspends the entertainment till the prayer is over; so great is its effect, that it is even said that assassins, at the moment of executing their horrid design, have held their hand at the sound of the oracion, and, after repeating the habitual prayer, have perpetrated their diabolical purpose.

I have reason to suspect that this practice, as well as some others, arises more from conformity to the usages of their country, than from any strong religious feelings, for I have observed in private houses, that the attention paid to this bell diminishes in proportion to the rank of the family; among the lower classes of people it is usual to kneel or stand up; among those of greater consequence they merely sit still and remain silent; while those of the highest rank suffer the bell to toll unheard and unregarded.

No one of the various religious observances, with which this city abounds, appears more ludicrous to me, or more solemn to the inhabitants, than the procession of the host to the houses of the sick, at the hour of approaching dissolution. A priest, seated in a sedan chair, with the holy elements in a gold case on his lap, escorted by a guard of soldiers, and preceded by a bellman, is literally denominated by the people "His Majesty coming down the street." To increase the singularity of the spectacle, the bellman strikes three strokes, in allusion to the three persons of the Trinity, and then ceases. At this

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well known sound, whatever be the state of the weather, or the condition of the streets, every one drops on his knees, and continues in this devout posture till the object of adoration is out of sight. If this procession should pass through a street, containing a theatre or a ball-room, the actors on the stage, and the dancers at the assembly, alike drop on their knees till the sound is lost, when they resume their thoughtless dissipation.

There are nightly processions through the streets of this city, called the Rosario, one of which I mentioned having met, in a former letter, as I entered this place. The different wards conduct this procession by turns, so that it is every night parading in some part of the town; being more or less splendid, according to the revenues of the church or convent whence it proceeds. The Rosario is complimented by the inhabitants of the streets through which it passes, by illuminations, that have a splendid effect, but which is in a great measure counteracted by the horrid noise of the singers and chanters.

The common forms of salutation, perhaps, partake no more of religion than those of other countries; and "va ja usted con Dios," is only equivalent to the French "adieu," or the English "good bye;" but a mode of expression is adopted, much more striking and singular, on visiting any family; when you ring or knock, a servant within inquires, "who calls?" and the person who wishes for admission exclaims, "Ave Maria purissima," to which those within, on opening the door, make response, "Sin pecado concebida;" and as the first of these sentences cannot be uttered by the Devil, and the second will not be said by a heretic, there is no danger in the visit, when such orthodox formalities have been mutually exchanged. When our party has been introduced into a family, I have frequently heard the inquiry

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made in a whisper, "Are they Christians?" if the persons who introduced us, replied "they are Protestants," a sigh, with the exclamation "que lastima" (what a pity), frequently escaped their lips.

However decorous the Spaniards may be in the performance of their public devotions, nothing can be more indecent and slovenly than the manner in which their domestic worship is conducted; a circumstance which I have frequently noticed in the family with whom I lodge. Towards the conclusion of supper, when seated round the table, the master of the house commences with repeating ten Ave Maria's; the wife repeats the Pater Noster and her ten Ave Maria's, others at table repeat in the same manner, while one of them with a rosary of beads keeps the account, till they have repeated the Ave Maria fifty times, and the Lord's prayer five times, the number being accurately corrected by the string of beads. They then say a litany, adding to the name of every saint of a long list, "ora pro nobis;" then a prayer for the dead, another for protection during the night, and conclude the whole with a Gloria Patri. The words are uttered with as much rapidity as possible; and if any employment calls away the person who is repeating, he performs the work without interrupting the prayer, or losing any time; in fact, the Spaniards appear to act slowly and deliberately in every thing they undertake, except it be in this single instance of family worship.

Under every strong emotion of mind, a Spaniard has recourse to religion, and naturally crosses himself, to calm the rage of passion, dispel the horrors of fear, and allay the feelings of surprise and astonishment. The solitude of a church-yard, the loneliness of a desart, and the darkness of night, are disarmed of their terrors by this magic

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sign, and even the exclamations of wonder, excited by English ships of war and English regiments (and nothing has excited more wonder) can only be silenced by using this never-failing and powerful charm.

With all this attachment to forms and ceremonies, it might naturally be expected, that the clergy would be looked upon as objects of veneration; but, so far as I can judge, this is by no means the case. The language held towards the ministers of religion is not always respectful, and is sometimes scurrilous. A few days ago the auxiliary bishop of this city made a tour round his diocese, for the purpose of confirmation; from every person confirmed, a small sum of money was required, which was either an increase of the customary fee, or a novel demand. On his return to the city with the money, he had thus collected, he was attacked by a banditti, who robbed him, not only of his extorted wealth, but also of all the clothes and vestments which he carried in his coach. The knowledge of the story excited the jokes and the merriment of the people, mixed with wishes that the clergy were the only victims of robbers. The character and conduct of the friars is generally the object either of virulent reprobation, or ludicrous jocularity. They have lost the esteem of every one, and instead of being respected for their seclusion from the world, they are reproached by all classes for their indolence, their voluptuousness, and their profligacy; their dispersion is generally looked forward to with pleasing anticipation, as an event that must take place, if ever the people of Spain are assembled by their representatives the Cortes.

It would have appeared singular, had I not been prepared for the fact, that among the warmest advocates for the destruction

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of ancient institutions, I have seldom heard the inquisition spoken of as an evil of great magnitude. I have introduced the subject frequently, and have uniformly found it treated as an institution, which, though originally bad, is now too insignificant to merit attention; and yet two instances have occurred within my own knowledge, since I have been here, which shew its meddling disposition. An Englishman had imported some printed handkerchiefs, with patriotic emblems, and the names of the patriot generals. But the printer in England had unfortunately mixed with these patriotic emblems some of the symbols of religion, such as the crosier, the cross, and the mitre. The inquisition became acquainted with the fact, and, fearing that using handkerchiefs on which such sacred objects were imprinted, would tend to bring religion into contempt, seized the whole parcel, and they were burnt by the holy office. Another merchant had a number of bales of Spanish wool, which were about to be shipped for England; by accident, these bales were marked with a cross; information of it was conveyed to the inquisitors, and a consultation was held, to determine in what mode proceedings should be instituted against a person who could apply that sacred symbol to so common a purpose. As the person in question was an undoubted Catholic, a friend gave him information of what was going forward, and being aware of the consequences, he immediately rectified his error by protracting the upright line of the cross, and adding to the bottom of it two flukes, so that when the officers of the inquisition came to seize the bales, they were found to be marked with an anchor, and not with a cross, as the information had stated.

The terror of the inquisition has considerably abated of late years;

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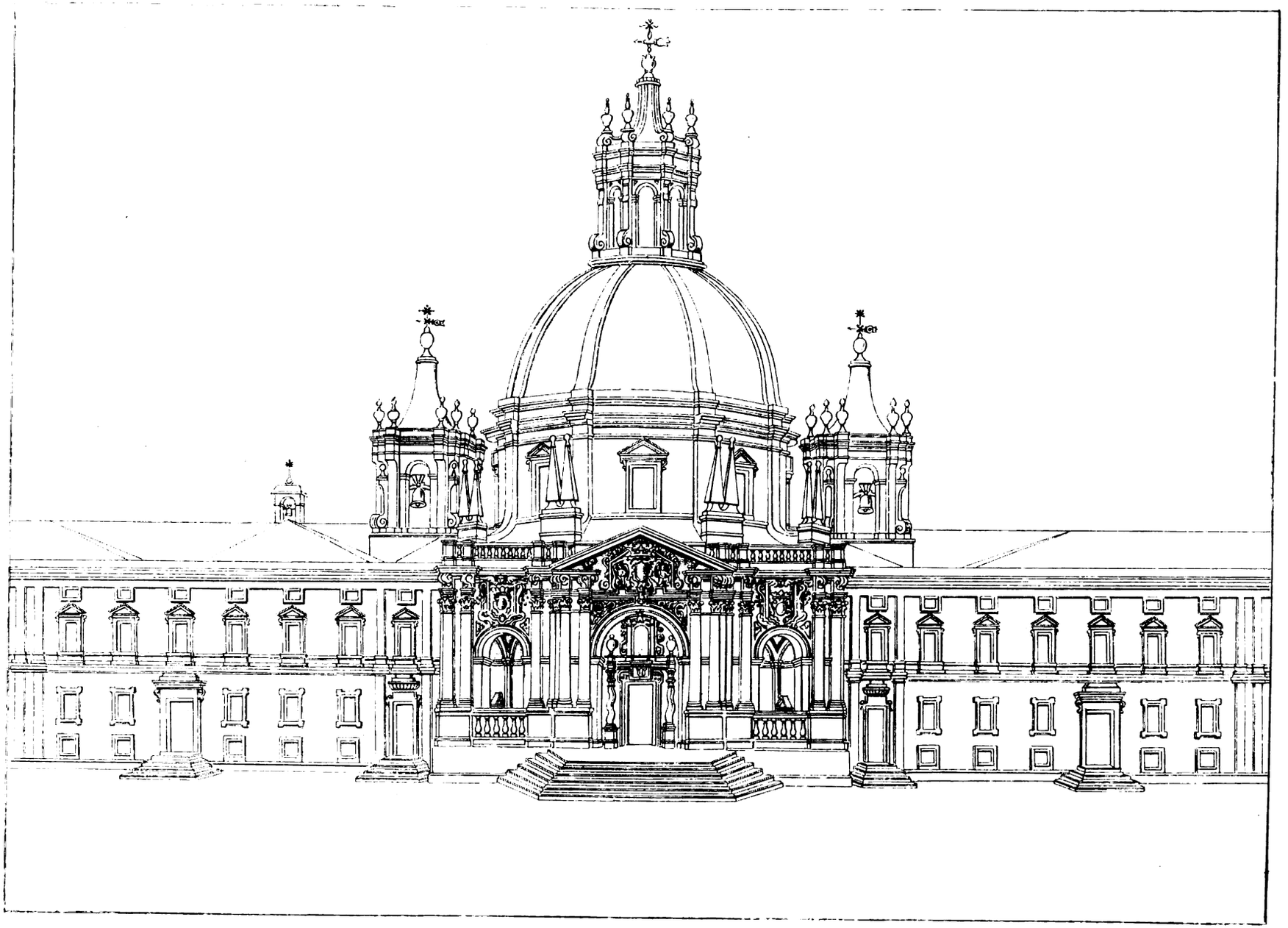

Inquisition formerly Jesuits College in Seville.

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one of the last victims in this city was Olavide, a most respectable man, who applied the wealth he had acquired in South America, to the patriotic purpose of cultivating the Sierra Morena, with a number of German settlers, and to adorning and improving the public walks of the city, as well as the wharfs on the banks of the Guadalquivir. He had read the writings of some of the French unbelievers, and was suspected of having imbibed a portion of their opinions, and for this unproved, if not unfounded charge, he was immured within the walls of a prison, and passed many years of his life amid the horrors of solitary confinement. Since that period, the discipline has been confined to a lower class of crimes, and I am informed, that the only prisoners of late, have consisted of those who merited punishment for having acted as the panders to illicit pleasure.

I found no difficulty in obtaining permission to see the inquisition, and went through the whole. It is a cheerful, pleasant abode, and does not at all correspond with the ideas of Englishmen respecting it. The hall of judgement contains simply a table, three chairs for the inquisitors, a stool for the secretary, and one which is lower for the prisoner. On the table is a silver crucifix, upon which the deposition is made; and on a small stand, a latin prayer said by each inquisitor before the trial commences. The prayer is appropriated to a judge, and merely implores divine guidance to enable him to discharge his duty with uprightness and impartiality. The records of this court, with all the processes against those who have been confined, are preserved with regularity in an adjoining room, but are not allowed to be examined. The church is simple and elegant. The interior is of white marble. The form is circular; and it is

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lighted from a beautiful dome. I saw one of the apartments in which prisoners are confined, and was told the others were similar; it is light and airy, placed in a little garden planted with orange and fig trees; the door of this garden is strongly secured, and no person can have access to it when the cell is occupied. I inquired if there were any prisoners in confinement, any subterraneous cells or instruments of torture; but to these questions *I could obtain no replies.* The alcayde who attended us, exulted not a little at our remarking the neatness and comforts of the building, and, I suspect, mistook us for pious Catholics, because we gave vent to no execrations at the existence of such an infamous tribunal.

This building was formerly the college of the Jesuits, the most able and enlightened, but the most dangerous of all the religious orders of the catholic church. On the abolition of that order, the inquisition was removed, from its former situation in the suburb of Triana, to this building, which I hope will be the last it will occupy in Spain; for, whatever political events may take place, its destruction is inevitably at hand. The remarks I have made on the religion of Spain, you will recollect are drawn from what I have seen in Seville, a city more esteemed for its piety than any other in Spain; so rigid, indeed, is the religion of this place, and so great the influence of the clergy, that neither a theatre, nor any place of public amusement, is permitted.

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LETTER XIV.

CHURCH REVENUES — CABILDO — PROPERTY IN HOUSES — TITHES — MODES OF COLLECTING — WILD FRUITS SUBJECT TO TITHES — MONASTIC PROPERTY — PROPERTY OF CORPORATIONS.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

IN a country where the wealth of the Church forms so considerable a part of the national property, its origin, its mode of collection, and its distribution, deserve particular notice. In the information I shall communicate to you on this subject, you may suppose I shall have principally in view the revenues of the diocese of Seville; but I have good reason to believe, that in the other dioceses of Spain the system is nearly the same.

The Archbishop, as the superior minister of Religion (assisted by his auxiliary Bishop) confines his attention solely to the spiritual concerns of his flock; and all matters concerning revenue devolve on the Cabildo of the Cathedral, a kind of ecclesiastical corporation, for the administration of temporal matters, and not very dissimilar to the chapters of our cathedral churches. All the revenues of the diocese, whether belonging to the Archbishop, to the auxiliary Bishop, to any other dignitaries, or to the parochial Clergy, are brought under the management of the Cabildo. They are collected into one fund, and from that fund, after deducting five per

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cent. allotments, called repartimientos, are distributed to each person possessing a claim on it, according to the judgment of the Cabildo, which is directed in the distribution by antient regulations, and is accountable to no other tribunal for the fairness and impartiality of its proceedings. The deduction, which the Cabildo makes of five per cent. is annually divided among its own members, called the canons, who are formed into different classes, and receive their portion according to seniority. The sum which the higher orders in this city receive amounts to about two thousand dollars annually, and that devolving to the inferior order to about one thousand, besides which, each member of the Cabildo has the use of a house, rent free, for his residence.

Although the revenues are thus thrown into one mass, yet each person, having claims upon it, has the exact amount of those claims regularly kept in the accounts of the Cabildo, and no suspicion is entertained, that any unfair practices to the detriment of one person, or to the benefit of another, are employed by the Cabildo. One great source of the revenues is derived from the rents of houses within this city, in which, I am informed, that no less than two thousand seven hundred houses are the property of the church. This branch of the revenue is collected with trifling expence; for as Spanish dwellings are built of stone, brick, and tarras, without much wood, little is required for repairs, nor is it liable to much variation, since the collection is made weekly, and few of the houses remain long unoccupied. The church is also possessed of some land, but the greater part of the ecclesiastical territory belongs to different monasteries, and not to the secular clergy.

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The most important branch, however, of the ecclesiastical revenues, is that accruing from tithes, which are collected with a strictness that far exceeds what is known in any other part of Europe. In describing the rigours with which this system is enforced, or in pointing out the evils which arise from it, I must observe, that it is far from my intention to apply my remarks to the English clergy. Whatever may be said in behalf of this most respectable class of society, whenever their ancient title to tithes is questioned, can never be said, with equal truth, in behalf of a body of men, who, under the pretension of celibacy, have insulated themselves from the rest of their species, to practise with greater impunity the vices of luxury and debauchery. The tithes collected in Andalusia extend to every agricultural production, and are rigidly exacted, not, as with us, on the ground, but after it has gone through all the necessary processes to fit it for the use of man. Thus wheat and barley must not only be cut, but threshed and winnowed, before the tithes are taken. Olives, which form a most important article in this vicinity, when they are sold in the state in which they are grown, pay the tithe only on the quantity carried away; but if there be a mill, and oil-presses on the farm, one-tenth of the oil is taken by the collector. In the same manner the tithe upon grapes, when the grapes are sold, is paid in fruit, but when made into wine within the district, the church receives one-tenth of the liquor.

The principle upon which this is founded seems to be, that the church may receive one-tenth of the produce in the first stage in which it becomes fit for use; for if wine be made into brandy, or

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vinegar, the church receives its dues from the wine, and not from those articles into which it is afterwards converted. The more valuable productions of the field, such as liquorice and sumach, as well as the minuter articles of the garden, such as melons, pumpkins, onions, garlick, peas, and beans, all contribute an equal proportion to the support of the ecclesiastical establishment. The right to tithes has been lately extended to such wild fruits as can be sold, even for the smallest sums: thus the tunas, or prickly pears, the figs growing on the opuntia, a wild fruit with which the hedges abound, and consequently of little value, have lately been subjected to the tithing system. One-tenth also of all the domesticated animals is delivered to the tithe-collector, as well as the wool annually shorn from the sheep.

Composition for tithes is a practice wholly unknown in Andalusia. The Cabildo annually sells the tithes by a species of auction, and where no person bids sufficiently high, the articles are taken into its own hands, and collected in storehouses within the district. In either case, the collectors of the tithes have no common interest with the farmers, who, from submission to the church, frequently suffer the grossest impositions without an effort for redress, knowing that in any appeal they might make, priests would be their judges. Before the revenues are collected, the Cabildo issues its billets of repartimiento to the different claimants on their fund, which entitle the bearer to a certain sum of money, or a specific quantity of produce, and being easily transferred, are frequently sold by the necessitous clergy. Those who have billets for

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produce, receive it at the storehouses where it has been deposited by the collectors, but those who have billets for money, receive it from the treasurer of the Cabildo, as the purchasers of the tithes make their payments. There is an uniformity in this system which produces effects diametrically opposite to those which are felt in England. In Spain, it is the clergy who oppress, and the farmer who is defrauded; in England, it is the farmer who imposes, and the clergyman who is the sufferer.

The monastic bodies depend for their support on the lands they possess, and many of them have estates of considerable extent and of great value. The Carthusians are the richest as well as the most rigid order in Andalusia: they let large tracts of land to farmers, who pay them partly in produce and partly in money: at the same time they occupy very extensive farms themselves, and have for many years been the greatest breeders and proprietors of the best Andalusian horses, but their revenues are ill administered. The voluptuous lives of the priors, and the peculations of the procuradores, have involved the convents in embarrassments which have placed them under the necessity of anticipating their resources, and of lessening them by borrowing money on mortgages. The convent of St. Heronymo de Buena Vista possesses a tract of land highly productive of corn, wine, and oil. I was informed by the monks of St. Heronymo, that they could travel to the city of Carmona, which is about twenty-four miles from Seville, without treading upon any soil which did not belong to their convent; yet with this valuable estate, from bad management, they are deeply in debt, and obliged to retrench

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even some of the necessaries of the monks. Having mentioned the lands of the church, which are thus in mortmain, I will just observe that the Cabildos, or municipal corporations of the different cities, are proprietors of large estates, which, like those of the church, are badly managed, and equally unalienable.

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LETTER XV.

FAIR AT SANTI-PONCE—NATIONAL CHARACTER—CORTEJOS—FAMILIARITY OF MANNERS—GENERAL TEMPERANCE—DEFICIENCY OF HOUSEHOLD COMFORTS—CULINARY IMPLEMENTS—COOKERY.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

A LARGE fair, which is annually held at Santi-ponce, a few miles from this city, afforded me an opportunity of observing national manners in their most unmixed state, and I accordingly went there on Sunday last, with a party of Englishmen. It is held on an open plain between the town and the river Guadalquivir, and was crowded with booths, cattle, and spectators, to a great extent. Even in this scene of revelry, the solemnity of the Spanish character was visible, and its sobriety may be inferred from this circumstance, that there were very few booths in which wine or brandy was sold, but a considerable number for the sale of water cooled in porous jars; an article which forms so great a luxury in this country.

The young farmers galloped about to shew the beauty of their horses, and their skill in managing them. Their dresses were very fantastical, and the trappings of the horses sufficiently cumbrous. These singularities, however, only served to display the national peculiarities more strikingly. The toys perhaps of every nation offer

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traits of national character; and I could not help remarking, on the present occasion, that almost every one, exhibited at this fair, bore some allusion to that illicit intercourse between the sexes, which forms the great stain upon the moral character of the country. Horns of various shapes, with bells, and inscriptions of indecent import, were most prevalent, and the presenting them to each other, with sarcastic insinuations, appeared the most universal species of wit. A marked deference was paid to the female sex even by the peasantry, which shewed that a degree of gallantry is customary with this nation, which is too often dispensed with in other countries.

I heard that two assassinations had occurred at this fair that day, both caused by jealousy, not between husbands and the lovers of their wives, but between young men who sighed for the same married woman. It appears most extraordinary, but it is nevertheless notoriously the fact, that though husbands feel no jealousy on account of their wives, yet that this powerful passion should be felt in the most acute manner between men who wish to supplant each other in the affections of the same female; and that other parts of a family, so far from feeling resentment towards the man who addresses their mother or sister, treat him with as much kindness and attention as if he were connected with them by legal and honourable ties, or paid a compliment to the family by selecting a member of it for the object of his attachment. These kind of attachments are much more durable, and more assiduously cultivated, than affection between a married couple. Inconstancy to a favourite mistress, perhaps the wife of a friend, is deemed a greater disgrace to the party than any matrimonial infidelity, and more effectually excludes a man from

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the future confidence and respect of the ladies, all of whom are jealous of the privileges of their sex, and preserve no terms with a man who is unfaithful to his fair friend. The females of all classes, considering their husbands as beings of no consequence, expect a degree of attention from a cortejo, which a Spaniard can alone pay; and the consequence is, that foreigners, especially Englishmen, are by no means favourites with the Spanish ladies.

These attachments between the sexes are notorious to all the acquaintance of the parties, and a breach between two lovers interests the family and friends to produce a reconciliation. The connexion is, however, conducted with outward decorum, and the cortejo, though ever attentive to the movements and wishes of the lady, observes before company the most distant and respectful behaviour; but should he fail in attending her to the public walks, or the private parties, where she visits, it would be deemed an enormous offence, only to be pardoned after a long period of submission and penitence.

The disgusting spectacle exhibited in England and France, of meretricious beauty decked out for sale, is not to be seen in Spain, unless perhaps, and that rarely, in the sea ports. From this circumstance I have heard sensible Spaniards, who have been in England, contend for the superiority of their country over ours in regard to the intercourse of the sexes. It is not, however, easy for foreigners to form a proper estimate of our national morals on this subject; they have seldom opportunities of observing the domestic attachments in our more sober and worthy families, which they see only at formal parties, nor of conceiving the delights of conjugal and parental love which in England, though less ostenta-

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tiously, are more purely enjoyed than in any other part of Europe. I have been led to these remarks unintentionally, by the sight of the fair at Santi-Ponce; and having now begun upon manners, I may as well continue the subject through this letter.

I have remarked a degree of familiarity between all classes of society, which we should deem rudeness, and find troublesome, but which is considered here as a matter of course: the apartments of a gentleman, or the chamber of a lady, when you have passed the outer door, are always found open, and it is deemed no intrusion to enter without being announced; even the cabinet of the ministers is equally accessible; and I know that Lord Wellesley, who readily sees every one that has business, is considered extremely proud, because the politicians of this city, who have no other concern with him but to ask for news, or express their attachment to England, frequently find him too much occupied to see them.

This familiarity extends through all the relations of society, and though sometimes it may be the expression of endearment, as in the application of diminutives, such as calling a man Juanico or Jacky, instead of Juan or John, or a lady Mariqueta or Polly, instead of Maria, yet when used so frequently as in this country, it appears to a stranger more disgusting than affectionate. The behaviour of servants to masters is equally unconstrained, and they converse while attending at table, with the familiarity of friends. Centini, a valet de place whom I have hired in this place, makes no scruple of helping himself to a glass of wine, taking snuff from my box, or lighting his segar at my candle, while I am writing: all this, which at first appears very impertinent, arises merely from habit, without intending

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offence, or even supposing that any can be given by these and similar freedoms. In the first circles, the practice of calling people by their Christian names, and even titled ladies, is very common: thus, the Marchioness Calsado, the daughter of the celebrated Don Juan Ulloa, one of the most charming women in Seville, is commonly spoken of as Carmen Ulloa; and another lady called Maria Dolores, one of the whimsical names of the mother of our Saviour, is generally distinguished by those who are acquainted with her by the simple appellation of Dolores.

Temperance seems the prevailing habit of the Spaniards in eating, but more especially in drinking. I have known many gentlemen who never drink any wine; and those who do, generally mix it with a large quantity of water. I am informed, however, that in the winter the lower orders indulge, but not to excess, in the use of brandy mixed with anniseed, and sweet wine. In England, every family has a store of beer, wine, and such other necessaries as they require for daily use, ready at all times; but the best families in Seville keep nothing of the kind in their houses. If company accidentally drop in to a meal, a thing not common, they send to the shops for such food as they want, and to the wine-house for a pint or a quart of wine, for they are never provided with the commonest of those articles, and at the conclusion of the day no provision is left in the house. Though I have visited a good deal at some of the best houses, and at all hours, I have seldom known where the comidero, or eating room, was placed: where I have seen it, I have generally found it the smallest and darkest apartment, and in the most obscure part of the dwelling, whereas the rooms for the reception of company

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are usually spacious and lofty, but in them no refreshment is offered, except cool water for visitors to drink.

Of the numerous culinary utensils which are to be found in England, none are to be seen in a Spanish kitchen; neither jack, spit, nor grate are wanted; a small stove, with a handful of charcoal and two or three earthen pans that will bear the fire, answer every purpose of cooking. The most common dish, the olla, is a quantity of onions, cabbage, turnips, carrots, and potatoes, all stewed together in an earthen pot; when it is ready, the pot is turned upside down on a plate, and the food is brought to table (retaining the shape of the pot, from which it takes its name), and, with the addition of a small piece of bacon, or other meat, is highly relished. The common people feed on a dish called Gaspacho, composed of bread and vegetables of various kinds, with oil and vinegar, all boiled together, and set before them in the pans in which it is cooked, from which each feeds himself with a spoon, so as to render the use of plates, knives, and forks, quite superfluous.

I have been pleased with the general cleanliness of the people in their houses, especially with that in which we lodge; they are continually washing and dusting, and keep every thing very neat, though, as you may suppose, very homely: brick floors, lime-washed walls, brick stairs, and windows with very little glass, are objects perfectly new to me; but as cleanliness is prevalent, I do not, and have no reason to complain.

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LETTER XVI.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS—NATIONAL EDUCATION—WANT OF INFORMATION IN THE HIGHER CLASSES — UNIVERSITY OF SEVILLE —FEMALE EDUCATION.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

IT is a question which has been frequently agitated in England, whether a system of national education would be productive of beneficial or injurious consequences: many ingenious arguments have been advanced on both sides, and it is but lately, that a distinguished member of the House of Commons framed a plan for this purpose, which, though it displayed the benevolence of the proposer, was, after mature deliberation, found impracticable.

In Spain, however, such a plan has been adopted and carried into execution; so that there is no person born within the last thirty years, who has not been instructed in the first rudiments of knowledge. When the society of the Jesuits was abolished, and their property confiscated, Count Florida Blanca and Campomanes succeeded in obtaining the appropriation of part of the funds of that order to the purposes of parochial education, and schools were established in every part of Spain for the gratuitous education of the children of the poor. I have naturally wished to inquire how far their morals have been

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benefited, or the enjoyments of the people secured by this institution. Those with whom I have conversed on the subject praised the benevolent designs of its authors, but at the same time they assured me, that no change had taken place in consequence of it; that neither the moral nor religious conduct of the people had undergone any alteration; that, generally, though the peasantry learnt to read in their youth, yet that they relinquished and lost the practice as they advanced in years, but this they attributed to the scarcity of books, and the still greater scarcity of such as afford entertainment, and to a distaste which all, who are not by profession compelled to it, naturally feel at reading lives of saints and didactic homilies.

It is not sufficient to teach the art of reading; to make it useful, more time is required than the peasants can bestow, and books are necessary, very different from any that are to be found in Spain, to induce them to retain the art when they have acquired it; besides, it may be doubted, whether the indulgences of labourers in those athletic exercises which form their chief amusements, be not more productive of health, spirits, and consequently happiness, than a course of reading such as they are likely to fall into. This is a subject, however, on which I would rather doubt than decide, because I cannot shut my eyes to the important fact, that the moral character of the Scotch peasantry, as much excels that of the Irish, as the habits of early industry in the former country, exceed the idle propensities among the youth of the latter; on the other hand it must be remarked, that mechanics and manufacturers in England, though generally better instructed, are less sober, prudent, and virtuous, than the agricultural poor.

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The education of the higher classes in Spain is intolerably bad, which, perhaps, is a greater evil than the deficiencies of the lower orders in other countries. I am informed, that among the nobility the instances of their being incapable of writing are far from uncommon; that to appear learned would by no means be considered a distinction; and that the whole care of keeping accounts, and even writing letters, devolves on their domestics. I have scarcely seen a book in any of their houses, and a library is so rare, that the man who possesses one is regarded almost as a phenomenon. The faculties of the higher orders are so blunted by early dissipation, that they want that acuteness which distinguishes their inferiors, by whom they are consequently despised.

The early period of life at which the young Spanish gentry are introduced into society, the time they usually spend in that society, the trifling subjects commonly discussed, and the great familiarity with which they are allowed to behave to their elders, all contribute to prevent their acquiring that knowledge which is so necessary to form the character of virtuous and intelligent men. The quiet solitude of domestic life seems unknown in Spain: the idea of a man, his wife, and family, spending a day, or even part of a day, without company, appears to them so unnatural, that they can scarcely believe it to be our practice. Their widely different system has, however, some recommendations. Young people enter life with a greater degree of confidence; in whatever society they are placed they feel perfectly easy, and acquire a fluency in conversation, and a style of manners, which gives them a species of currency through

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life. These, so far as I can judge, are the advantages, the only advantages, of this system. In England, our youth are kept in the back ground till they have acquired more years, and accumulated a greater store of knowledge, and even then they neither mix so frequently, nor so indiscriminately in company as in Spain; they are less calculated to strike at first; they are more embarrassed in society, but they attain in retirement, and in the domestic circles of well-regulated families, a series of reflections and habits, and a course of conduct, which has hitherto elevated, and, I hope, will ever continue to elevate, the character of English gentlemen.

The university of Seville is almost solely appropriated to the education of the clergy: the course of study occupies five years, which are principally devoted to the acquirement of the Latin language, the knowledge of civil law, the philosophy of Aristotle, and scholastic divinity. Scarcely any improvement has been introduced within the last four hundred years; the philosophy of Bacon, Locke, and Newton, is utterly unknown to either professors or pupils. The war has considerably lessened the number of students, as a large portion has entered into the army. They do not reside within the university, but have private lodgings in different parts of the city.

The education of the females of the best families, is, if possible, still worse. They are early sent to a convent as pensioners, and under the care of some of the aged nuns are instructed in reading, writing, and needle-work, but especially in the outward forms of religion. They are usually kept in these houses of seclusion till they arrive at a proper age, and frequently till some matrimonial engagement is

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formed. From the retirement of a convent, with all its uniformity and dulness, they are suddenly introduced into circles of gaiety and dissipation, and it is not wonderful that from so violent a change, and from the example of the married females, with whom they associate, they become victims to the dissolute habits of their country.

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LETTER XVII.

PAINTINGS — GENERAL TASTE FOR PICTURES — MURILLO — HIS PAINTINGS IN THE CARIDAD—IN THE CATHEDRAL OF SEVILLE—ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF THAT CELEBRATED ARTIST.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

FEW places in Europe, with the exception of London and Paris, contain so many good pictures as are to be found in this city. About one hundred and seventy years ago, some of the best painters resided here, especially Murillo, Velasquez, Zubaran, Spagnolete, and Cano; and such was its celebrity as a school for painting, that several eminent masters, from other countries, resorted hither for improvement in their profession. Spain made considerable progress in the art of painting during the reign of Charles the Fifth, and it was the general custom among the Spanish nobles, who attended that monarch in his visits to Italy and the Netherlands, to purchase and send home to this city, then the capital of Spain, the best pictures they could procure; some of them have been retained by private families, and others were given to the different churches and convents.

Our unhappy sovereign Charles the First, when Prince of Wales, contributed to increase the taste for this art in Spain by the love he

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manifested for the profession, by the honour he paid to the artists, and by the liberal price he gave for their works. He purchased some excellent pictures for his collection, and left directions for some of the best pictures in Madrid to be copied; especially the works of Titian in the royal palaces. Miquel de la Cruz, an artist of considerable eminence in the court of Philip the Fourth, was occupied several years in copying the best pictures for our unfortunate monarch, which were not all completed when he met his untimely fate.

The best ancient pictures are mostly upon subjects connected with religion; some of them are portraits of saints and martyrs, whose names as well as sufferings would perhaps have remained unknown, were they not immortalized by the genius of the artist. A great number of excellent paintings have been accumulated here, and indeed a general taste for the art has been established for ages. Most of the well informed men are connoisseurs, and more especially the priests and monks, who, from habitually contemplating, in their churches, the finest specimens of the art, acquire a correctness in their notions of painting, which renders them good judges of even those paintings that are unconnected with religion.

A general fondness for the art prevails in this capital, and most people, particularly the ladies, have in their apartments the best pictures of the Holy Virgin, or some favourite saint, which their circumstances can afford. To these they are much attached, and retain them with care, even when reduced by poverty to sell every thing else. I was yesterday at the house of a lady, the widow of an officer, to see some pictures which necessity compelled her to sell, but

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which decent pride forbade her to part with to any except a foreigner. In her chamber was a crucifixion, which I admired, and asked if it were to be sold; "No, Señor, lo tengo por mi devocion;" she then asked with surprise, "Are you a Christian?" On my answering "Yes," and that I respected the saints, she expressed herself delighted that, among the English whom she had been told were all Protestants, she had found one who was a Catholic; for, though she appeared a woman who had moved in a respectable sphere, she had no conception that Christian and Catholic were not precisely synonymous; and I was too intent on her pictures to find time to correct her vocabulary.

It is scarcely right in relating any thing to commence with the best; and perhaps I should be wiser were I to delay writing about the pictures of Murillo, till I had described those of some inferior artists; but, as it happens, I am just returned from inspecting his works in the chapel of St. George, in the Caridad: I shall therefore begin my account with them. The pictures of Murillo which have been brought to England are of small size, and generally contain few figures, so that you can form but a very imperfect idea of the powers of this distinguished artist; but the pictures of this painter in the Caridad are about eighteen feet in length, and twelve in breadth. One of them, representing the Queen Isabella attending the sick, and washing the wounds on the head of a beggar boy, while a crowd of other invalids are waiting round in expectation of similar relief, is considered, and I think justly, one of the best compositions of that great master: the pious countenance of the queen, and the anxious looks of the expecting group, are admirably depicted. Another painting, by the

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same master, is the miracle of the loaves and fishes, in which the figures on the foreground are finely conceived, and the light and shade admirably managed.

The picture of the angels appearing to Abraham is finely painted; but as the idea prevailing in Spain is, that those three angels were the three persons of the Trinity, the artist has thought proper to shew the unity in the Trinity by painting all the three angels with exactly the same countenance: notwithstanding this whimsical conceit the picture is a fine one, and the scene of the tent of the Arabian patriarch is most exquisitely painted.

Moses striking the rock is a most wonderful production; the anxious countenances of the Israelites, all eagerly crowding to the water, are exact representations of what might be supposed the expressions of people in such a state: the figure of the mother with an infant, eagerly stretching out her hand to catch a few drops for her child, another lamenting the delay in obtaining a supply, and a boy mounted on a horse, stretching forward to the stream, are esteemed the best figures, while the countenances of all discover gratitude to God for this unexpected supply. I never felt so much pleasure from the contemplation of any work of art as from this picture; but, notwithstanding the admirable expressions of the countenances, I could not help admiring the shadow of the rock from which the water gushes out. A passage in the sacred writings mentions as a luxury "the shadow of a great rock in a desert wilderness;" it is here displayed most admirably; the rock is high and large; within its shade the people appear protected from the rays of the sun, which seem to diffuse a burning heat over every other part of the scene.

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There is a fine painting of St. Peter in Prison; but as there are only three figures, that of the Apostle and the two Angels, the subject appears uninteresting by the side of the more busy scenes, which the other pictures of this artist display.

The cathedral of Seville contains some paintings by Murillo, but in my judgment very far inferior to those at the Caridad; the best are on the altar of Baptistery; representing St. Anthony of Padua, the Baptism of Christ; and the Birth of the Virgin, in the chapel dedicated to St. Paul. Besides these, almost every convent and church in Seville is adorned with some of this master's productions. I have had the good fortune to meet with some of his sketches, and an admirable portrait of his son, which, if I get them to England, will please you, though they give but a very faint idea of his great powers.

The following short account of his life, will be interesting to you. Bartholomew Stephen Murillo was born in Seville in January 1618: having discovered an early inclination for drawing, he was placed under the care of his relation, Juan de Castillo, from whom he learnt to draw, and afterwards to paint in a style somewhat approaching to that of the Florentine school, which Luis de Vargas and Pedro de Villegas had recently introduced at Seville. Having early established himself at Cadiz, he was employed in painting such pictures as could be most easily sold, and readily conveyed to the American settlements. During this period he considerably improved his skill; and some good paintings from his pencil, of this date, still exist, particularly a Conception belonging to the convent of the Franciscans at Seville.

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Notwithstanding his natural genius, Murillo might never have arrived at the celebrity he ultimately acquired, had it not been for the accidental circumstance of Pedro de Moya returning from England, where he had studied under Vandyke. The softness and sweetness of his manner made so forcible an impression on Murillo, that he wished to imitate it: but Moya remained only a short time, and left him confused and doubtful what track to pursue; he at last determined to proceed to England, and study under Vandyke, and was on the point of his departure when he received intelligence of the death of that great painter. He wished to go to Italy, but his poverty prevented him from undertaking that journey, or even the less expensive one to Madrid, till he had painted some pictures, by the sale of which, to the captains of ships going to America, he raised a sum sufficient to defray his expences to the capital. He arrived at Madrid in 1643, and being assisted by Velasquez, he passed two years in copying the works of Titian, Rubens, and Vandyke, as well as those of his contemporaries.

He returned to Seville in 1645, and astonished all the artists of that city by his paintings in the smaller cloister of the Franciscan convent. His labours in this convent gave him reputation, and raised him from indigence to a state of affluence. In 1670 he began to paint the celebrated pictures in the Caridad, which I have described, for each of which he was paid about one hundred and fifty pounds, a prodigious sum in that country at so early a period. He afterwards painted the Conception, in the church of the Venerables, and the Virgin and Child dividing a loaf with a pilgrim. The Conception is the best proof left of the exquisite skill of Murillo

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in the disposition of the light and shadow, and in the management of the general effect. His industry during the latter part of his life was surprising, and he has left more pictures behind him than any other Spanish artist. His last work is that which I noticed in the church of the Capuchins at Cadiz, which he was prevented by ill health from finishing, and the same cause induced him to remove to his native city, where he died in April 1682. The life of such an artist can have but few incidents; he never was absent from Cadiz and Seville more than two years in the early part of his life. The perfection, therefore, to which he attained, must be attributed more to his own natural powers and accurate observation, than to those advantages from which other artists have acquired their celebrity. He was the founder of the Academy for Painting in this city, which was established in 1660: he continued the president, or director, during his life, and took great pains to have the students well instructed in the anatomy of the human figure, by encouraging them to study from the living model.

He left a daughter, who became a nun, and two sons, the elder of whom went to Mexico, where he died: the younger, whose portrait I have purchased, studied painting under his father, and made considerable proficiency; he was ordained a priest, and became a canon of the Church of Carmona, but died in early life.

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LETTER XVIII.

PAINTINGS OF PEDRO DE CAMPAÑA IN THE CHURCH OF SANTA CRUZ—ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE—ARCHITECTURE OF THE CATHEDRAL—ZARAGOZINA—ST. FERDINAND'S DAY—ALCALA' DE LOS PANADEROS—GONDUL.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

FEW pictures have been more praised than those in the church of Santa Cruz, by Pedro de Campaña, especially the Descent from the Cross. It is said of this picture, by the learned doctor Francisco Pacheo, that the remaining in this church alone filled him with terror, as he could not divest himself of the idea that the body of Christ was a real object. Two men above are lowering the body to St. John, who receives it with the strongest expression of grief and sensibility. Mary Magdalen kissing the feet, and the Holy Virgin, are admirable figures. The whole piece is an exquisite composition; and, in the judgment of the Spanish connoisseurs, equal to the best productions of Michael Angelo, under whom Campaña studied. The picture is about eighteen feet in height and nine in breadth. There are several others in this church by the same master, but this one engrossed my attention too much to allow me to examine the others.

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Campaña was born at Brussels in 1503, where he learnt to paint after the manner of Albert Durer. He went to Italy in 1530, and, on his way to Rome, was detained some time at Bologna to paint a triumphal arch for the coronation of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in which he displayed powers that astonished the Italian artists. In Rome he studied the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo with diligence and success. How long he remained there is uncertain; but he was in Seville, and painted the pictures in this city between 1548 and 1552, as appears by the dates on several of them. He continued in this city many years, and was universally respected; and when advanced in life he returned to his native place, where he died in 1580. He may properly be classed among the Spanish painters, as the greater part of his life was spent, and the best of his pictures were executed, in this country. I am afraid I shall fatigue you with too long an account of pictures and painters; nevertheless, the subjects interest me so much that I doubt I shall frequently have occasion to return to them again.

The architecture of Seville deserves particular notice, as it is the work of different ages, and possesses very distinct characters. The Arabian, the Gothic, and the Greco-Roman styles, all enter into the structure of the cathedral. Its tower, constructed in the year 1000, is of the Arabian architecture, as well as one of the courts, called the Patio de las Naranjas. The Gothic style was not introduced into Spain till the twelfth century; and it still retains the more appropriate epithet of Tudesco or German. The greater part of the cathedral, which was begun in 1482 and finished in 1519, is of this species of architecture. The Greco-Roman, used in Spain, is miserable in the

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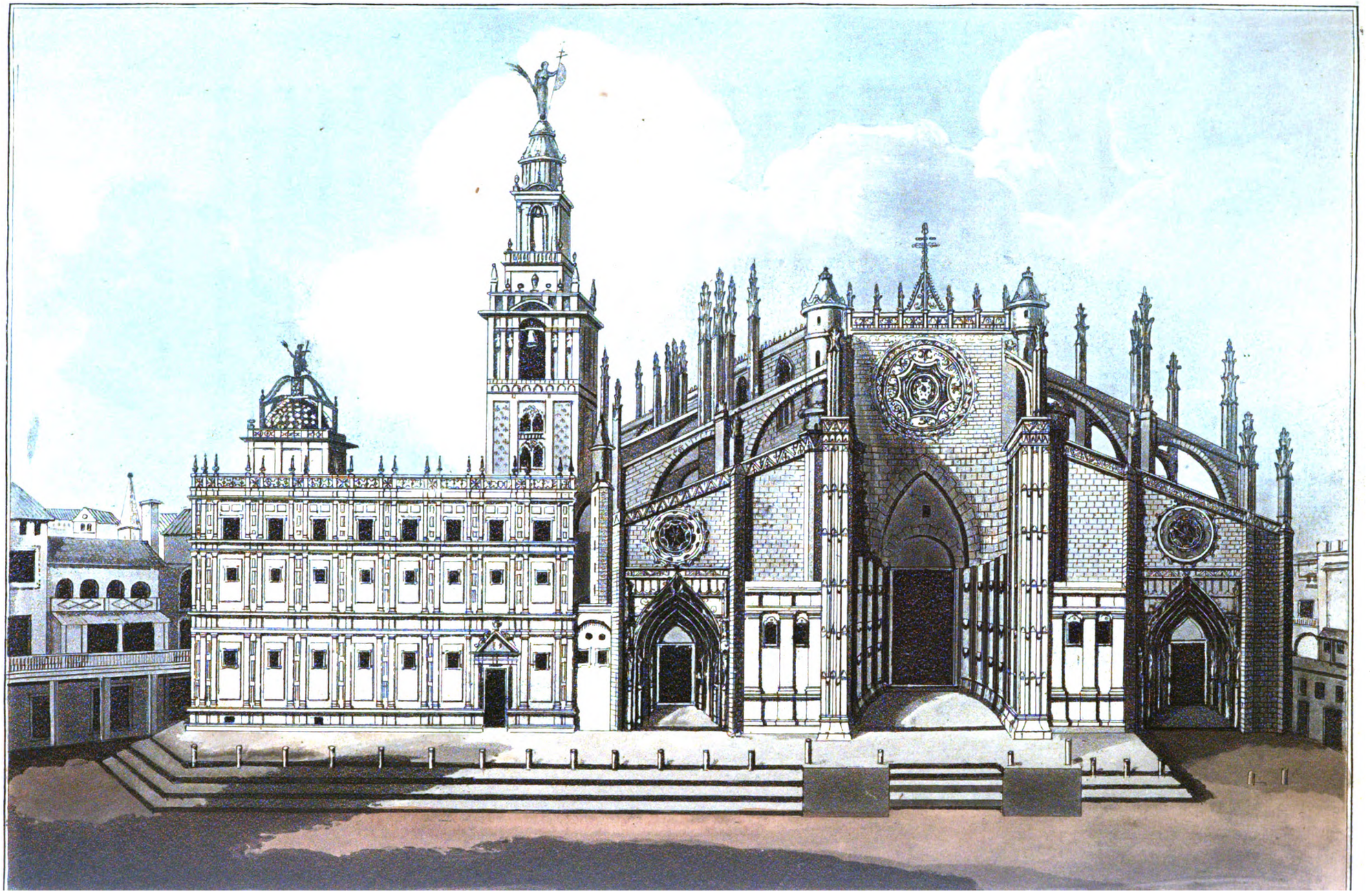

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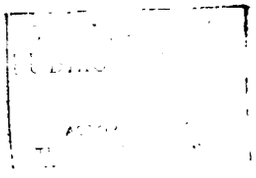

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distribution of the parts, lavish in the ornaments, and wants elegance in the whole. The royal chapel of the cathedral is in this style of building, though erected at the same period with the Gothic. The length of the church is 398 feet and the breadth 290; the choir and the high altar being in the centre, and the whole crowded with chapels, altars, statues, and pictures, it does not appear so large as it is in reality. The inside of the tower has one singularity; it has no steps, but in their stead a road winds to the top, by which it is said the Emperor Charles the Fifth once rode on horseback to the summit. This certainly would not be difficult if the door to the road were larger, but at present it is so narrow that a man can scarcely enter it. The cathedral contains a fine organ of great power, which is filled with air in a singular manner, by means of a plank placed on the bellows, on which a man walks backwards and forwards, and as it balances on its centre, his motion fills the organ with air.

I shall now proceed to give you some account of a woman to whom I have been introduced by General Doyle, and who has made considerable noise in Spain, by her resolute conduct at the siege of Saragossa, where it is said her heroic conduct contributed to prolong the defence. She is known in this city by the name of Zaragozina. She has a commission as a lieutenant in the army, and is said to be an excellent officer. Her countenance is mild and feminine; her smile pleasing, and her face altogether the last I should have supposed to belong to a woman, who had led troops through blood and slaughter, and pointed the cannon at the enemy while her husband (an artilleryman) lay dead among his companions by her side. She,

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wears petticoats and a military loose coat, with one gold epaulet; and thus arrayed, has a very soldier-like appearance.

I went yesterday to the Alcazar, to see the ceremony of declaring war against the King of Denmark. A gentleman on horseback read the declaration, very deliberately, in a low tone of voice, and a herald, with Stentorian lungs, repeated it after him: it was long, and contained a detailed account of the complaints, which might all have been comprised in a short narrative of the treatment of Romana's army, and the attempts to detain it. The procession had a good effect: it consisted of a regiment of infantry, and about two hundred dragoons, with a band of martial music, who marched round the court of the Alcazar, before the members of the Junta. It seems strange, that an affair of this kind, if necessary to be performed, should have been so long delayed. But as Spain and Denmark can never come in contact with each other in any part of the globe, it seems as ridiculous to declare war against that power, as against the Tartars of Asia, or the Hottentots of Africa.

Instead of observing birth-days like the English, it is the custom to celebrate what are called name-days, and people expect their friends to pay them a visit of compliment on the saints'-day whose name they bear; and on that day they generally give an entertainment. The 14th was St. Ferdinand's day, and therefore all the public men paid their compliments to his Majesty, for so they call that many-headed monster the Junta; Lord Wellesley, and the gentlemen of his suite, were among the number. I am told by those who were there, for I felt no inclination to be presented myself, that it was a very ludicrous ceremony. Lord Wellesley gave a grand dinner

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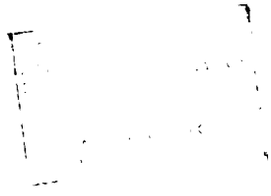

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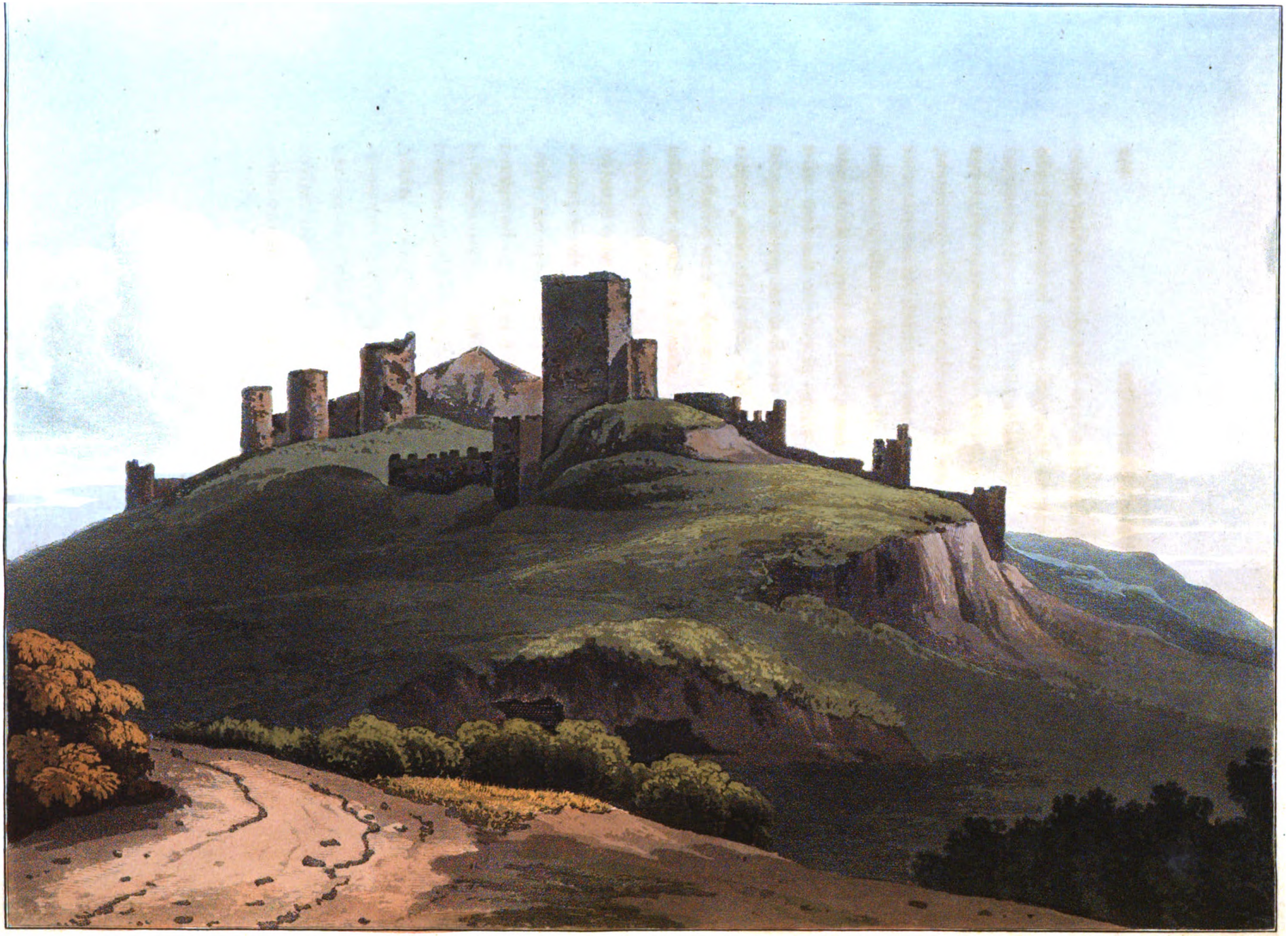

Roman Ruins, Shrub's

afterwards, where we met the Austrian and Portuguese ambassadors, the Duke de Infantado, Marquis Romana, some members of the Junta, and most of the English in Seville.

I have made an excursion to some little distance hence, which has afforded me much pleasure. I went first to Alcalá de los panaderos, a few leagues from Seville, the environs of which have some fine country houses and gardens, situated in a pleasing valley, watered by the river Guadayra, which rises there, and discharges itself into the Guadalquivir at Seville. The town is placed at the foot of a hill, on which are the ruins of an extensive Roman castle in good preservation; it has some remains of the Moorish alterations, and a part is converted into a modern church. The whole forms a fine pile of ruins, and I amused myself by making a sketch of them from the garden of one of the houses in the valley below.

The town is principally inhabited by bakers, as the name denotes. The bread made in this place, whence the city of Seville is principally supplied, is the whitest and best tasted I have ever met with. The weight of the bread is fixed, but the price is left to be agreed upon between the buyer and seller, which in the bread-market of Seville produces numberless squabbles. The hills which surround this town are filled with numerous springs of the purest water, which, after supplying the inhabitants, are collected into the aqueduct, by which it is conveyed to Seville. The fields about the town afford very good crops of wheat, but they are much intermixed with olive trees, which yield fruit of a larger size than in any other part of Spain.

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I went forward, over very bad roads, to Gondul, a village which gives the title of Marquis to the owner of it, who possesses what is here called a palace. The mansion is good; but the whole of the furniture, excepting the pictures, is of less value than the utensils in your kitchen. Some delightful springs of transparent water gush from the rock, and turn a paper-mill, whence it is distributed by numerous canals through a garden abounding in every vegetable luxury; orange, lemon, lime, and pomegranate trees, covered with fruit, at once afford a delightful odour, and gratify the sight. There is a fine prospect towards Ronda, the mountains of which are distinctly seen, though at the distance of eighty miles.

About three days ago some rain fell, and the country which before was a barren sand, is, in consequence, now covered with new grass, and has a verdure like our English fields in May.

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LETTER XIX.

CONVENT OF THE CARTHUSIANS—ITS PICTURES—PAINTINGS OF ZUBARAN—CONVENT OF ST. HIERÓNYMO—ANECDOTE OF TORRIGIANO—CAPUCHINS—THEIR LIBRARY—HOSPITAL DE LA SANGRE.

SEVILLE, OCT. 1809.

A FEW days ago, I went, with a small party, to see the convent of the Carthusians. It is situated on the banks of the Guadalquivir, above the city, and we found a boat the cheapest and most agreeable conveyance. The convent is a fine building, and the interior is sumptuously decorated.

The Monks, who are all descended from good families, live with frugality, or rather austerity, and never leave the convent after they have taken the vows. They are not permitted to converse, except with each other, and they are allowed only an hour's conversation twice in a week; but if I may judge from the rubicund faces and portly figures of the superiors, when they arrive at the higher stations, they indulge privately in luxuries beyond the limits of their vows. It is easy to conceive that, that fanaticism which can induce gentlemen to enter into this order, and to endure its severities during the year of their noviciate, may, after a time, cease; that the fervour of devotion may subside; that some embers of the feelings and habits

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of past life may be rekindled; and that, after they have begun to languish in their piety, they may fall from the grace of celibacy, or exchange their fasts and penances for a luxurious table, generous wines, and an affectionate mistress.

We found the prior a good-tempered friendly man; he expressed much regard for Englishmen, but lamented the wickedness and sensuality of Henry the Eighth, whose unruly passions, he said, had caused that change of religion so unfortunate for our country. I cannot help remarking in this place, that there is a material difference between the Catholics and Protestants, in the mode of treating each other on religious subjects. The former generally speak of our religion with a sigh: we too frequently speak of theirs with a sneer. I am afraid something of this kind escaped me, or my younger companions, as his officious kindness evidently ceased after his remark on Henry the Eighth; and though he behaved with politeness, it was ceremonious, and obviously constrained.

The church is very splendid, and elegantly adorned with holy utensils of gold and silver, with some good pictures and statues, and a remarkably fine organ. Among the pictures is the head of John the Baptist and a Salvator Mundi, by Murillo; a St. Peter by Morales, called by way of distinction (as there were several painters of that name) the divine Morales; and, what pleased me more than any others, some fine pieces of Zubaran, an artist whose works are highly valued in Spain, though they are scarcely known in any other part of Europe. There are three of his productions in the sacristry of this church, with figures as large as life. The subject of one is, St. Bruno conversing with Pope Urban the Second: the saint is

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seated; his countenance has the expression of benevolence, and that of the Pope of piety and submission. The subject of another picture is St. Hugh in the refectory of this convent, eating with the monks; and a third represents our Saviour on foot, conversing with some Carthusians: there is nothing in the stories, but the artist has contrived to make them interesting. Zubaran's manner somewhat resembles that of Caravaggio; his outlines are correct, and his compositions simple; they contain only a few figures, which are arranged in grave and natural attitudes.

I have always had a curiosity to see the collections of books in these repositories of idle devotion, but what I saw here were of no greater value than those in convents less richly endowed. The Carthusians are the richest order in Spain, and the estates of this convent are very extensive and valuable; their revenues are all appropriated to determinate purposes, one portion for subsistence, another for the repairs and decoration of the church, and others for the relief of the poor, &c. all of which being badly administered, the society is considerably involved. They cultivate some large farms, and have in their barns and outhouses a good stock of corn, straw, and oil, as well as horses, cows, and mules, which the government have lately found very beneficial; for, in the present exigencies of the country, the property of these religious houses has not been exempted from contributions. They have a fine garden, and a summer-house overlooking the river. The consumption of wax for candles is so considerable, that they have in this garden all the necessary conveniences for bleaching it.

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We entered the boat, after viewing the convent, and ascended the river till we reached the convent of St. Hieronymo de buena vista on the opposite shore. The different landing places on the river, and the buildings on its banks, are of Moorish construction, or at least in the Moorish style, and resemble those which you have seen in Mr. Daniel's or Mr. Salt's views on the banks of the Ganges. The principal inducement to visit St. Hieronymo is the fine prospect from the top of the building, from which the name of the convent has received the adjunct of buena vista.

The clearness of the atmosphere enabled us to see objects at a great distance, with a distinctness that surprised us. The city of Carmona, six leagues, or twenty-two miles distant, appeared quite close; the mountains of Ronda, seventy miles from us, were visible to the east, and the Sierra-Morena at nearly the same distance to the North-west: the intermediate space was covered principally with olive-trees, the verdant appearance of which enriched the scene. The city of Seville, with its numerous towers and magnificent buildings, the Guadalquivir flowing through it into the valley below, the large villages and numerous convents on the declivities of the hills, and the whole bounded by lofty mountains at a distance, presented one of the most charming landscapes I ever beheld.

This monastery furnishes a good specimen of architecture, especially the cloister, which is constructed of Doric pillars, supporting a gallery, on which the roof is sustained by pillars of the Ionic order. In the church there is a statue of clay, highly valued by all connoisseurs, the work of Torregiano, a native of Florence, who came to Seville in

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1520; his skill recommended him to the Duke of Arcos, who employed him in making an exact copy of this statue: when it was finished, the Duke paid him in maravedis, and the quantity was so great, that two men were required to carry it to his lodgings. The artist rejoiced in this liberal payment, as he supposed it; but on opening the bags, and ascertaining that they contained copper, and not silver, and that the value was trifling, he became furious, ran to the palace of the Duke, and, before his face, broke the statue in pieces. The figure being an image of our Saviour, he was accused of heresy, and consigned to the inquisition; and that tribunal sentenced him to a severe castigation, which the indignant artist escaped, by starving himself to death within the prison, before the period for executing the sentence arrived.

The statue is colossal, and executed with such skill that it is valued above every other in Spain, and some good judges have not hesitated to declare it the best in the world. It rests on one knee, with the other foot on the ground; the head, the muscles, and the drapery are admirably executed; but it is placed in a dark niche, where it is by no means seen to advantage. In one of the chapels there is a good picture of the Conception by Murillo, and some paintings by Juan de Valdes; there is likewise one by Varila, representing the Deity, a subject which ought never to be attempted.

I am afraid you will be fatigued with the accounts of monasteries, and therefore I shall only describe one more; that of the Capuchins, who, unlike the Carthusians, make vows of perpetual poverty, and consequently possess no property. The building is extensive, and

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contains about seventy monks and eight or ten noviciates; they were at dinner in the refectory when we entered; each had his separate portion, and, as soon as he had eaten it, prostrated himself on the ground to perform some devotion, and then retired to a small chapel adjoining, where other prayers were silently repeated before an altar, after which he retired to his cell to sleep. They have a good garden adjoining the convent, which supplies the fraternity with vegetables; whatever else they want is supplied by donations from the faithful, or by the alms which are obtained by begging.

This convent possesses the largest library I have yet seen, but the books are no better than usual; they consist of lives of saints, histories of councils, homilies, and sermons; nothing on science or history, or on any subject that can enlarge the understanding, is to be found among them; there were, indeed, two cases locked, which we were told contained prohibited books; but the friar who attended us, not having arrived at that state of grace which permitted him to read such books, could give us no account of their contents. The friars expressed the same animosity against the French which we have found uniformly to prevail among the whole body of the ecclesiastics; it is however evident, that their animosity arises more from the dread lest their superstitious practices should be abolished, and their orders dissolved, than from any attachment they feel to the cause of liberty; whatever turn, however, the affairs of the peninsula may take, I have no doubt that their doom will speedily be sealed, for they cannot discover greater animosity towards the French, than all virtuous and patriotic Spaniards feel towards the inhabitants of these receptacles of idleness, ignorance, and hypocrisy.

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The church of the Capuchins contains some very good paintings, and more by Murillo than are to be found in any other church in Seville; but as the subjects are uninteresting to a Protestant, I did not pay much attention to them. Zubaran has also contributed greatly to the ornament of this church, more especially by a series of paintings representing the life of St. Joseph and the Virgin.

The Hospital de la Sangre is near the convent of the Capuchins; it is one of the finest specimens of the architecture of the sixteenth century; but, instead of being used for its original purpose the reception of the sick, it is now appropriated to the army, and used for barracks. We were delighted with viewing the exterior, but had no inclination to endure the disgust which we were assured the filth of the interior would produce.

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LETTER XX.

ARRIVAL OF LORD WELLINGTON — SANTI PONCE — ROMAN ANTIQUITIES — NUNS IN THE CONVENT OF ST. LEANDRO — CONVERSATION WITH THEM — ANECDOTE.

SEVILLE, NOV. 1809.

IF I did not fear tiring you with accounts of religious rites, and religious processions, I might perhaps describe two ceremonies which have been celebrated here during the last days of October; which were deemed of sufficient importance to draw the Cardinal Bourbon from Santa Maria to this city, to assist in their celebration. The whole was really so contemptible, that excepting the Coup d'Oeil of the illuminated cathedral, nothing was worth seeing nor describing. The arrival of Lord Wellington was to me an event of much greater interest: he was received in Seville with that warmth of applause which his conduct truly merits; an applause that was felt by his countrymen as a tribute paid to England through one of the first of its military heroes. The suburb of Triana, through which his Lordship passed, the bridge, the Alameyda, and Puerto Xeres, were crouded with people, whose acclamations were answered by salutes of cannon from the batteries, and by feux de joie from the troops of the garrison.

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As we waited at Santi Ponce some time before the arrival of his Lordship, we spent it in seeing the monuments of Roman antiquity at the antient Italica; for this is probably the spot on which the city celebrated as the birth-place of the Emperor Trajan stood. The remains of Roman magnificence still visible, prove that it was a place of considerable importance. The amphitheatre is in ruins; but sufficient still exists to enable us to ascertain its dimensions, and judge of its original construction. The foundation is formed of Roman brick, which still continues perfect. The benches, which are of stone, consist of ten rows, placed one over the other: they are quite entire in many parts, with a staircase in the middle of each tier of seats. They are built on arches, and the passages for admitting the spectators and exhibitors, on one side, are in good preservation. I calculated that it would conveniently contain about ten thousand spectators. It has suffered more from the effects of an earthquake than from the lapse of time: the part, however, still left is so perfect, that we may form as good an idea of its original state, as if no such devastation had befallen it. The ruins of this antient city are scattered over the fields near the amphitheatre, and coins and inscriptions are found in abundance. A beautiful tesselated pavement has been discovered in this place: the figures upon it represent the Muses and the signs of the Zodiac: the outlines of the figures are very correct, and the colours quite fresh and brilliant.

From the inspection of Roman antiquities we adjourned to the convent of St. Hieronymo, where, being joined by General Doyle and Captain Sydenham, the hospitable prior provided a liberal refreshment, and some of the best wines the monastery afforded. In

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the church of the monastery there are some fine statues of their patron St. Hieronymo, of St. John the Baptist, and of St. John the Evangelist, by Martinez, a sculptor of great celebrity, who executed many highly valued works, in this city and its vicinity, about the year 1640. After our return from Santi Ponce the Marquis Wellesley gave an entertainment to which most of the English in Seville were invited.

In the convent of St. Leandro there are two English nuns, to whom I have paid several visits. In a small apartment within the quadrangle of the convent, I was permitted to converse with them through a grate in one of the adjoining rooms. The first who entered was an elderly lady, of a commanding figure; she was attended by a beautiful girl, about sixteen, who I found was a pensioner in the house. The dress of the nun was entirely black, with a white veil, and she appeared to be nearly sixty. She informed me that she was a native of London, and recollected that about the time she left it a new bridge, probably Blackfriars, was building. After a short time the other English nun entered the cell: she appeared about thirty, and was dressed in a similar manner. Both ladies spoke English tolerably well, but were occasionally at a loss for particular words. The novelty of the situation, and the good manners of the elder lady, to say nothing of the beauty of the younger one, created an interest which, perhaps, neither their conversation nor understanding would have otherwise produced. They appeared pleased to see their countrymen, but remembered very little of the country which gave them birth. The elder lady's name is Saumarez; and she said the gallant admiral of that name was her relation, but

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she did not know in what degree. The younger, Mary Ridgeway, had no recollection of any relations or friends in England, having resided in this city ever since she was six years old.

The ladies expressed the usual hatred to Buonaparte. They asked if it was true, that he was in bad health. I replied, I believed he was well; but that I wished he was in heaven. The eldest nun shook her head, and piously said, she believed he would never go there. I intimated that he might receive the grace of repentance: she thought it too much to hope for, after the evil he had done to Religion. We learnt that there were thirty-six in the house, who had taken the veil, besides boarders and servants, amounting in the whole to about one hundred females. Their employments are needlework, making artificial flowers, praying, and instructing young women sent there as pensioners, of whom the eldest of the English nuns had six under her care. As the allowance of the convent is inconsiderable, I understood a pecuniary gift would not be deemed an affront, and it was conveyed to them by means of a turning cupboard, placed in the double-grated window. No one, except a physician, can have admission within the house, nor can any one converse with the ladies otherwise than through the grates. The same regulations prevail in all other convents of nuns; and I suspect the tales we have heard of intrigues in such places are mere fictions.

I have since learnt the history of the younger recluse from some of the families who have patronised her. Her father was a merchant in London, and having been unfortunate in commerce, embarked with his wife and this only child for the East Indies. The ship in which they sailed was one of that large fleet which, towards the close

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of the American war, was captured by the combined fleets of France and Spain. They were carried into Cadiz, and thence removed to this city, where the father was detained a prisoner, on his parole, and died shortly after his arrival. The mother maintained herself and her orphan daughter for a short period, when she followed her husband to the grave.

The piety of the good Catholics was exerted to save this offspring of heresy from everlasting perdition; and a subscription was set on foot to defray the expence of placing her in a convent. Being young, and perhaps slightly instructed in the principles of her own Religion, she became a convert to that of her benefactors, and had her mind so strongly impressed, even with its fanaticism, that when she visited, during the recess, the only Protestant family in the city, she felt unhappy at her removal from those scenes, and those associates, which her enthusiastic imagination represented as essential to her future felicity. She enjoyed none of the amusements of her youthful companions; and though offered a subsistence by the worthy family in which she passed her vacations, she sighed to return to the convent, that she might give full vent to her pious feelings by prayer and meditation. After the due probation, she took the vows and the veil; and now perhaps, when the ardour of youthful enthusiasm has abated, can only feel reconciled to her lot by knowing it to be inevitable.

I have reason to think, that of those who become nuns, much the larger proportion enter the state from feelings of enthusiasm, rather than from the compulsion of their relatives; though it is esteemed very honourable to a family to have one of the females dedicated to Religion.

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By the law of this country, a female is permitted to marry a Protestant husband, but a man is not allowed to marry a Protestant wife. An English gentleman, a Protestant, was in love with a beautiful young lady in this city; she returned his attachment, and there was no obstacle to their union but the prejudices of some aged female relatives, whose fortune the young lady expected to inherit: they feared that if any of the offspring of this marriage should feel inclined to devote themselves to God, the heresy of the father might be a bar to their reception in a convent. Trifling as this difficulty may appear to us, it was an obstacle not to be surmounted; and the consent of the family was only obtained by the gentleman's gallantly sacrificing his religion to his love. He became a Catholic and a husband; and his daughters may hereafter be indulged in the privilege of dedicating themselves to a life of celibacy and devotion.

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LETTER XXI.

TERTULLA OF COUNTESS VILLAMANRIQUE — MATTEROSO — ARGUILLES — STATE OF MANNERS — MARCHIONESS CALZADO'S PARTY — SOCIETY OF ANGULO — PADRE CEPERO — CAPMANY — PADRE BLANCO.

SEVILLE, NOV. 1809.

I HAVE been so much pleased with the agreeable round of acquaintance to which I have been introduced by my friend General Virues and his amiable lady, that I think it will afford you some entertainment, if I devote the following letter to the description of societies from which I have derived considerable pleasure, and much insight into the general state of the higher orders of the community in Spain.

The Tertulla of the Countess Villamanrique is the most crouded of any in Seville, and is more frequented, by the English, than any other. It is in fact, a gaming house, where a bank is kept by the old lady, in partnership with the Marquis Ensenada, and considerable sums are won and lost at it daily. The male visitors consist chiefly of officers of the army, who might be infinitely better employed with the troops in La Mancha, than in the dissipation of this capital. Neither music nor dancing is allowed at their meetings: but there are some intelligent persons generally in company, who never enter into the spirit of the play table, and enjoy conversation in another apartment.

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At this assembly I frequently meet Count Materoso, who so spiritedly embarked, in an open boat, at Gijhon to convey to England the first intelligence of the revolution in the Asturias. His friend, Arguilles, generally also makes one of the company in the evening; and by his good sense, and amiable manners, adds greatly to the pleasure of the party. Arguilles is of a very antient family in Oviedo: he has seen and studied mankind in various countries, and made accurate observations on their customs, laws, and manners. He passed some time in England, where he increased his love of freedom, and his detestation of the intolerance, superstition, and tyranny, of the old government of Spain; and justly complains, that the Junta have hitherto attempted nothing to remedy the existing evils.

His hatred of the French has been increased by their cruel treatment of his family: and by his manly spirit and comprehensive mind, he is well calculated to serve the best interests of his country. Like all the ablest men in Spain, he is anxious for the convocation of the Cortes, and is now officiating without salary, as secretary to a committee, appointed for the purpose of regulating the number of deputies, the places from which they are to be sent, the mode of election, and the formalities to be observed in that expected assembly of the Spanish nation. The researches of the committee into the antient records have been very diligent; and, in addition to the precedents collected, they have invited, to the investigation of the subject, many of the most intelligent public bodies in the kingdom. With all this appearance of preparation, it is generally believed that the Junta will do all in their power to prevent the

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Cortes from assembling. They know that, as soon as the convocation takes place, their power will be annihilated; and they feel unwilling to return to that obscurity from which nature never designed them to emerge.

I must do justice, however, to some individuals of this body, who are known to be very sincere in their endeavours to assemble the representatives of the nation. Jovellanos is one of this number, and I believe Don Martin Garay, who gave as a toast, when we were dining at Lord Wellesley's on the anniversary of the King's accession, "a speedy assembling of the Cortes of Spain." As Don Martin appears a man of little finesse, I believe that he was sincere in the sentiment, and not merely flattering his noble host, who is known to have urged the measure very strongly.

The ladies at the house of the Countess seldom engage at the card table, but form small parties for conversation; and do not appear to be at all discomposed by the tobacco smoke puffed in their faces from the segars of the men. There is a coarseness of manners among the higher ranks very visible in these parties, and language sometimes passes which in other countries would lead to serious consequences. To call a man a liar, or even to take him by the nose, would not here produce a duel, nor perhaps be thought of the next day; the point of honour is not observed, and there is in consequence none of that delicate sensibility which characterises gentlemen in England. Abstractedly considered, the appeal to single combat cannot be justified; but when all the circumstances of society are considered, it is probable that more benefit than evil may have arisen from the practice. We owe to it in England much of that

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gentlemanly feeling which neither gives, nor will receive an insult, and that regulation of the passions and temper which, next to intellect, is the best charm of good society. I cannot also but think, that the practice of duelling has had a tendency to prevent assassination, by putting even the horrid passion of revenge under the regulation of the laws of honour.

General Virues has introduced me to the house of the Marchioness Calzado, where the play is for smaller sums, and where the company are gratified with music and patriotic songs. This lady is the daughter of Don Antonio de Ulloa, one of those Spaniards who were occupied, jointly with some French mathematicians, in measuring a degree of longitude at the equator, in order to determine the figure of the earth, in the years 1740, 1741, and 1742. After constructing triangles on the high mountains of Peru, the party separated, mutually disgusted; Condamine returned to Europe, by descending the river Amazon, which crosses the whole continent of South America; while Ulloa passed through Peru and Chili. He has given the world, in the account of that voyage, and in his "noticias Americanas," more information respecting those parts of the globe, than is to be found in the works of any other author. The Marchioness is a charming woman, and is universally esteemed; her society is more select than Villamanriques; but here too the men smoke, and the only lady I have seen indulging in that practice was at this house: this is so common with the men that it ceases to be disgusting, but I cannot reconcile myself to a segar in the mouth of a woman, and I believe it is a very uncommon sight, even in this country.

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I meet at the house of Angulo, an advocate of eminence where General Virues resides, a party of a different description, chiefly composed of persons who have escaped from Madrid; and as those who arrive daily, naturally associate with their former friends, the latest information from that city is to be acquired here. All who have recently left that capital give shocking accounts of the conduct of the French and the severe sufferings of the Madrilenos. The public places are deserted, and the theatre and the Paseos left to the French officers. No lady ventures out of her house, and few men, who walk in the streets, are bold enough to recognize or speak to any of their acquaintance whom they may chance to meet; the houses of the nobility are stripped of the plate; and the furniture, from the want of purchasers, is consumed for firing, or is wantonly destroyed. The tradesmen are starving, and the clergy turned out to beg where no one has any thing to bestow. A gentleman whom I met in this house had recently escaped from Madrid; he held an employment in the office of the secretary of state, and, when the French entered Madrid, was compelled to execute its duties for the usurper. He says, that the deepest revenge is the marked expression of every countenance in Madrid; that the inhabitants have secreted arms; that private signals of conspiracy exist; and that, at some future period, a second Sicilian vespers will be perpetrated. At the house of Angulo, cards are never introduced; the young ladies are musical; one of them plays admirably on the violin, an instrument not common for ladies, and the others on the piano forte: patriotic songs are sung in chorus, and sometimes the fandango is danced; which amusements, mingled with agreeable conversation,

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and moonlight walks in a delightful garden, render the evenings in this society the pleasantest in Seville.

We have some other agreeable societies in this city, which are rendered particularly so by the ease that prevails after the first introduction: but the only society of a literary kind is at the house of a priest in the cathedral. Padre Cepero is a clergyman of the Sagrario, a very spirited, liberal, and intelligent man; though a zealous Catholic he is not intolerant, and despises much of the mummery which is practised by his profession: his attention has not been turned to divinity beyond his own church, of the infallibility of which he never doubts, but he has studied history and political economy, and has cultivated a taste for the fine arts: he is a most determined patriot, and his house is the evening resort of some of the most intelligent men in Seville.

I have met Capmany here frequently, who is a writer on political subjects, and has published some learned and sensible works on several subjects of commercial history, and on military and political economy. Like all theoretic statesmen, many of his proposals for the amelioration of his country are better on paper than they would prove in practice; but he is a sensible and amiable man.

Padre Blanco, so well known throughout Spain as the author of the patriotico seminario, frequently joins this circle. If there be a priest without bigotry, a philosopher without vanity, or a politician without prejudice, Padre Blanco is that man: whenever he is of the party, he enlightens it by his knowledge, and animates it by his patriotism. Several other men of good talents resort hither, and it

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is by far the most intellectual of all the Tertullas in Seville. If any of my former remarks on the Catholic Church have appeared severe, I hope you will allow that at least I can do justice to those of its clergy who merit praise.

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LETTER XXII.

AGRICULTURE — ESPARTO — PITA — OPUNTIA — PALMITOS — OLIVES — OIL MANUFACTORIES — WINES — WHEAT — MODE OF IRRIGATION — LIQUORICE — POTATOES.

SEVILLE, NOV. 1809.

AS I intend making a few observations on the agriculture of this part of Spain, I shall begin with noticing some vegetable productions, which are unknown with us, but which in this country greatly contribute to the comfort and convenience of life. One plant called Esparto, the Spanish broom (or *spartium junceum* of Linnæus), grows wild on the plain, and is made into a variety of articles for common use: it is employed for making ropes and cables, and is particularly calculated for the latter purpose, as it swims on the water, and the cables formed of it are consequently not so liable to rub against the rocks as those which are made of hemp. It is also woven into floor-cloths and carpets, with which the cold stone, or brick floors of the houses in this place are covered during the winter. Baskets for all common purposes are made of it, and panniers for the conveyance of different produce to market, or for the carrying of manure to the fields.

In fact, there are upwards of forty different articles made from this substance, which, as it demands no cultivation, is very cheap.

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and it requires but little labour to convert it to useful purposes. Pliny mentions this production as applied in his time to various uses, for which in the present day substances better adapted are employed. It was at that time used by the poor for beds, by the shepherds for garments, and by the fishermen for nets; but hemp and flax have now superseded its use in the manufacture of those articles. An attempt was made lately to spin and weave it into cloth, and at first it promised success, but was afterwards found ill adapted for that purpose; and notwithstanding encouragement was given by government, the whole scheme was relinquished.

Another plant of great importance in the husbandry of Spain is the Aloe, called here Pita, which makes excellent fences at a very trifling expence; the sharpness of the leaves renders these hedges impenetrable; and it is only necessary to stick the point of the leaves in the ground, when, without farther care, they will soon grow up, and afford secure protection; endeavours have also been made to convert the aloe into cloth, but the fibres being thick and twisted, the attempts have not succeeded. In some parts, however, where Esparto is scarce, it is used for ropes. Bowles, the best Spanish writer on natural history, says, "As it is well known that all those plants which contain a quantity of tasteless mucilage, produce by fermentation strong liquors; and as no vegetable produces a greater quantity of that mucilage than the pita, it might be made into brandy, if wine were not so plentiful in Spain as to render such a process unnecessary."

The opuntia, or tuna, is likewise a plant very common in all this

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part of Spain; and though a native of America, it grows without cultivation even in the clefts of rocks, where there is little or no soil. Its flower resembles in shape the carnation, but has more leaves of a deep red colour. The fruit which succeeds the flower is not unlike the common fig: it is covered by a thorny bark, but when this is removed the interior is found to possess a good flavour, and in hot weather is very cooling. It was accidentally observed that some pigs, belonging to a dyer, which had fed upon the seeds of this fruit, had their bones changed to a red colour; and an experiment afterwards, instituted by the Academy of Sciences at Paris, confirmed this fact, which at first appeared so extraordinary.

In the plains near Seville a very great quantity of the palmito (the *chimærops humilis* of Linnæus) is grown; and as almost the whole of Andalusia is supplied from this neighbourhood with brushes of various kinds made from this plant, it may be considered of great importance.

From the frequent mention I have made of olive trees, you will naturally conclude that the quantity of the fruit produced is very considerable: a great part is eaten in the crude state, or is preserved in salted water, but the larger portion is made into oil, which in Spain answers the purpose of butter. The oil of Spain, however, is much less pure than that of France and Italy, though the fruit, from which it is made, is greatly superior. This inferiority arises principally from the length of time the olives are kept, piled in heaps, before they are ground, whence, in this warm country, they ferment and become in some degree putrid.

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The right of possessing an olive mill is a feudal privilege belonging to the lords of particular manors, and to such mills all the olives grown in the district, often a very extensive one, are obliged to be carried. Here they remain in heaps, waiting their turn to be ground, from October and November, when they are gathered, till the month of January, and sometimes February, and consequently become rancid, to the great detriment both of the colour and the flavour of the oil. The stones of the olive produce some oil, which is equally transparent with that of the pulp, but of a more acrid flavour; and as the farmers are anxious to produce as large a quantity as they can, the two kinds are mixed, by which means the whole becomes tainted.

The oil is kept in large jars, sunk in the ground, so as to preserve it in an equable temperature, and prevent its suffering from the extremes of heat and cold. The proprietors take, from the top of each jar, the clearest of the oil for the use of the table: the residue is appropriated to different purposes, and is used by the poor to light their habitations. Though the quantity of oil made here is very great, a small portion only is exported. The principal part of that which exceeds the immediate consumption was formerly sent to the Castiles, and other parts of the north of Spain: but though the war has closed that vent for this commodity, and the harvest has been most abundant, yet the price is still too high to admit of its being exported to England.

The wine made in this vicinity is very inconsiderable in quantity, and is of a bad quality. The greater part consumed in this city is

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brought from Xeres, but some, which comes from La Mancha, is a strong red wine, similar to Valdepeñas, and being brought in skins has the flavour of the tar with which the seams of the skins are closed.

A large quantity of wheat and barley is grown in this district, but no oats. The wheat is small grained, which is probably owing to not changing the seed sufficiently often. The barley is very good, and when mixed with straw, constitutes almost the only food used for horses and mules. No hay is made in Spain, but in every farm-yard there are large stacks of straw, broken in the operation of treading out the grain, which at a little distance have the appearance of the wheat-ricks in an English farmer's barn-yard. The grain is separated from the chaff and the straw on the field where it is grown. A threshing-floor, paved with large pebbles, receives the corn, and a number of unbroken mares are driven over it, in a circle, by a man standing in the centre, who holds a long rein fastened to each mare. The trampling, in the dry climate of Spain, is sufficient to separate the grain, which falls to the bottom, and to break the straw in pieces. The broken straw is then carried to the farm-yard, and preserved in stacks; and the grain is removed on the backs of asses, in a species of pannier made of esparto, and deposited in the granary.

I wished to ascertain how many bushels of wheat formed the average crop per acre; but I could gain no information upon this subject upon which I can depend: I could not even learn any thing of the mode of measuring land, so as to form any calculation of its fertility. There are two terms of mensuration employed in this part

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of the country, the fanega and the aranzada: the former is derived from the fanega (a dry measure, which is equal to two of our bushels), and which, when applied to land, relates to the quantity requiring a fanega of wheat to sow it; the other is applied to as much land as two oxen are capable of ploughing in one day. This uncertainty in the measure of land is a striking proof of its small value in this country.

Onions, garlic, melons, pumpkins, and cucumbers, are cultivated in large quantities, and form some of the most important articles of human subsistence. They are grown in gardens, in the irrigation of which they use a mill, of Arabic origin, from which our chain pump is evidently derived: it is called a Noria: a vertical wheel over a well, has a series of earthen jars, fastened together by cords of esparto, which descend into the water, and fill themselves by the motion of the wheel: they rise to the surface, and then, by the same motion, empty themselves into a trough, from which the water is conveyed by trenches into the different parts of the garden or field. The vertical wheel is put in motion by an horizontal one, which is turned by a cow. No machine can be more simple, or, in a dry country where the wells are far below the surface, more beneficial.

Liquorice was formerly cultivated here to a considerable extent, but the quantity of late has been much diminished; it requires a great deal of labour to gather the root and extract the juice; and the price of labour, occasioned by the demand of men for the armies, has caused several houses employed in the preparation of this article

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to be shut up. The plant grows in great abundance near St. Juan de Alfarache, but only a small quantity at present is manufactured. Potatoes are grown, but not in large quantities, nor are they so good as in England. The Irish merchants, settled in Andalusia, import for their own use, and that of their friends, considerable quantities from Ireland. The sweet potatoe is very common, as well as turnips, carrots, cabbages, and broccoli, the last of which is remarkably good. Celery grows to an enormous size, but the flavour is inferior to that produced in our gardens.

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LETTER XXIII.

COWS — HORSES — MULES — ASSES—SHEEP — MODE OF CLEANING WOOL — FLOCKS OF MERINO SHEEP — ACCOUNT OF THEIR MIGRATIONS — METHOD OF REARING THEM.

SEVILLE, NOV. 1809.

THE Spanish cows are of an excellent race, are small in size, and of great beauty; they more nearly resemble our best Devonshire breed than any others I have seen, being nearly of the same size, and marked in a similar manner: they are sometimes used for ploughing, and also, though rarely, for drawing carts. In the winter, when grass is abundant, they become fat, and at this season the meat is good. Their milk is not much valued, nor indeed are there any dairies, as the milk of goats is in common use both here and at Cadiz.

The horses of Andalusia are very highly valued; they are deep chested, rather short backed, and heavy about the legs; they have generally a good shoulder, and being taught the menage, have a magnificent appearance. It is a general opinion in Spain, that the race of horses has degenerated, and that the number has considerably diminished of late years. In the year 1784 much pains was taken to calculate the number, and they were then estimated at about

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eighty thousand, of which twenty-six thousand were supposed to be in Andalusia. It is not at present believed that they amount to two-thirds of that number; the writers upon this subject, especially Don Pedro Pablo Pomar, attribute this decline of horses to the prevailing custom of employing mules; to remedy which, a law was made, in the reign of Philip II. forbidding their use in coaches; but this law has become obsolete, and the mules not being productive animals, has a farther tendency to lessen the number of horses. The scarcity of horses for the army is very much felt, and the regiments of dragoons that I have seen are most miserably mounted. The artillery is drawn by mules, and indeed they seem to be preferred for almost every purpose. In summer, the mules are frequently shorn quite close; and for some reason, which I could not learn, this operation is never performed by the descendants of old Christians, but by the gittaners or gipsies, who, though converts to the Catholic Religion, are a distinct class, and easily distinguished by their complexion and features.

The asses in Spain are very large, and are the most useful of all their beasts of burden. They carry heavy loads, require only the coarsest sustenance, and are patient and long-lived: they are more frequently rode by females than either horses or mules. The ladies ride on them sideways, in a kind of chair, which is stuffed with pillows, called hamugas; and as the step of this animal is sure, the most timid rider feels no apprehension of danger.

The sheep in this part are not numerous, but to the north there are considerable flocks of fine wooled sheep, which do not migrate,

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and their fleeces are inferior only to those of the Merinos or Trashumantes. Spain has been always celebrated for the quality and abundance of its wool. Pliny relates, that in his time, Spanish cloths were of an excellent texture, and much used in Rome. For many centuries the raw material has been transported to Flanders for the supply of the Flemish manufactories, which laid the foundation of those of England.

The present war has changed the course of the commerce, for the Merino wool, from Bilboa to this city. Much of this wool is washed in Estremadura, and brought clean to this place; but a considerable quantity is brought down in the dirty condition in which it is shorn from the animal, and is washed here; that washed in Estremadura is more highly esteemed than that which is cleaned near this city. The operation is very simple: the wool is placed in brick or stone troughs through which a stream of warm water constantly runs, and men continue trampling on it till the dust and grease are entirely separated, when it is spread abroad on a paved court to dry; which object is soon effected in this warm climate. The quantity of sand and dust contracted is so great, that, in the process of washing, the weight is diminished about three-fifths.

It is not supposed that the incursions of the French have greatly diminished the flocks, as the enemy have been generally careful not to destroy them. In many instances large flocks have passed, either by permission or connivance, from the parts occupied by the French to the countries under the Spanish government. There have been great changes and confiscations of the flocks; a considerable part of

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those, belonging to the Prince of Peace, have been captured and sold by the Junta, and some of the Duke de Infantado, whose flocks produce the finest fleeces, have in like manner been seized by the French.

These flocks produce but little benefit to the proprietors; the wool being sold so low as six pence or eight pence per pound: the aroba, of twenty-five pounds weight, is reduced to ten pounds by washing, and it pays a duty on exportation of about eight pence per pound, which produces a considerable revenue. The quantity usually exported is about forty thousand bags, weighing on an average two hundred and fifty pounds each.

The history of these sheep, and the laws and regulations by which the flocks are governed, is so interesting, that I shall give you an abstract of the best accounts of them that I have been able to obtain. The Merino flocks travel every year from the northern mountains where they pass the summers, to the richer pastures and warmer climate of the south of Spain, particularly to La Mancha, Estremadura, and Andalusia. These flocks, commonly called trashumantes, amount in the whole to about five millions of sheep. Each flock is composed of ten thousand, which are under the guidance of a superior called the mayoral, a man skilled in the nature of pastures, and in the diseases and modes of curing the sheep. This person has fifty shepherds under his command, and an equal number of dogs; each shepherd is daily supplied with two pounds of bread, and the same quantity, though of a coarser kind, is allowed to his dog. The wages of the mayoral are commonly one hundred doubloons annually, and he is besides provided with a horse. The shepherds are of different

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classes, and receive wages according to their rank, varying from forty to one hundred and fifty reals de vellon. The men are permitted to keep goats, and an allotted number of sheep: the wool, however, becomes the property of the master, though the flesh of the lambs, as well as the milk, is the perquisite of the men.

In April and October, when they commence their journies, each man is paid an additional gratuity of twelve reals. The greater part of these flocks are in La Montaña and Molina de Arragon in the summer, and in Estremadura and La Mancha in the winter. Molina is to the eastward of Estremadura and La Mancha; and Montaña is to the north of those provinces, and is the most elevated land in Spain. Molina abounds in aromatic plants, but they are seldom found in Montaña. When the flocks arrive at the country in which they are to pass the summer, they are allowed as much salt as they will eat, and the quantity for the five summer months is about two pounds and a half for each sheep. The rock salt *(sal gem)* is laid on flat stones, and the sheep lick it as they pass from the fold to their pastures: but when they feed on a chalky or limestone soil, the quantity of salt is either lessened or withheld: after licking the salt they are usually driven to an argillaceous soil, where, having from their previous regimen acquired a sharpness of appetite, they feed with greater eagerness. The mayoral from habit is acquainted with the nature of the different soils on which his flocks are grazed, and proportions the allowance of salt to the greater or less quantity of calcareous matter they contain.

At the end of July the rams are placed with the ewes, in the proportion of six to one hundred, and as soon as the latter are in

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lamb they are again separated. Rams are more beneficial to the proprietors than ewes, for though their wool is not so fine, they produce heavier fleeces; those of the rams usually weigh about eight or nine pounds, and those of the ewes not more than five; the former also are longer lived. In the middle of September the sheep are marked or rubbed over with ochre dissolved in water: some contend that this earth, by being incorporated with the grease of the wool, forms a kind of varnish, which defends them from the inclemency of the weather; others maintain that the weight of the ochre keeps the wool short, and prevents it from becoming coarse; others again say that this earth acts as an absorbent, and receives part of the perspiration, which, if it remained unchecked, would become too abundant, and render the wool coarse and harsh.

At the end of September the flocks commence their journey to a southern climate; the route is regulated by immemorial laws and usages; the sheep pass leisurely through the pasture lands of the townships, but as their way is sometimes over corn fields, the cultivators are obliged to leave a path about eighty yards wide, which the flocks are sometimes obliged to pass with great fatigue, in order to arrive before night on open pasture land; their journies at such times are six or seven leagues, but at other times they seldom exceed two leagues, which leaves time for feeding as they pass along. The journey from Montaña to Estremadura is performed in about forty days, and the distance is nearly one hundred and fifty leagues.

The shepherds lead the flocks to the pastures in which they fed during the preceding winter, and in which most of them were brought forth; and such is the sagacity of the animals, that if not conducted

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thither they would of themselves discover it, nor would it be easy for their leaders to guide them to more remote districts. At night they are placed within inclosures, formed by stakes driven into the ground with ropes of esparto passing round them, which prevent the sheep from wandering, while the dogs watch around to keep the wolves from molesting them. The shepherds construct temporary huts with sods and branches of trees, and for this purpose, as well as to afford them fuel, they are permitted to cut one branch from each tree as they pass along. In consequence of this permission, almost all the trees near the pastures on which the Merinos feed are rotten and hollow.

Soon after the sheep reach their winter quarters, the ewes bring forth their young, and at that time require the greatest attention: those which are barren are driven to the worst pasture; better food is selected for those which have lambs; but the greatest attention is paid to those which bring the male lambs late in the season; for these the very best pasture is allotted, in order that they may thrive quickly, and be equally strong with the more early ones for their approaching migration to their northern pastures. In the month of March several operations require the attention of the shepherds; the young rams have their tails cut about five inches from the root, that they may retain less dirt; they are then marked on the nose with a hot iron: their horns are cut that they may not injure each other, and those intended for leaders of the flock are castrated.

In the month of April, they begin their route towards the north. The sheep become restless as the time approaches, and must be narrowly watched, lest they should escape the shepherds and enter

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on their march alone, for instances have frequently occurred of flocks wandering from their guides, and proceeding several leagues towards the north, early in the morning, before the shepherds were awake. The shearing begins in the middle of May, if the weather be fine; for, as the fleeces are piled in heaps, they are subject to ferment and become rotten if shorn in humid weather: as a partial remedy for this, the sheep are previously placed in covered buildings, sufficiently capacious to contain twenty thousand. The skin of these animals is so delicate, that if they become damp or cold after shearing it usually kills them. Shearing eight ewes or five rams is considered a day's labour for each man employed in the operation. The difference arises as much from the greater quantity of wool on the rams, as from their fierceness and the difficulty of making them submit to the operation.

The sheep, to be shorn in the course of one day, are inclosed in a large court, whence they are driven to the sweating-place, a narrow lane between two hedges, where they are crowded as close as possible, that they may perspire profusely, and thus by softening the wool, make it more readily yield to the shears, a precaution most necessary with the rams, because their wool is stronger and more matted together than that of the ewes. As soon as they are shorn they are driven to another inclosure, where they are marked; and those which from age have lost their teeth, are separated to be sold for slaughter. The healthy ones are turned out to feed if the weather be favourable; but if not they are kept under cover a short time, that they may be gradually accustomed to the external air.

These sheep prefer fine grass to the aromatic plants which abound in Arragon, and disliking the wild thyme, turn it carefully aside, with

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their noses, that it may not mix with the grass. The shepherds are remarkably observant of every approaching change of weather; and, when it begins to rain drive them quickly to covered buildings; in which case the sheep, having no time to select their food as they pass along, feed on herbs generally esteemed deleterious, such as hemlock, wild poppy, and other noxious plants.

The shepherds do not permit the Merinos to leave the folds till the sun has exhaled the dews of night; nor do they allow them to drink from a brook or pond after it has hailed; for they have found, from experience, that feeding on dewy grass, or drinking dissolved hail, would risk the loss of the whole flock. It is contended, that the wool of the Andalusian sheep is inferior to the Merinos, solely because they do not migrate, and that the wool of the Merinos would become equally coarse if they were to remain stationary for a few generations. If this opinion be well founded, there can be little hope of success in the attempt lately made to introduce this breed in England: we have, however, a sufficient number to try the experiment, and ascertain the truth, or falsehood of the general opinion of Spaniards on this subject.

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LETTER XXIV.

TRADE—LEATHER MANUFACTORY—SWORDS—BAYONETS—MUSKET-BALLS—SILK LOOMS—SHOPS—BOOKSELLERS—TAX OF ALCAVALA—ESCRIVANOS.

SEVILLE, NOV. 1809.

THE commerce of this city was formerly very considerable; but owing to the little attention paid to the navigation of the river, and the admission of Cadiz to a participation in the trade with the Spanish settlements in America, it has considerably diminished. The Guadalquivir is not navigable, so high as Seville, for vessels drawing more than ten feet water, and even these so frequently ground, that it is necessary they should be constructed in a manner to prevent their receiving injury from such an event. Vessels of more than one hundred and fifty tons burden, load and unload about eight miles below the city, and those of greater capacity remain at St. Lucar, near the mouth of the river.

The principal articles exported direct from this place are wool, goat and kid skins, liquorice, and a small quantity of oil. Wool is merely an accidental article, which has taken this channel in consequence of the war, so that usually there can be but little foreign trade from this port, the other subjects of export being too trifling to deserve notice.

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This part of Andalusia contains every raw material necessary for their domestic manufactures, excepting iron, which is brought from Bilboa in bars, or from England in hoops; the import trade is consequently limited to those luxuries which are wanted only by the few. There has always been a considerable consumption of British manufactures, which were usually supplied by the contraband traders from Portugal; but since the intercourse has been opened, and British cottons allowed to be legally entered, that consumption has very much increased; but the superior advantages of the port of Cadiz, and the larger supply usually in store at that place, makes the retail traders resort thither, and consequently little is imported to Seville, notwithstanding there are, as I have been informed, expedients for evading or lessening the duties in this custom-house, which are not permitted at Cadiz.

There are few manufactories of consequence at Seville, excepting one, on a very extensive scale, for preparing leather. It is conducted by Mr. Wetherell, an Englishman who has been many years settled in this city, under the patronage of the Spanish court; and as he possesses perseverance and integrity in a very high degree, he has carried the establishment to a very considerable extent, and the convent of St. Diego was granted him by the government for the purpose of his manufactory. Mr. Wetherell unites the various trades of tanner, currier, feltmonger, saddler, boot-maker, glover, cartouche-box and belt-maker, in which branches he constantly employs about four hundred men. As he works for the army, he is allowed to protect forty men, under forty-five years of age, from the conscription; the remainder is composed either of men above

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that age or of foreigners: among the latter are some Germans, and several Frenchmen, towards whom the animosity of the Spaniards is so great, that they are only kept from violence by working in separate apartments.

Mr. Wetherell is a very liberal and benevolent man, and pays his labourers high wages, which are spent not in liquor, as with us, but in dress and finery for their Sunday and holiday promenade. Such is the sobriety of these people, that though a cask of rum stands constantly in the workshops, to which all may apply when they please, no complaints of excess or drunkenness have ever been made. This manufactory produces weekly, eight hundred cured ox-hides, and a proportionate quantity of the skins of horses, deer, sheep, goats, dambs, and kids; some of which are sold in the form of leather, but the greater part are converted, within the manufactory, to the different articles for which they are calculated. Instead of oak bark the inner bark of the cork tree is used in tanning, and is found to answer the purpose; but, as it contains less of the tannine property, about one-third more of it is requisite to cure the leather. It is supplied from Palamonos, a river between Gibraltar and Malaga, where the price is about seventy-five shillings per ton.

Though Mr. Wetherell is known to be a Protestant, and the only one in Seville, he has passed upwards of twenty years there without any molestation on account of his religion, which may in some measure be ascribed to the excellence of his character, but which I think also reflects some honour on the liberality of the Spanish people.

At a period like the present, it may be supposed that the principal objects which engage the attention of manufacturers are those

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which are connected with the business of war. In many parts of the city, workshops are established for making swords, bayonets, musket-balls, and other implements of hostility. The swords are very clumsily made, but well tempered, and well poised; those for the cavalry are longer than ours, and somewhat heavier, and are quite straight. There is no regular establishment for making muskets; but at one of the manufactories they make carbines, pistols, and locks for repairing those muskets that require them. Their locks are of a different construction from ours; the stroke of the flint on the steel is more forcible, and the latter being grooved never misses fire; but so much force must be employed to pull the trigger, that I am persuaded the piece must be drawn, by the exertion, from the line in which it is directed; in fact, the difference between an English and Spanish lock is as great as that between a common lock and a hair-trigger. I have experienced this difference myself in the fowling-pieces, when I have been shooting, so that I could scarcely ever kill the game. The Spanish muskets are longer in the barrel than the English, but the bayonet is shorter; and as the wood they use is very light, the whole piece is not heavier than ours.

Seville was formerly celebrated for its manufactures of silk, and a considerable quantity of the raw materials was produced in this neighbourhood. The city was surrounded with mulberry trees, and the worms which fed on them are said to have employed ten thousand looms. At present there are not five hundred at work, and those are principally supplied with silk from Granada and Valencia. The silks they make are very good, and though not so beautiful to the eye as the English, are much more durable: they are not so well

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woven, nor so well finished, especially the satins and velvets, but are preferred in America to those made in England, which have more gum and less silk in their composition. Silk stockings are woven in sufficient quantities to answer the very considerable consumption of the place.

Some woollen cloths, of an inferior kind, are made in this place; but from the want of machinery, and from the awkwardness of the men employed in the different departments, they are dearer than those imported from England, and not so good. The same observations apply to the bombazeens, duroys, and camblets, of each of which there are small manufactories. They make good hats of the fine wool of the Merino sheep, but they have not yet learnt to cover them with the down of the beaver or the seal, so that they have not the soft exterior of ours, nor are they so well dyed, but they are more durable.

The other manufactures of this city are of little importance, and indeed none of them are of sufficient magnitude to deserve consideration as objects of national wealth. The manufacturer's deficiency of capital forms the great impediment to their advancement; in consequence none of the establishments are conducted on a scale sufficiently large, to enable them to adopt the necessary divisions and subdivisions of labour, without which no manufactory can flourish; besides which, persons possessing small capitals are constrained to sell for ready money, and merchants who export to distant countries, must have recourse for their supplies to those who can give credit. Perhaps the flourishing export trade of Liverpool is more indebted for its extent to the large capitals employed in the manu-

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factories of the counties of Lancaster, York, and Stafford, than to any other circumstance.

The shops in Seville are wretched in their appearance, and very ill supplied with almost every article; indeed, the contrast between them and those of England is strikingly obvious: however, in the shops of embroiderers, of gold and silver lace-makers, and in others for church ornaments, there is no scarcity.

The shops at which glass, knives, forks, spoons, and other German articles are sold, are mostly kept by native Germans, or their descendants, who are distinguished by the name of Bohemians. They converse with each other in the high Dutch language, are well supplied with different articles of Nuremburg manufacture, and are by far the most civil shopkeepers of Spain; in every part of which I am told they are to be found.

The booksellers inhabit a street called Calle Genova, and are as badly furnished as other traders. Most books of value are printed in Madrid; and, from the present state of the intercourse between the two capitals, cannot be conveyed hither without incurring great risk. The principal stock consists of old books of divinity, lives of saints, dissertations on the antiquities of the country, and a very few bad editions of the Latin classics. You will be surprised to be informed, that in this city the only map of Spain I could procure was, a very bad one, published in London. I remarked in looking over the catalogues of the different booksellers, that I did not see a single book in the Greek language; a pretty convincing proof that the knowledge of it in this country must be at a very low ebb.

There is an impediment to all commerce, to all exchange of ne-

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cessaries in Spain, so impolitic and oppressive that it is scarcely credible; and the only wonder is, that under such circumstances any commerce should exist at all: I mean the tax called Alcavala, a duty of six per cent. on the sale of property every time it changes owners. The obvious effect of such a tax needs no comment; but the consequences of it are felt far beyond the mere payment of the money. At each gate of this and other cities, bands of the lowest class of revenue officers are stationed with power to search the baggage, and examine the person of every one who passes: a power often rigorously exercised, towards those who do not give them a gratuity, and therefore particularly oppressive to the lower orders of the community. To enforce this tax, the custom-house, or perhaps, according to our English usage, the excise office requires every person coming to the city, with any thing for sale, to make an entry, and pay this as well as the municipal duties; and, in a similar manner, any person making purchases within the city must take out a clearance from the proper office. Thus a peasant, bringing a load of melons, onions, or garlick, must wait for the dispacho, as it is called; and when he purchases the necessaries which are required for his village consumption, he must again apply for a clearance before he can return. Thus their time is lost, and the officers of government multiplied, without producing a revenue at all correspondent to the expence.

By some late regulations this practice does not extend to corn, which is now allowed to come in without any formal entry; but meat is rigidly subjected to it, as well as to other vexatious interpositions of authority. An ox brought to the city for the butcher must be first

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carried to the public slaughter-house, without the Puerto del Carne, where it is killed by an authorised matador, and the hide, horns, and hoofs are his fee. The duty of Alcavala, another called Millones, and some municipal taxes, must be paid; and then a permit is issued, allowing the meat to be sold within the walls. These duties on meat amount to rather more than the original price; and therefore, though oxen are cheap, meat is as dear in Seville as in London. These harrassing laws are so familiar, that they are quietly submitted to, as well as another, of an equally vexatious nature, which forbids any person from passing through Spain without a passport, and subjects those who travel to have it demanded at every town.

Having treated of the trade and manufactures of this city, I must just notice a profession which is here exercised in the public streets; it is that of the escrivanos, who sit behind small tables, covered with paper, stamps, pens, and ink, under the shade of some arches, opposite the cathedral, ready to draw petitions, contracts, deeds, processes, or other legal papers, which require technical nicety: they are the attornies of Seville, and they prepare the initiatory proceedings in the law courts, and put into correct language the wishes of the memorialists to the different public offices.

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LETTER XXV.

JOURNEY FROM SEVILLE TO CADIZ — RECEPTION OF LORD WELLESLEY AND LORD WELLINGTON — BULL FIGHT AT ST. MARY'S — SPANISH FONDNESS FOR THIS DIVERSION.

CADIZ, NOV. 1809.

MY journey from Seville to this place has been very pleasant, and tolerably expeditious. I made a long day's journey from that city to Xeres; and, in consequence of the rain, the country has an appearance of verdure very different from that which it presented as I passed over it before.

I heard many accounts of the numerous bands of robbers which infest the plain, and commit depredations on passengers, but saw none of them. I was told by one person who had been robbed, that the gang which attacked him consisted of fourteen men, whom he believed to be deserters from the army. They presented their muskets at him when at a good distance; and as he stopped, two of the party advanced, and took his money, while the others remained stationary, and prepared to fire if he had made resistance. From the accounts, however, which I have received from various quarters, I am inclined to think that the relations of the depredations of these freebooters are very much exaggerated, especially as I have not heard of a single Englishman having been attacked by them.

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I passed the evening at Xeres, at the hospitable mansion of Mr. John Gordon, and got to St. Mary's the next day at noon. In the boat, in which I embarked to cross the bay, I met with a young Carmelite friar, whose jolly countenance bespoke little mortification, and whose conversation, with several females of the party, displayed still less delicacy. When we reached the mouth of the river he commenced a prayer for a successful voyage, which he repeated with great indifference and much volubility, and when it was over continued his idle trifling with the women.

The Marquis Wellesley and his brother Lord Wellington arrived the day after me, and were received by the inhabitants with the warmest gratulations. The streets being too narrow to display a procession to advantage, the people took the horses from the carriage at the gate, lifted it on the platform of the ramparts, which surround the city, and dragged it round the walls, to the house of Mr. Duff, the British consul. The party was headed by the female warrior, who so much distinguished herself at Saragossa, who led the populace, drest in her lieutenant's uniform.

In honour of Lord Wellington a bull-fight was exhibited at St. Mary's, at which I attended. This diversion, peculiarly belonging to the Spanish nation, has fallen into disuse, and lately has been restricted by orders from the government, though under new regulations it is still sometimes permitted. The Plaza de Toros is a large amphitheatre, capable of holding fourteen thousand persons. On this occasion it was not full, and I suppose that not more than ten thousand people were present. The appearance of the assembly was striking, and a degree of interest was excited in every countenance, which, I should

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previously have thought, a much more important contest would scarcely have called forth. I entered the place at the moment when the first bull was killed, and horses, gayly decorated, were dragging him from the circle, amid the sounds of music, and the applauding shouts of the people.

Preparations were made for a fresh conflict: three men were posted behind each other, about ten yards asunder, mounted on small, but active horses, and armed with a spear about fifteen feet long; and five or six men on foot, dressed in scarlet cloaks, were placed in other parts of the arena. The gates were thrown open, and the bull rushed in. He made towards the first horseman, who received him on the point of his spear, and wounded him between the shoulders; this turned him, and he attacked the second horseman with great fury; but from the want either of dexterity in the rider, or agility in the animal, the horse was dreadfully gored in the body, and his bowels fell on the ground. The combatants were soon disentangled, and the bull attacked the third horseman, who received him like the first, and wounded him severely. He now became furious, and galloped round the circle; but either from the loss of blood, or the pain he endured, he was fearful of facing the horsemen; the men on foot then began to irritate him, by sticking small darts in his body, and, whenever he made a push at them, threw the cloak over his eyes, and with great dexterity avoided his thrust.

This irritation was continued some time, till the animal, streaming with blood, became exhausted. The matador, or principal actor, then made his appearance, armed with a small sword and cloak: he advanced towards the bull, which ran and pushed at him, but

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the man received the thrust on his cloak, and stepping nimbly aside, withheld his blow, because the animal did not present himself in the exact attitude which the matador required for dispatching him with grace; he then made a second advance towards the animal, and, while he was in the act of pushing at him, plunged the sword up to the hilt between his shoulders; the bull ran a few paces, staggered, and dropped dead. The trumpets sounded a flourish; horses galloped in, were fastened to the carcase, and dragged it away, amid the applauding shouts of the spectators.

Six or seven other bulls were then in succession dispatched in a similar manner, with only such variations as were occasioned by the different degrees of courage which the animals possessed. When the last bull was fighting, the matador so contrived it that he gave him the *coup de grace* immediately under the box in which Lord Wellington and the English party were seated. Before this operation, he addressed himself to his Lordship, and said, with much dignity, that he should kill that bull to the health of King George the Third, which was quickly performed. His Lordship threw him some money, and the entertainment closed.

This bull fight was represented to me as a very inferior exhibition, owing to the coolness of the weather, the bulls having much more courage during the intense heat of summer than at the present season. It is certainly a cruel amusement both to the bulls and to the horses, though attended with little danger to the men. One horse was destroyed, by having his belly lacerated: after he was wounded, and his bowels trailing on the ground, the rider continued the fight, and galloped round the circle, while the poor ani-

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mal literally trampled on his own entrails at every step, a sight more disgusting than this can scarcely be conceived, and even the bull, though streaming with blood, had not nearly so repulsive an appearance. The men were secured from much danger by their own agility, by the dextrous application of their cloaks, when the animal charged them, and by the barriers placed round the circle, behind which they retired when pressed by the bull.

However repugnant this diversion may appear to every delicate and feeling mind, it is more frequented and admired by the ladies than by the gentlemen; they attend these exhibitions in their gayest dresses, applaud the address of the inhuman combatants, and feel the greatest solicitude at the different critical turns of the fight. Many of the young country gentlemen may trace their ruin to these spectacles, as decidedly as Englishmen of the same class may trace theirs to Newmarket. In fact, it is the great object which engages the attention of that description of men distinguished by the term Majos.

After this exhibition, we intended returning hither immediately, but being low water we could not get out of the river; we therefore visited the theatre, which is very neatly fitted up, and, in compliment to Lord Wellington, was crowded with the best company of a city, now the receptacle of the expatriated nobility of the North of Spain.

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LETTER XXVI.

SPANISH MEN OF WAR—NAVAL OFFICERS—ADMIRAL ALAVA—ALVIAR—NAVAL ARSENAL—SKILL OF THE SPANIARDS IN MANAGING BOATS—BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

CADIZ, NOV. 1809.

HAVING partaken of the hospitality of Admiral Purvis on board the Atlas, and having since visited the Santa Ana, the flag ship of Admiral Alava, I have been much gratified with the contrast; the one affording an example of order, cleanliness, and subordination, the other of confusion, filth, and want of discipline. The Spanish men of war are in appearance very fine, but they should not be too nearly approached, and especially should not be visited. The men are bad, but the officers are worse, not only in personal appearance, but also in the knowledge of their profession, and in their utter inability to command.

It is generally supposed that the officers of the Spanish navy are not very sincere patriots; that they would serve Spain if it continued independent; but that, in the event of its being subjugated by Buonaparte, they would prefer his service to that of a fugitive government under the protection of England. It is not altogether surprising that they should entertain such sentiments, as they

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feel a jealousy towards the British navy, and cannot readily forgive the day of Trafalgar. They imagine, that if their ships were once carried from Spain all hope of promotion in the service, and even the service itself, would be for ever annihilated; whereas, if Joseph were to get possession of them, the same rank, and the same course of promotion would continue under their new master; and they have been so much accustomed to be blockaded in their ports by the British fleet, that they could sustain no fresh mortification, nor much addition to the wounds of their pride, if they were again to be placed in a similar situation.

Admiral Alava, who is commander in chief at this port, is suspected of strong attachment to France, or at least of strong antipathy to England. He is a good-tempered man, with little information; and in the parties where I meet him appears to enjoy his segar and his cards quite as much as his naval duty. I heard him express his surprize that Admiral Purvis should remain always on board his ship when such charming amusements were to be enjoyed on shore at Cadiz. You may, perhaps, recollect the conduct of this officer at the battle of Trafalgar; he commanded one division of the Spanish fleet. In the course of the battle he was severely wounded, and his ship struck. He was boarded by an English officer, to whom he surrendered his ship, and his sword, and requested, that, on account of his wounds, he might not be removed from his own vessel, a request which humanity induced the British commander to grant. The engagement was followed by a most tremendous storm, and Alava's ship, separating from the captors, was driven near Cadiz, and got within the bay,

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Lord Collingwood sent a flag of truce to demand his prisoner, whose accidental liberation was owing to the clemency of the victor, but Alava preferred the tranquillity of Cadiz to the redemption of his honour, and refused to consider himself so far a prisoner as to relinquish his command till he was regularly exchanged. When a reconciliation between England and Spain was brought about by the revolution, Lord Collingwood visited Cadiz, but Alava, as if conscious that he had lost his honour in the estimation of this gallant man, dared not face him, but kept away till his Lordship had returned to his fleet.

I should be sorry, however, to omit mentioning the names of some true patriots among the naval officers of Spain: Lobo, who commands a fine frigate, is one of the best of their officers, and his patriotism is equal to his courage, and his talents. Miguel Alava, nephew to the Admiral, though he now commands a regiment, because the activity of the land service is at this time more congenial to his mind than the repose of the navy, must still be classed among naval officers, and is one of the best patriots in Spain. And above all, Alviar, a veteran in the service, is zealous for the cause of his country, and rejoices in her union with England: this officer commanded one of the four Spanish frigates which were intercepted before the war began; he had passed some years in South America in the course of his service, and was returning to Spain, with his wife, his children, and his wealth. When they met the British squadron, he was in a boat, returning from his commander, when his ship began to engage, and he soon saw the horrid spectacle of her explosion, and the destruction of all that he valued in life. He was carried

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prisoner to England; and, on a proper representation of his case to the government, every possible alleviation was afforded him; his family were irretrievably gone, but his wealth was generously returned, and his gratitude knows no bounds. He formed in England a matrimonial connexion with a beautiful and amiable woman, whose conduct has been uncontaminated by the pernicious influence of this voluptuous city.

The naval arsenal is at Caraccas, a town at the head of the bay. It contains some fine magazines for naval stores, and every convenience for careening and fitting ships; but at present they are destitute of all those articles which are indispensable for the equipment of a fleet. There is such a want of cables that, the fleet in the bay will be in the greatest danger, unless a supply can be obtained from the British naval storehouses at Gibraltar, before the winter gales commence. The Spaniards are considered, by our naval officers, to be very skilful in the management of gun-boats, and other smaller craft; and it appears to me, that the construction of their boats, the manner of rigging them, and the dexterity with which they are worked, deserve particular attention, and are worthy of our imitation.

The number of men subsisting by their labour on the water is very considerable, and consists of those employed in shipping and landing merchandize from the trading vessels that come to this port, of the numerous fishermen occupied in supplying the city with fish, of the boatmen engaged in bringing fresh water from St. Mary's, and of sailors in the foreign and coasting merchant ships; these have been the sources whence the royal navy of Spain has been furnished with their crews; and before the battle of Trafalgar, when

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the orders arrived for the fleet to sail, every man, at all accustomed to the water, was impressed to man the navy; the carnage of that day consequently fell principally on the population of Cadiz, and numerous widows and orphans have to lament the loss of their husbands and fathers in that memorable action.

I have frequently heard people relating, with indescribable emotions, the fears, the hopes, the agitations, and the mournings, which occupied those few, but interesting days when the united fleets of France and Spain sailed from Cadiz, amidst the prayers and benedictions of the people, with the vain expectation of vanquishing the foe who had so long held them imprisoned within their own fortifications. The day they sailed all was expectation and anxiety. The succeeding day increased the suspense, and wound up the feelings of the people almost to a state of phrenzy. The third day brought intelligence that the hostile fleets were approaching each other, with all the preparations of determined hostility. The ships were not visible from the ramparts, but the crowds of citizens assembled there had their ears assailed by the roaring of the distant cannon; the anxiety of the females bordered on insanity, but more of despair than of hope was visible in every countenance. At this dreadful moment, a sound, louder than any that had preceded it and attended with a column of dark smoke, announced that a ship had exploded. The madness of the people was turned to rage against England; and exclamations burst forth, denouncing instant death to every man who spoke the language of their enemies. Two Americans, who had mixed with the people, fled, and hid themselves, to avoid this ebullition of popular fury, which, however, subsided into the calmness of despair, when the

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thunder of the cannon ceased. They had no hope of conquest, no cheering expectations of greeting their victorious countrymen, nor of sharing triumphal laurels with those who had been engaged in the conflict; each only hoped that the objects of his own affection were safe, and in that hope found some resource against the anticipated disgrace of the country.

The storm that succeeded the battle tended only to keep alive, through the night, the horrors of the day, and to prepare them for the melancholy spectacle of the ensuing morning, when the wrecks of their floating bulwarks were seen on shore, and some, that had escaped the battle and the storm, entering the bay to shelter themselves from the pursuit of their victorious enemy.

The feelings of strong sensibility, which had so agitated the minds of the people during the conflict, were now directed to the tender offices of humanity towards their wounded countrymen; the softer sex attended on the wharfs to assist them in landing, to convey them to the convents and the hospitals, while the priests were administering the last offices of religion to those whose departing spirits took their flight before they could reach the asylums appointed for their reception. When the first emotions had subsided, the people of Cadiz strongly manifested their contempt of the French, whom they accused of having deserted them in the hour of battle; and the attention of Lord Collingwood to the wounded Spanish prisoners, induced them to contrast the conduct of their generous enemies with that of their treacherous allies.

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LETTER XXVII.

FORTIFICATIONS OF CADIZ — CORTADURA — ROPE MANUFACTORY AT PUNTALES — COMMERCE — RESTRICTIONS ON SHIPPING — ARTICLES OF EXPORT — CONSULADO.

CADIZ, NOV. 1809.

THE fortifications of this city, on the land side, are well constructed; there is only one entrance, called the land gate, the face of which is very narrow, so that, if the water be smooth, gun-boats may flank an approaching army on both sides. The walls near the gate are so constructed, that though, from the extent of the glacis, they do not appear lofty, yet no part of the city is visible without the land-gate. The fortifications are all bomb-proof, and casemated, and the glacis is mined throughout; which, added to the narrowness of the front, makes it capable of a very vigorous defence.

In order, however, to prevent the possibility of an attack on the city itself, a new battery is constructing across the isthmus, which, when finished, will render the approach extremely difficult. The spot on which it is erecting is at such a distance from the city, that, until it be taken, an enemy cannot construct mortar batteries near enough to throw shells into the town. This work, however, which was planned when the opposition to France commenced, and which

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then proceeded with great vigour, now languishes, like most other Spanish efforts; and unless the defeat of the army of La Mancha should render it necessary, it perhaps may never be completed. The expence of this battery has been enormous; the soil being sandy, they have been obliged to construct a foundation of solid masonry seventy-five feet under the surface. The part above ground is formed of sand bags, which are walled up to the top of the parapet; a ditch is to be formed in front, and if proper defences be placed to prevent cavalry from turning the flanks, when the tide is low, this Cortadura, as it is called, will add considerably to the security of this important place.

When I visited this battery a few days ago, there were not many men at work excepting a few convicts, who, instead of being sent as usual to Ceuta, are now condemned to labour on the fortifications. I returned from the Cortadura by Puntales, where the rope manufactory for the navy is carried on, but for want of hemp every thing is at a stand. At this point a fort is situated, which, with the assistance of Fort Matagorda, on the opposite side of the bay, would be a great annoyance to any fleet that might attempt to force its way to the arsenal at Caraccas. It was at this spot that Lord Essex landed with the English army in the year 1596, when he succeeded in his gallant attempt to take this city, an event which has demonstrated the practicability of effecting a landing, with a superior fleet, between the land gate and the new battery at the Cortadura.

Cadiz at present has no garrison, the duty is performed by volunteers, of which there are about four thousand within the city, better armed, and better disciplined than any of the regular regiments I

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have seen. A regiment of regulars has been formed here by Colonel Mazarédo, who has taken great pains to discipline them; they are a fine body of men, but not having arms they cannot yet proceed to join the army.

The commerce of Cadiz is very extensive, but it is a subject so well known, that a few observations upon it will be sufficient. The merchant ships built in Spain of late years have been so few, that it was impossible to carry on even the little trade they had during the war with England, without employing vessels which were not of Spanish construction, which, however, the laws most imperiously forbade. In consequence of an application from the merchants of this place, stating that there was not a sufficiency of Spanish shipping, permission for two years was granted to Spaniards for purchasing, and employing in their trade, ships constructed by friendly nations. This time expired about six months ago; but the law was not thought of till a new collector of the customs lately came to Cadiz, and now all the ships destined for America, not built in Spain, and they are nearly the whole, are detained till the Junta has sufficient leisure, from other more pressing occupations, to attend to the affairs of commerce.

The principal trade of Cadiz is to the American settlements, which may be more properly considered as colonies belonging to this city than to the kingdom of Spain. Almost every thing from America centers here; and the principal imports from the other parts of Europe are only brought to this place to be shipped afterwards to the transatlantic ports. The merchants of Cadiz may therefore be properly considered as the factors of the manufacturers of

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England, Germany, and France, on the one hand, and of the consumers of their manufactures in America on the other. In the same manner they are factors for the growers of colonial produce in America, and for the consumers of it in Europe.

The immense, though thinly peopled, continent of America must both produce and consume a vast quantity of those articles which form the basis of commerce; and to enumerate the various commodities, which pass through this port, would be useless and tiresome. I shall therefore content myself with observing, that the relative value, compared with the bulkiness of goods imported and exported, approaches nearer to equality than in the commerce between England and her colonies. A ship from London to North America, or to the West Indies, if fully laden, will generally convey a value equal to the purchase of the lading of ten such ships on the other side the Atlantic. The consequence which naturally follows is, that far the greater number of British ships must go out in ballast, and gain their profit on the freight of the homeward cargo, whereas the productions of Spain being more bulky in proportion to their value, and the productions of their colonies being less so, the ships of Spain will generally be full both out and home, and consequently the shipping interest be more benefited, in the Spanish trade, than in ours; or, what is equivalent, the ship owners can afford to navigate for less freight, and the commodities can be carried to the different places of consumption at cheaper rates. I am aware of the distinction that should be drawn between exporting raw materials (and such, or nearly such, are the productions of Spain) and articles, the chief value of which is the labour employed on them, like the manufac-

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factures of Great Britain — one is calculated for a thinly peopled country, the other for a country that has more inhabitants than are requisite to produce raw materials.

The manufactures of Spain, exported to America, are mostly brought to this city from Catalonia and Valencia, especially the former, where manufactures of most kinds of cotton goods, stuffs, linens, and especially paper, had made considerable progress before they were destroyed by the invasion of the French. At St. Mary's and at Chiclana there are small manufactories for printed calicos; the cloth is brought from the East Indies, and the printing is tolerably executed, but the quantity produced is very small; and I suspect, that greater profits are gained by the printers, from selling certificates that printed cottons imported from England are of their own manufacture, than from any other branch of their trade.

Some of the German houses, established at Cadiz, are very respectable, and have long been the channels through which the linen, the glass, and the cutlery of Germany have been conveyed to Spanish America, where, on account of their durability and cheapness, they are preferred to those of England.

Although no English houses of trade are to be met with in this city, excepting some inconsiderable ones, established since the Revolution, there are a great number of Irish, and the descendants of Irish families, who are engaged in commerce on an extensive scale, and import the linens of our sister island, for the consumption of America, as well as various articles of provision for the supply of the town and its vicinity.

There are no bankers in this city, nor any substitute for money

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in circulation: and as silver is the common medium of exchange, any person who has a considerable sum to receive must take porters, or a cart, to bring away the money. The dollars are generally kept by the merchants tied in bags, containing one thousand each, which, without much examination, pass from one to another.

The commerce is regulated by a body called the Consulado, who have a very splendid hall, where they meet to regulate the affairs of trade. The prior of the Consulado corresponds with the different branches of the administration; and when the necessities of the government require a loan of money, which has been frequently the case of late, he convokes the general body of the merchants, states the wants of the king, and apportions to each the sum he ought to contribute, which is cheerfully complied with, as the money so advanced is allowed them in their payment of the duties.

In the centre of the city there is a signal tower, with men constantly looking out for the arrival of ships, one of whom has acquired such accuracy that he immediately recognises any ship that has ever been in the port, and her name is speedily circulated in a printed paper through the city. This man knew the names, and had made drawings, of all the British ships of war that had been successively employed in blockading this port, and is never mistaken when one of them appears in sight.

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LETTER XXVIII.

DEFEAT OF THE ARMY OF LA MANCHA — JOURNEY TO SEVILLE. — ALTERATION IN ITS APPEARANCE — REVERO PRESIDENT OF THE JUNTA — RECRUITS — CURIOSITIES OF XERES — CARTHUSIAN CONVENT — CALVARIOS — BURIALS.

CADIZ, DEC. 1809.

SINCE my last letter we have received intelligence of the defeat of the army of La Mancha under Areizaga. It appears, by the accounts, to have been a complete overthrow; and the remains of the Spanish force is collecting at Daymiel, nearly one hundred miles from Ocaño, where the engagement took place.

The effect which this intelligence has produced upon the people, puts in a strong point of view the evils ever attendant on despotic power. When the news first arrived, those who were acquainted with it were anxious to conceal their knowledge, or whispered it as a profound secret to their nearest connexions. When it became so generally known that the people could be no longer deceived, it produced gloomy countenances, and indignant expressions against the Junta and the commander: but the habit of concealing their feelings and their thoughts on all subjects connected with politics is so deeply rooted, that though, when they converse with Englishmen, they speak freely, yet they no sooner resume their

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Spanish conversation, than all apparently becomes calmness and submission to the will of the government.

I have again had occasion to visit Seville, which I found extremely altered in appearance for the short time I had been absent. During this interval, all the horses and mules had been taken for the use of the troops, so that there were no carriages at the evening promenades, and the tertullas of the ladies had few or no visitors, the gentlemen being mostly with the army. The gloomy presages and execrations against the Junta were more openly expressed than at Cadiz; the sensible part of the inhabitants appeared to anticipate a visit from the French, and yet the Government keeps some of the best patriots in prison, and exercises its austere authority, as if its doom were not fast approaching.

The departure of Lord Wellesley and his suite from Seville was much regretted. His residence, however, was too short, and his time too much engaged by the objects of his mission, to permit him to mix much in Spanish society, except with public men. Mr. Frere, who had the management of affairs in Spain previously to his Lordship, is much esteemed by all the inhabitants; but Lord Holland, by his benevolence, his amiable manners, his good sense, and the interest he felt in every thing that concerned the welfare of Spain, was idolized, and contributed not a little to establish the high character which the English have acquired.

The President of the Junta, chosen in the room of Count Altamira, is Revero, the auxiliary Archbishop of Seville, a man of low origin, and, it is said, of a contracted and bigoted turn of mind. He resides in the archiepiscopal palace, where he is surrounded by

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his guards, and maintains the state of a monarch. When I visited him, about six o'clock in the evening, his apartments were crowded with a mixture of priests, secretaries, and military officers. I was told he was employed in his private devotions, and that when they were finished I might be introduced. After waiting half an hour, one of his chaplains ushered me into his presence; his deportment was grave and dignified, and his conversation decisive and intelligent. I had a second interview the next day; and left him, with the impression, that though he may have been placed at the head of the government by intrigue, he is a man who loves his country, and detests the French. He has a country-house at St. Juan de Alfarache, a few miles from Seville, where he nightly indulges in a game at ombre with his own coachman and a merchant's clerk who live in the same village; so nearly allied, in this country, is dignity in public to vulgarity in private.

On my return from Seville, over the plain, I saw very numerous flocks of bustards; but though I attempted to shoot them I was unsuccessful; I believe my eye was deceived, in estimating the distance, by the transparency of the atmosphere, and that I fired when too remote from my object. I saw a great number of plovers; but they were so shy, that it was impossible to get within shot of them.

Between Lebrixa and Xeres I met some parties of recruits going to the army; they were tied together, and guarded by lancemen on horseback; and at Xeres I found the volunteers on guard at the prison over others who were to be marched forward the next day. I do not, however, infer from this, that the young men are generally disinclined to the service: on the contrary, they have usually

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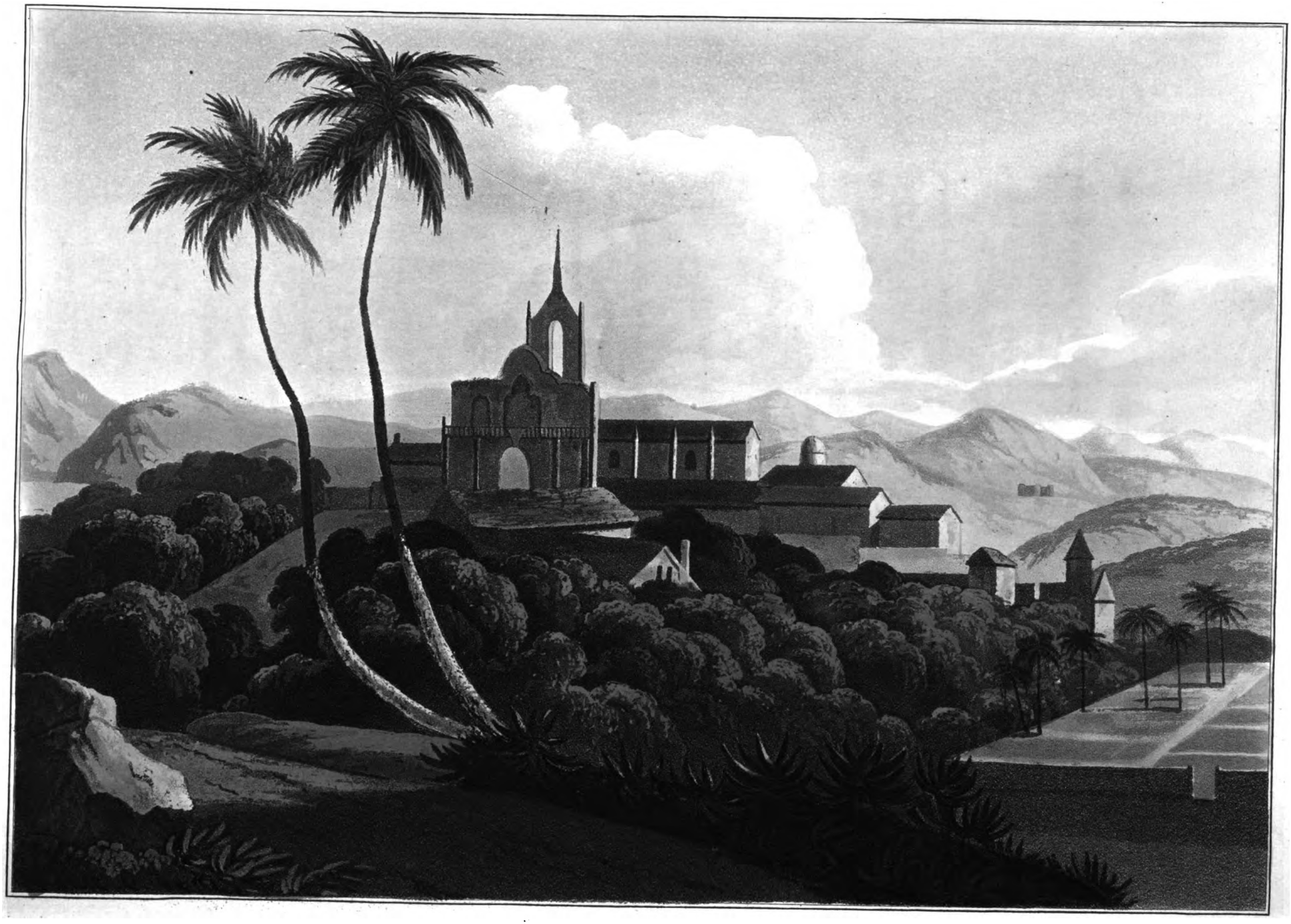

Carthusian Convent near Pisa.

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enlisted very readily; but the late reverses, and the reports of the inattention of the Junta to the comforts of the soldiers, circulated among the peasantry, have somewhat damped their zeal, and rendered force necessary to carry forward the requisition.

Being desirous of accepting the invitation of Mr. John Gordon to pass some time at Xeres, I availed myself of this opportunity to see the remarkable things in that place. The Roman walls are in good preservation; they divide the new from the old city, and are so thick that the wine merchants have formed excavations in them, which they convert into cellars. The parish church de Saint Jago, built in the year 1603, is a fine pile of Gothic architecture, as well as the church of St. Mark and that of St. Matthew; but none of them contain any pictures or statues deserving the slightest notice. The finest religious building is the church of St. Michael, and its tower is an excellent specimen of the Greco-Roman; the altar is peculiarly beautiful, and is considered one of the best works of Berruguete. In the church of the Capuchins there are some fine portraits of Saints, by Zubaran.

About two miles from Xeres stands the most celebrated convent in Spain belonging to the Carthusians, who are of noble families, and carry their devotion so far as to make vows of perpetual silence and meditation. The building is very magnificent; it is in the Gothic style; and was built in 1571. The church of this convent is decorated with some fine statues, representing the Crucifixion and the Ascension, the work of Juan Martinez Montañes. The best paintings of Zubaran are in this building; and the number is so great that I have forgotten most of them: but the Circumcision, theNativity, and

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the Wise Men's Offering, appeared to me remarkably fine; the figures are as large as life; and, in spite of the sombre hues of that artist, the pictures have a very striking effect.

I had a fine prospect of the surrounding country from a new house, which Mr. Gordon is building in the middle of a vineyard, just above the city; the scene is well wooded with olive-trees, and the fields are in small divisions, with hedges of the opuntia and aloe. The view extends to the grounds about St. Lucar, which at a distance appear barren, the vines being pruned, at this season, close to the stocks; but the principal beauty of the scene consists in the view of the bay of Cadiz, with that city at a distance; still nearer, the cities of Medina, Puerto Real, Santa Maria, St. Lucar, and Rota, rise in succession, while, just beneath, Xeres, with its lofty towers and magnificent edifices, completes the attractions of this most enchanting spot.

At the end of the city is a place appointed for the purpose of representing the sufferings of our Saviour. These places are common in all the towns and villages. They usually consist of seven crosses, placed on an ascending ground; and at Easter, pictures are hung on them representing the different parts of the Passion. They are called Calvarios, and sometimes, as in this instance, have chapels in which mass is celebrated. This mode of teaching the facts of the Gospel History is carried so far, that persons, who have made vows of pilgrimage, repair to these Calvarios, and, in their own persons, exhibit the postures in which Christ is supposed to have suffered.

I spent too much time at Xeres to remain long at St. Mary's. I took a boat, crossed the bay, and arrived here yesterday at noon.

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Calvario al Xeres.

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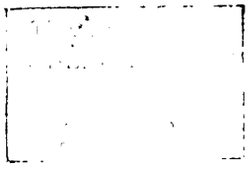

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Considerable apprehensions have been entertained lest an epidemic fever should break out, similar to that which has frequently prevailed on this coast; but the heavy rains have in some measure dispelled those fears, though several have lately died with the worst symptoms of the disease. The dead are interred at a cemetery, without the walls, about a mile from the city. The last time the fever raged here, Solano, at that time Governor, carried a point of importance he had long meditated, the preventing interments within the churches; and all now quietly acquiesce in a regulation which, even in a moment of terror, was adopted with reluctance. Coffins are seldom used; and the corpse, which is dressed in the garment of the deceased, is conveyed to the grave on a bier, with the face uncovered, and exposed to the view of those who accompany the mournful ceremony.

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LETTER XXIX.

ISLA DE LEON—PANTHEON—PUENTE DE ZUARZOS—SALT PITS—CHICLANA—GAME—CORTOS—CHURCH OF ST. ANNA—MINERAL SPRINGS AT CHICLANA—CHRISTMAS PARTY—STROLLING PLAYERS.

CADIZ, DEC. 1809.

I HAVE been spending some days at Chiclana, a delightful place, about sixteen miles hence, where the merchants of this city have their country houses. We went in a berlin, with four good horses. The road is very fine, and is raised on a parapet, with the sea on both sides; on the left the bay of Cadiz, and on the right the main ocean, with the shore stretching towards Cape Trafalgar.

In two hours we reached the Isla de Leon, a city containing between forty and fifty thousand inhabitants; but from its extent, including St. Carlos, capable of holding double that number. The streets are wide, the houses large, and, like other Spanish towns, it displays a mixture of grandeur and poverty, quite characteristic of the nation. As this place is soon destined to become the seat of government, I saw it with more interest than it would otherwise have excited. It is at present inhabited chiefly by officers of the navy, and by different persons employed in the dock-yard of the Caraccas; but the expected convocation of the Cortes has increased

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the rent of houses so much, that the present inhabitants will soon be under the necessity of removing to cheaper habitations.

I visited the principal church, which is as elegantly decorated as the religious edifices in Spain usually are; but what principally attracted my attention was the repository for the dead, which is called the pantheon: it is an open court, of an oval form, with a corridor, built on arches and supported by pillars; and in the walls, which are of a competent thickness, are receptacles for the remains of the clergy. These niches resemble the mouths of ovens, which after the interment are closed with brickwork. I counted five hundred of these places, all of which were filled; and I was told, that when a priest died, the bodies, which had been longest deposited there, were removed to make room for the new occupier.

The end of the Isla de Leon, towards the Continent, is remarkably strong, both by nature and art, and may be considered as one of the principal defences of Cadiz. The navigable river Santi Petri intersects the land, and is crossed by a bridge, flanked with batteries, and defended by gun-boats. The vulgar opinion is, that this bridge, called Puente de Zuarzo, was built by Julius Cæsar, and every one assured me that this was the fact. Above water it is, however, evidently of modern construction; and though Ocampo asserts it was built by Cornelius Balbo the younger, seventeen years before the Christian era, yet Antonio Ponz, the most accurate Spanish author, discovered at Segovia an inscription which ascribes it to a Dr. Sanchez Zuarzo, who died in that city in 1437. It is more than probable, that the Romans erected a bridge at this spot, as it is the only point connecting the island, on which Cadiz stands, with the Continent, and therefore it

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must at all times have been a post of considerable military importance.

The road beyond the bridge is made through marshes, which, except by this causeway, are impassable, and it is intersected by two deep rivers. The whole country is filled with salt-pits, in which the heat of the sun makes what is called the bay-salt, which is of such great importance to the commerce of Cadiz. This salt is supposed to be stronger than any other; and the curers of Irish provisions have such strong prejudices in its favour, that when, during the last session of parliament, an attempt was made to give the salt-refiners of Cheshire an equal chance of competition with the importers of Portuguese and Spanish salt, the Irish members all opposed it most vehemently, and the measure was in consequence deferred.

There cannot be a more unfounded prejudice than the idea of the superiority of Spanish over English salt, if the process of evaporation goes on slowly, as it must necessarily do when performed by the power of the sun alone: the crystals are formed very large, and the size depends more on the slowness of the operation than on the strength of the brine; and the bay-salt made in Cheshire, by applying a small portion of heat to the brine, falls in crystals equally large with those formed by nature in the pits in this vicinity.

The quantity of salt collected here is prodigious. It is piled in large heaps, of a pyramidical form; and when the rain has fallen upon them once, the heat of the sun again crystallizes that portion which the rain had melted, and the top becomes a solid cake of salt, from which the rain, that may afterwards fall, is carried off without

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penetrating or damaging the heap. Bay-salt is permitted to be exported on the payment of a very trifling duty; but that which is used for the consumption of the interior, becomes the subject of a royal monopoly, and is charged with a very heavy tax. The heaps of salt at a distance give the morass, on which it is collected, the appearance of a plain covered with stone buildings, in the form generally of pyramids, but mixed with others of a cubical shape, with slanting roofs.

The entrance to Chiclana is very beautiful: the public walk, situated by the side of gardens, is on one hand, and on the other a wood of pines. These trees do not appear to grow well in this situation; but the hedges of aloes, covered with geranium in full bloom, have a very charming effect. Chiclana contains about eight thousand inhabitants, besides the occasional residents from Cadiz, who pass the spring months at this place, in what they call their country-houses.

The country, to a great extent round Chiclana, the town itself, and the city of Medina, three leagues distant, with all the intermediate land, is the property of the Duke of Medina Celi, in whom are united the two families of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi, whose joint possessions probably exceed those of any subject in Europe. The estates are let to tenants on leases, the duration of which never exceeds nine years and eight months, a period much too short for the occupiers of houses, who consequently neglect all substantial improvements. Many of the tenants pay their rents in the produce of the land; and those who contract for payments in

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money are obliged to pay it monthly. Tithes are universally paid in kind throughout this district.

There are no game-laws in Spain, nor could any power enforce such laws were they enacted. Every man in Spain carries his gun when he goes from home. The Spaniards are all excellent marksmen, and the kind of defence best adapted for Spain depends much on their skill in this respect. The parties of guerrillas formed over the country are very numerous, and by intercepting dispatches, and cutting off supplies, have annoyed the French more than the regular troops. Had game-laws been established, and the peasantry prohibited from carrying fowling-pieces, the country would not have made the resistance to the French which has so far exceeded that which they have experienced in other countries.

Though all are permitted to kill game, there are extensive preserves, called Cortos, belonging to the king, and to some of the nobility, which are protected by privileges similar to our right of free-warren. The Duke of Medina Celi has some very considerable domains of this kind; one situated on the banks of the Guadalquivir, extending nearly twenty miles, and a smaller one, a few miles from Chiclana, where I have been to enjoy a day's sport, but the weather was so hot that the scent would not lie on the ground; and the Spanish pointers, though they have good noses, are so ill trained, that they are never steady, nor will they back like dogs broken in England. There is abundance of game, but too much cover to course or hunt the hare; therefore they are all killed with the gun. Partridges of the red-legged kind are in great plenty; but there are no pheasants.

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In cold weather the woodcocks make their appearance in great numbers; and there are plenty of snipes: rabbits also are very common.

Our road to the Corto was impassable for a carriage; horses were not to be procured; the distance was too great to walk; and our party therefore accommodated themselves to the custom of the country, and travelled on asses, which we found, after a little practice, very serviceable animals.

On the top of a hill, of a conical form, situated near the town, there is a beautiful circular church, dedicated to St. Anna, whence we had a fine view of the surrounding country as far as the mountains of Ronda and Borno. These mountains are now covered with snow, while in the valleys we have the temperature of an English May; the orange, lemon, and pomegranate trees are loaded with their ripe fruits, which, together with the deep scarlet flowers of the geraniums, abounding in the hedges, give singular richness and beauty to the scenery.

I went to a mineral spring that has acquired great celebrity throughout Andalusia for the cure of all cutaneous diseases, and for disorders of the stomach; the taste is very nauseous, hepar of sulphur evidently predominates; but a physician, with whom I conversed, informed me that it contained a quantity of magnesia and sulphate of iron; from the same authority I learnt that all the hills in the vicinity of Chiclana abound with mineral springs of various kinds which have never yet been analized, but which he administers with prodigious success in various diseases. He is an old man, very garrulous, fond of displaying his wonderful cures, and, like a

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true quack, keeps secret the effects of the different springs, and asserts that no person, without his instructions, could employ them with any success. He is completely ignorant of chemistry, and has little or no acquaintance with the commonest terms of his science; and yet his practice is very extensive. As far as I can judge, the practice of physic in Spain is at a very low ebb; the people have more confidence in their religious charms than in the best physician, and a procession to a celebrated shrine, or a vow, to present an offering to some favourite saint, is more relied on than any prescription. The old doctor of Chiclana, who laughed at the superstition of his patients, told me, with a smile, that to women in labour he administered the water of a particular spring, but always added to it a prayer to St. Ramon nonnatus, upon whom none, in that situation, called in vain who called with confidence.

We had yesterday a cheerful Christmas dinner with Don Antonio Pizano, who possesses one of the best houses in Chiclana. He is a great virtuoso, and has a good collection of Roman antiquities; among others, a very fine vase found about twenty feet under ground near that place. It was purchased by an agent of Buonaparte, and packed up to be conveyed to Paris when the revolution broke out, and it passed into the hands of Don Antonio. It is larger than the Portland vase, and the outline of the figures is well executed. Our party consisted of thirty, and was entirely Spanish, with the exception of Mr. Ridout and myself. Among the party were the Conde de Pilar, the Condessa, and their daughters, who are amiable, sensible, and well-bred people, Count Cineo Torres, a gambler, who had ruined himself by high play and bull fights, and who

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exhibited for our amusement the old Spanish mode of fighting with knives and swords, and Don Diego Colon, a nephew of Conde de Pilar, whom I had frequently met at Seville. The latter is a lineal descendant of the celebrated Christopher Columbus, and added to our hilarity by composing and reciting a smart poem in compliment to the patriotism of his uncle, and the hospitality of our host.

A company of strolling players was in the town, and most of the party adjourned to the theatre. The actors on the stage at Cadiz may be considered good models of pure Castilian pronunciation; but these people spoke the patois of Andalusia in the most vulgar manner. The performance was taken from the History of Spain, and was a sort of narrative of the period when the Moors first invaded that country: the wife of the hero Don Rodriguez had a scolding-match with his mistress, which so wrought upon his virtue, that he promised to become a good husband in future. At the end of the play, the lady, seated astride on an Andalusian horse, rode into the pit, through a passage in the middle of it, and advanced to the orchestra, and there made a most flaming oration against the invaders, which applied as well to the French as to the Moors, and was received with great applause.

I returned from Chiclana this morning, and shall embark for Gibraltar to-morrow.

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LETTER XXX.

SPANISH CHARACTER — WANT OF COMBINATION — HATRED OF THE FRENCH — VIEW OF THE PROBABLE STATE OF SPAIN HEREAFTER.

CADIZ, DEC. 1809.

AT this eventful period you will naturally expect me to say something of politics; but the truth is, that it is difficult, in such a shifting scene as Spain displays, to point out any thing which the occurrences of the next day may not contradict; and when the wide field of politics becomes a topic for correspondence, it is difficult to fix on any object which will appear equally interesting to the reader and the writer.

There is, in the national character of Spain, one trait, which equally pervades all classes of society; originating, I conceive, in the indolence which a warm climate, and the consequently luxurious habits, produce: this trait is the want of combination; the absence of arrangement. The Spaniards are brave, acute, patient, and faithful; but all their characteristics are insulated; all their exertions are individual. They have no idea of combining, either publicly or privately, in a manner to call forth their respective talents, and render every one useful to the common cause.

The Germans may be said to combine too much, and the Spaniards not at all. In my judgment the English have attained the

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proper medium; but certainly the Spaniards are deficient in this respect, and to this deficiency their reverses may all be ascribed. If a commander should embark on an expedition, like that to Algiers a few years ago, it is not improbable that the powder would be conveyed in one ship, and the balls in another; so that if one were lost or delayed the other would prove useless; nor would it be unlikely to happen in their army, that ball-cartridges might be delivered to the soldiers for a review, and blank-cartridges for actual service; for I have seen errors committed equally egregious.

Nothing is more certain than that the Spanish nation, generally, is roused to madness against France: few are to be found who would not willingly plunge a dagger into the breast of a Frenchman whenever the occasion might offer, but there is no government, no ruling mind, to concentrate this universal feeling: whatever is done by Spaniards is individual effort, not combined exertion; and when they have attempted military operations on a great scale, they have been uniformly unsuccessful: they have only chosen the wrong means of warfare; and even should their armies be dispersed, and their strong towns taken (events which I anticipate) the invaders will be so far from conquest, that a warfare will commence of the most destructive species for France, and the most secure for Spain: then will those conflicts begin in which individual exertion is every thing, and combination unnecessary. From the defiles and mountains, where they will remain sheltered and concealed till opportunities offer, the Spaniards will harass and massacre the French in detail; they will prevent all intercourse between the different towns; they will stop cultivation in the plains; and perhaps, after years of

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confusion and bloodshed, drive the French, as they formerly did the Moors, from their soil.

Every local circumstance is in favour of the Spaniards in this kind of warfare. The roads are passable only for mules, but no wheel-carriages can travel to the interior. The valleys between these mountains yield almost spontaneously all that a Spaniard requires; the climate is so fine that the peasantry scarcely stand in need of habitations; and the flocks of sheep will supply them with skins for clothing without the aid of manufactures.

There are few villages, or even solitary houses, in Spain; almost all the people live in towns, which are at a great distance from each other, and the fields consequently remain uncultivated, except in the vicinity of these towns; to this may be added, that the Spaniards are of all men the most frugal and moderate in their subsistence; a bunch of grapes, or a melon, with garlic, suffices them, and they want no other drink but water.

Their animosity to the French is inflamed to madness; and their rage, fury, and revengeful passions will burn with increased ardour as the enemy continue their depredations. I have said enough to shew you my opinion on the future state of Spain: at present the defeat of Areisaga has cast a gloom over the prospects of the privileged orders of society: these may be swept away; but the Spanish people, the peasantry and the cultivators, will remain and will ultimately triumph.

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LETTER XXXI.

VOYAGE TO GIBRALTAR — VIEW IN THE STRAITS — FORTIFICATIONS — ST. MICHAEL'S CAVE — ROCK OF GIBRALTAR — APES — LIBRARY — COMMERCE — STRICT DISCIPLINE.

GIBRALTAR, DEC. 1809.

WE had been politely offered a passage to this place by Captain Hollingsworth in the Minstrel sloop of war; but the Princess Augusta packet being ready to sail before her, we declined the offered civility, and embarked, at nine o'clock in the morning, on board the latter vessel. The morning was fine and the wind favourable, though so light that it promised a long passage. We sailed by the light-house of St. Sebastian, by the Isla de Leon, Chiclana, and the Corto, where we had lately passed some pleasant days.

At dark we were near Cape Trafalgar, and after as comfortable a night as a ship could afford, I rose at day-break to view the Straits of Gibraltar, which we were just entering. The sun rose unclouded over the high mountains of Africa, and gave a fine view of the magnificent hills which crown the vicinity of Tangiers. One of them, called Apes-hill, towered above the rest in majestic grandeur, and presented to the sea a perpendicular front of rugged cliff nearly a mile in height. The view on the left of the strait possessed considerable beauty, but of a species less sublime. The town of Tarifa,

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celebrated in history as the spot where the Moors, who conquered Spain, first landed, was within a mile of us, and by its white houses, its Moorish castle, and the modern Martello towers, produced a pleasing effect.

We continued coasting with a fair but gentle breeze through the straits till about ten o'clock, when we opened the bay of Gibraltar, and caught a first view of the rock with its fortifications, of the town of St. Roque, and of the distant mountains of Granada, with their tops covered with snow. The climate was most delightful, the heat of the sun was sufficiently tempered by the breeze, and the picturesque scenes around conveyed the most agreeable sensations. As we advanced into the bay, the town of Algeziras appeared in sight, and the sublime Trocha, a hill of prodigious height, rising behind it with light white clouds on its summit, produced a most striking effect. We anchored in the bay about twelve o'clock, and landed immediately.

After viewing so long the fortifications of Cadiz, those of Gibraltar appeared deficient in beauty, and had even an air of meanness, which, however, is amply compensated by the superiority of their construction. The bay was filled with commercial and warlike ships, and among the rest two Portuguese men of war stationed here to watch the Algerines, with whom at present Portugal is in a state of hostility. When the wind is westerly these ships remain in the bay, because, at such times, they know the Algerines will not attempt to pass the straits; but whenever the wind blows from the east they go to sea, and cruize in the mouth of the strait, to prevent their enemies from passing into the ocean.

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I was fortunate in finding at Gibraltar two highly valued friends, to whose civilities I have been much indebted, General Fraser the Lieutenant Governor, and Captain Donnelly who has the command of the ships of war. After the time I have passed in Spain, to fall again into English society and English comforts is an indescribable luxury. To a person coming direct from England, Gibraltar will not appear a very pleasing place of residence, but after passing a few months in the best cities of Spain it appears a paradise.

This place is so well known, and has been so often described, that I have few observations to make which have any pretensions to novelty: the principal batteries are casemated, and traverses are constructed within them to prevent the mischief which might arise from the explosion of shells. The principal strength of the place depends on the shortness of the line of defence, and the prodigious flanking fires which may annoy an enemy from the projecting parts of the rock on the north-east. The most extraordinary works are the galleries, excavated from the solid rock, in which loop-holes are formed for the reception of cannon of large calibre; these guns are pointed to the narrow causeway, which alone gives a passage to the town; but the most striking part of the galleries is that called St. George's Chapel, which is scooped out of the solid rock about four hundred feet above the level of the sea, and is filled with cannon. Over this, Willis's battery is situated, having its artillery pointed in the same direction. On a level with the entrance is placed another battery called the Devil's tongue, which flanks the entrance, and on which, I think I was told that, six hundred pieces of artillery might be brought to bear on any attacking enemy.

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The whole rock is lined with batteries, at the water's edge, from the land gate to Europa point; yet, this being deemed the weakest part of the fortress, was that on which the attack was made in the last memorable siege. The Spaniards hoped to silence and level these forts by their floating batteries, and then, with an army of thirty thousand men which they had embarked on board small craft at Algeziras, to carry the fortress by storm. The gallant Elliot for a long time was doubtful of the issue of the contest, till about three o'clock on the day of attack, when the effect of the red hot shot upon the floating batteries began to be discovered, by the smoke which broke forth successively from those tremendous engines, followed by volumes of flame, which announced the dreadful explosion that shortly terminated the terrific conflict.

An attack upon Gibraltar would at present require long and expensive preparations; the traverses by which the enemy made their approaches are now all destroyed, and their traces alone are visible on the sand of the neutral ground. The Spanish lines are in a bad state of repair, and the two forts on them will be blown up if the French penetrate into Andalusia. The cannon which were placed in these forts and on the lines have been transported, since the revolution, to Valentia and other parts of the coast, and the roads by which stores were conveyed to the attack are so decayed, that great repairs are necessary. When the present revolution broke out, and the Spanish nation began to arm against France, a great scarcity of ammunition was felt, but a large quantity of gunpowder and of ball cartridges was discovered in the two forts before Gibraltar, which had been left there ever since the siege of that fortress: this was

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immediately converted to the public service, and is said principally to have contributed to the capture of Dupont's army at Baylen. There is in Spain such a scarcity of seasoned timber, adapted for artillery carriages, that a quantity which had remained here ever since the siege, has been ordered to be removed to Seville, to furnish this necessary material for the guns cast at that place.

Our friend Lieutenant Mitchel of the artillery has been my Ciceroni at Gibraltar, and I have prevailed on him to accompany Mr. Ridout and myself in our intended tour to Malaga, Granada, and Ronda. We have ascended together to the top of the rock in the highest part, and went on horseback as far as the horses could ascend; the servants then conducted them to the other side, where we were to meet them. The object most worthy of notice is St. Michael's cave, about half way up the rock, the road to which is good, though it is bounded upon one side by a tremendous precipice. The entrance to this cave is by a natural excavation, about thirty feet in breadth and twenty-five in height. It is full of stalactites of a large size, which, descending from the roof and resting on the floor, have the appearance of pillars constructed for its support. As we were not provided with torches we could not descend, but Mr. Mitchel, who had explored it before, had penetrated four hundred feet by a gradual descent through apartments of natural arches in various directions, supported by similar columns of stalactites.

From St. Michael's Cave we ascended to the top, and had a view from the cliff, which is perpendicular, towards the Mediterranean, about one thousand three hundred feet above the level of the sea. A tower has been built at the highest point, with the intention of viewing from it

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the motions of the ships in the bay of Cadiz; but from its height it has been frequently struck by lightning, and is now a heap of ruins. We descended the rock on the eastern side by steps, hewn with much labour out of the stone, till we reached a small battery, whence a path wound to the south end of the rock, where the horses were waiting for us.

The upper part of the rock of Gibraltar consists of excellent limestone, resting on a base of granite; the crevices of the rock was the resort of apes of a large size, in which they conceal themselves when the east wind blows, but at other times they make their appearance in considerable numbers, and sometimes greatly incommode passengers, by rolling down broken fragments of the rock. No one is permitted to shoot them; indeed the strictest orders are issued that no gun shall be fired on the rock, which, as the place abounds with game, proves to sportsmen a great mortification. The view from the summit is very extensive: we discerned Apes-hill and the contiguous mountains in Africa, and the Spanish mountains of Ronda and Granada, with the towns of Algeziras, Ximenes, St. Roque, Estepona, and Marvella, but the country was not diversified with trees, nor adorned with verdant fields.

I was much pleased with the houses built, for some of the officers of the garrison, towards the south; the naval commissioner especially has a charming residence, and a good garden, stocked with every species of tropical fruit. The first-rate society in Gibraltar is very good, and a taste for elegance, united with economy, generally prevails.

A public library, instituted by the late Mr. Pitt, and furnished

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with a valuable collection of books, to which all the military have access, forms a great acquisition to the garrison. This institution, together with the sensible and polite conversation of the engineer and artillery officers, most of whom are men of education and liberal minds, gives a tone to the society and manners which is highly agreeable. Nothing, however, can be more miserable than the appearance of the civil inhabitants of the town, whether Moors, Jews, or Christians. They live crouded together, in habitations resembling barracks rather than houses, which are as filthy as their persons.

The commerce of Gibraltar has been very considerable since the communication with Spain has been free; but, like other markets in similar circumstances, it is now so overloaded, that there is scarcely room for the various commodities collected, and serious fears are entertained, that if a siege were to commence, a great quantity of property must be sacrificed for military accommodation, as there are neither store-houses sufficient to contain it, nor shipping enough to convey it to places of safety.

The markets of this place are well supplied from Spain with every kind of provision, at moderate prices; and a considerable number of live bullocks are brought from the coast of Africa, which contribute to the supply of the garrison; but though wheat is abundant in that country, their Religion allows none to be exported for the use of Christians.

A rigid discipline is kept up within the garrison: no person can pass through certain gates, unless provided with a passport, and the civil inhabitants are prohibited walking the streets at night without a

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lanthorn. Indeed, so strict are the regulations, that having dined one day with Captain Donnelly on board the Invincible, and landed in the Dock-yard, we could not pass the gates, but were under the necessity of climbing over the wall by a rope ladder to get to our lodgings. We shall leave this place to-morrow, and begin our journey to Malaga.

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LETTER XXXII.

CARTEIA — ST. ROQUE — ESTEPONA — ROAD ALONG THE COAST — CITY OF MARVELLA — VISIT AND COMPLIMENTS OF THE CORREGIDOR AND ALCALDE — TANNERY.

MARVELLA, JAN. 1810.

BY means of my friend Mr. Viale, the Sicilian consul, who is connected with the post-office in Spain, we had hired horses for our journey to Granada, which were directed to meet us at St. Roque, a place to which we proceeded in the afternoon. After passing the lines, we left the antient city of Carteia on our left: scarcely a vestige now remains of that celebrated city, which is known to have flourished when the Phœnicians first traded with Spain, 900 years before the birth of Christ. It was conquered by the Carthaginians 280 years before that æra; continued a naval station of great importance during the civil wars between Cæsar and the Pompeys; and was the place from which, after the fatal battle of Munda, Cneius Pompey escaped, to meet his untimely death on the shore of Alicant. A large farm house is constructed from the ruins of Carteia, and several Roman inscriptions have been discovered, which clearly ascertain its scite.

We reached St. Roque before it was dark, where we found a posada, equalling in comfort an English inn. It is the resort of the

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officers from Gibraltar who make excursions into Spain; and the host has learnt from his visitors, to accommodate his house to their habits, for which, however, he takes care to charge sufficiently high.

We breakfasted at six o'clock, and were on horseback before day-light; the first hour of our journey was occupied in ascending a barren mountain, with no object to interest, except the more lofty mountains at a distance. When we had gained the summit, and began to descend, the country became more agreeable; the woods were composed of various shrubs mingled with cork trees, which in figure and colour resembled our oaks, but are smaller in size; and the shrubs and plants, by their various hues, added considerably to the beauty of the surrounding country. We passed some verdant meadows, in the valleys, in which a few substantial-looking farm houses were situated, and observed a few cows grazing in their neighbourhood. On the hills around considerable flocks of goats were feeding, but no sheep.

We crossed the river Guadiaro, which descends from Ronda through clefts in the mountains, and is at times impassable, except by boats at a ferry a few miles higher. We passed it, however, at a ford, and soon reached the sea shore, by which we travelled under the lofty Sierra, called sometimes Sierra de Gaucin, at others Sierra Vermeja, till we arrived at the town of Estepona, where, after a long and tiresome ride, we were glad to refresh ourselves.

The Spanish saddles are very short in the seat, and have projections before and behind, to prevent the rider from slipping off, either in ascending or descending steep mountains, and consequently it is necessary to keep the legs almost in a straight line, a position at

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first very fatiguing, but which gives a firmer seat than our mode of riding; habit, however, renders it agreeable.

Estepona is a fishing town, containing nearly one thousand families; but it suffered so much during the fatal epidemic in the year 1804, that its population is small, in comparison to the number of families, almost all of whom subsist by fishing, or by the fruits which they cultivate, and convey to Gibraltar. We visited a Franciscan convent, where there were only fourteen monks, who appeared to be in a miserable state: their church even had nothing deserving notice, and we were gratified only by the respect and attention paid by these fathers to our English uniforms, which are sure to attract notice and civility from all the clergy.

After a dinner on Sardinias, a small fish caught in great quantities on this coast, we left Estepona, and continued our journey along the sea coast. It was fortunate that the weather had been lately dry, for we crossed, between the Guadiaro and this place, over the beds of no less than fourteen large arroyos, or temporary streams, which, when it rains, are impassable. These arroyos form receptacles for the rains which fall on the lofty mountains, or for the melted snow from their tops: though the streams are now dry, they occasionally rush down with such irresistible force that nothing can withstand them. At such times all communication is suspended, for neither bridges nor boats can resist the fury of the torrents; however, from the steepness of the hills the waters rapidly subside, and the beds again become passable. On the side of the road, between the foot of the mountains and the beach, the ruins of several towns, formerly peopled by the Romans, and mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, are still visible;

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and the Spanish antiquaries have taken considerable pains to ascertain their names, from the descriptions of ancient authors, as well as from numerous inscriptions and coins which have been found in various places on the coast.

At the distance of one league, we passed Rio verde, or the green river, which comes down, in a chasm or fissure, between the high chain of mountains called Sierra vermeja, and the one called Sierra de Arboto. On passing this river, I could have easily supposed that I was in Jamaica; for a considerable distance on both sides of the road, fields of sugar canes, nine or ten feet in height, were intermixed with others of rice; and several mills for grinding the canes, turned by the streams which descend from the mountains, still farther favoured the deception. The contrast which this last league formed to the nine we had previously travelled, created both surprise and pleasure; the plain, between the mountains and the sea, became gradually broader, and more enriched with every tropical production; whereas the country we had hitherto passed was sandy and barren, with no shrubs but the palmito.

A considerable quantity of cotton is cultivated in this plain, and with great success; sugar is an increasing production, and some coffee is grown; but as the quantity of each of these articles is more considerable near Malaga and Velez, I shall make my observations upon these productions when I have seen those places, and gained more information.

The mountains under which we have this day passed, are the highest I have ever seen, though not equal to those I expect to view before I arrive at Granada; the composition of the former is various,

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but they all rest on a bed of granite; the upper strata, which commence near the surface of the plain, are in some parts entirely marble, in others, quartz. The marble is of various kinds, but is mostly of a reddish colour, from which one of the mountains takes its name.

Our day's journey terminated with our arrival in this city, which contains about eight thousand inhabitants. The Plaza, or square, is very beautiful, and has in the centre a fine fountain, which is constantly supplied with pure water from the prodigious mountains behind it. The streets are narrow, but at night well lighted. The town house is a handsome building, as well as the parish church. There are three convents of monks, which, as we have heard nothing remarkable concerning them, we do not think worth visiting. The inn where we have taken up our abode, affords eggs, Sardinias, and wine made in the neighbouring mountains. Our servants are now busily employed in preparing our beds in the room where we eat: these beds require very little trouble, for they consist merely of sacks filled with broken straw, spread on the brick floor. As the mules, probably, will eat to-morrow the straw which we sleep on to-night, the expence to the host is trifling.

Our arrival was soon known in the city, and we have had a visit from the corregidor, attended by the alcalde. When they found, by our uniforms, that we were Englishmen, they refused to look at our passports, lavished most profuse compliments upon us and our country, assured us that they, their houses, and their city, were at our disposal, and prayed most fervently that our journey might be fortunate. There is only one commercial house in this city; the vine-

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yards, sugar plantations, and cotton and coffee gardens, belong to merchants of Malaga, whose agents superintend them. There is a considerable tannery carried on by the Messrs. Bernards, who likewise complete the subsequent processes of currying and finishing the leather.

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LETTER XXXIII.

TOWN OF MIJA — MARBLE — FORTS ON THE COAST — ANCIENT CASTLE — VIEW FROM AN EMINENCE — FUENGEROLA — DREARY ROAD — TORRE-MOLINOS — MARCUS CRASSUS.

MALAGA, JAN. 1810.

WE left Marvella about six o'clock, and reached the shore of the Mediterranean just as the sun rose. The beach was firm, and the road excellent. The Sierra on our left hand had a most magnificent appearance. About half-way towards the top, on what the Spaniards call the falda, or lap, stands the town of Mija, overlooking the plain. This town is situated about half a mile perpendicular height above the level of the sea, and the mountain rises behind to an equal height above it. Fluates of lime, resembling those of Derbyshire, and the finest marble in prodigious blocks, are found in its neighbourhood. The late king, Charles the Fourth, had a road constructed, at an enormous expence, to get a single block conveyed to the sea. This road was used only once, for, as there are no wheel carriages, and mules and asses climb up by nearer paths, it has been suffered to decay, and is now nearly washed away by the torrents which, during the rains, descend from the mountains.

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At certain intervals along the whole of this coast, and especially wherever there is good anchoring ground near the shore, signal towers, or forts, are erected, which, during the war with England, were of the greatest use, to convey intelligence of the appearance of any hostile squadron. By these means small fleets were enabled to coast from port to port, and to take shelter, when occasion required, under the cannon of the batteries. These forts, though not now garrisoned, are well contrived for the purpose for which they were constructed; they have circular fronts towards the sea, with low parapets to work the guns en barbet: in the rear they have a curtain, and two flanking bastions, and the only entrance to them is by a small door, about half way from the top, through which the garrison drag the rope ladder by which they ascend. My military companion, Mr. Michel, admired extremely both the plan and the execution.

After three hours riding we left the beach, and began to ascend a small mountain, on the edge of which stands a castle of Roman foundation and Moorish superstructure, which, from its situation above the plain, and its fine glacis, must formerly have been impregnable. When we had nearly reached the summit, we were suddenly presented, through a chasm, with the finest prospect I ever beheld. The descent before us was a rugged road, through verdant shrubs mingled with cork trees: below this was seen a beautiful plain, about four or five miles in extent, with a meandering river passing through the middle of it; beyond were mountains, gradually rising above each other, covered with vines, olives, and fig trees; and in the back ground ranges of still higher mountains, with light clouds slightly hanging on the skirts of them, the highest points of which were either hid in

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the clouds, or covered with snow. The town of Fuengerola in the valley, and the small white houses, interspersed among the vineyards upon the rising ground, were admirably contrasted with the various green tints below, and the brown and red colour of the marble mountains which towered majestically above.

We reached the posada at Fuengerola about noon, and rested ourselves and our horses; the house was filled with tubs, in which they were salting Sardinias and anchovies. These fish, slightly cured, are packed in baskets, and conveyed on asses into the mountainous parts of the country, where they are considered a most desirable and luxurious repast. The price paid by the curers to the fishermen is about half a dollar the bushel. We left Fuengerola at half past one, expecting, as the distance was only four leagues, to reach Malaga early in the afternoon; but we found the road most intolerably bad, which, however, was amply compensated for by the beauty of the prospects.

About one hour's ride brought us to the foot of a mountain, which we had to ascend; the road, or rather the pathway, is a mere fissure in the marble rock, worn by the rains, and through which the stream tumbles over the rocks in a very pleasing manner. By the edge of this stream the cattle have worn steps, up which our horses scrambled with the agility of goats; but when they had nearly gained the summit, we met a herd of oxen, which had been landed at Malaga from Africa, and which two Moors were driving to Gibraltar. As we were forced to proceed in single file, the Moors, with much difficulty, drove the cattle out of our way, up a craggy place almost perpendicular, when, after considerable delay, we got through the pass.

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The country then became enchanting, and was highly cultivated; indeed, richness and beauty are the prominent characteristics of the vicinity of Benalmeida. A clear stream of water turns a series of mills placed one above the other, which are appropriated to grinding corn, making paper, and fulling cloth; and from the height from which the streams descend, their power is very great, and would prove an invaluable benefit to an industrious people.

We descended from Benalmeida by a dreadful road, and continued two hours in a most dreary country, with the lofty Sierra on one hand, and a barren rocky soil on the other; rendered yet more gloomy by a number of crucifixes, placed as mementos of the travellers who had formerly been murdered in this savage wilderness. After passing a large building, in which a manufactory of playing cards is carried on by the government, whence this part of Spain and Spanish America is supplied, we reached the delightful village of Torre-molinos; and beyond it the plain, about eight miles in breadth, at the termination of which Malaga stands, was spread before us.

Torre-molinos abounds with beautiful streams of water, which are used in irrigating the sugar and rice plantations that cover the plain. These two articles, with cocoa, coffee, indigo, and cotton, are the most abundant productions. The latter is of a quality as fine as that known in England by the appellation of Sea Island, and which is raised in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. The borders of the mountains, that surround this plain, are covered with fig, almond, plumb, and pomegranate trees; while the upper parts, to the very summit, are covered with vines. In no part of the world, not even in Arabia itself, is water held in greater estimation than in Spain; and

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if you ask a Spaniard the character of any town or district of country, his highest praise is "hay buena agua," there is good water.

In the Sierra, near to Torre-molinos, there are several large natural excavations, which are well calculated for places of concealment. In one of them Marcus Crassus was hid eight months, when he fled from the proscription of Cinna and Marius, in which his father and brother had suffered. Plutarch relates the narrative of his concealment at much length; by which it appears, that Crassus escaped from Rome, and landed here with three friends and ten servants; but finding, on his arrival, that orders had been issued for his death, he hid himself in a cave, and sent intelligence of his concealment to Vibius, whom his father, while consul in Spain, had patronised. Vibius wished to preserve him, but dreaded the rage of the tyrants: he directed one of his domestics to prepare provisions daily, and leave them at a rock near the cave: he charged him not to examine the cave, and assured him of his favour if he obeyed his orders, and betrayed no curiosity as to the cause of them. Crassus and his companions thus remained concealed eight months, till the death of Cinna was known, when he made his appearance, collected a small army of two thousand five hundred men, and, according to some accounts, seized the city of Malaga, and pillaged the surrounding country.

We passed over the plain, through a village called Churiana, where the rich inhabitants of Malaga have country houses, and gardens well stocked with the most delicious fruits; among others, with the pine-apple, and the chirimoya of Peru, which are cultivated in no part of Europe, except at this place and in the vicinity of Valencia.

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We forded the river of Guadalmedina, which we found very shallow, though it is frequently so deep and rapid as to be impassable, and arrived at the posada, de los quartros naciones, about six o'clock, where we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting two of our countrymen, with whom we had parted two months before at Seville.

During the whole of our journey from Gibraltar to Malaga, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, we did not meet a single horse, excepting one which an officer was riding. The flocks of goats in some places were considerable; the sheep were thinly scattered, and of a small breed, with black wool: and the oxen almost as scarce as the horses. Except on the beach, the road was formed by mere tracks worn by the hoofs of the asses and mules; but no appearance of the labour of man was visible. No part of the road was passable for wheel carriages of any description; nor do I believe such a contrivance was ever seen in these parts. There are no bridges, and in rainy seasons the travellers must wait on the banks of the rivers till the waters have subsided, or ascend the mountains by circuitous routes, to reach fords where they are passable. Every thing is carried on asses, the race of which is very strong, and almost as high as our small galloways.

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LETTER XXXIV.

ALAMEYDA AT MALAGA — CASTLE OF GIBRALFARO — CATHEDRAL — REVENUES OF THE BENEFICE — BISHOP'S PALACE — CLIMATE — PRODUCTIONS — SUGAR — COTTON — COMMERCE — VOLUNTEERS — GENERAL BLAKE — ANECDOTE OF ADMIRAL BLAKE.

MALAGA, JAN. 1810.

LIKE all Spanish towns, Malaga is a most beautiful object at a distance, but will not bear a near inspection. The Alameyda is the only part of the town which is handsome, and that is truly magnificent. It consists of a foot-walk in the middle, about eighty feet wide, with orange and oleander trees planted on each side: without these are good carriage roads, and on both sides a row of sumptuous and elegant houses. When the trees grow, to a size large enough to afford shade, it will be a charming spot, but at present they are not much taller than shrubs. At the end of this walk is placed a beautiful marble fountain, consisting of three basons ranged above each other, and gradually diminishing in size: from the lower bason a column rises, supported by beautiful female figures, on which the second rests: the third bason is raised on a similar column, supported by other groupes of figures, and the whole work is beautifully executed. It is said to have been a present from the republic of Genoa to the Emperor Charles the Fifth; on its passage it was captured by an

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Algerine corsair, and afterwards retaken by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who landed it at this city.

The streets of Malaga, like other Moorish towns, are very narrow, and each house, surrounding a court into which the windows look, is very large. There is only one square in the town, and that is neither spacious nor handsome; and the churches and convents are so crouded among the houses, that whatever beauty they may possess is nearly concealed. An ancient castle, in good preservation, built by the Moors, called Gibralfaro, stands on the side of a hill communicating with the city; from many Roman inscriptions found here, especially by our countryman Carter, it is evident that this fortress was the scite of a Roman temple and castle, and the bricks, in some parts of the foundation, are manifestly the work of that people; but the whole superstructure is purely Arabic. The entrances are protected by a contrivance generally found in the Moorish fortresses; over each door and window a kind of chimney is constructed, the bottom of which is level with the upper part of the entrance, and the top terminates at the parapet; through these chimneys the besieged could shoot their arrows on the heads of their assailants, and be themselves secure from their attacks. The modern art of fortification, if applied to this castle, would make it impregnable; and, as it commands the city, it would be of the greatest military importance. During the wars in 1487, the capture of this castle, and the submission of the Moorish garrison to the arms of Ferdinand, caused the ultimate success of the Christians.

There is another Moorish building, which is outwardly in great perfection; it was formerly a kind of dock, in which the Moorish

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Custom House, Salem.

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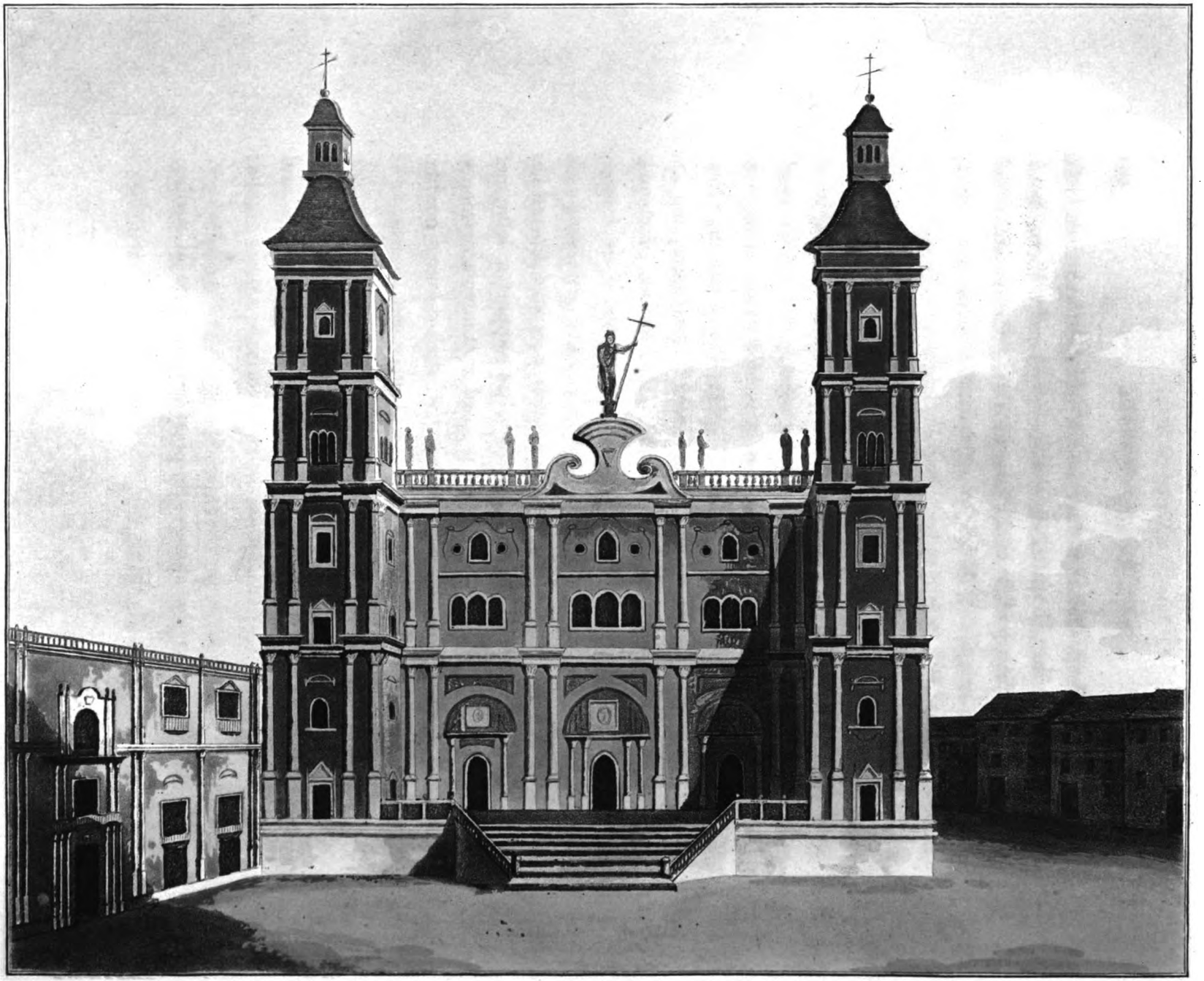

Cathedral. Malaga.

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gallies were laid up, but it is now converted into storehouses. An Arabian palace, the Alcasaba, stood formerly near the shore, but it has been partly destroyed, to make room for a modern structure, which is now nearly completed; it is the new custom-house, and stands near the water; the style is purely Spanish, and is very beautiful.

The cathedral of Malaga is a very fine object: its style of building is a mixture of Roman and Gothic, though it was erected long after the power of those nations was extinct; for it was begun in 1529, and consecrated in 1588. Being closely surrounded with houses, it is not seen to advantage, but it is said to be as large as St. Paul's. Catholic churches generally appear less in size than Protestant cathedrals, from the choir being placed in the centre, and the high altar in another part of the building. The number of chapels also, as well as the images and pictures, which abound in the former, contribute to this effect. The interior of this church is finished with exquisite taste; it is an oblong spheroid, with a row of Corinthian pillars, around which is the nave; these pillars support a lofty roof of well-turned arches, with the sky painted in the compartments. The high altar, and the pulpit are of beautiful flesh-coloured marble, and the choir is so singularly fine, that Palomino, the biographer of Spanish artists, calls it the eighth wonder of the world. It contains about fifty stalls, curiously carved in cedar and mahogany, and a considerable number of statues of saints, the work of Alonzo Cano, and of his pupil Pedro de Mena, whose celebrity is little inferior to that of his master.

The paintings in this church are far inferior to those in Seville;

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the best is by Cano, in the chapel of the Rosario, representing the Virgin in heaven, with the infant Jesus in her arms, and a group of angels in the act of adoration. There are some few marble monuments in the church, particularly one to the memory of a late bishop, Don Josse de Molina, who is celebrated for having expended in church-plate, and in ornamenting this edifice, the enormous sum of one million five hundred thousand reals, or nearly twenty thousand pounds sterling: from this circumstance I was naturally led to enquire the value of the benefice, and learnt that it amounted to one hundred thousand dollars annually. Its revenue is principally derived from tithes on wine, which are sold by auction, just before the vintage. The see was vacant when the Junta came into power, and as they have appropriated the revenues of vacant benefices to the service of the state, it is not likely to be soon filled.

There are two fine organs in this cathedral, which add much to its beauty; the pipes are not perpendicular, as in our churches, but project from the instrument, and their terminations are in the form of the large end of a trumpet, so that they appear like a range of trumpets over the top of the choir, diminishing gradually in length. The church, within the walls, is four hundred feet in length, and two hundred and sixty in breadth; the height, from the floor to the arches, is one hundred and forty feet. The palace of the bishop forms one side of a small square in front of the cathedral, but the majestic height and grand dimensions of the latter, make the palace, which in another situation would appear a handsome building, look small and mean. The other churches and monasteries contain nothing worth

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describing, especially as the paintings, which are principally executed by Juan Niño de Guevara and Miguel Manrique, are so inferior to those which I have lately seen, that I beheld them with little pleasure.

It is not, however, the edifices constructed by human labour that render Malaga an interesting spot, but the benign climate and fruitful soil with which Providence has blessed it, and which the industry of the people has been exerted to improve. The rivers Guadalmedina and Guadalorce, which empty themselves at this place into the ocean, wind round the mountains, and pass through valleys the richest and most fertile in the world, and it is upon the banks of these rivers that the prodigious quantity of figs, almonds, oranges, lemons, olives, sumach, juniper berries, wax, and honey, are produced, which, with the dried raisins and wines from the mountains, and the cork of the hills, form the foundation of the natural external commerce of Malaga.

The productions with which Europe is supplied from the western world, such as coffee, cotton, cocoa, indigo, and pimento, had been all cultivated in this part of Spain for many ages before America was discovered; and though it has only been of late years that any great increase in their cultivation has taken place, yet, from the productiveness of the soil, from the specimens that have been produced, and the political prospects of the world, the hope is entertained, that this part of Spain may, in time, be rendered capable of superseding the necessity of cultivating the West India Islands by the labour of slaves.

The most intelligent persons I have conversed with have been zealous patriots, and have entered with the warmest feelings into the cause of their country; but the conduct of the Junta has deadened their

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enthusiasm, and checked the energy of their exertions. They now scarcely dare hope for success; and the dread of being captured by the French is more strongly felt than any expectation of successful resistance. Amidst the gloom of these prospects, however, they seek consolation from the nature of their productions, and the capabilities of their soil: they reason thus.

If this country be conquered by the troops of Buonaparte, if the antient institutions, the public bodies, and the religious establishments, be destroyed, and if, by being under the yoke of France, the English should become our enemies, and prevent us from enjoying any external commerce; still our fruitful fields must remain to us, and even our conquerors, with all their ferocity, will, for their own advantage, protect our agriculture from destruction. Europe, under the dominion of Buonaparte, will be completely excluded from all connection with the transatlantic world: the tropical productions, which habit has rendered almost indispensable, will be sought for with increased avidity; and as our coffee, cotton, and sugar, will have to contend with no competition from the western world, the prices which they will produce must act as a stimulus, sufficiently powerful, to induce every man to labour in the cultivation of tropical productions, and thus turn the commerce of Malaga from foreign to internal objects.

It would be cruel to lessen this only consolation which the wretched feel; to diminish that hope which is now their sole enjoyment. I do not, therefore, disturb speculations which I feel to be delusive, nor discover a want of faith, in those more distant expectations, by which they amuse their minds under the prospect of im-

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pending evils. It is impossible, however, not to foresee, that the conquest of the kingdom of Granada by France would produce miseries which no short interval could remove. The growers are now supplied with capital to subsist themselves and their labourers till the productions are ready for the various markets. The capitalists would, by the requisitions of France, be deprived of the power of administering to the wants of the agriculturists. The agriculturists could not subsist while the change is going on from the cultivation of vines to that of sugar canes; and when the canes were ripe, the erection of mills would be necessary before a much greater quantity of sugar than the present supply could be produced. The political feelings of the great body of the people would operate to prevent any of these dreams of the Malagueños from being realised; the bulk of the people would retire to the fastnesses of mountains, inaccessible to their enemies, and there, in spite of the French, who could only occupy the towns, would carry on a war of extermination, from which those who remain in the valleys would not be exempt. Instead of requias of mules and asses peaceably traversing the mountains, and conveying various productions to Madrid, and thence to France, the passes would be filled by bodies of insurgent Spaniards, which would make communication impracticable without the protection of an army.

That my views on this subject are not imaginary, may be naturally inferred from the former situation of the country in similar circumstances; when, under Ferdinand, the Spaniards conquered the cities of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, the Mahomedans fled to the mountains, and maintained a predatory warfare with their conquerors, which raged with various success for nearly one hundred

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years, and was only terminated by an insidious peace, and the final banishment of the whole race to the African shores.

The present commerce of Malaga is very flourishing. The peace with England has opened a vent for its commodities, which has been improved with great assiduity. The exports of wines and fruits during the last year, amounted nearly to three times as much as in any preceding year; and as the commercial laws of Spain are less strictly obeyed here than at Cadiz, where the attention of the Junta is more immediately called to them, they have had their commerce less restricted.

In all periods the trade to America from Malaga was much less extensive than from Cadiz, but, in proportion to its extent, of far more benefit to the country; because, eleven parts in twelve of its exports consist of native productions; whereas at Cadiz, the goods imported from foreign countries constitute rather more than three-fifths of its exports. Malaga may, in point of commercial consequence, be considered as the third port in Spain; Cadiz has been very far before every other at all periods; Barcelona follows; and then this city. But one singular difference exists between them: the exports in this place exceed the imports, because there is much to part with, and few wants to be supplied. But at Cadiz, Barcelona, Coruña, St. Andero, and even Alicant, the imports from America have every year exceeded the exports.

I have already mentioned those articles which constitute the principal foundations of the commerce of this place, and may be properly called raw materials; but there are several manufactured articles exported hence, which are made in this city and in Granada.

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The flax and hemp grown here are remarkably good, and a considerable quantity of linen and sail-cloth is sent to the colonies. The silk in this part of the country is manufactured into sattins, velvets, taffetas, ribbons, and silk stockings, (principally at Granada indeed,) for home consumption, and some part is exported. There are also manufactories of paper, leather, soap, hats, tapes, and woollen cloths, but all on a small scale.

The port of Malaga is very good for shipping; and within the last thirty years an additional mole has been constructed, which incloses on three sides one of the best artificial harbours in the world: it is not large, but there is sufficient depth of water for a ship of the line, which may lie close to the pier. The fishermen are very skilful in the management of their boats; they form a numerous body; and if the French take the place, they, as well as the other mariners, will be made subservient to the aggrandizement of the naval power of Buonaparte.

There are no regular troops in this town, but the duty of the garrison is performed by volunteers, who are well armed and disciplined; and, whatever may be the disposition of their leaders, as resolutely disposed to resist the invader as any portion of the Spanish people.

General Blake, who has so much distinguished himself, is a native of this city, though of Irish extraction, and his amiable lady and family are now here, while he is arranging an army in Catalonia. He is highly respected by all the inhabitants, and his family, as they deserve to be, beloved by every one. They have lately returned from England, where they were highly gratified by their

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reception. This name recalls to my mind an anecdote of the celebrated Admiral Blake, who commanded the fleet of England during the usurpation of Cromwell.

The Admiral lay before Malaga, and, it being time of peace, permitted some of his sailors to go on shore. They met the procession of the host, and, instead of falling on their knees, laughed at it, which irritated one of the priests, who instigated the people to punish them severely. They complained to their Admiral, who instantly sent on shore and demanded of the Governor that the priest should be sent to him. The Governor replied, that he had no authority over the Clergy. Upon which the English Admiral informed the Governor, that he was unacquainted with the limits of his authority; but, that if the priest were not sent on board in three hours he would destroy the town. The priest was, in consequence of this menace, put into the power of Blake, who reprimanded him for his conduct; which he justified on the ground of the provocation his Religion had received. Blake admitted the force of the apology, and said, "had you applied to me I would have punished the offenders; but I will have all the world know, that none but an Englishman shall punish an Englishman." He then sent the priest on shore, satisfied with having asserted the dignity of his country.

During the few days we have spent in Malaga we have received the most flattering attentions, and the warmest hospitality, and we shall leave it with very considerable regret; a regret that is increased by the expectation, that the late disastrous events will soon overwhelm with ruin these worthy people. The more intelligent

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anticipate this calamity; and one person told me privately, that he feared we were the last Englishmen who would visit Malaga. The timidity of the higher orders will instigate them to surrender; but the vengeful feelings of the more numerous classes will lead to every disorder as the French approach; and, after the loss of many lives, they will probably retire to the mountains, and watch for opportunities to avenge themselves and their country.

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LETTER XXXV.

POPULATION OF MALAGA — FEVER IN 1804 — AGRICULTURE — PLOUGHS — MANUFACTURE OF SUGAR — GROWTH OF THE SUGAR CANE — ITS CULTIVATION OF VERY ANTIENT DATE.

VELEZ, JAN. 1810.

THE inhabitants of Malaga before the year 1804 amounted to about 75,000, but in that fatal year the population of all the places on the coast of the Mediterranean suffered severely by an epidemic fever, which swept away the people by thousands. And the towns through which I have passed from Gibraltar to this place lost from one-third to one-quarter of their inhabitants. I was favoured with a list of those persons who died at Malaga in consequence of this fever; but it is singular, that, in the convent of Capuchins, the friars of which were employed in attending the sick, the only persons who died were one clerical and two lay brothers, though the numbers in that convent amounted to between ninety and one hundred. I wished to ascertain the cause of this fact, but, as it was regarded as a miracle, all enquiries upon the subject proved fruitless.

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Deaths during the Epidemic in Malaga 1804.

Members of the cathedral	42
Secular clergy	72
Monks	81
Nuns	76
Military men	1,206
Galley slaves and other convicts	300
Physicians	17
Private individuals	19,843
	21,637

A census was taken the last day of September, after the fever had nearly ceased, when the living amounted to 52,376.

In the city of Velez, I have been informed, the number of deaths amounted to 7000 out of a population of 16,000; but I place less dependance on the accuracy of this calculation than I do on the above list of deaths at Malaga, which was communicated to me by a very intelligent clergyman, who had taken pains to be well informed on the subject.

We left Malaga at noon. The first part of the road, which runs along the sea side, was good and well constructed, and was adorned on the left hand with the neat cottages of the peasantry, who were comfortably eating their frugal meals at the door, "every man under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree." The hills to the top were covered with vines, and the chasms between them with fig,

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almond, plum, orange, lemon, and apricot trees. On the coast between the clifts some fine levels, called Playas, open with a front generally towards the sea, of from one to two miles in extent, and terminate at the foot of the hills, so as to form a triangular plain. The soil of these playas is formed by the washing of the rains from the mountains, and, without any manure, is very productive in wheat and barley; which two species of grain are usually sown in alternate years, without allowing the lands to lie fallow. The richness of the soil, and the heat of the sun, cause the earth to yield almost spontaneously those productions which, in other situations, are the result of much labour.

The ploughs used in this part of the country are of very simple construction, and consist merely of a cross, with the end of the perpendicular part shod with iron. This instrument penetrates no more than five or six inches into the soil, and it is drawn by two oxen, with ropes fastened to the horns, while the man who attends scatters the seed; an harrow follows; and the labour is ended till the time of harvest arrive. I remarked that the ground was very free from weeds, which a man who was ploughing explained, by informing me, that from the latter end of May or the beginning of June, when the harvest was carried in, till October or November, they had no rain, and that the heat of the sun destroyed every vegetable substance on these playas, and reduced them to mere plains of sand. The sand is intermixed with stones, which appear to be quartzose, but may perhaps contain argill, and are of the same composition as the mountains, from which they are washed by the rain, and when decomposed they form the soil.

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In crossing one of these playas, we met a man better dressed than the peasants, who was shooting, attended by two servants: he entered into conversation, and invited us to his corto, which he pointed out not far off, but we declined his civilities: he asked of what nation we were, and when we replied "Ingles," he was in extacy; he threw his hat on the ground, stretched out his arms, and insisted on embracing us all: he then poured forth a profusion of compliments on our nation, of curses on the French, and of prayers for our prosperous journey.

After riding about four hours, we left the shore to visit a sugar plantation at Torre del Mar. For three miles, as we approached it, our road passed through fields of cotton and sugar canes. The greatest attention seemed to be paid to irrigation, and the whole of these extensive plantations was dug with the neatness of an English garden. At the Fabrica belonging to one of them, we surveyed the mill for grinding the canes: it consists of three perpendicular iron cylinders, worked by mules, which express the juice, that is conveyed thence by wooden troughs to the boiling-house. The pans in which the sugar is drained, are of the same forms as those used in the refineries in London. As I learned in Malaga what the extent of the fanegada of land is in this country, which varies from that of Seville, I am enabled to make some calculation of the price at which sugar can be produced at this plantation. The quantity of land planted with canes in this particular farm, is about forty English acres, and it usually yields four thousand arobas, or one thousand quintals, of sugar: the rent of the land is about twelve dollars per acre, and the cost of manufacturing the sugar is about a dollar the quintal. Thus

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far my information is sufficiently accurate; but upon the truth of the next and most important step, I cannot place so much dependence.

I wished to ascertain the annual expence of cultivating each fanegada of canes, but my informant, with the best disposition to satisfy my curiosity, was not so correct as I wished; he calculated in quartos and quartillos, so loosely, and mixed his language with so many technical terms, and so much patois, that I am doubtful of the facts with which he furnished me; if correct, the cultivation of each fanegada costs the planter at this time, when labour is high, about one hundred dollars.

I make the following calculation of the price of sugar, from what I learned at this farm:

	Dollars.
50 fanegadas, or 40 acres of land; rent - -	500
Expence of cultivation - - - - - - - - -	5000
Expence of making the sugar - - - - - -	1000
	6500
Produce of sugar:	
Arobas - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	4000
Deduct tithes - - - - - - - - - - - -	400
Net produce - - - -	3600

at 1 dollar 18 reals is 6480 dollars.

Thus the aroba costs one dollar sixteen reals the quintal, that is, seven dollars two reals, or about thirty-two shillings; but as the Spanish quintal of four arobas is about eight per cent. less than the English hundred, it may be stated to cost thirty-four shillings per

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cwt. I think I cannot be far from right in this calculation, because all the growers of sugar agree, that at seven dollars they do not lose, but that they obtain from eight to twelve dollars, according to the quantity of Havanna sugar that may be in the market.

The sugars made on this coast resemble those of Cuba more than those produced in our West India islands; they are not so white as those of the first quality from Cuba, but more so than the inferior kind; and as sugars of equal quality from the British Islands would, with the addition of freight and insurance, cost more money in Europe than those raised in this vicinity, nothing is wanted to increase these establishments, to a considerable extent, but a sufficient capital.

It is not generally known, that sugar has been one of the productions of Spain for at least seven hundred years, and that the process of planting the canes, grinding them, and granulating the juice, has been very little, if at all, improved within that time. I am indebted for this fact to an Arabian author on agriculture, who wrote, in the kingdom of Seville, about the year 1140, called Ebn Mahomed Ebn Ahmed Ebn el Awaum. In his directions for the mode of planting the sugar cane, he quotes the authority of another author of the same nation, who is known to have written in the year 1073, called Abn Omar Aben Hajaj: as the fact is interesting, I shall translate a few passages on the subject.

"The canes should be planted in the month of March, in a plain sheltered from the east wind, and near to water; they should be well manured with cow dung, and watered every fourth day, till the shoots are one palm in height, when they should be dug round, manured with the dung of sheep, and watered every eighth day till the month

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of October. In January, when the canes are ripe, they should be cut into short junks, and crushed in the mill. The juice should be boiled in iron caldrons, and then left to cool till it becomes clarified; it should then be boiled again, till the fourth part only remain, when it should be put into vases of clay, of a conical form, and placed in the shade to thicken; afterwards, the sugar must be drawn from the vases and left to cool. The canes, after the juice is expressed, are preserved for the horses, who eat them greedily, and become fat by feeding on them."

We left Torre del Mar at five o'clock, passed through a field of ripe canes, and then through olive grounds, till in about half an hour we reached this place.

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LETTER XXXVI.

BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY AROUND VELEZ — CULTIVATION OF THE VALLEYS — VINEYARDS — SEASONS OF VINTAGE — OLIVES — OIL — MILLS — FIGS — ORANGES.

VELEZ, JAN. 1810.

THIS city has more the appearance of internal desolation than any I have ever beheld; for the dreadful fever of 1804, which swept away nearly half its inhabitants, has left a great number of houses totally unoccupied. The surrounding country, however, is fertile and beautiful beyond description. The town is situated on the declivity of a lofty mountain, and the vines on the sides of it, the verdure of its gardens, the shady groves on the banks of the river, the lofty elms in the Paseo, the profusion of fruits, and the transparent streams in the valley, render it one of the most enchanting spots in Andalusia.

"Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Licori,
Hic nemus: hic ipso tecum consumerer ævo."

The views around Velez create additional interest from several Moorish towns, placed on the narrow summits of mountains, which seem to bid defiance to the attacks of the soldier, and to render the access difficult, even to their own peaceful inhabitants. Among this number may be reckoned Benamocarra, Alcaucen, and Albasyda,

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the names and position of which, carry back the mind to those remote periods when the conquering Catholics spread devastation through the valleys, and the luxurious, but not totally enervated Moors, retiring to these fastnesses, renounced their luxuries, and carried on the most inveterate warfare against their invaders; nor is it possible, amid such scenes, to refrain from anticipating with regret, the similar events, which are soon likely to occur in this devoted country.

Having now arrived at the end of that tract of country, which commences at Rio Verde, beyond Marvella, where the tropical fruits are most abundantly produced, I shall make a few observations, before I ascend the mountains, on the agriculture of these delightful valleys. Coffee, cotton, sugar, and cocoa, are cultivated wholly by capitalists, who are alone able to defray the great expence of manuring and irrigating the land, and of erecting machinery, all of which processes require considerable disbursements before any profits can be derived from the crops. In a country, therefore, where capital is so limited as in Spain, there can be but little progress made in the increase of this branch of agriculture; and hence, the plantations are in exact proportion to that surplus of capital which the merchants of Malaga can spare, for this purpose, from their other concerns.

The ancient and more extensive system of agriculture is in a state equally languishing, from the same cause. The growers of wine raisins and figs are mostly small proprietors of lands, or petty tenants, paying their rents monthly, when in money, and, when in produce, at

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the season of harvest, and who, being unable to subsist and pay their labourers, are under the necessity of being supplied by the merchants to whom they mortgage their expected produce, long before it is fit for market; the consequence is, that the cultivators are kept in a state of poverty and depression, from which there is no prospect of their emerging.

On the hills that surround Malaga, there are upwards of seven thousand vineyards, which produce annually eighty thousand arobas of wine, of which more than one half is exported. The first harvest of grapes commences in the month of June, which is solely for those dried by the sun, the heat of which, by extracting the saccharine juice, preserves them without any other process; and this species is known through Europe under the denomination of Malaga raisins. In the month of September the second crop is gathered, which is made into a dry wine, resembling sherry, and called by that name, but, to my taste, much inferior. Of late years the cultivation of the grape for this kind of wine has much increased, and the merchants are not without hope, that in a few years they shall rival the vineyards of Xeres, both in quantity and quality. The last vintage of the year is in October and November, and produces those wines called in Spain and her colonies Malaga, and in England Mountain; the natives of Spain prefer these to the dry wines of Xeres, or even of Madeira.

There are several species of wine made in this district of great celebrity, one in particular, called Pedro Ximenes, is very rich, and is said to be made from the Rhenish grape transplanted to these mountains, where it has lost its tartness, and acquired a rich and

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delicious flavour. Another kind, called Guinda, is merely the common sweet wine of the mountains, with a mixture of the juice of cherries, and is not much valued here, but highly esteemed in other countries: and the Lagrima de Malaga, a sweet wine, resembling Constantia, though highly valued by Spaniards, is not agreeable to an English palate. These wines are rather cultivated by the curious than made an object of commerce, and the quantity produced of each is very small.

Next to wine, the most important article is oil, for the making of which there are more than seven hundred mills in the district through which I have lately passed. In general, the oil partakes of the bad qualities I noticed at Seville, but in Velez more attention is paid to cleanliness than any where else, and the oil is by far the best I have tasted in Spain.

The quantity of raisins exported hence is very great, indeed this is the principal market for that article. Besides what is sent over the mountains to Granada, and other places farther north, there is annually exported fifty thousand quintals by small vessels, which anchor near Torre del Mar, or by ships from the port of Malaga.

The quantity of figs dried in this neighbourhood is very considerable, but is of less importance, as an object of foreign trade, than the raisins; they are mostly sent into the mountains, or to the city of Granada, whence wheat and barley are brought in exchange; for, though some of the playas are capable of producing these grains in the greatest abundance, the quantity raised is not sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants.

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Oranges, lemons, citrons, and almonds, are much cultivated, and the more rare fruits, such as the pine-apple and chirimoya of Peru, are produced without difficulty; the banana and plantain, though not plentiful, are yet sufficiently grown to shew that every vegetable production of the West Indies may be cultivated here with success.

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LETTER XXXVII.

COUNTRY AROUND VENUELA — ALHAMA — ITS AGRICULTURE — CORN FIELDS — THRESHING FLOORS — SALT SPRINGS AT ALMAHA — VIEW OF GRANADA AND ITS ENVIRONS.

GRANADA, JAN. 1810.

WE left Velez at day-break, and continued our journey, for the first hour, through the richest, and most delightful country in the world: the purest streams descended from the mountains, and were conducted through beautiful gardens, with great skill and judgement. The whole road was a gradual, but not steep ascent, and we frequently crossed the river.

Our ascent became steeper after the first hour, till we reached La Veñuela, and then, for five hours, we continued climbing precipices, which only mules, or Spanish horses, such as we rode, could have surmounted. By noon we had reached the summit of the first range of mountains, whence we could discern only a still higher range, sprinkled on the top with snow. At this spot we found a lonely venta, which afforded no refreshment, except some straw for the cattle, and water from a mountain torrent. The earth was barren; and the rocks of red marble above and around were quite naked.

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We saw but one human habitation after leaving Venuela; and we were informed that these mountains abounded with wolves, and were the habitations of eagles. We continued from the venta to ascend still steeper mountains, till, in about four hours more, we reached a height, which, however, was not the summit of the range, but merely an opening in the second ridge, whence we could see the Sierra nevada beyond Granada, with its top, for half a mile, covered with snow. The highest point of that mountain is about two miles and a quarter above the level of the sea, whereas that we passed was not more than a mile and a half.

The Sierra de Alhama, which we left on our right hand, must have been about half a mile higher than the ridge we were passing; and though its top was covered with snow, it was evidently such as had recently fallen, and not like that inexhaustible mass which has for ages been accumulating on the Sierra nevada. When we had gained the opening, the highest point of our ascent, and had begun to descend, the country around us resembled England in the verdure of the fields, and the abundance of the oak and cork trees.

Among these trees we saw some thousands of pigs of a race, I believe, peculiar to Spain. They are of small size, perfectly black, and the fattest animals I ever beheld. It is at this season, when they feed on the acorns from the oak and cork-trees, that they are fattest; and it is the hams of these animals that are so much admired by Spanish epicures. This tract of country, a short time ago, belonged in common to the two corporations, or cabildos, of Velez and Alhama, and they enjoyed the produce of the whole in alternate years; but about five years ago it was divided, and I was told

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that each of those bodies had tripled their revenues. After passing these trees we came into an open corn country, extending to the town of Alhama and several miles beyond it, which produces the most abundant crops of wheat and barley.

We reached the town by five o'clock, and there being neither food nor liquor in the posada, while we surveyed the buildings and the situation of the place, our servants went to the shops to purchase our meal. There is nothing in the former worth remarking, except that we saw only one house with glass windows, for even the monasteries and churches are destitute of this comfort. The city is bounded on three sides by a river, which pours down with great velocity through a fissure in the solid rock, about one hundred feet deep, and turns in succession eight mills for grinding corn.

The agriculture of Alhama is totally different from that of the country near Malaga and Velez; neither vineyards, olive-grounds, figs, lemons, nor oranges, were to be seen, but in their stead extensive fields of wheat stubble. The soil is stony, and is upon a limestone rock. I should suppose it to have been formed by the decomposition of the particles from the high mountains, which are washed down by the heavy rains. The cultivators in these parts are a richer body of men than those in the fruitful valleys on the other side of the mountain. Grain here produces a more uniform crop than fruit does in the valleys; the excessive produce of which, in some years, and great failure in others, creates in the people a disposition similar to that of our West Indian proprietors, who have been said to regulate their expenditure on a scale commensurate with their most favourable years.

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At Alhama the farmers generally have good crops, and certain markets, and therefore live in a state of ease, and have become affluent. Many of the fields are so remote from the habitations of man, that, during the harvest, the proprietors and their labourers erect tents, under which they live till the corn is cut, threshed, and carried home, when they return to the town where they reside, till the seed-time, and then they once again live under tents, till the labour of sowing be finished.

The corn-farms are divided into portions not varying much from each other in size; and I remarked, that at the corner of each portion of nearly the same dimensions, threshing-floors were constructed, for the purpose of clearing the corn from the chaff and straw, by the process I described when at Seville. These threshing-floors carried back my views to that antient husbandry of Arabia which was practised by the patriarchs, and is frequently alluded to in the Old Testament. The Arabs carried it to Africa, and their successors introduced it into Andalusia, where it is now practised as in those primitive times. The corn, indeed, is now trodden out by mares instead of oxen; but the mode of doing it, the living in tents, and the storing the grain in caves, are all evidently Arabian customs. The Arabian writer on agriculture, to whom I have before referred, frequently quotes the opinion of another author of a more remote date, who, he says, lived in Chaldea, and was the best writer on husbandry.

In this place the people appear more robust than in the valleys, and some of them have complexions almost ruddy. The dreadful epidemic, which occasionally prevails in the valleys, has never crossed

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the mountains to destroy the population of this town, where the air is as pure, perhaps, as in any spot on the globe. It is visited by invalids from all parts of Spain; not solely from the purity of its air, but from some medicinal springs of great celebrity, which are said to cure all diseases. When the Moors possessed this place, the fame of the baths was so great among the surrounding Christians, that a revenue of five hundred thousand ducats is said to have been raised by giving them permission to make use of them. These waters are sulphureous; and one of the springs, which fills a marble bath, is of the heat of 32 degrees of Reaumur, which is tempered by another spring close to it of cold water, resembling that of Harrowgate in taste.

This place has one large church, most extravagantly decorated with expensive, but tasteless ornaments, and three convents, which we did not visit, though hospitably invited by one of the monks, whom we accosted in the street, and who civilly became our Cicerone "por amor de los Ingleses."

We visited the castle, now in ruins, because it was celebrated as the theatre of many gallant exploits in those wars, between the Moors and Christians, which preceded the final conquest of the kingdom of Granada. Mr. Southey has familiarised Alhama to the English reader, by his two versions of antient ballads, in the notes of his Chronicle of the Cid.

As the capture of this place was so decisive of the fate of the Moorish power, it may be worth relating, that Don Rodrigo Ponce, Marquis of Cadiz, collected two thousand five hundred horse, and four thousand foot, and marched three days among the mountains, without communicating to his followers any intelligence of his

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design. On the third night he informed them, that they were within a league of Alhama, the castle of which must be immediately attacked. They marched in silence, and in darkness; a chosen body applied their scaling-ladders, before the garrison was alarmed, and killed the centinels, who were asleep: the gates were then burst open, and the troops gained the fortress. When day broke Rodrigo was master of the castle; but the city was defended by troops more numerous than his army. The Christians, however, rushed into the streets, and both parties fought with all the fury of desperation from morning till night; when at last the Cross prevailed, and the Moors were defeated, and all put to the sword, excepting one, who escaped by flight, to carry the fatal intelligence to the royal residence. Albohacen, the Moorish king, condemned to death the wretched messenger, and afterwards executed the governor, though he was absent with his permission.

When we left Alhama we travelled four hours, by a gradual descent, over rich cornfields, unadorned with trees, and met with but one very small village in the space of twenty miles. We afterwards reached Almaha, a town which, I should suppose, contains two thousand inhabitants: at the end of it is a royal salt manufactory, which supplies the surrounding country with that article. The salt spring rises on the side of a small river, and its contents are spread in pools about nine inches deep, which present a large surface to the rays of the sun, by the power of which the evaporation of the water is alone performed. As the process is slow, the crystals are formed of a large size. The surplus of the spring runs

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runs into the river, which, from the salt taste, it in consequence acquires, has the name of El Saladillo.

The quantity of salt produced at these springs depends on the greater or less quantity of rain that falls; and, owing to the recent copious showers, the brine in the pits, at present, is very weak: at no time, however, is it equal in strength to the springs of Droitwich or Northwich. I was told by the superintendant, that salt could be dissolved in it, a proof that the water is not fully saturated. I guessed, from the number of well-dressed officers I observed, and from the houses built for their residence, that, like all royal manufactories, it is conducted upon an extravagant system, and produces much less revenue than it would do in the hands of a private individual.

From a hill which we ascended, after leaving Almaha, we first saw the plain of Granada, but not the city, because some small hills in the centre of that plain intercepted the sight. This plain is of great extent, and includes within its circuit fifty-two towns. Its length is about thirty miles; and its breadth, in the part we crossed it, about sixteen. It is situated about twelve hundred yards, or nearly three quarters of a mile, above the level of the sea; but being inclosed by mountains of a stupendous height, with their tops covered with snow, or hid in the clouds, it has the appearance of a delicious valley.

When we reached the top of the small hills, and were within two leagues of the city, that most interesting object, with the whole plain beneath, presented itself to our view: nothing could exceed

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the prospect which then opened upon us: the rich and populous country, well supplied with trees, and clear rivulets descending from the mountains, and artificially contrived to intersect it in every part; the splendid city, extending, in a half-moon, from the river, clothing the gradual ascent of a hill; the streets rising above each other; the profusion of turrets and gilded cupolas; the summit crowned with the Alhambra; the back ground composed of the majestic Sierra nevada, with its top covered with snow, completed a scene, to which no description can do justice; a scene, to view which we had ridden on horseback two hundred miles, over the worst roads in the world, and which we, nevertheless, considered as amply repaying us for the fatigue we had endured, and the filth we had encountered. We rode over the remainder of the plain, till we passed the bridge across the Darro, and entered the city.

This place, however, should be viewed at a distance, and not be too nearly inspected; for the splendid poverty visible within destroys the illusion created by a distant view.

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LETTER XXXVIII.

SKETCH OF THE MOORISH DOMINION IN SPAIN.

GRANADA, JAN. 1810.

AS I think it will increase the interest you will feel in reading my description of what remains of the Moors in this their last possession in Spain, I shall devote a few hours to the giving you a slight sketch of the origin, progress, and final destruction of their power in the Peninsula.

The Visigoths, who overran this province of the Roman Empire, speedily lost, in the quiet possession of the country, that warlike disposition which had rendered them irresistible. The simple manners of their ancestors were quickly corrupted by the enervating luxuries which an uninterrupted possession of a fruitful soil, under a mild climate, never fails to produce. Nations under such circumstances must always fall an easy prey to the attempts of the first hardy invader: and this is an observation that has scarcely ever been more strongly exemplified than in the period of history which I am about to notice.

The Gothic kings of Spain, like their successors, held possession of the fortress of Ceuta, the quarter whence invasion was most to be

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apprehended. The command of it, as well as of Gibraltar, was entrusted to Count Julian, a nobleman of the highest rank, whose extensive possessions, in Spain and Africa, were supposed to give the best security for his fidelity.

Rodrigo, who filled the throne of Spain at the beginning of the eighth century, was a cruel, luxurious, and debauched prince. He had irritated this governor by the tyranny of his conduct, and, as popular tradition adds, by the violation of his daughter. Julian in revenge entered into treaty with the Mahomedans, and opened a way for their introduction into Spain. This warlike race, issuing from Arabia, had, in the short space of eighty years, from the death of Mahomet, overrun Persia, Syria, and Egypt; and, with the single exception of the fortress Count Julian commanded, had subdued the coast of Mauritania to the Atlantic Ocean.

Musa, their victorious general, prompted by the suggestions, and induced by the treachery, of Julian, arranged at Tangiers the necessary preparations for subjugating the Peninsula of Spain. The first attempt was made in 710, by an insignificant force of 100 Arabs and 400 Moors, who landed at Tariffa, and marched to Algeziras, the patrimonial fortress of the vindictive count, whose dependants and connections received the invaders with such hospitality, and gave them such assurances of support, as encouraged Musa to anticipate success.

Early in 711 Tarec, one of the ablest generals in the army of Musa, with 5,000 of his best troops, landed at Gibraltar, where he organised the Christian auxiliaries, that crowded in considerable numbers to his standard. Rodrigo summoned to Toledo the Chris-

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tian chiefs, and their numerous followers, and, at the head of 100,000 men, marched to repel this handful of Mahomedan troops; but treachery had introduced itself among the Christian nobles, and the sons of Witiza, the deposed predecessor of Rodrigo, were among the most prominent of the conspirators against their country and their Religion.

The Saracens, with their Christian auxiliaries, advanced with confidence and courage to meet the host of their opposers; and, in the plain near Xeres, on the banks of the Guadalete, a bloody battle, of three days duration, terminated at one blow the life of Rodrigo and the empire of the Goths. So great was the panic produced by this decisive victory, that the Mahomedans traversed Spain, and subdued it with a rapidity almost unexampled in the history of war. Cordova was captured by 700 Arabs; and Toledo, where Rodrigo had lately held his court, surrendered at the first appearance of the invader.

The influence of terror caused the Jews and the Christians of Spain to receive with submission the Mahomedan faith; and the whole Peninsula was completely subdued except a band of invincible patriots, who united behind the shelter of the Asturian Mountains, and under the command of Pelagius, laid the foundation of that power which, during the possession of Spain by the Arabs, occasioned perpetual hostilities, and which, after 750 years, finally terminated in the expulsion of the usurpers.

The Mahomedans, intent on the complete conquest of Spain, distributed themselves over the country, and subdued and tranquillized the different cities and provinces. While the fugitives in Asturias

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were laying the foundation of the kingdom of Leon, another small body of insurgents, who had retired to the Pyrenean Mountains, gradually increased in numbers, and extending themselves into the neighbouring plains, founded the kingdom of Navarre; and a few years after, the Christians of Catalonia, assisted by the son of Charlemagne, rallied round the counts of Barcelona, and formed another Christian state in the north-east corner of the Peninsula.

Thus, within less than a century after the Arabian conquest, three formidable and independant states rose up in succession, and successfully resisted the tyranny of their oppressors. These states, peopled by the descendants of those veteran Christians who had disdained the Arabian yoke, accustomed to privations, fatigues, and dangers, and inheriting the inveterate animosity of their ancestors, harassed the common enemy by their predatory excursions, and acquired a spirit of enterprise and a contempt of danger which obliged their foes to concentrate their power within a much narrower circle than that over which they had originally spread themselves.

As the Arabs withdrew towards the southern parts of the Peninsula, other Christian powers arose, which subsequently formed the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon; and for more than three centuries a warfare of the most ferocious nature was kept alive by the followers of the rival faiths, in which the power of the Christians gradually extended itself, while that of their opponents was proportionably diminished.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, little alteration was made in the relative power of the two parties. The Arabian race of the Almoravides and Almohades was, however, divided

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about 1240 into the little kingdoms of Valencia, Murcia, Cordova, and Seville, which were all successively conquered; the first by the arms of Aragon, and the three last by those of Castile and Leon; so that nothing remained to the Arabs but the small kingdom of Granada, which, reinforced by fugitive Mahomedans, encreased in population, in wealth, and civilization, and continued, during nearly three centuries, an independent power, governed by the laws and religion of Mahomed.

Under the Arabian domination, Spain was first governed by the generals of the caliph of Damascus, who brought with them a train of civil and military officers, who preferred an establishment in this country, with its emoluments and luxuries, to returning home, and remaining under the immediate inspection of their monarch, in whose eyes the riches they had accumulated would have been an unpardonable crime. The seat of their government was too far removed, and its power too weak, to recall these chiefs, who became the heads of hereditary factions, which filled the country with petty wars between the districts which were allotted to different commanders. The Moslems of Egypt were established in Lisbon and Murcia, the royal legion of Damascus in Cordova, that of Emesa in Seville, that of Kenisrin in Jaen, and that of Palestine in Medina, Sidonia and Algesiras. Toledo and the surrounding country was divided among the partisans of Yemen and Persia; while the rich plains of Granada were granted to the Prince Balego, and 10,000 horsemen from Syria and Yrah, who were of the noblest blood of Arabia.

To prevent the feuds which prevailed among so many rival chiefs, the caliphs sent viceroys to govern Spain; but from a jealousy of

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their own officers, limited the duration of their power to three years. Of the seventeen viceroys, who for half a century ruled in Spain, not one retired from his government without enormous wealth, acquired by the plunder of the subjects. Nor did any one of them leave the slightest memorial of his skill in war, or of his solicitude to promote the prosperity of the country.

The inhabitants, bowing under this heavy yoke of slavery, were ever disposed to rebel against the authority of the viceroys; and divisions, factions, and conspiracies, accompanied their government. The surrounding Christian princes, to whom the unfortunate and oppressed Arabs addressed themselves for relief, took advantage of their divisions, and contracted within still closer limits the dominion of the Mahomedans, which was previously weakened by emigrations to Africa and Asia, whither the richer citizens had fled to avoid the petty tyranny of their rulers.

The expulsion of the Omniades from the caliphate of Damascus prepared a happy revolution for the Arabians in Spain. Abdelrahman ben Moavia, the son of Hescham, the favourite of a numerous party of nobles, availed himself of the popular discontents, drove Juzef Alfahr from the viceregal throne of Cordova, established himself as a sovereign, and founded in that city the dominion of the western caliphs. Perceiving the evils arising from a difference of religion, and wishing to conciliate all classes under his dominion, he proclaimed a toleration for differences of opinion on sacred subjects, abstained from his projected invasion of the Asturias, and moderated the imposts which his predecessors had laid on the people.

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Though he proclaimed toleration to the Christians, he adopted several measures to lessen their number, and bring the succeeding generations to the Mohamedan faith. He promoted marriage between the two religions; preferred Mussulmen only to offices of authority, and granted the highest favours to those who apostatised from the Christian profession. His administration was conducted with such ability and skill, his encouragement of agriculture and commerce was so considerable, and his regard to the prosperity of his people so evident, that his dominions encreased in population and riches. His capital became embellished with the best specimens of the arts, and the foundation was laid of that splendid kingdom, which, while Christian Europe was sunk in barbarism, preserved the knowledge of the arts and sciences.

At the death of Abdelrahman, Cordova contained within its walls six hundred mosques, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thousand houses: and the power of the western caliph was acknowledged on the banks of the Guadalquivir by eighty cities, three hundred towns, and twelve thousand populous villages.

During the reign of the twelve caliphs, who succeeded to the throne of Abdelrahman, Cordova continued their capital, but its repose was disturbed, and the power of the monarchs shaken, by those repeated insurrections to which despotic governments are always exposed. In the reign of Abdalla, Suar Alcaisi, and afterwards, Said, a native of Syria, raised the standard of revolt in the mountains of Alpujarras, between Cordova and Granada, and though joined by numbers of the discontented, was, after numerous conflicts, quelled by the general of Abdalla.

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The calm which succeeded these revolts was disturbed by Mahomed ben Abdallatiph, of a Persian family, established in Alhama, who, supported by a body of insurgents, proclaimed himself caliph, and maintained a long and doubtful war with his sovereign; but was conquered, and finally met the fate of a traitor, during the reign of Abdelrahman the Third, in the year 924 of the Christian era.

For nearly a century after this period the sovereigns of Cordova enjoyed an undisturbed repose, till Soliman ben Alhaken, an adventurer from Africa, led a numerous army of Moors into Spain, where he was joined by the discontented Arabs; and, after a rapid career, entered the city of Cordova, seated himself on the throne of the caliphs, and transmitted to his son Almanzor the power of the Mahomedans, who transferred the royal residence to Granada in 1013, and whose successors made it their capital till its final subjugation by the Christians.

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LETTER XXXIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE MOORS IN GRANADA — THEIR SUBMISSION TO FERDINAND — PROGRESS OF THE MOORS IN THE CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE — THEIR SKILL IN PHYSIC AND THE FINE ARTS.

GRANADA, JAN. 1810.

HAVING, in my last Letter, sketched the history of the Mahomedans in Spain, till the establishment of their capital in this city, I shall continue the subject to the period of their conquest by the Christians under Ferdinand and Isabella.

The family of Almanzor still continued to reign in Granada, in the year 1051, when Joseph ben Taschphen, King of Morocco, invaded Granada with an irresistible army. The timid successor of Almanzor, though strengthened by auxiliaries from the Christian King of Castile, feared to meet him in battle; and when his enemy advanced towards the city, he went forth to receive him, and, surrendering his power, followed, with his nobles, in the train of the African invader, who was thus quietly seated on the throne, which he afterwards filled with dignity and splendour.

The death of Joseph occasioned a civil war in Granada, which was succeeded by a truce, in which the different pretenders to the sovereignty agreed to divide the kingdom, which, however, became

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again united in 1146, by the establishment of a prince of the family of the Almohades in the sole possession of the supreme power.

This family continued on the throne till 1232, when Mahomed the First, one of the greatest of the Moorish princes, laid the foundation of a new dynasty, the talents and virtues of which raised the kingdom to its highest degree of prosperity. Mahomed, though he always kept up a powerful army, was no less attentive to the arts of peace. He regulated the revenues, administered justice, cultivated science, endowed hospitals, and began the Alhambra, a fortress which was ever afterwards considered the glory of Mahomedan Spain.

The first part of his reign was undisturbed by war; but Ferdinand of Castile having succeeded in taking Cordova, he feared for the safety of his dominions, and endeavoured to strengthen himself by an alliance with Benudiel King of Murcia, who, having declined his offered friendship, was under the necessity of ceding his dominions to the Christian King, to avoid their being conquered by this Mahomedan prince. Ferdinand, having thus obtained possession of Murcia, turned his arms against the kingdom of Granada. Mahomed fought the battle of Martos with the commander of Calatrava; but, though victorious, was threatened with such overwhelming forces, that he yielded to Ferdinand, paid tribute for his dominions, and assisted with his troops at the capture of Seville, in the character of a vassal to the Christian chief.

The death of Ferdinand produced civil wars, in Castile, among the subjects of his son Alphonso, and Mahomed availed himself of the opportunity to throw off the yoke he had unwillingly borne, and forming alliances with other Moorish chieftains, defeated the

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army of Alphonso at Alcala la Real. With the assistance of ten thousand horse from Morocco, he invested the cities of Guadix and Malaga, which were under the protection of the kingdom of Castile; and, after a long siege, took the latter by storm, in 1273, when his reign and his life were terminated by the fatigues of war.

Mahomed the Second succeeded his father, and has left a higher character than any of the monarchs of his race. The commencement of his reign was disturbed by domestic factions, which, by his firmness and wisdom, he either subdued or conciliated. He was the patron of arts and of commerce, and the protector of science. His court was the resort of astronomers, physicians, philosophers, orators, and poets; and his own compositions in verse are celebrated by the Arabs for their wit and epigrammatic humour. He renewed the alliance with the King of Castile; but Alphonso having passed to Italy, he took advantage of his absence, and formed a treaty with the King of Morocco, who sent him an army of seventeen thousand men, by the aid of which he defeated the Christian forces, enlarged his dominions by the capture of Jaen, and finally concluded a treaty of peace, in which the Christians renounced their claim of vassalage, agreed to defray the expences of the war, and surrendered to the Moors Tarifa and Algeziras.

His son, of the same name, succeeded to the throne in 1302, and resembled him in his love of literature, and his patronage of the fine arts; but being engaged in a war with the King of Arragon, discontents were fomented in the capital; and when he returned, an insurrection broke out, which transferred the crown to Almasser his brother, who, though only twenty-five years of age, was

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celebrated for his progress in mathematics, his knowledge of astronomy, and his skill in making astronomical tables and instruments with the greatest accuracy: as he was, however, unfit for the turbulent period in which he lived, he yielded to the seditious disposition of his subjects, who were aided by Ismael Prince of Malaga, and in 1314 withdrew from the throne to a life of literary retirement, while the more warlike Ismael succeeded to that dignity which the mild virtues of Almasser rendered him unfit to maintain.

Were I to name the various kings who in succession ruled the kingdom of Granada, I should I fear exhaust your patience; and I have only been induced to mention these few, because their reigns were marked by a love of science which gave a character to their territory materially different from that which it had before possessed.

Granada, sometimes at variance, sometimes in alliance with Castile and with Arragon, sometimes receiving succours from, and sometimes sending invading armies to Barbary, was itself torn by those intestine commotions which are frequently the cause, and are always the forerunners of the dissolution of states. The last war of Granada was begun in 1482 by Albohasen, who, instigated by the discontents in Castile, which the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella had created, marched an army of 40,000 men to attack their dominions. Ferdinand proposed a truce for three years, which was accepted. During this period, having quieted his rebellious subjects, he directed his forces against Albohasen. He commenced his operations by capturing Alhama, which gave a decisive blow to the Moorish power, since, by the fall of this place, the Christians became masters of an impregnable fortress in the heart of the enemy's

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dominions, and were thence enabled to excite murmurs and dissentions among the different parties in the capital.

Four families, of distinguished wealth and influence, divided the whole kingdom into factions, and by their intrigues and animosities accelerated its ruin. From the Gomeles, the Abencerraxes, the Alabaces, and the Zegris, the ministers of state, of justice, and of religion, and the commanders of the armies, were generally selected; and the disappointments of these rival families, in their solicitations for these offices, usually produced insurrection and rebellion. Amid this scene of internal division, Albohasen, who had provoked the hostility of Castile, forfeited the respect of his subjects, by a blind attachment to a Christian captive, for whose sake he divorced his wife, and caused her sons to be executed. He was, in consequence, deposed, and Abo Abdeli, his eldest son, who alone escaped from the slaughter, was raised by the people to the throne of his father.

Ferdinand in the mean time advanced towards the city, and Abo Abdeli, in a battle near Lucina, was defeated, and made prisoner. During his captivity he entered into a treaty with his conqueror, which restored him to his liberty, but his people, being animated with fury at the disgraceful terms to which he had acceded, drove him from the throne, and Albohasen was again elevated to the sovereignty for a few months, when his brother, Muly el Zagal, was enabled, by the fickle populace, to dethrone him, and assume the sceptre.

The policy of Ferdinand induced him to support the interests of the exiled Abo Abdeli, and to foment those divisions, between the

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rival monarchs, which favoured, and opened his way to the final reduction of Granada. A short alliance was, indeed, formed between the Moorish kings, by the preaching of a celebrated fakeer of the house of Abencerraxe, to whose warning the people listened as to the voice of inspiration: he proclaimed, in the name of God and his prophet, the approaching ruin of the Mahomedan faith, unless the two competitors should unite in its support. His eloquence produced a transient effect, but the jealousy of the rivals soon revived.

About this time Ferdinand captured Velez, and besieged Malaga; which last city, after a desperate defence, submitted, in 1487, to his arms, while Muley, who was advancing to its relief, was defeated by Abo Abdeli. Indeed, such was the mutual animosity of these near relatives, that Muley agreed to a treaty with Ferdinand, by which he ceded his strong towns of Guadix and Almeria, and retired to privacy, in the mountains of Alpuxarras, solely with the view that the whole force of the Christians might be directed against his rival.

Abo Abdeli, reduced to the city and the plain of Granada, was at the mercy of the Castilian conqueror; but the extent and strength of the place promised a long and obstinate resistance, and Ferdinand, with an army of seventy thousand men, was unable to invest it. Resolved, however, to conquer this last refuge of the Mahomedans, he occupied the surrounding country with his troops, built the city of Santa-fee within two leagues of it, and drew thither the commerce and supplies, which had previously centered in Granada.

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At this period, while its inhabitants were sunk in indolence, one of those men, whose natural and impassioned eloquence has sometimes aroused a people to deeds of heroism, raised his voice, in the midst of the city, and awakened the inhabitants from their lethargy. Twenty thousand enthusiasts, ranged under his banners, were prepared to sally forth, with the fury of desperation, to attack the besiegers, when Abo Abdeli, more afraid of his subjects than of the enemy, resolved immediately to capitulate, and made terms with the Christians, by which it was agreed that the Moors should be allowed the free exercise of their religion and laws; should be permitted, if they thought proper, to depart, unmolested, with their effects, to Africa; and that he himself, if he remained in Spain, should retain an extensive estate, with houses and slaves, or be granted an equivalent in money, if he preferred retiring to Barbary.

Thus, after eight centuries, the power of the Mahomedans was terminated in Spain. Abo Abdeli, the last of their chiefs, after bending the knee to the King of Castile, and kissing his hand as a token of submission, retired to his domain, loaded with the hatred and the curses of the people, and the execrations of his own family; while the remnant of the nation, after submitting to the Christians, was, in defiance of every principle of good faith and enlightened policy, finally banished to the sterile and sultry regions of their ancestors.

I refrain, with some difficulty, from narrating the wars which succeeded the conquest of Granada, and the heroism displayed by the Moors, who were scattered in the mountains; the eloquence of their chiefs, their sufferings, and their constancy, would be a theme

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upon which the interesting scenes around me might lead me to dwell with enthusiasm, but which I fear you would not feel with equal interest. I shall therefore present to your view some account of that period, when Christendom, sunk under Papal dominion, destitute of science, and deprived of the knowledge of the Grecian and Roman authors, was in a state of mental barbarism, and the successors of the Arabian prophet preserved, within the narrow confines of the little kingdom of Granada, the only remaining portion of the light of knowledge.

That contempt of knowledge which was the natural effect of the warlike pursuits of Mahomed and his immediate successors, and which produced the destruction of the treasures of antiquity in the library of Alexandria, continued till the accession of Almamon, the seventh caliph of the race of Abassides, who sent agents through Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, to collect the scientific writings of Greece. These he caused to be translated into the Arabic language, and recommended them to the study of his subjects. His successors were equally inclined to promote the advancement of knowledge, and were rivalled in this respect by the Fatimites of Africa, and the Omniades of Spain. Thus the love of literature became extended to Fez, Cordova, and Granada.

The Arabic writers affirm, that the Omniades collected six hundred thousand volumes, and mention seventy public libraries in the different Spanish cities under the dominion of the Arabs; in 1126, they enumerate one hundred and fifty authors, natives of Cordova, fifty-two of Almeria, seventy-six of Murcia, and fifty-three of Malaga, besides those of Seville, Valencia, and Granada, whose

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successors, during nearly four centuries, kept alive the spirit of literature: it was, however, principally in this last city that it flourished, in which there were at that time two universities, two royal colleges, and a public library, enriched with the productions of the best Greek and Arabic writers. So general was the love of learning in Granada, that it extended, notwithstanding the prohibitions of Mahomed, to the softer sex. Naschina acquired celebrity as a poetess; Mosada as an historian; and Leila as a mathematician and universal scholar.

I shall not enter into the question how far this display of knowledge, this taste for literature, tended to soften the harsh features of the Mahomedan religion, or to mollify the despotism of its government. The moderns are at least indebted to them for having preserved the writings of eminent Greek authors, whose works, when learning revived in Christian Europe, became important auxiliaries in furthering the progress of human acquirement. Physic in particular was diligently studied, and the names of Mesna, Geber, and Avicena, may be classed with those of their Greek instructors. Such was the celebrity of the Mahomedan physicians, that the lives of the Catholic kings, in extreme sickness, were frequently entrusted to their care; and Muratori gives them the credit of having founded at Salerno that school for medicine which diffused the knowledge of the healing art through Italy, and the rest of Europe.

They were, however, but imperfectly acquainted with anatomy, as the dissection of the human frame was forbidden, and they could only judge of its organization from the inspection of monkeys and other animals. Botany was a favourite study, and the travellers of

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Granada brought from Africa, Persia, and India, plants, which enriched their collections. In the study of chemistry also they had made some progress: they analyzed substances, observed the affinity of acids and alkalies, and drew valuable medicines from the most poisonous minerals.

The sciences in which the Arabs of Granada more especially excelled, were the various branches of mathematics. Astronomy was early introduced, and eagerly cultivated, and the brilliancy of the atmosphere, the extent of the horizon, and the nature of their occupations, enabled them to make considerable proficiency in that science, even at an early period. An astronomical clock, of very curious construction, was among the presents sent to Charlemagne, by an Arabian king, in the year 807; and in a work published by Almamon, in 814, mention is made of two observations of the obliquity of the ecliptic, and the mode is described of measuring a degree of the meridian, the result of which very nearly corresponds with the more recent experiments made in Peru and Lapland. Alphonso King of Castile employed Arabian astronomers to instruct the professors in his dominions; and it is probable, that, from this circumstance, the terms Nadir, Zenith, Azimuth, and many others, have been transferred from the Arabian language to all the dialects of Europe.

Arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and optics, were sedulously studied. Although the system of numeration, which is the basis of our arithmetic, may, perhaps, be traced to more remote antiquity, it probably would not have been so extensively and so early adopted, but for the labours of the Arabs of Granada. Algebra, though not indebted to them for its origin, was advanced very considerably by

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their exertions; and a Spanish Arab, of the eleventh century, Geber ben Aphla, is considered almost as the founder of trigonometry, by new theorems, which he proposed.

In those branches of mathematics which are connected with physics, the Arabs made little or no progress, but contented themselves with servilely copying the antients, or commenting on their errors. With all the knowledge, however, which the Arabs possessed, they were as unacquainted as their Christian contemporaries with those exquisite writings of Greece and of Rome, which have handed down to us the heroic characters described in the pages of Plutarch and Livy, and which have exhibited mankind in its most elevated point of view. But to estimate justly the rank which the kingdom of Granada held among the nations, it ought to be compared with the Christian kingdoms of the same age, and not with those which, since the revival of learning, the reformation of religion, and the establishment of liberty, have so greatly increased in every species of knowledge and refinement.

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LETTER XL.

AGRICULTURE OF THE MOORS — SILKS — CLOTHS — PORCELAIN — LEATHER — FINE ARTS — MANNERS — GOVERNMENT — REVENUES — MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

GRANADA, JAN. 1810.

THE introduction of science extended its influence, in the kingdom of Granada, to objects which at first sight appeared unconnected with it. The extensive population of this small kingdom rendered an attention to its agriculture necessary, in order to supply the means of subsistence. What the exact numbers of the population may have been it is now difficult to ascertain; but in the year 1311, an ambassador, sent from Spain to Vienna, stated the inhabitants of the capital to amount to two hundred thousand Moors, besides fifty thousand renegadoes, and thirty thousand Christian captives.

Agriculture in Granada, under the Saracens, formed the principal and most honourable occupation; and though they had not, like the Romans, the deity Stercutus, the attention paid to manure was not less than with that people: it was carefully preserved in pits, that none of the salts might be lost, and was liberally spread over their fields; irrigation was carefully attended to; and the trans-

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parent streams which descended from the mountains were diverted into thousands of channels, to fertilize the soil.

The bigotry of Mahomedanism forbade them to sell their superfluous corn to the surrounding nations; and the want of that stimulus, which the certainty of a vent produces, prevented them from carrying the cultivation of grain to any great extent. In years of abundance it was deposited in the caverns of rocks, lined with straw, the mouths of which were covered with the same material, where it was preserved for a long succession of years. On the birth of every child a cavern was filled with corn, which was destined to be his portion when arrived at maturity.

That religious prejudice which induced the Moors to neglect, in some degree, the cultivation of grain, led them to cultivate, with sedulous attention, fruits of all kinds, which seem, indeed, to have formed their principal aliment. Spain owes to this people the introduction of the infinite variety of fruits, which are now considered almost as indigenous. It is equally indebted to them for the sugar-cane, the cotton-tree, and all the best horticultural productions with which the country now abounds. Though wine was forbidden, vines were cultivated to such an extent that their annual value in the vega, or plain, is estimated by a writer in the year 1296 at fourteen thousand golden crowns, or eight thousand pounds sterling, a prodigious sum at that day, when the fanega of wheat (nearly two bushels) sold for about one shilling.

The commerce of Granada was very extensive at an early period, and the luxuries of India were brought to supply its voluptuous court from Alexandria to Malaga. The silks of India were, however,

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soon imitated by the Moors, and, after some practice, were even excelled. Capmany, in his Historical Memoirs of the Commerce of Barcelona, quotes a letter of Navagero, a Venetian ambassador, written from Granada, in which he says, "They make here silks of all kinds, for which there is a great consumption in Spain; their taffeties are as good, perhaps better than those of Italy; and their silk-serges, and velvets, are likewise of good quality." From the commerce with India the porcelains of China were introduced in Granada; and in this branch the Moors appear to have gone beyond their models, if we may be allowed to form a judgment from two exquisitely worked vases, preserved in the palace of the Alhambra, and from the glazed tiles, which form the most remarkable ornament of that magnificent edifice.

It is probable that the manufacture of woollen cloths had advanced in proportion to that of silk, if we consider the quantity of fine wool which Spain produced; and it is known, that a present of cloth sent to Charles the Bald, king of France, was highly esteemed by that monarch. Cloths of cotton and of flax were commonly made and used by the people of Granada; but the manufacture in which, above all others, they excelled, was that of curing and dying leather, which, though now lost in Spain by the banishment of the Moors, has been carried to Fez, and to England, where the names of Morocco and Cordovan are still applied to leather prepared after their mode.

The Moors of Granada made some progress in working mines of the various metals with which the mountains abound; and though no traces are left of any gold or silver mines, and their accounts of

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the former metal prove that it was produced by washing the sand of the river Darro; yet it is certain that iron and lead mines were worked to an extent that enabled them to export considerable quantities to the Christians of Barcelona and the Moors of Africa. Their manufactories of iron and steel were considerable; and the latter was so excellent, that the swords of Granada were preferred to all others in Spain.

The fine arts were very imperfectly known. The prohibition among the Mahomedans to copy the human form, had, no doubt, a considerable influence in preventing their attaining any excellence in either painting or sculpture; and though their joiners and inlayers of wood worked with nicety, there is an evident want of taste in their ornaments, as well as in their architectural plans. They excelled in the stucco, with which they ornamented their apartments, and displayed great and singular skill in painting and gilding them; abundant proofs of which still remain in the Alhambra.

Music was an object of study with some of the most eminent Arabs; and Avicena, the most celebrated of their literati, illustrated it by some works which are in the Escurial. The gamut was brought to them from Persia, and consisted only of seven notes, indicated by the seven words of their first numerals. No less than thirty-one musical instruments are enumerated in their writings; but, as they paid little attention to time, it is not probable that they had made much progress in the science.

The manners of the Moors in Spain were much softened by the acquirement of knowledge; and without losing the warlike character

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which introduced them into the country, they acquired a degree of gallantry, and even devotion to the fair sex, very remote from the practice of other Mahomedans, which probably laid the foundation of that chivalrous spirit that once universally prevailed, and the traces of which are still to be observed in the interior of Spain. Distinctions gained in war were considered the surest passports to the affections of the fair; the gallant warrior was animated by the hopes of the applauses of his mistress, and in their tilts and tournaments the ladies were the judges, and distributed the prizes to the bold, and to the dextrous.

This devotion to the sex was not destroyed by polygamy, which, though permitted by the law, was seldom practised, nor by the right of divorce, which, being mutual, gave an equality to the sexes unknown in other Mahomedan countries. The ornaments of the females were girdles, embroidered with gold and silver; the hair, which was long, was tied with strings of coral and amber, while necklaces of topaz, crysolite, amethyst, or emerald, encircled the bosom; their indulgence also in the most expensive perfumes was carried to a degree of extravagance bordering on insanity.

The government of the Arabs was a military despotism, ameliorated, however, by customs and manners, which made it preferable to the uncontrouled tyranny of their Eastern progenitors. The throne was elective; but the reigning monarch had usually the opportunity of transmitting it to his posterity, by associating in his power a favourite son, by conciliating the leading nobles, and attaching them to the interests of his intended successor. The first functions of a new monarch were performed with pomp and ceremony,

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and consisted in exercising the sacred duty of administering justice in his hall of state, surrounded with his nobles, and in the presence of the people, whose acclamations of joy, or murmurs of discontent, presaged a reign of long or short duration.

They had no hereditary nobility; but certain families, by their wealth, their connexions, and their talents, were so powerful, that, to all effective purposes, they enjoyed the privileges, and exercised the prerogatives, of a powerful aristocracy.

The revenues of the state consisted of a tenth of all the productions, and of the two taxes, which still retain the names by which they were designated under the Arabs, the Almoxarifazgo amounted to twelve and a half per cent. or one eighth part of every commodity brought into or sent out of the kingdom, and the Alcavala was one tenth part of the value of every species of property when it was transferred by sale. These were the ordinary sources of revenue; but in preparing for war, in erecting hospitals, colleges, or royal edifices, extraordinary contributions were levied, denominated Gabelas, which amounted to considerable sums.

In Granada the only soldiers by profession were the royal Moorish guards, and a few others, necessary to garrison the fortresses. On the apprehension of war, the principal leaders convoked the people; and by holding out the hopes of successful plunder, and the promises of eternal felicity, they speedily filled their ranks with voluntary soldiers, and rendered requisitions and force unnecessary. The army was classed in tribes or families, each led by its chief, who carried the standard, while the whole was commanded by a general of the family of the prophet, who carried before them the

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standard of their religion. Their heavy troops were armed with pikes, swords, and shields, and their light troops with darts and arrows; but their most powerful force consisted of the numerous bodies of cavalry, with which, though apparently destitute of order, they made almost irresistible charges, and managed them with a skill and courage that rendered them dreadful to an enemy.

Their shouts, when charging an enemy, were accompanied with those sounds, formerly so terrific to the Christians, "Allah Arbar," God the Omnipotent; upon uttering which words they would rush with the madness of enthusiasm to the charge, and bear before them every opponent. For defensive war, they erected fortresses on the heights of almost inaccessible mountains, to which they retired when repulsed, and whence, with recruited vigour, they sallied again, and became in their turn the assailants. The telegraph was used, if not with all the effect and improvements of recent date, yet with a dexterity that gave them great advantages over an enemy. Watch towers were constructed, from which signals of smoke by day, and of torches by night, communicated the movements of their opponents.

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LETTER XLI.

APPROACH TO THE ALHAMBRA — GATE OF JUDGMENT — PLAZA DE LOS ALGIBES — PALACE OF CHARLES THE FIFTH — COURT OF THE LIONS — HALL OF THE ABENCERRAXES — QUEEN'S DRESSING ROOM — GENERALIFFE.

GRANADA, JAN. 1810.

PERHAPS few narratives are more uninteresting than those which describe visits to ancient edifices, unless the reader happen to have a predilection for the contemplation of antiquities; but the Arabian remains in this city are so remarkable, that I hope you will not feel my descriptions tiresome.

I have several times visited the Alhambra, the ancient fortress and palace of the Moorish Kings: it is situated on the top of a hill overlooking the city, and is surrounded with a wall of great height and thickness. The road to it is by a winding path through a wood of lofty elms, mixed with poplars and oleanders; and some orange and lemon trees. By the side of the road, or rather path (for it is not designed for wheel carriages), are beautiful marble fountains, from which transparent streams are constantly rushing down. The entrance is through an archway, over which is carved a key, the symbol of the Mahomedan monarchs. This gate, called the Gate of Judgment, according to Eastern forms, was the place

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Alhambra in Granada.

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where the Kings administered justice. The horse-shoe arches are supported by marble pillars, ornamented, in the Arabian style, with bandeaus and inscriptions, one of which, in the ancient Cufic character, has been translated by some of the literati, "Praise be to God. There is no God but one, and Mahomed is his prophet; and there is no power but from God." These, and similar inscriptions, are extremely numerous in every part of the buildings; they have been carefully copied and translated, and are preserved in a beautiful work published by the royal academy of St. Ferdinand in Madrid; some of them are in the Cufic, and others in the more modern Arabic characters, which are easily distinguished from each other, even by persons who are as ignorant as I am of that language.

All the ornaments of the Alhambra are intermixed with more modern ones, of the age of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, whose arms, together with some of their successors, destroy in some degree the effect of that illusion which might otherwise transport the beholder to the palace of the Caliph of Damascus, or to the scenes of the Arabian Nights. This execrable taste is even carried so far, that an image of the Virgin, or an inscription in praise of the Catholic conquerors, very frequently stands by the side of others of opposite import; and a picture in this gate is shown, which our guide very gravely assured us was painted by St. Luke, and was the second portrait he had made of his divine master.

After leaving the Gate of Judgment, we passed through another, which is now converted into a chapel, and with much fatigue arrived at the Plaza de los Algibes, or the square of the cisterns, under which water is brought from another hill at the distance of a league: these

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reservoirs are so large, and contain so much of that necessary article, that they provided an ample supply for all the numerous inhabitants who formerly dwelt in the Alhambra. From this spot the prospect of the surrounding country was very fine, and the majestic Sierra Nevada seemed impending over us.

The palace of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, the finest building of the age in which Spanish architecture was at its height, forms one side of the square, and is a beautiful specimen of the taste and ability of the artist, Alonzo Berrueguete, who drew the plan and began to execute it in 1537. It is a square building, each front being two hundred and twenty feet in length. The doors correspond with the sumptuous beauty of the edifice, and there are some basso relievos in the front, admirably executed in marble, in medallions, by Antonio Leval, which record the principal events of the reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Few buildings can exceed this in beauty; perhaps the banqueting-house at Whitehall, more nearly resembles it than any other building in England, and may give you some idea of it. The interior of this palace is a circle, surrounded with thirty-two marble pillars of the Doric order, with niches between each for statues. The apartments are very well contrived for the climate, and the marble staircases are extremely magnificent. The roof never was laid on, and of course, the building has never been finished; but it remains a proud monument of the genius of the age in which it was built, aud forms a remarkable instance of the mildness of that climate, to which it has been exposed for the lapse of three centuries, without any alteration in its appearance or diminution of its beauty.

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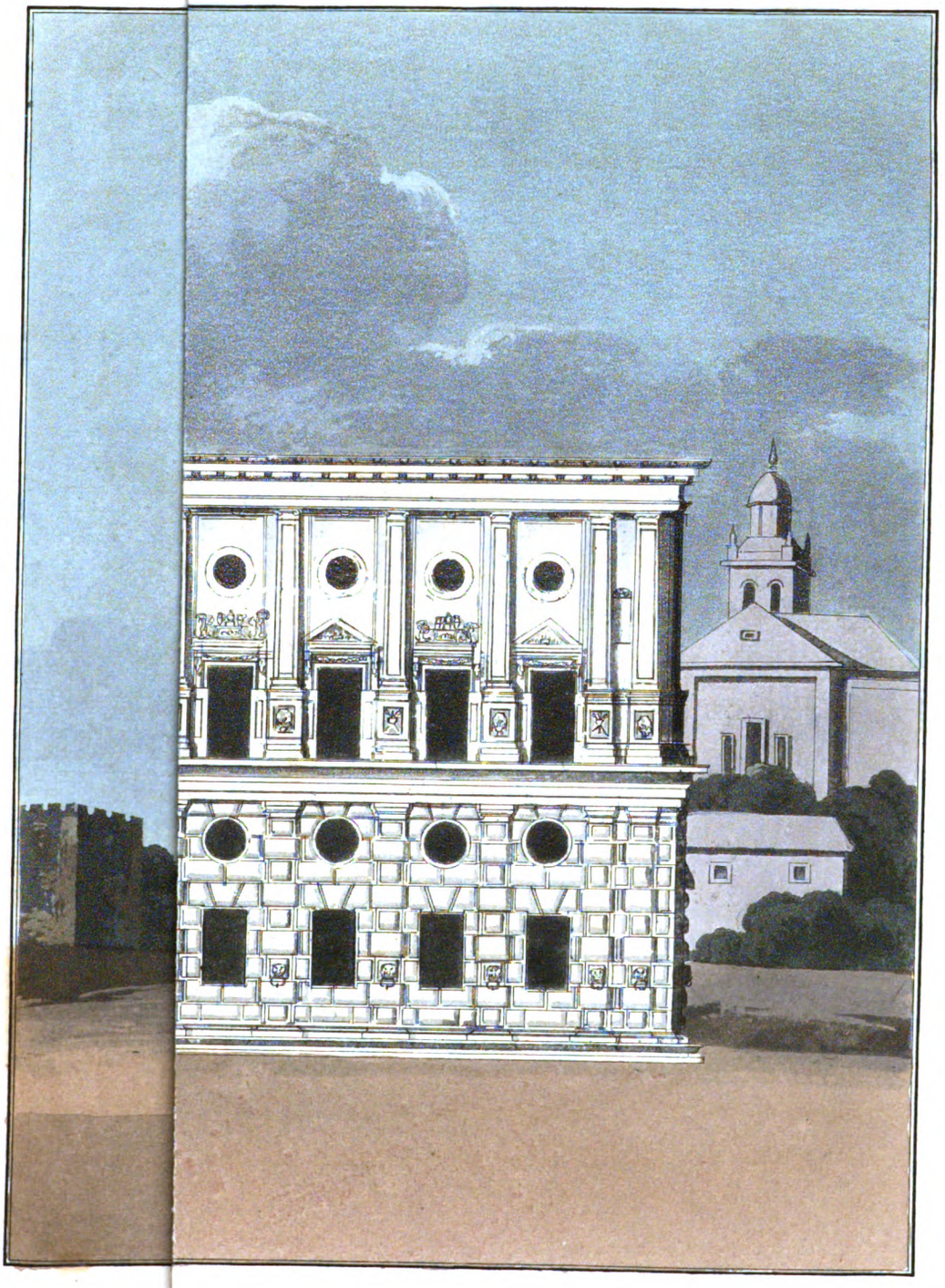

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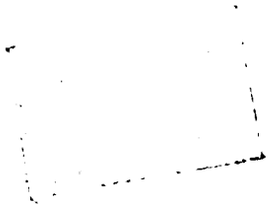

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I was much struck with the contrast between the exterior beauty of this palace, and that of the Moorish kings, which adjoins it. The Moors certainly paid less attention to the outside of their buildings, and infinitely more to internal beauty, than their Christian successors. The most striking object which presents itself upon entering the first court is a marble fountain, in the middle, with apartments at each end, which are supported by pillars of the same substance, in a very peculiar style of architecture. From these I passed, with much delight and wonder, through various apartments of exquisite beauty. The most remarkable parts of the building are the hall of ambassadors, the court of lions, the hall of the two sisters, that of the Abencerraxes, the royal baths, and the queen's dressing room, all of which are paved with marble, and have pillars of the same substance, supporting arches of the pure Arabic form, adorned with stucco, and a species of porcelain, the colouring and gilding of which, after a period of five hundred years, have a freshness and brilliancy equal to the best English or French China.

The hall of ambassadors is a square of forty feet, eighty feet in height, with nine windows, opening upon balconies, from which the views of the surrounding country are extremely fine. The inscriptions, which are in Arabic, are worked in porcelain, with exquisite skill, so as to unite with the stucco ornaments, which every where abound; they generally consist of those expressions of piety customary with the Mahomedans. The cieling is very beautifully inlaid with wood of various colours, and is adorned with a number of gold and silver ornaments, in the form of circles, crowns, and stars.

The court of the lions is the most striking part of this edifice;

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for nothing can excell the effect produced by the corridor which surrounds it: one hundred and twenty-eight marble pillars are arranged for the support of the arches on which the upper apartments of the palace rest, in a manner at once pleasing and magnificent. In the centre of the court a large marble fountain is placed, which is supported by twelve lions, by no means corresponding to the splendour of the architecture. Upon many parts of the building there are numerous inscriptions, partly in Cufic and partly in Arabic characters; and in addition to the usual pious sentences, others are mingled in praise of the founder of the edifice. On the fountain one was pointed out, the translation of which is, "Blessed be he who gave to the prince Mahomed a habitation, which by its beauty may serve as a model for all dwellings."

On one side of the court is the hall of the two sisters, the ornaments of which are similar to that of the ambassador's. It is remarkable only for two marble slabs, which form part of the floor, and measure fourteen feet in length, and seven in breadth, surrounded with Cufic and Arabic inscriptions. The hall of the Abencerraxes, which is on the opposite side, is so called from a vulgar tradition, that thirty-two members of that distinguished family were murdered by the King Abu Abdallah in this apartment; a tradition so firmly believed by our guide, that he shewed us the marks of their blood in the marble fountain, and assured us, most solemnly, that no endeavour had ever been able to remove the stains. The hall of the Abencerraxes partakes of the same species of beauty which is so conspicuous in the other apartments.

The baths are most beautifully finished, are lighted from the

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top, and possess every convenience and luxury which characterises the peculiar taste of the Arabs. These baths, on account of the frequent ablutions required by the Mahomedan religion, constituted the most important part of the royal palace, and no pains have been spared to render them magnificent. The Queen's dressing room is decorated like the other apartments, but is much more profusely ornamented with gilding and porcelain. In one part of the floor a perforated marble slab is inserted, through which it is said perfumes were conveyed. But Argote, an author who has paid great attention to Arabian antiquities, thinks that this chamber was an oratory, and not a dressing room.

The number of apartments in this palace of enchantment is very considerable, and I should be fearful of fatiguing you if I attempted to describe them. The character of the whole is so remote from all the objects to which we are accustomed, that the impressions of wonder and delight which it has excited, will afford me the most pleasing recollections during the remainder of my life. This noble palace, however, is hastening to decay, and, without repairs, to which the finances of Spain are inadequate, it will in a few years be a pile of ruins; its voluptuous apartments, its stately columns, and its lofty walls, will be mingled together, and no memorial be left in Spain of a people who once governed the Peninsula.

The whole fortress of the Alhambra is very extensive, and contains a considerable number of inhabitants. One part has been converted into a prison for the French troops, in which I saw General Boyard, and some other officers, who complained bitterly of the treatment they received from the Spaniards. Within the inclosure

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of the walls stands a Mahomedan mosque, now converted into a Christian church, the absurd ornaments of which form a striking constrast to the simple columns of the original structure.

The Alhambra was the general residence of the Moorish kings; but during the intense heat of summer they usually removed to another palace in a higher situation, on an opposite hill called the Generaliffe, which I have visited. The floors of the rooms are of marble, and have streams of the clearest water rushing through them. A garden adjoining is enriched with orange, lemon, and cyprus trees, and abounds in crystal fountains, transparent pools, and shady groves. Of late years it has been inhabited by a nobleman, who has added some modern comforts to the ancient luxuries; and though he no longer resides there, it is much frequented by the inhabitants of the city, who repair to it with their provisions, and hold their convivial meetings in halls which rival in coolness and beauty the most voluptuous palaces of Asia.

The sides of the hills round Granada abound with caves, which resemble the troglodyte habitations of the people of Abyssinia, as drawn by Mr. Salt. In the time of the Moors they formed the granaries for corn which I have already described, but now they are converted into human habitations, and are occupied by gypsies, who are very numerous in this part of Spain: they differ nothing in physiognomy from the same class of people in England, or that called Zeigners in Germany, and their habits and manners are as similar as the difference of climate will allow.

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LETTER XLII.

MARKET-PLACE — BAZAR — CATHEDRAL — COURT OF JUSTICE — REMARKS ON THE LAWS OF SPAIN — PATRIOTISM OF THE INHABITANTS OF GRANADA — PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONVOCATION OF THE CORTES.

GRANADA, JAN. 1810.

THIS city has a population at present only of about sixty or seventy thousand inhabitants, but is capable of containing a much greater number. The streets are generally narrow, and the houses by no means so handsome in their appearance as in the other cities I have seen. The market-place is spacious, but the houses which surround it are very despicable: few of the upper apartments have glass in the windows, and the shops below are very indifferently supplied with goods. One part of the town, which in the time of the Moors formed the Bazar, is very singular, and its appearance fully illustrates the descriptions of Eastern authors. It is not inhabited, but the gates which inclose it being shut at night, the property in the different shops is secured from theft. These shops are very small, so that the owner, sitting in the centre, can reach whatever his customers may require, without rising, which, I understand, is still the custom in the Asiatic Bazars.

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The cathedral is a very splendid, but irregular building; it is said to have been originally three churches, though now joined into one. The most striking parts are the high altar and the choir, in which the most beautiful marbles are employed. It contains two fine monuments, one to the memory of Philip the First and his queen Joanna, and the other to Ferdinand and Isabella. Some of the best pictures of Alonzo Cano are in this church, representing the nativity, the presentation of our Lord in the temple, the annunciation of the Virgin, and one subject, which, though it is exquisitely painted, is excessively repugnant to Protestant feelings, the Eternal Father supporting the body of his dead Son. The church is adorned by two beautiful statues of our first parents, by the same artist; the figures are as large as life, and admirably executed. Pedro de Mena, the pupil of Cano, has likewise contributed to the decorations of this cathedral. The equestrian statue of St. Iago is deemed the best of his productions.

The palace of the archbishop stands close to the cathedral; it is a very extensive mansion, and of handsome appearance. I noticed it as the scene of some of the incidents in the history of Gil Blas, whose adventures are affirmed by all Spaniards to have been translated by Le Sage from one of their early novels.

The Captain-general of the kingdom of Granada resides in a splendid palace, and is surrounded with guards, in a style somewhat resembling a monarch. We found him polite, but extremely occupied by public business, and had therefore but little conversation with him. The principal court of justice of the province is held within the palace, and at the time we visited it, the judges were hearing

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causes. The advocates were seated, and read their arguments in a very rapid manner, but appeared to receive no attention from the judges; a matter of very little importance, however, where the determinations seldom depend upon the justice of the case.

From all that I have learnt on the subject of the laws, I apprehend nothing can be more calculated to promote litigation, to delay decision, and defeat justice, than the whole system of Spanish law. Suits are continued from generation to generation, more for the honour of conquest than from the hope of benefit; and so slow is the process, that either party, with the assistance of money, may delay judgment for a very long period; and when the judgment is pronounced, it is never considered as arising from the merits of the case, but from some unjust bias in the minds of the judges. The laws of Spain are, like ours, of two kinds; the lex inscripta, contained in an ancient work of the time of Alonzo the Wise, called Las Leyes de Partida, which resembles our common law, and the lex scripta, contained in a work published by the authority of Philip in 1577, entitled Las Leyes de Recopilacion, which is a collection of royal ordinances then in force, and may be considered as similar to our statute law; to these may be added the several ordinances promulgated in more modern times, which have the force of ancient laws.

All the decisions are supposed to be grounded on principles deduced from these sources; but the corruption of the judges and the advocates, with the chicanery of the escrivanos or attorneys, has rendered the courts the seat of legal iniquity. Criminal processes are carried on with a degree of languor which is beneficial only to the perpetrators of enormous crimes; the murderer, even if the clearest evidence

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establishes his guilt, may, if he have money, remove his trial from court to court, may obtain a revision in each, and, as long as his money lasts, delay judgment in a manner which, if it does not ultimately elude punishment, at least delays it till it ceases to have an effect on any one but the sufferer. Instances are not uncommon, of wealthy criminals delaying judgment till death terminated the cause, and of others, after exhausting their means, suffering the merited punishment ten or even twenty years after the crime was committed. The court of law in this palace, to which appeals are made from all the other courts in the south of Spain, and from which there is no appeal but to the Council of Castile, which is the highest tribunal, fills the city with a number of lawyers, who make it their business to encourage the litigious and pillage the ignorant.

The Captain-general of this province has had his authority divided since the revolution, by the formation of the Provincial Junta, which was elected by the popular voice from among the most energetic opposers of the French. This Junta roused the feelings of the inhabitants, called forth their exertions, and directed them with judgment and integrity; but the election of the Central Junta, which extinguished their power, or left them only the semblance of it, has tended to damp their energies, and lull the people into that state of apathy and despondency which is the best preparative for French subjugation. I have here met with more accurate accounts of the number of men and the quantity of stores furnished for the public defence than in any other place, and they demonstrate, most forcibly, what popular energy may effect, and the evils that may be produced by stifling its exertions. After the capture of Dupont, to which the inhabitants of

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Granada under the command of General Reding contributed their full share, an army of 13,154 foot and 842 horse, marched in October 1808 to join the army of Catalonia; in December following 12,566 foot and 720 horse marched to that of La Mancha; and in the April of last year 3,600 were dispatched to reinforce the army of Estremadura. These troops were armed, clothed, and fed from the revenues of this province, which under the direction of its Junta were economically administered; but the Central Junta ordered the money to be sent to the general treasury, from which they engaged to provide for the troops. Their orders were obeyed, the money was delivered to them, and they neglected to pay the soldiers, or provide them with necessaries; the consequence has been neglect in recruiting, carelessness in the revenue, and a disposition to despair. Proclamations and addresses of the most animating nature have indeed been issued, but the feelings of the people have been so deadened by their supreme rulers, that they no longer possess their former energies.

I have met several members of the Junta at the evening parties of the Duchess of Gor; they complain most bitterly of the conduct of the Central Junta, deplore the situation of their country, and look with melancholy forebodings to the calamities that await them. They dread the irruption of the French; but it is easy to discern that they are not without equal apprehensions from the vindictive spirit of their own countrymen, who will accuse them of treachery as the enemy advances, and perhaps finally sacrifice them for having yielded their power to the Central Junta. They talk of securing the passes,

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fortifying the city, and raising in mass the inhabitants of the surrounding mountains; but I am persuaded they will now make no efforts to oppose the enemy, but rather endeavour to amuse the inhabitants till all resistance will be useless.

At present they are occupied in electing the primary assemblies which are to chuse the members of the Cortes, and the assembling of that body is a subject of general conversation, but I am sorry to say not of hope. A pamphlet written in England, and translated into Spanish, has been much read; it is attributed to Lord Holland, and for the attachment it discovers to the true interests of Spain, his Lordship, whether he be the author or not, is spoken of by all intelligent men in terms of the warmest rapture. Another work on the same subject, circulated by the Junta of the province of Valencia, has also been generally read; but the more judicious prefer the opinions of the Englishman to those of their own countrymen, which they think too theoretical. The propositions of the Englishman are deemed the more practicable, as they are founded on the ancient institutions of the country, and discover a knowledge on the subject, which, in a foreigner, is considered very extraordinary.

The plan now executing has, in my opinion, one fault of a most glaring nature, and for the folly of which I am unable to comprehend the cause; when the ballot is cast up, the three candidates who have the greatest number of votes are to decide by lot which is to be the member.

There are few troops in this city; only a part of a battalion of the Swiss guards; the privates in this corps are mostly Germans,

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who surrendered under Dupont, and afterwards entered into the Spanish service. The volunteers perform the duty of the garrison, and also mount guard over the French prisoners at the Alhambra. They amount to about three thousand men, and are well armed and disciplined.

LETTER XLIII.

ELEVATION OF THE MOUNTAINS — OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE MOUNTAINOUS DISTRICT — WHEAT — RICE — HEMP — FLAX — SILK-WORMS — WINE — OIL — RAPID ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH.

GRANADA, JAN. 1810.

THE mountains which surround the plain of Granada may be considered as the termination of that ridge which begins in Tartary, and, after crossing Asia and Europe, branches off in one direction by Switzerland and the South of France, while another range, extending to the Pyrenees, covers the surface of Spain in various directions. The range which is here called the Cordillera, joins at the source of the Tagus, near Cuenca, with another which is separated by the river Ebro from the mountains of Navarre, which are immediately connected with the Pyrenees.

The loftiest points of the whole range are those on the Sierra Nevada near this city; one called Mulhacen, the height of which is 12,762 feet above the level of the sea, and the other Picacho de Veleta, which rises to the height of 12,459 feet. The whole chain, however, appears to the eye nearly of equal elevation; but geometrical levels having been taken of various points in 1804, the exact height of the two points was then ascertained. The line at which the

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perpetual snow commences is 9,915 feet above the level of the sea, and from that line upwards vegetation entirely ceases.

The mountains from the Sierra Nevada towards the south decline gradually in height, till at the Sierra de Gador, near Almeria, when they again rise to the elevation of 7,800 feet, where the celebrated rock or mountain called Filabres is situated. This rock is two thousand feet in height, and four miles in circumference, and consists of one piece of solid white marble. The intermediate mountains between the Sierra Nevada and the Sierra de Gador, are named the Alpuxarras, among which several well-peopled towns are scattered, which were the places whither the Moors were removed after the conquest of Granada.

The secondary mountains are of various kinds; some are naked, and others appear of red earth, covered with herbs, trees, shrubs, and plants. One very lofty hill is composed of veined marble from the top to the bottom; another has its base covered with esparto, but to a prodigious height above is a naked rock. All these abound with mines of silver, copper, and lead, some of which were formerly worked by the Moors. From the top of the Sierra Nevada almost to the city, there is one mass or column of perpendicular rock, of a reddish brown colour, without any perpendicular or oblique streaks. In many parts, the melting of the snow has washed the rock into the vallies, where, by decomposition, it has formed a most luxuriant and productive soil.

Two leagues from the city, on a level with the river Xenil, a quarry of serpentine is worked, whence the pillars that adorn some parts of the cathedral have been taken: it is of a green colour,

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beautifully veined, and receives a very high polish. There are also numerous quarries of marble of various kinds, which are raised with little expence, and are consequently sold cheap. Alabaster, equal in brilliancy and transparency to the finest white oriental cornelians, is likewise to be met with; but it is soft, and the weakest acids will dissolve it. These are called by the inhabitants piedras de aguas, or petrifactions, but are probably stalactites; they are beautifully veined, and some of them are of a straw colour, with undulations in them of exquisite beauty, and are evidently the substance of which the pulpits in the cathedral at Malaga are formed.

One of the most remarkable circumstances in these mountains, is the immense masses of bones of men and other animals, which have been discovered on their summits; none of which, however, equal those found at Concud, where a hill is entirely formed of them. After digging through a stratum of limestone about five or six feet in depth, the bones are found under it, in a bed of red earth of similar thickness. Don Isidore de Antillon, who relates his observations made in 1806, says, that having dug at several parts of the hill remote from each other, he found, as soon as the pickaxe had penetrated through the stone, the bones of the arm and hand, and human teeth, with manifest remains of the medullary substance. Neither skeletons nor skulls were discovered; but the teeth of various animals were mixed with those of men: they were soft and slimy, but hardened on being exposed to the sun. I will not enter into the reasoning of the author I have quoted, but notice the fact as very singular, and well authenticated.

The river Darro which runs through the city of Granada is a mere mountain torrent, formed by the melting of the snow on the

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summit, or by the heavy rains which fall on the lower part of the mountain. Being a dry season, and somewhat frosty in the night, this river has at present but little water in it, but at other times it is an abundant stream. Gold is found in its sands, as its name denotes; of late years the quantity has been small; but in the time of the Moors it was more considerable. This river empties itself into the Xenil, near the city, and the united streams, after fertilizing the plain, pass into the Guadalquivir. The melted snow on the Sierra Nevada forms continual streams, which are most copious in the summer, when they are particularly necessary to refresh the parched land; and it is to this circumstance that the productive powers of the soil of the Vega may be chiefly traced. These streams have been conveyed along the upper side of each field, by means of embankments, in which sluices are cut, that convey the water into small gutters, which run at short intervals, so as to flood the whole field with ease in the hottest season.

I have viewed some of the farms on the Vega, where, at present, the wheat is sufficiently high to give a verdant appearance. The quantity of this grain produced on each acre is surprising; and the more so, as on the Vega, in farms where they have the right of water, very little attention beyond irrigation is paid to the soil. I was informed, from authority on which I have reason to depend, that the average produce of each acre of wheat is fifty bushels, and that the crop on such lands seldom fails. You will be aware that I am now speaking of land capable of being supplied with water at pleasure, but not so near the river as to be subject to flooding, when in intense heat the increase of the melted snow causes the river to overflow its usual channels.

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Considerable quantities of rice are cultivated on those lower levels of land which are near the river, and subject to floods; but such lands are of less value than those not liable to such casualties. In the same situations, and sometimes on the same land, hemp and flax are raised before the rice is sown. The common value of the best wheat land, having a right of water, is about forty shillings per annum each acre. That close to the river is not worth more than thirty shillings; and that which is so far removed as to be incapable of irrigation, is worth little or nothing.

The inhabitants of the Vega never make any hay, and, consequently, the land which in England would be the most valuable, is here less beneficial than that on a higher level. In winter the grass grows most abundant, and the cattle are then fed on the uplands; in summer, after the harvest, which is usually in June, the stubble lands yield subsistence to their flocks and herds. It should, however, be recollected, that with Spanish farmers, the breeding and fatting cattle are objects of trifling consideration, compared with the cultivation of grain and fruits.

Though the corn lands do not require manure, yet in no part of the world that I have seen, is so much attention paid to the preservation of that important article as on the plain of Granada, where it is used for the gardens and melon grounds, which are very extensive, and more especially by the cultivators of mulberry trees. Instead of forming dunghills near each farm yard, it is the practice to dig a large pit, with the bottom and sides constructed of rammed earth, so as not to leak, and in these reservoirs the manure is collected, and

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suffered to rot, and is distributed where it is wanted in a state of dampness approaching to a liquid.

The hemp raised here has a remarkably strong fibre, and is so cheap, that, during the scarcity of that article in England, our Government attempted to obtain supplies from this quarter; but, owing to bad management, they raised the price to double its customary rate; and, after all, did not obtain so large a quantity as they might have done. The sail cloth made from this hemp is preferred by the Spaniards to that made from flax: it is considered more durable, and in warm climates less subject to mildew. The flax raised on the plain is highly esteemed, and sufficient is produced to furnish the inhabitants with linen for domestic uses. It is bleached by the sun alone, without the use of muriatic acid gas. They make a species of table-cloths, resembling huckaback, which, in durability and beauty, are equal to any manufactured in England or Germany.

Silk is an article of considerable importance in the Vega de Granada, and a sufficient quantity is produced to employ fifteen thousand persons. The regular consumption for the manufacturers of the city amounts to 100,000 lbs.; and if the harvest fail, the deficiency is supplied from Murcia or Valencia. The cultivation of mulberry trees becomes a concern of considerable importance, and there are very extensive gardens for their growth scattered over the plain. Much attention is paid to those species of mulberry trees, whose leaves are best calculated for feeding the worms, and the white mulberry grafted on the wild one is preferred, the leaves of which are said to make the worms yield silk of a finer quality than either the red or black species. As the trees are cultivated solely for the

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sake of the leaves, it is customary, in order to increase the quantity of leaves, to cut off the tops to prevent them from yielding too much fruit.

Humidity of food is very injurious to the worms, and great care is taken not to gather the leaves with the dew of the morning on them, or soon after rain; and if the sky has a rainy appearance, it is customary to gather a stock of leaves, sufficient for subsistence two or three days, which are carefully preserved without suffering them to mildew or shrivel. The voracity of the worms has scarcely a parallel in the animal kingdom, and for the last eight or ten days, previously to their spinning, they are constantly feeding; in which time the produce of a mulberry tree of ten years of age will scarcely suffice for as many worms as yield about seven pounds of silk. It is calculated that 2500 worms produce nearly one pound of silk, and therefore the number of them must be prodigious in this vicinity, to yield the quantity I have above stated. The silk is organzined in Granada, and wove into velvets, sattins, and taffetas of a very durable, if not of a very beautiful quality. A considerable quantity of ribbons is made in this city, and I was not a little surprised to see the spring shuttle used at Coventry generally adopted here; the price of silk at present is about seventeen shillings per pound in the shops; but I apprehend the manufacturers purchase at much lower rates of the growers, who being poor, are under the necessity of mortgaging it before the produce is ready for the market.

There are several manufactories of woollen cloths and serges, made similarly to those of England; but not sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants, whose deficiencies are supplied by im-

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portation: about seventy houses are occupied in these manufactories, which employ about 7000 persons of both sexes, including children, in the different branches, into none of which have they yet introduced machinery: the quantity of wool consumed is 460,000 pounds annually. There is besides a royal manufactory for fine cloths, which I did not visit, but learnt that it was in a very languishing state.

The royal manufactory for salt-petre and gunpowder, as well as that for belts and cartouch boxes, has been fully occupied under the direction of the Junta; but the same degree of lethargy prevails in them now, as in whatever else relates to the defence of the country.

The mountains round this city are well calculated for vines, but so little attention is paid to the cultivation of them, that the wine produced is very bad; at the Posada where we reside, there is only one kind of inferior sweet white wine, which is not drinkable; but we had the best proof that good wine is made here, in some which a gentleman sent us from his cellar; it was equal to any Burgundy I have ever tasted, and of the same colour, without any flavour of the skin; in fact, he had sent bottles to a vineyard about three leagues distant, celebrated for its excellent wine, in order to have it free from that taste which all the wines here acquire, from being brought from the vineyards in sheep-skins, with tarred seams. It is rather a curious fact, that in a country where cork trees abound, the trifling operation of cutting them is so ill done, that to have his wine in good order, this gentleman thought it necessary to send to Malaga for English corks, as well as English bottles.

The oil now produced in this vicinity is not sufficient for the

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consumption of the inhabitants; but as the quantity of wheat is very great, a considerable exchange in the two commodities is carried on between this place and the townships to the South of the mountains.

I can say little of the state of society in this city: I have been at no parties excepting those of the Duchess of Gor; and there the gloom of the political horizon was too powerfully felt to allow of much enjoyment. At other times I am told it is a place of gaiety and amusement; and though the charming public walks by the side of the river are now deserted, yet in better times they are said to have been crowded with all the beauty and fashion of the city. There is a theatre, but it is not open, the performers having gone away to avoid the French.

The remark I made at Cadiz on the effect of despotism, in stifling the strong feelings of the populace, has been confirmed here; every one knows that the enemy has forced the passes of the Sierra Morena, and is rapidly advancing in this direction, but no one speaks of it openly; it is whispered only to confidential friends, and even they affect to treat it as a temporary irruption, which will be checked before it can possibly extend to this place. I shall leave Granada to-morrow. I have received much pleasure in viewing it, and feel no small degree of regret at the fate it must soon experience. I have, however, no personal apprehensions; for our route hence is not in the direction in which the enemy is advancing; and besides, we are sure of having two or three days notice of his approach, in which time we can reach the sea coast, even if the road to Cadiz should be occupied by the French.

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LETTER XLIV.

SANTA FEE — SOTA DE ROMA — TOWN OF LOXA — MOUNTAINOUS DISTRICT — CHIUMA — LA PEÑA DE LOS ENAMORADOS.

ANTEQUERA, JAN. 1810.

WE left Granada at break of day, and proceeding by a road passable for wheel carriages, travelled over the Vega, through fields of great fertility. In two hours we reached Santa Fee, a city built by Ferdinand during the siege of Granada, which suffered very severely the last as well as the preceding year by earthquakes. The last extended its effects across the whole Vega, in a track of about one league in breadth, and was even felt at the city of Granada, though very slightly: the shock there lasted only a few minutes; but at Santa Fee it continued twelve hours, and has left marks of its ravages on most of the buildings: one of the churches is completely divided in the centre, and the tower is a heap of ruins. A convent which has been much injured, exhibits a curious spectacle; one half is thrown down, and the cells of the monks in the other half are laid completely open. Several houses of private individuals have suffered severely; but so much are the people accustomed to these occurrences, that many of their habitations are already repaired, and workmen were busily employed in rendering the others

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habitable. I did not find that apprehensions of a repetition of the calamity, though the place is peculiarly subject to it, has induced any of the inhabitants to contemplate a removal to situations of greater security.

I enquired the price of the most valuable land, with a right of water, and learnt, that the best corn lands had been lately sold at one hundred dollars the fanegada, which is equal to four-fifths of an English acre. Those lately sold were the property of the Prince of Peace, which had been confiscated by the Junta; and so much confidence was entertained by the purchasers in the security of the property so circumstanced, that even land, the title of which under any change of government would be undisputed, being the property of private individuals, had not sold to greater advantage than those, the titles of which depended on the stability of the present system.

Near this city is a valuable property, called Sota de Roma; it formerly belonged to the crown, and was kept as the country retreat of Charles the Fifth, who stocked the woods with pheasants, which are still found in great plenty. The king, Philip, granted it to Wall, the prime minister, who laid out the grounds and cultivated the lands in the English manner, and retired from the court, to pass the evening of a long life, which had been devoted to the public service, in this delightful retreat. After his death, it reverted to the crown, and was granted to Godoy, with some other rich and extensive farms in this vicinity. The Sota de Roma is a track of about five miles in length, and two in breadth; it contains extensive woods filled with elms, the right of cutting which is reserved by the crown, and very extensive and fruitful arable lands. Game of every kind

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abounds in it, and has till lately been carefully preserved, but the people from the surrounding towns have destroyed much of it since the flight of its late owner.

On leaving Santa Fee, we continued our journey over the plain, till we arrived at a lonely venta on the side of a river, under the gateway of which, surrounded by muleteers and their mules, we ate the frugal repast which we had brought from Granada. This river is the Saladillo, which, even at this distance, retains so much of the saltness which it has imbibed from the waste water of the brine springs at Almaha, as to be refused by our horses, though they were thirsty from their long journey.

We continued our route across the plain, which appeared so inclosed by lofty and almost perpendicular mountains, that we could scarcely conjecture by what avenue we were to get out of the valley: by following the course of the Xenil, however, we at last found an opening, but through a chasm between the mountains so extremely narrow, that it hardly admitted of more than a passage for the stream. The mountains rose on both sides in terrific forms and tremendous heights throughout the whole of this pass, which, when the Moors possessed the plain of Granada, was considered as the most important of its defences. In the wider part of this fissure, the town of Loxa is situated; its streets rise one above the other on the side of the mountain, and still higher is a Moorish castle, which gives the whole scene a most picturesque appearance. The town contains about nine thousand inhabitants, who are mostly occupied in agricultural pursuits. The principal product is oil, but a sufficient quantity of corn is also raised for the consumption of the district. The parish

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church is the worst religious building, and the most destitute of ornaments of any I have seen in Spain. Nothing could exceed the poverty and misery of the posada at which we passed the night; it was literally devoid of every comfort; and our chagrin was increased by learning, when it was too late, that at another house we might have enjoyed comfortable accommodations.

After a most unpleasant night, we left Loxa as soon as it was light, and began to ascend the mountains, which are very steep and lofty. We got in an hour among some thick clouds, and having, in the course of another, ascended above them, the appearance became very striking and singular: the clouds resembled the sea, while some of the higher peaks above them looked like islands. We continued ascending and descending till noon, sometimes above the clouds, sometimes below them, and frequently so completely enveloped by them, as to preclude the sight of objects at the distance only of a few yards. During these changes of elevation, we experienced equal changes of climate, and felt every degree of temperature, from the biting frost of a winter's morning, to the warmth of a May-day noon. Though fifty miles from the Sierra Nevada, we felt that when the wind from that quarter was not intercepted by the mountains, a very sensible alteration took place in the temperature of the atmosphere, which varied in the different situations from 46 to 68 of Fahrenheit. I reckoned the lowest part of our morning's journey to be about one thousand yards above the level of the sea, and our highest about two thousand five hundred, for in no instance did we reach the snow, though it lay on the tops of some higher elevations around us.

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After travelling five hours, we came to a mountain presenting a height of about six hundred yards almost perpendicular, and apparently terminating in a single point; but in passing round it, its appearance became somewhat like the pyramidical spires in the crowns of our ancient kings. On one of these points is a Moorish fortress, which, like the hill forts in India, must be unassailable, and can only be reduced by hunger. At the foot of this hill we found the town of Chiuma, a place containing seven or eight thousand inhabitants. The surrounding country consists chiefly of corn land, but intermixed with olive grounds. There is very little water near it; and in consequence of the scarcity of that necessary article, in some years the fields are so unproductive, that the inhabitants, having no surplus commodities to send to more fruitful districts in exchange for the first necessary of life, suffer severely from famine.

From Chiuma we descended into a plain, at the end of which we reached the river Guadalhorce, which winds round the mountains, till it empties itself into the sea at Malaga: at this spot it is merely a small, though beautiful stream, and washes the foot of a lofty perpendicular rock, of celebrity in the period when the Moors ruled Granada. Mariana, the historian, relates a tragical story of two lovers, who fled from Granada, and being pursued by the Moors, precipitated themselves from this rock to avoid captivity. Mr. Southey has given it to the English reader in his ballad:

> The maiden, through the favouring night,
> From Granada took her flight.
> She bade her father's house farewell,
> And fled away with Manuel.

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No Moorish maid might hope to vie
With Laila's cheek or Laila's eye.
No maiden lov'd with purer truth,
Or ever lov'd a lovelier youth.

In fear they fled across the plain,
The father's wrath, the captive's chain.
In hope to Murcia on they flee,
To Peace, and Love, and Liberty. &c. &c. &c.

I know not the Poet's reason for availing himself of the poetica licentia, and placing this rock on the road to Murcia, when it is in the opposite direction, and when the name of Seville, the place to which their flight was directed, would have answered his purpose just as well as that of Murcia.

An hour's ride from La Peña de los Enamorados brought us through a fertile valley to this city. Like most others in this part of Spain, it is finely situated, is surrounded by beautiful gardens and fruitful fields, and is adorned by the sublime mountains which rise in the back ground; but a nearer inspection creates the customary disgust. We are, however, in a comfortable posada, where we can enjoy our meals and straw beds, when we return from viewing the curiosities that invite our inspection. I must remark, that on the whole road from Loxa to this place, a distance of twenty-five miles, we did not meet a single traveller; and, excepting the town of Chiuma, did not see a single house.

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LETTER XLV.

POPULATION OF ANTEQUERA — ITS ANTIQUITY — PAINTINGS OF MOHEDANO — VARIETY OF SHRUBS—MINERAL SPRINGS—SALT LAKE—MANUFACTURES.

ANTEQUERA, JAN. 1810.

I BELIEVE a degree of vanity respecting the towns in which they live, induces the Spaniards frequently to exaggerate the amount of their population. I have been informed that this city contains eight thousand families, which, at the common rate of estimating families, would give a population of forty thousand. The city, however, is very extensive, and being of antient date, abounds in Roman and Moorish edifices, which give it an appearance of great grandeur. The date of its foundation is unknown, but it is noticed in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and it is mentioned in one among the numerous inscriptions which have been preserved as a municipium; and in another there is a proof of its existence in the year 77 of the Christian era, as it is dated in the eighth consulship of the Emperor Vespasian.

Eighty years before the conquest of Granada, this city was taken by John, the second king of Castile; and in the Moorish castle the arms captured by the Christians are still preserved. It appears by

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these remains, that the Moors used defensive armour of great weight, and employed short javelins to throw at the enemy, cross bows for shooting stones or arrows, and oval shields, formed of two hides, cemented together so thick as to resist a musket ball. The castle in which these warlike instruments are deposited is in better preservation than any Moorish fortress I have yet seen, and the entrance, called the Giants arch, is the finest specimen of their architecture. Within its inclosure is the church of Santa Maria, which was formerly a Mahomedan mosque, and without any other alteration than the introduction of a most profuse number of bad pictures, bad statues, and tastèless ornaments, is now converted into a Christian place of worship.

The Franciscan convent contains some pillars of the most beautiful veined marble, of a flesh colour, that I have yet seen: they are twenty-eight in number, and support the arches of the cloister. I observed in several of the churches some good paintings, in fresco, which I learnt were the production of Antonio Mohedano, who was esteemed, about the year 1600, as one of the best artists of his time. But his principal works being on the walls of the churches in this his native city, on those of Cordova, and on the cloisters of the Franciscan convent of Seville, his merit can only be appreciated by those who contemplate his labours on the spot where they were executed. Mohedano had great celebrity as a poet, and his works, published in 1605, are admired to this day. This place produced another painter of singular merit, according to his contemporaries; but, like Mohedano, having exercised his talents on walls more than on canvas, his fame is not so extensive as it deserves; his name was Jeronymo

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Bovadilla; he was the pupil of Zubaran, and became a member of the Academy of Seville, where he died in 1680, leaving to that institution his sketches and designs, which are highly valued.

The numerous Roman inscriptions in this city and its vicinity, have kindled a taste for the study of antiquities, which has produced some very eminent men in that branch of learning. To mention them is needless, as their names are scarcely known in England; but their labours have contributed much to the assistance of Muratori, and other antiquaries. This city gave birth to Luis del Carvajal, the historian of Africa, and of the Moors in Spain, and to Pedro de Espinosa, one of the best poets of the sixteenth century, the period in which the Castillian language was in its greatest purity.

There are few places in Europe in which the Antiquary, the Botanist, or the Geologist, would find so much worthy of attention as in Antequera, and its vicinity. I have noticed already that there is a profusion of Roman inscriptions; and the number of antient edifices in ruins is considerable. Coins of various dates are also frequently found.

With the very little pretension to the knowledge of Botany which I possess, I cannot do justice to the various productions which this place affords: the rocks are covered with the lichen saxatillis tinctorius, from which, by a very summary process, they make the archil, used in the manufactories as a purple or mulberry dye. The periwinckle *(vinca pervinca)* is now in flower on the banks of the rivulets, as well as the jessamin and lavender. The anchusa, the root of which is known in England by the name of alkanet, and the liquorice are very abundant; the roots of the latter so annoy the

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ploughmen, that they indignantly call it "Mala Yerba," and its cultivation and preparation are totally neglected. Annis and cumin are very generally met with, and are valuable to the inhabitants of the mountainous districts, who make great use of them infused in brandy. The cistus, or rock rose, grows in great profusion, and produces a liquid substance, which the sun thickens to a gummy consistence, in which state it is eaten by the country people. The aloes, the pita, the esparto, the opuntia, and the various species of palms, are very abundant, and are applied to the uses which I noticed at Seville. The shrub bearing capers *(capparis)* grows very generally in this vicinity: it is a thorny bush, producing a small flower, and the pod, containing the seed, grows to the size of a small olive; it is eaten by the natives in the crude state; or, preserved with vinegar, becomes an article of commerce. Numerous species of heaths are to be found, which are very useful, as they are converted into charcoal, and thus supply fuel to the inhabitants. The charcoal made from the heaths is esteemed in Spain to be better adapted for making iron than any other.

The rocks surrounding this city are all of limestone or marble; and about half a league from it is one solid rock of most beautiful flesh-coloured marble, from which various springs form a rivulet that turns several mills, and waters the plains below. But the conformation of the rocks, the different strata, and the veins of different mineral substances they contain, have been so slightly noticed, that the Geologist and Mineralogist would find here a rich and unexplored field for the improvement of their respective sciences.

There are two springs near this city, which have been long cele-

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brated; besides several others, the fame of which has never extended itself beyond the immediate limits of Antequera: one is considered as a specific for the stone, is said to act as a solvent, and is beneficial also in strengthening the stomach; its reputation was formerly much greater than it is at present. A Roman inscription, discovered on an altar, is preserved here, which imports that Lucius Posthumus Satulius, in performance of a vow, dedicated the altar to the divine fountain. Morales, a Spanish writer of much eminence, relates, that so much confidence was placed in the beneficial effects of this spring, that the Romans built almost a town near it for the reception of patients; and that, to guard against imposition, when the water was sent to a distance, a notary attested the day on which it was taken from the spring; the vessels in which it was contained, and a certificate of its purity were sealed by the magistrate and priest of the town. The water is remarkably cold, and has no peculiar taste except that of the saxifrage, which grows in great abundance within the spring. About a mile from the Fuente de Piedra is another copious spring, which fills with salt water a lake of four miles in length and two in breadth. The water of the lake is salter than sea water, and is refined by natural evaporation. The crystals, as may be supposed, are very large, and of a bad colour: yet no other salt is allowed to be sold in this district but that which is produced at the royal refinery, on the side of this lake.

As we had not intended remaining here many hours, we were unprovided with letters of introduction, and therefore, instead of passing our evenings at the lively tertullas of the ladies, we have remained in our solitary posada; and I can, consequently, give no account of

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the society, or manners of the inhabitants, beyond doing that justice to which all Spaniards are entitled, by saying, that our characters as Englishmen were sufficient to attract civility and attention from all whom we met.

The wine produced in this neighbourhood is all of the sweet kind, very muddy, and very nauseous. Olives are in great abundance, and the oil made from them, with all the carelessness I have before noticed, is a considerable article of commerce with the more Northern districts, who send wheat in exchange.

There are a considerable number of manufactories of baize in this city, which supply the surrounding towns with that useful article of female apparel. Some cloths, linens, and hats, are likewise made here: but as the manufactories of these articles are conducted on a small scale, and are rather for domestic consumption than subjects of commerce, they scarcely deserve notice.

To-morrow we shall begin to clamber over the stupendous mountains towards Ronda, where I hope to arrive in two days, if we neither break our necks, nor are buried in the snow.

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LETTER XLVI.

EL TORCAL — TOWN OF ALORA — ITS ANTIQUITY — SPANISH RHODOMONTADE — CASARABONELA — ITS ROMANTIC SITUATION.

CASARABONELA, JAN. 1810.

WE intended to leave Antequera after an early dinner, proposing to reach Alora that evening; and the persuasions of the guide even would not have induced us to defer our design, if the fortunate intervention of a tremendous shower of rain had not determined us to wait till the next morning. At day-break we set out on foot from the posada, and ordering the horses to follow us, we ascended the mountain above the city, and occupied an hour and a half before we reached the summit, where the horses overtook us. We found it excessively cold, as the wind blew from off a snow mountain to the southward of that which we had crossed. After descending for about an hour, we passed a small aqueduct of Moorish construction, in the design of which we could not agree. To me it appeared to have been erected for the purpose of conveying water, by a circuitous route round the mountains, to the city of Antequera, and some small Moorish turrets on the sides of the hills seemed to indicate its course.

We saw, on the left hand, a singular spectacle called El Torcal: it is situated on the summit of a high mountain, and has the appear-

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ance of a considerable city in ruins, with regular streets, large churches, and vast public buildings: it is, however, nothing more than an assemblage of white marble rocks, which is so extensive, that whoever enters it without a knowledge of the paths is in danger of being lost in a labyrinth, from which he could not extricate himself but with great difficulty. We continued our course through the wildest scenery that can be imagined, and over most dreadful roads, and congratulated ourselves that we had been prevented by the rain on the preceding afternoon from undertaking this stage, in which we should certainly have been overtaken by darkness, and probably have wandered the whole night. In going a stage in these mountainous districts, it is very unsafe to calculate the time it will employ, by ascertaining the computed distance: in good roads it is possible to accomplish a league in an hour, but in this country half a league in an hour is deemed expeditious travelling.

In the course of four or five hours we began to descend, and the rich vale of Alora appeared extended before us, with the town of that name on the side of the opposite mountain. The plain is very fertile, and is watered by a charming stream meandering through it, the banks of which abound with orange and lemon groves. On a jutting eminence overlooking this delightful vale, a monastery, surrounded with gardens, and watered by various crystal streams, presented a scene which it was impossible to pass without admiring the charms of the climate, and almost wishing to pass the remainder of life in so enchanting a spot.

We reached Alora, four leagues from Antequera, after a fatiguing ride of seven hours. The streets of the town are so steep, that we

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feared, in ascending or descending them, that we should meet with some accident before we reached the posada. The town contains about four thousand inhabitants, who subsist on the productions of the plain, and of the surrounding mountains; the produce of which likewise contributes to the commerce of Malaga, whither it is conveyed on the backs of asses. It appears by several inscriptions found at Alora, that it was a municipal town of the Romans, and the residence of a distinguished family; one of whom, Caius Fabius Vibianus, was Decemvir of this place, then called Iluro, and erected a statue in honour of his mother, which is still preserved.

While our servants went to the different shops to purchase our meal, we climbed to the top of the ancient castle, which is situated on a conical hill, overlooking the town, and which, before the invention of cannon, was not commanded by any other eminence: it is very spacious, and the foundation and lower part of the walls are built of Roman brick, but the superstructure is evidently Moorish, as the horse-shoe form of the arch over the gate incontestibly proves. It has on two sides a precipice of nearly four hundred feet, which gives it much the appearance of the hill forts in India.

While eating our homely repast under the gateway of the posada, the politicians of the place, attracted by the intelligence that some Englishmen were arrived, assembled round us to enquire for news; though curious, they were not impertinent; and the expressions of hatred to the French, and gratitude to our country, were by no means ungrateful to our feelings. I never was more struck with Spanish bombast than on this occasion. The spokesman of the party harangued them in lofty terms; and said, that but for the intervention

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of England, Malaga, and all their country, would have been conquered by the enemy last year, and that nothing but the arms of England now preserved them from destruction: he continued his harangue by stating, that he had been in England lately (meaning Gibraltar, which the people here designate by that name), where he saw el General, pointing to me, at the head of ten thousand men, all clothed in scarlet, and who moved as though they were one man; that he saw el Coronel, pointing to Mr. Michell, commanding hundreds of cannon, which the men pointed with the facility of a musket; and continued paying us such extravagant compliments, and uttering such pious wishes for our prosperity, that it rendered the whole scene completely ludicrous to us, though it appeared interesting to the rest of his auditors. He execrated the Junta and the Spanish officers, and concluded with significant grimaces, and a characteristic wave of his finger; "los officiales Españoles no valde nada, no valde nada;" Spanish officers are good for nothing.

I lay little stress on these and similar occurrences, and do not depend on them as indications of patriotism; and I notice them rather as illustrations of manners, than of politics; as proofs of the polite and flattering habits which the Spaniards possess, rather than as demonstrations of their political regard for us. I have so frequently heard this expression, "no valde nada," applied by the people to their officers and their troops, that I consider it a mere compliment to ours, and it shews only the extent of their politeness, when the proudest people on earth can sacrifice so far to civility, as to degrade their own countrymen merely to flatter foreigners.

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We left Alora amidst the benedictions of the orator, who had transformed my volunteer coat into a general's uniform, and prematurely raised my friend to a rank which, when he attains, I have no doubt he will fill with honour to himself, and advantage to his country. Our road was tremendous, and though the distance was only two leagues, the journey employed five hours. Many parts of the road, or rather path, were on the edge of a precipice, with the river from two to three hundred yards below on one side, and the towering Sierra de Blanquilla, with its perpendicular marble rocks, on the other. The hills were so steep, that on the lower side of each olive tree a wall was constructed, to prevent the tree from falling down the precipice. When we had passed through an opening in this mountain, we descended into a rich vale, the soil of which was so deep, that it was with difficulty the horses could get through it.

It was dark when we arrived at one of the most miserable posadas we had yet encountered, which afforded neither provisions, nor beds, nor scarcely an apartment better than a stable to sit down in. In this distress we went to the alcalde, told him our country, explained our situation, and requested billets for the night: he very politely attended to our wants; gave directions to his alguazil to examine the books, and see who had the best beds in the town; and then signed orders for the owners to receive us for the night. The alguazil attended us to the three houses on which we were billeted, and the families received us, not only with civility and politeness, but with cordiality. We were accommodated with their best apartments; and this morning, when we offered a remuneration, they civilly declined receiving it, saying they felt honoured, that the only Englishmen

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who had visited Casarabonela, had slept at their houses. These people are respectable tradesmen, who reside in the street in which our posada is situated.

This town is in a very singular situation, on the lap of a hill, whence the descent to the valley below is full eight hundred yards, and in some places almost perpendicular. You may form some judgment of it, when you are informed, that from the valley to the town we were occupied two hours in constantly ascending by a winding road. It contains between four and five thousand inhabitants, who depend for subsistence on the produce of the rich valleys below, and of the corn fields, which are on the same elevation with the town. Some beautiful cascades pour down from the mountains, which turn several mills behind the town. The Sierra rises in majestic grandeur in some parts, to nearly the perpendicular height of a mile, which gives a very impressive effect to the scene.

We visited the church of one of the convents, which has nothing within it deserving attention; and a Moorish fortress in ruins, which overlooks the town, is too much like others I have noticed, to merit a description.

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LETTER XLVII.

MOUNTAINS NEAR CASARABONELA — EL BURGO — RUINS OF ACINIPO — CONJECTURES RESPECTING THE SCITE OF MUNDA — ARRIVAL AT RONDA.

RONDA, JAN. 1810.

ON leaving Casarabonela we began immediately to ascend the highest and steepest mountains we had yet encountered. For a considerable part of the ascent the mountain is composed of marble, or limestone; but near the top we saw several veins of good coal, and some of them three or four feet in thickness. This substance is noticed by the inhabitants, and is used by some of the poorer classes for fuel; but it is by no means generally appropriated to that purpose, as the sulphureous vapours which it yields are very offensive. I remarked in one part of this mountain the first schist I had seen in Spain; it was of a blueish-grey colour, but the stratum was not very thick.

We left the highest summit of the mountain called Sierra de Junquera, which was covered with snow, on our left hand, and travelled along execrable roads, alternately ascending and descending during four hours. At the distance of half a league, on the left hand, we saw the convent of the barefooted Carmelites, which appeared to be surrounded with cultivated fields, good gardens, and vineyards,

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while the rest of the country presented nothing but extensive woods of cork and oak trees, under which thousands of pigs were feeding on the acorns that had dropped. The cork tree is a species of oak, resembling those of England, but is neither so lofty nor so shady; the leaves do not fall in the winter, the acorns are somewhat bitter, and are not eaten by the people, but the swine fatten on them. There are two other species of oaks; one is an ever-green, but the other drops its leaves in the autumn; neither of them, however, grows to a very large size, nor are those in Andalusia calculated for ship-building. The ship-timber for the Spanish navy is produced in the northern part of the Peninsula.

We reached El Burgo, a town containing about 1,500 inhabitants, in five hours, and being most completely wet, were glad to surround a large fire, in company with an assemblage of muleteers, carriers, recruits, and contrabandists, who had taken shelter from a most tremendous storm. After some refreshment we left El Burgo, and ascended another mountain, of prodigious height. As we advanced towards the summit, we found that the storm, which in the comparatively low ground where we had encountered it had descended in the form of rain, had here fallen in that of snow; part of which lay on the ground, while the rest melted, and formed a torrent in the road. As we advanced to a still higher level, we found the snow had frozen, and become hard; and on the very highest part that we passed we just reached the line of perpetual snow, which, as I before noticed, is about 10,000 feet above the level of the sea, and is the highest elevation to which we ascended. On both sides of the pass through which we got over the mountain the still higher points rose majes-

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tically above our heads, and we were informed that, occasionally, the frozen snow fell into the pass in such quantities as for several days to block up the road entirely.

From the top of the pass we first saw the rich plain on which this city stands; for, though on an elevation of 1,500 yards above the level of the sea, the higher mountains around it give it the appearance of a valley, which is richly adorned with corn fields, fruit-trees, and transparent streams. Four of the highest peaks, which in a clear day are visible at Cadiz, retain the snow, which is preserved through the summer in caverns, and is sent, packed in chaff, for the supply of Cadiz, Seville, and Gibraltar.

On descending into the plain, by tremendous roads, we got into a warmer climate, and were surrounded by trees of every variety of verdure. About a league from this city the ruins of Acinipo, vulgarly called Old Ronda, are situated: they are very extensive, and the vestiges of the wall, which formerly surrounded the city, are easily traced. Within this wall is a pile, which was evidently a Roman amphitheatre; though at present there are only eight rows of seats entire, there is reason to believe from the ruins, that the account we received of there having been originally twenty-eight, is not incorrect. It must certainly have been much larger than that at Italica, near Seville. One part of the outer wall is in a state which enabled me to form a judgment of its height, which I calculate to be nearly seventy feet: it is thrown down, and reclines against a hill, but the solidity of the cement retains the fragment together. Within these walls another edifice may be distinctly traced, which is

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supposed to have been a temple; it originally formed a square of two hundred feet, and the interior was divided into apartments of a quadrangular form, about twenty-two feet square. The marble pavement of this temple was taken up in 1650, and removed by an antiquary, Don Rodrigo de Ovalle, to this city, at the expence of the Cabildo.

The aqueduct which conveyed water to the antient city is entire for a considerable distance; and I should judge that Acinipo has not been inhabited since the time of the Romans, from the form of the arches of this building, for all of them are manifestly the work of that people, without any mixture of Moorish additions. The whole of these ruins occupies fifty acres of land, exclusive of those without the walls, which are very extensive, though but thinly scattered, and many of the stones which composed the buildings have been removed to build the houses in Ronda. From inscriptions and coins which have been discovered here, it appears to have been a municipal town of the Romans, and to have had a mint, for many of the pieces coined here have the name of the town between an ear of wheat, and another of barley; on one an inscription is preserved, which celebrates the family of Frontoni, which has resided here so low down as the last century, and gave a name to an estate in this vicinity.

Some of the Spanish antiquaries have contended that Acinipo was the antient Munda, near which place the decisive battle between Cæsar and the Pompeys was fought, which eventually terminated their important struggle. Those who maintain this opinion assert, that the descriptions of the ground found in the antient historians

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can only apply to this situation; that the river, the marsh, and the city, are plainly such as are detailed by Hirtius; and they point out the hill to which Bogud the Moorish king retired with his Numidian horse, at the first onset, and whence he marched, at the close of the day, to attack the camp of Labienus Pompey, by which the fate of the battle was decided. The best authorities place the scene of this battle farther to the South-east, near the town, still called Munda, or Monda, between Marvella and Alora; but those who oppose them assert, that the plain near that place is much too confined to admit of two such armies being formed, and attribute the error into which their opponents have fallen, to their having paid more attention to the name than to the situation. Without attempting to decide such a question, to which I am utterly incompetent, I can only remark, that the extensive plain near this antient city is well calculated for the theatre of such an action; and that the country around is adapted, by its fertility, for supplying numerous armies, which certainly is not the case near the town of Monda.

Our being detained to view Acinipo caused us to arrive here after dark; and the evening was very cold. All things are good or bad by comparison: and, judging by this rule, I must say, that the Posada de las almas, in Ronda, is a very good house. It is true it contains no provisions; but our servants went to the shops, and purchased a kid and some vegetables, which made an excellent stew, and we bought some red wine, equal in flavour to Burgundy, and by far the best that I have tasted in Spain. We had a large pan of charcoal in the room; and after our meal, good straw beds, with mats of Esparto

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under them, were spread on the marble floor, and we had the luxury of clean sheets to dispose us to a comfortable night's sleep. Having so good a house, we shall spend the time necessary for seeing the curiosities of this place with less impatience than if we were worse accommodated; and though yesterday the weather was bad, and the night cold, we have this morning a clear sky, and a warm sun to enliven us.

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LETTER XLVIII.

FERTILITY OF RONDA — CRESTA DE GALLO — MINERAL PRODUCTIONS OF THE MOUNTAINS — ROMANTIC SITUATION OF THE CITY OF RONDA — CUEVA DEL GATO — CURIOUS RESERVOIR.

RONDA, JAN. 1810.

THIS city contains about twenty thousand inhabitants, who are a hardy race of people, and have much the appearance of the natives of the north of Europe: the complexion of many of them approaches almost to ruddy, but with those peculiarly expressive features which distinguish the middle and lower classes in Andalusia. The fertile fields and productive gardens which surround Ronda, afford to its people abundant means of subsistence; besides wine, oil, and corn, which they enjoy in common with other parts of the province, they have a profusion of all the fruits and vegetables of our more northern climate: the apples and pears with which the trees are loaded, equal or excel in flavour those of our own country; and the cities of Cadiz and Seville, while they are supplied with oranges, lemons, grapes, and pomegranates, from their more immediate vicinity, are furnished from this quarter with the vegetable luxuries of northern Europe.

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The plains in this district abound with cattle, and the hills with game of all kinds; the roebuck and fallow deer are found on the sides of the mountains, and the wild boar is common among the woods. Wolves are very numerous on these mountains, and are sometimes so fierce, as to attack horses or mules, while the riders are on their backs, but they are alarmed at fire-arms; and, as I have before remarked, a peasant never goes from home without carrying a gun.

About a league south-east from the city, is the highest of the mountains, which is called Cresta de Gallo (the cock's comb) which has a very singular appearance, and is frequently the first land seen by navigators on approaching Cadiz: it consists of two ridges, parallel to each other, and joined at the bottom; one is quite red, and though it is rather the highest, the snow never lies on it; the other is white, and its top is always covered with snow, so that when in summer it is scarce in other parts, a never-failing supply may be obtained from it. No trees grow on the white ridge, except oak or cork, and on the red ridge none but pines. The former contains iron ore in great abundance, and the latter almost every mineral except iron. The waters which issue from the white ridge are chalybeate, or vitriolic: and those from the red, sulphureous or alkaline.

A mine of black lead *(molybdena)* in these mountains was formerly worked, but within the last twenty years it has been totally neglected. Tin was also found here, but the manufactory for tinning iron plates having been so ill conducted as to make the plates cost more than those brought from England, both the mine and the manufactory have been suffered to decay. The great quantity of iron ore in these mountains, where it is found in small balls, not much larger than

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shot, the plenty of excellent fuel, and the red earth of the soil, which, by its resistance to fire, makes very good furnaces, have induced several attempts to establish iron founderies, but none of them have hitherto succeeded, and the projectors have desisted after considerable losses. One nobleman, the Count de Pilar (father to that gentleman I met on Christmas-day at Chiclana), expended on one of these founderies nearly seventy thousand pounds, and was at last forced to abandon an undertaking by which he was almost reduced to ruin.

The most abundant of all the mineral productions in these mountains is the amianthus, or asbestos, from which the fossil cloth was made by the ancients, which, as it resisted the power of fire, was used to envelope the bodies of distinguished persons, and preserve their ashes entire. Pliny describes it *inventu rarum textu difficillimum*, and says he has seen napkins of it, which, being taken from table after a feast, were thrown into the fire, and were better scoured by burning, than those made of other substances were by washing. And it is related of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, that he had a complete service of linen made from this substance, and surprised the ladies of his court who were unacquainted with its peculiar property, by ordering them all to be thrown into the fire by way of cleaning them. The amianthus is so very abundant, that I have been assured there are large rocks entirely composed of it in these mountains; it is, however, a matter more of curiosity than of benefit, and if the art of spinning it be now lost, it is only because it is an art not worth retaining. Several attempts to convert it into cloth were made in

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Italy, about an hundred years ago, and with such success, that Ciampini, in a pamphlet published in Rome in 1699, describes the process for making both cloth and paper of it. Paper of an incombustible substance is certainly a desideratum; but unless an ink could be discovered equally durable, it would prove of little service. The specimens I have met with in this place are soft and flexible, and the fibres from three to five inches in length. When it is burnt, it does not appear to diminish in bulk, but it loses part of its weight every time that it is set on fire.

Mines of lead *(plumbago)* were formerly worked about half a league from this city, and also a mine of silver, which is said to have been opened by the Phœnicians: these mines, however, like those of iron, tin, and black lead, are now totally neglected.

Among the various things which have attracted my attention in Spain, none have excited so much admiration as the singular situation of this city, the river Guadiaro which encircles it, and the bridges which connect it with its suburbs. It is placed on a rock, with cliffs, either perpendicular and abrupt towards the river, or with broken craggs, whose jutting prominences, having a little soil, have been planted with orange and fig trees. A fissure in this rock, of great depth, surrounds the city on three sides, and at the bottom of the fissure the river rushes along with impetuous rapidity. Two bridges are constructed over the fissure; the first is a single arch, resting on the rocks on the two sides, the height of which from the water is one hundred and twenty feet. The river descends from this to the second bridge, whilst the rocks on each side as rapidly increase in height;

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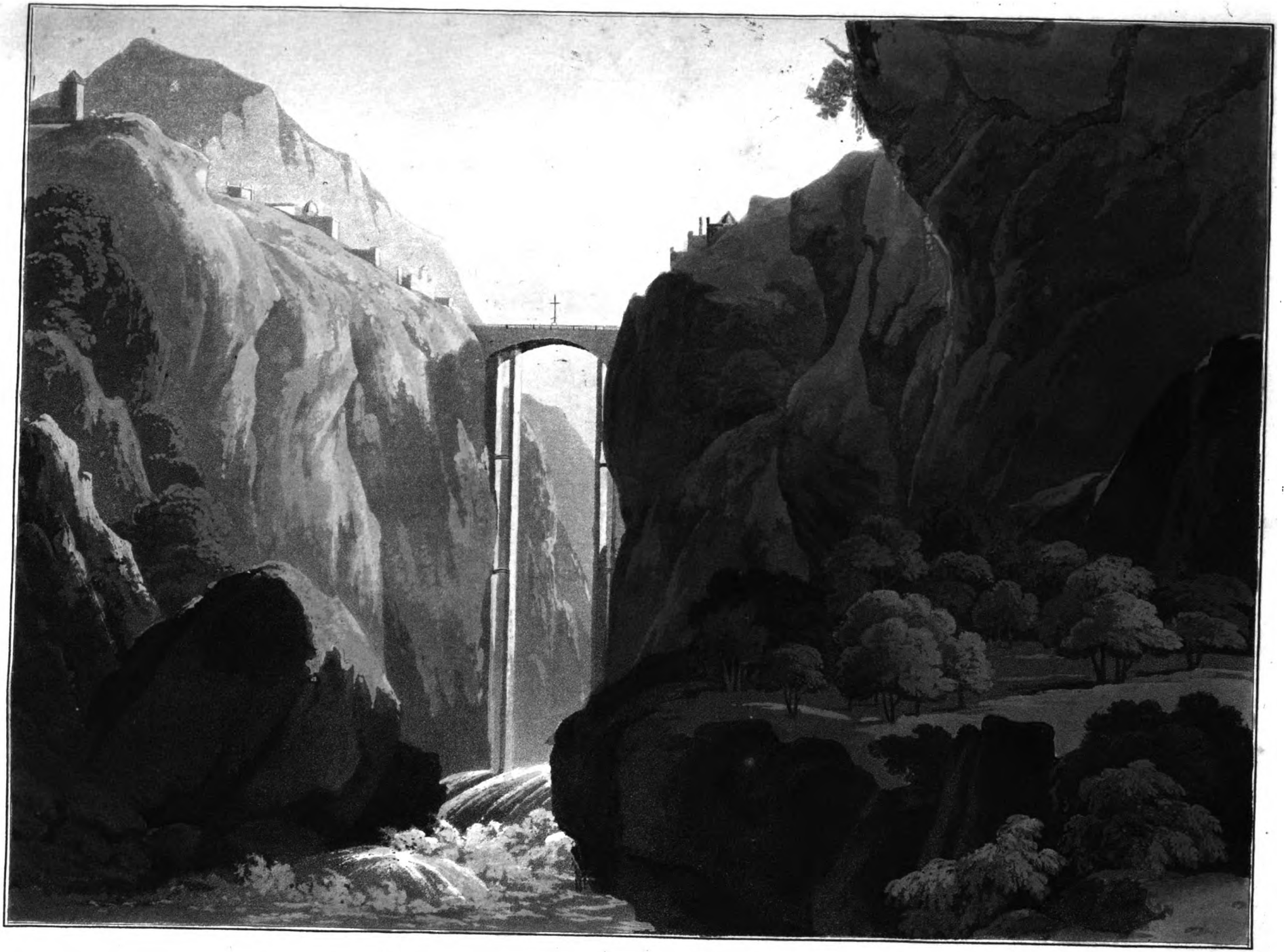

Bridge at Ronda.

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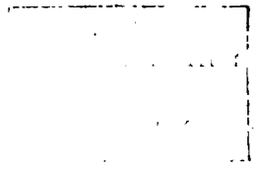

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so that from this second bridge to the water, there is the astonishing height of two hundred and eighty feet. The highest tower in Spain, the Giralda in Seville, or the Monument near London Bridge, if they were placed on the water, might stand under this stupendous arch, without their tops reaching to it.

The mode of constructing this bridge is no less surprising than the situation in which it is placed, and its extraordinary elevation; it is a single arch of one hundred and ten feet in diameter; it is supported by solid pillars of masonry, built from the bottom of the river, about fifteen feet in thickness, which are fixed into the solid rock on both sides, and on which the ends of the arch rest; other pillars are built to support these principal ones, which are connected with them by other small arches. But as it is difficult to describe such an edifice, I must refer to the sketch I have made of it.

A bridge was built on this spot in 1735, but the key-stone not having been properly secured, it fell down in 1741, by which fifty persons were killed. The present bridge was finished in 1774, by Don Joseph Martin Aldehuela, a celebrated architect of Malaga; and appears so well constructed as to bid defiance almost to time itself: it seems an erection

> Quod non imber edax: non aquilo impotens
> Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
> Annorum series et fuga temporum.

It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of it: from below it appears suspended in the air; and when upon the bridge, the river beneath appears no longer a mighty torrent, but resembles a rippling

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brook. When standing on the bridge, the optical delusion is very singular: the torrent of water appears to run up a hill towards the bridge, and the same phenomenon takes place when viewed in either direction.

One of the streets of the city is built almost close to the edge of the precipice, and stairs are hewn out of the solid rock, which lead to nooks in the lower precipices, in which, though there is very little soil, gardens have been formed, where fig and orange trees grow with considerable luxuriance, and greatly contribute to the beauty of the scenery. From the situation of Ronda on the top of a rock, water is scarce, and stairs are constructed down to the river, by which means the inhabitants are supplied. We descended by one flight of three hundred and fifty steps, and at the bottom found a fine spring, in a large cave, which, after turning a mill at its source, contributes to increase the waters of the Guadiaro. From this spot, our view of the lofty bridge was most striking and impressive, and the houses and churches of the city, impending over our heads on both banks, had a most sublime effect. Beyond the bridge, the river takes a turn to the right, and passes under the Alameyda, from which, the precipice of five hundred feet is very bold and abrupt, though interspersed with jutting prominences, covered with shrubs and trees. The Alameyda of this city is by far the most beautiful public walk I have seen in Spain: the paths are paved with marble; the parterres are filled with ever-greens; and over the paths, vines are trained on trelisses, which, in the warmest weather, afford a grateful shade.

Soon after the Guadiaro quits the rocks of Ronda, it receives the tributary streams of the Guadalevi, the Culebras, and the Alcobacen,

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and passes over the plain with this increase of water, till, at one league distant, it is precipitated over some lofty rocks, making a cascade of striking beauty, and is at length received into a cavern, where it is lost to the sight. The entrance to the cavern, which is called Cueva del Gato, is very lofty; and I was informed by those who had explored it, that after advancing about a mile, it extends itself into a large lake, on the banks of which are ruins of an ancient edifice: that beyond the lake, which is of unfathomable depth, the passage made by the water is too small to admit of farther discovery; and that, sometimes, the difficulty of discharging all the water by this aperture, causes the lake to rise almost to the roof. The termination of this cave is about four miles from its commencement, where the Guadiaro again becomes visible, and continues its course by Algaucin, till it enters the Mediterranean sea.

One of the curiosities of Ronda, is a singular repository for water under the Dominican convent: it consists of a large cavern, nearly on a level with the river, which was supplied with water by means of an aqueduct, which formerly passed over the old bridge: when this city was besieged by the Christians, and no access could be had to the river, it is said that the Moors employed their Christian captives in bringing the water in skins from this reservoir, to supply the wants of the inhabitants: it is descended by means of about three hundred and fifty steps; and on the walls are shewn marks of the cross, which the pious captives are said to have worn with their fingers in passing up and down during their laborious occupation. The cavern is hollowed into spacious saloons, the roofs of which

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are formed into domes of prodigious height, and formerly the whole was filled with water, but there having been no necessity of late years to have recourse to this method of supplying that necessary article, the caverns are neglected, and are going so fast to decay, that in a few years they will be filled with the rubbish which falls from the roofs.

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LETTER XLIX.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PERSONS, DRESS, AND MANNERS, OF THE SPANISH PEASANTRY — THEIR GENEROSITY — CONTRABANDISTS.

RONDA, JAN. 1810.

THE inhabitants of Ronda have peculiarities common to themselves and the other people in the mountainous districts, and obviously differ from the people on the plains. The dress both of the males and females varies as well in the colour and shape of the garments as in the materials of which they are composed, and is peculiarly calculated for cold weather. Their countenances, as I have before noticed, are very expressive, and, in my judgment, superior to those of any race of people I have seen. The men are remarkably well formed, robust, and active, with a flexibility of well-turned limbs, which, doubtless, contributes to that agility for which they are celebrated: but the females in general are of short stature, and the cumbersome dress which they wear so conceals the figure, that it is difficult to determine whether they are well or ill formed; but there is an expression of sensibility in their countenances, and a peculiar grace in all their movements, which is extremely fascinating. In walking the streets the women wear veils, to cover their heads, as a substi-

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tute for caps and hats, neither of which are worn. These veils are frequently made of a pink or pale blue flannel, and, with a petticoat of black stuff, form their principal dress. The men wear no hats; but, instead of them, what are called montero caps, made of black velvet or silk, abundantly adorned with tassels and fringe; and a short jacket, with gold or silver buttons, and sometimes ornamented with embroidery, is worn just sufficiently open to display a very highly-finished waistcoat; they wear leather or velvet breeches, with gaiters; so that the whole of the figure, which is generally extremely good, is distinctly seen.

Having observed much of the manners and character of the Spanish peasantry, more especially within the last fourteen days, I feel I should not be doing them justice were I to abstain from speaking of them according to my impressions. I have given some account of their figures and countenances, and though both are good, I do not think them equal to their dispositions. There is a civility to strangers, and an easy style of behaviour, familiar to this class of Spanish society, which is very remote from the churlish and awkward manners of the English and German peasantry. Their sobriety and endurance of fatigue are very remarkable; and there is a constant cheerfulness in their demeanour, which strongly prepossesses a stranger in their favour. This cheerfulness is displayed in singing either antient ballads, or songs which they compose as they sing, with all the facility of the Italian improvisatori. One of their songs varying in words, according to the skill of the singer, has a termination to certain verses, which says, " that as Ferdinand has no wife, he

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shall marry the King of England's daughter." Some of these songs relate to war or chivalry, and many to gallantry and love: the latter not always expressed in the most decorous language, according to our ideas.

The agility of the Spaniards in leaping, climbing, and walking, has been a constant subject of admiration to our party. We have frequently known a man on foot start from a town with us, who were well mounted, and continue his journey with such rapidity as to reach the end of the stage before us, and announce our arrival with officious civility. A servant likewise, whom we hired at Malaga, has kept pace with us on foot ever since; and though not more than seventeen years of age, he seems incapable of being fatigued by walking. I have heard the agility of the Spanish peasants, and their power of enduring fatigue, attributed to a custom, which, though it may probably have nothing to do with the cause, deserves noticing from its singularity. A young peasant never sleeps on a bed till he is married; before that event he rests on the floor in his cloaths, which he never takes off but for purposes of cleanliness: and during the greater part of the year it is a matter of indifference whether he sleep under a roof or in the open air.

I have remarked that though the Spaniards rise very early, they generally keep late hours, and seem most lively and alert at midnight: this may be attributed to the heat of the weather during the day, and to the custom of sleeping after their meal at noon, which is so general, that the towns and villages appear quite deserted from one till four o'clock. The labours of the artificer, and the attention of

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the shopkeeper, are suspended during those hours; and the doors and windows of the latter are as closely shut as at night, or on a holiday.

Though the Spanish peasantry treat every man they meet with politeness, they expect an equal return of civility; and to pass them without the usual expression, "Vaja usted con Dios," or saluting them without bestowing on them the title of Cabaleros, would be risking an insult from people who, though civil and even polite, are not a little jealous of their claims to reciprocal attentions. I have been informed, that most of the domestic virtues are strongly felt, and practised, by the peasantry; and that a degree of parental, filial, and fraternal affection is observed among them, which is exceeded in no other country. I have already said sufficient of their Religion; it is a subject on which they feel the greatest pride. To suspect them of heresy, or of being descended from a Moor or a Jew, would be the most unpardonable of all offences; but their laxity with respect to matrimonial fidelity, it must be acknowledged, is a stain upon their character; which, though common, appears wholly irreconcileable with the general morality of the Spanish character. They are usually fair and honourable in their dealings; and a foreigner is less subject to imposition in Spain than in any other country I have visited.

Their generosity is great, as far as their means extend; and many of our countrymen have experienced it in rather a singular way. I have been told that, after the Revolution, when Englishmen first began to travel in the Peninsula, many who had remained a few days at an inn, on asking for their bill, at their departure, learnt, to their great

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surprise, that some of the inhabitants, with friendly officiousness, had paid their reckoning, and forbidden the host to communicate to his guests the persons to whose civility they were indebted. I knew one party myself to whom this occurred at Malaga: they were hurt at the circumstance, and strenuously urged the host to take the amount of their bill, and give it to the person who had discharged it; but he resolutely refused, and protested he was ignorant of those who paid this compliment to Englishmen. It was common, if our countrymen went to a coffee-house, or an ice-house, to discover, when they rose to depart, that their refreshment had been paid for by some one who had disappeared, and with whom they had not even exchanged a word. I am aware that these circumstances may be attributed to the warm feelings towards our country, which were then excited by universal enthusiasm; but they are, nevertheless, the offspring of minds naturally generous and noble.

I should be glad if I could, with justice, give as favourable a picture of the higher orders of society in this country; but, perhaps, when we consider their wretched education, and their early habits of indolence and dissipation, we ought not to wonder at the state of contempt and degradation to which they are now reduced. I am not speaking the language of prejudice, but the result of the observations I have made, in which every accurate observer among our countrymen has concurred with me in saying, that the figures and the countenances of the higher orders are as much inferior to those of the peasants, as their moral qualities are in the view I have given of them.

The mountains in this neighbourhood are filled with bands of

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contrabandists, who convey tobacco and other goods from Gibraltar to the interior of the country: they are an athletic race of men, with all the hardiness and spirit of enterprise which their dangerous occupation requires. They reside in the towns which are situated in the most mountainous parts of the country, and are well acquainted with all the passes and hiding places. They are excellent marksmen, and though the habit of their lives has rendered them disobedient to the revenue laws, yet they are much attached to their native land, and might with a little management be rendered very formidable to its invaders.

After this digression from the city of Ronda to the inhabitants of the vicinity, and from them to the Spanish peasantry in general, I return to finish my description of the place, which may be done in a few words. It looks beautifully at a distance, but is as disgusting as most other Spanish towns upon a nearer inspection. It contains five convents, with splendid churches, and three paroquias, or parish churches, an antient Moorish castle, and abundance of Roman antiquities. The air is esteemed remarkably salubrious, and the longevity of the inhabitants has given rise to a proverb, which says, "in Ronda a man of eighty is but a boy."

As the inhabitants depend almost wholly on the productions of the fruitful fields and gardens which surround them, they have little occasion for commerce. Their surplus fruit is sent to Cadiz and Seville, and at present to Gibraltar, where it is exchanged for the few commodities which the luxurious require from other countries. There are manufactories which supply the city and district with

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serges, baize, flannels, leather, and hats; but none of these articles are sent beyond the neighbouring towns; and, indeed, they are scarcely sufficient to supply them, without some additions from the mercantile cities.

In the time of the Roman government in Spain this was a municipal town, named Arunda, as appears from inscriptions upon several monuments which have been preserved, as well as from the coins which were collected in the cabinet of Count Aguilar, the first victim of revolutionary fury in Seville.

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LETTER L.

DOMINICAN CONVENT AT RONDA — SINGULAR SITUATION OF ZAHARA — ALGAUCIN — VISIT TO THE CORREGIDOR — CHEERFUL EVENING — DEPARTURE FROM ALGAUCIN — ARRIVAL AT ST. ROQUE.

ST. ROQUE, JAN. 1810.

BEFORE we left Ronda, we visited the church of the Dominican convent, to see some paintings in fresco of Alonzo Vasquez, a native of that city, who, about the year 1598, obtained considerable celebrity among his contemporaries. Some of his pictures are preserved in the cathedral of Seville, and in the collections of the amateurs of that city. The paintings in the church of the Dominicans are not in good preservation, nor do they, in my judgment, justify his high reputation. Those in the cloisters of the Franciscan convent of Seville are much superior, having probably been executed when he had obtained a greater proficiency in his art. In the cloister of this convent we saw, what I have frequently observed, but not mentioned to you before, the words "aqui se sacan las animas," literally, here souls are drawn; importing that masses are said in this place for the liberation of souls from purgatory.

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We passed the first hour and an half after leaving Ronda, in ascending the hills to the southward of the city. When we had gained the summit, the view was extensive and delightful, stretching to the westward towards Xeres and St. Lucar, while to the south we beheld Gibraltar, and the distant mountains of Africa. The rock of Gibraltar, from the eminence, appeared merely a molehill, when compared with Apes-hill on the coast of Africa, though the latter was five or six leagues farther from us. From this elevation, our whole journey to Algaucin was a continual descent, which occupied nine hours. The road runs along the ridge of hills, which gradually become lower, with spacious and fertile vallies on both sides. These hills, to the tops, are covered with vines, which are not much attended to by their proprietors. Very little wine is made in this district, though the vineyards are extensive, as their produce is generally appropriated to making vinegar or brandy.

We observed several towns in the most romantic situations, which appeared to be almost inaccessible, more especially one upon our right, the singularity of which, and the difficulty of reaching it, surpassed all the others; we passed on its eastern side, and some passengers informed us, that the only path to it was in the opposite direction, and was accessible only to asses and mules. This town was built by the Moors, and is called Zahara. The streets and houses are scooped out of the solid rock, and the descent down the precipices at the backs of the habitations, which are close to its edge, must be, on the sides from which we viewed it, at least twelve hundred feet. The other towns, which are placed in positions of similar strength, are numerous, and imprint on the face of the country the strong marks of that

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feudalism, which, for ages, gave a character to Spain, the traces of which are still visible in the habits of the people, and will probably become indelibly imprinted by the futile attempts of France to subdue this country to its yoke.

At Algaucin, though the second city in the Sierra de Ronda, and peopled by ten thousand inhabitants, the only posada was most miserably dirty, and destitute of even the homely bedding to which we have lately been accustomed: we applied, therefore, to the corregidor, who sent for the alcalde, and directed him to order the alguazil to furnish us with the three best beds in the vicinity of our wretched hotel. It was easy to see, by the manner of this magistrate, that the request was not unusual, and his orders were arranged with the utmost dispatch; but being at the house of this officer, either his politeness or his loquacity detained us by a long political conversation; which, if it did not discover enlarged ideas, was yet not destitute of patriotism. His views and conversation were confined merely to the expulsion of the French from his own province, for it seemed to be the feeling of his mind, that the Andalusians alone ought to defend Andalusia, the Valencians, Valencia, and the Catalans, Catalonia; but that Spain, as one kingdom having a common interest, should be so organized as to draw all exertions to a common centre, and by a union of efforts concentrate its force, and liberate itself from the evils that assail it, never seemed to have entered into the contemplation of this man. The narrow views of this individual are, I am persuaded, conformable to those of most of the inhabitants; they feel for the fate of their own town or province, but not for the fate of Spain: they invent plans, and organize troops, for the protection of

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their immediate district, while the general defence of the country is neglected. We were on very friendly terms with this magistrate, and during our visit, many of his neighbours paid their respects to him, and joined in our conversation; while, on a bed on the floor of the same apartment, his daughter, a young lady of about eighteen, who was sick, related all her symptoms to us with as much freedom as if we had been her physicians.

Algaucin is finely situated on the ridge of a hill, whence a beautiful glacis, terminating in the valleys on either side, is covered with fruits, vineyards, and corn fields. On the pinnacle of a rock above the town, an ancient fort, of Moorish construction, produces a striking appearance; while the river Guadiaro in the valley beneath, completes the beauty of the scene. In this place there are some mineral springs, which are administered for the cure of various diseases: one in particular has the property of rendering the use of soap unnecessary in the operation of washing.

I was much pleased with the frankness and simplicity, and I must add the politeness of the family on which I was billeted. After a miserable meal, when I retired to my quarters, they were all assembled, and received me in the kindest manner. The conversation naturally turned on Englishmen, of whom their only knowledge seemed to be derived from such of their neighbours as had visited Gibraltar. The females expressed surprise, that the English, who were powerful enough to keep that fortress in defiance of Spain, had not been able to conquer France: they were unacquainted with the intelligence which the corregidor possessed, that the enemy had entered into Andalusia, and therefore felt the fullest confidence, that

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the united powers of two such countries as England and Spain must soon succeed in exterminating the French. It would have been cruel to have communicated information which could only have embittered the passing moments, and have been of no use in preventing the threatened calamities.

Till a late hour, the evening was spent with much vivacity and cheerfulness. According to the custom of the country, successive visitors entered and departed without ceremony, and perhaps the number was increased from curiosity to see and converse with an Englishman. The guitar was introduced, the fandango was danced, patriotic songs were sung in full chorus, and innocent hilarity continued throughout the evening. Though I could complain of nothing like impertinence, the curiosity of the family was excessive; my portfolio, containing implements for drawing and writing, my snuff-box, seals, razor-case, and even the buttons of my coat, were examined with minute attention, and excited no small degree of surprise; but the camera lucida produced crossings, and the exclamation of "the English are the very devil." According to the custom of Spanish families, no refreshment but water was presented, and I have no doubt but after their evening meal, the whole stock, both of liquor and provisions, was exhausted, and the supply for the next day must depend on the nearest shop. In the morning, I offered money for my bed, which was declined; and I perceived that I had given them more gratification by presenting each of the ladies with a printed card of my address in London, and an impression of my seal on the back of it, than I could have done by any pecuniary present.

At a more early hour than the protracted enjoyment of the pre-

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ceding evening made desirable, I was roused by the guide, with assurances that it was necessary instantly to depart, and that for a very curious reason, because it poured with rain. On farther explanation, I learnt that the rain, which fell in torrents, would soon descend from the mountains, and so fill the rivers, as to make the fords impassable; and there being neither bridges nor boats, we must either set out directly, or wait some days till the floods should subside: there was no resisting such an argument, and we accordingly departed, in the midst of the most tremendous rain I ever encountered.

We descended about an hour and an half, till we reached the river Xenar, which we crossed several times, and in some parts, for considerable distances, had no road except the bed of the river, as the perpendicular rocks on both sides approached it too nearly to admit of a path by the side. We continued along the bed of the Xenar, till we reached the Guadiaro, and then had to cross these united streams, the dread of which passage greatly alarmed our guide and a postman who had joined us; fortunately, the rain had not yet descended from the mountains with all its fury; but the torrent was sufficiently deep and rapid to occasion us some apprehension; we passed, however, without accident, and felt not a little pleased to know, that there was no longer any danger of detention. After six hours riding, in a rain which I have never seen equalled, except within the tropics, we reached a miserable gipsey hut, the first habitation we had seen after leaving Algaucin, where we were fortunate enough to procure some brandy, and plenty of fuel, a luxury by no means common in

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this country, where charcoal is used for culinary purposes, and a fire is generally considered unnecessary.

After resting some time, the storm abated, and we continued our journey over a barren country, till we reached the river Hogarganta, which the rain had increased to a torrent, very difficult to pass, though the day before it was nearly dry: here we found a ferry boat, but in a very crazy state, which could contain only two horses at a time, and the rapidity of the current occasioned us no small alarm. As there were in our party seven horses, the operation of passing such a stream necessarily occupied a considerable portion of time, and the rain had so flooded the fields on the banks of the river, that it was difficult to reach the road on the opposite side. The remainder of our journey continued over the most wretched roads, through cork woods, and very little corn or pasture land, till we reached St. Roque, where we are now enjoying, though in a Spanish posada, all the comforts of fires, beds, warm rooms, good provisions, generous wine, and English bottled porter.

We have thus concluded our tour through Granada and the mountains of Ronda. It has not been unattended with fatigues, privations, and even dangers; but the scenes through which I have passed, the character of the people I have seen, and especially the bold features of the most picturesque country in Europe, will afford recollections which I shall dwell upon with pleasure through the remainder of my life.

I must observe, that the horses we hired at this place, have accomplished their journey very much to our satisfaction, and though they have never been rubbed down or curried during the journey, they

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are now in excellent condition, and very fresh. The hire of these horses has formed our principal expence: we paid two dollars and a half per day for each horse, the guide paying the expence of their food, which could not be great, as they eat only barley mixed with broken straw, and require nothing for beds but the stones of the court of the posada.

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LETTER LI.

ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH — GENERAL CASTAÑOS — HIS SUCCESS — INGRATITUDE OF THE JUNTA TOWARDS HIM — DESTRUCTION OF FORTS NEAR GIBRALTAR.

GIBRALTAR, JAN. 1810.

AFTER our tour among the mountains, I have enjoyed the hospitality of this place with double relish, and shall leave with regret many individuals to whose kind attentions I have been much indebted. I intended to have sailed yesterday in the Invincible for Cadiz; but a perfect calm, attended with incessant rain, prevented her from getting under weigh, and the wind has now sprung up from the westward, with every appearance of continuance. I have therefore determined to go on horseback to Cadiz, and have no doubt I shall reach it some days before the French troops will be near enough to close the entrance by land.

I shall not detail to you events with which the English newspapers will probably be filled; the dispersion of the Spanish armies, and the passage of the enemy through those defiles in the Sierra Morena, to which the inhabitants of Andalusia looked with as much confidence for security, as our countrymen contemplate the seas that surround our native island. The Central Junta, neglecting to improve

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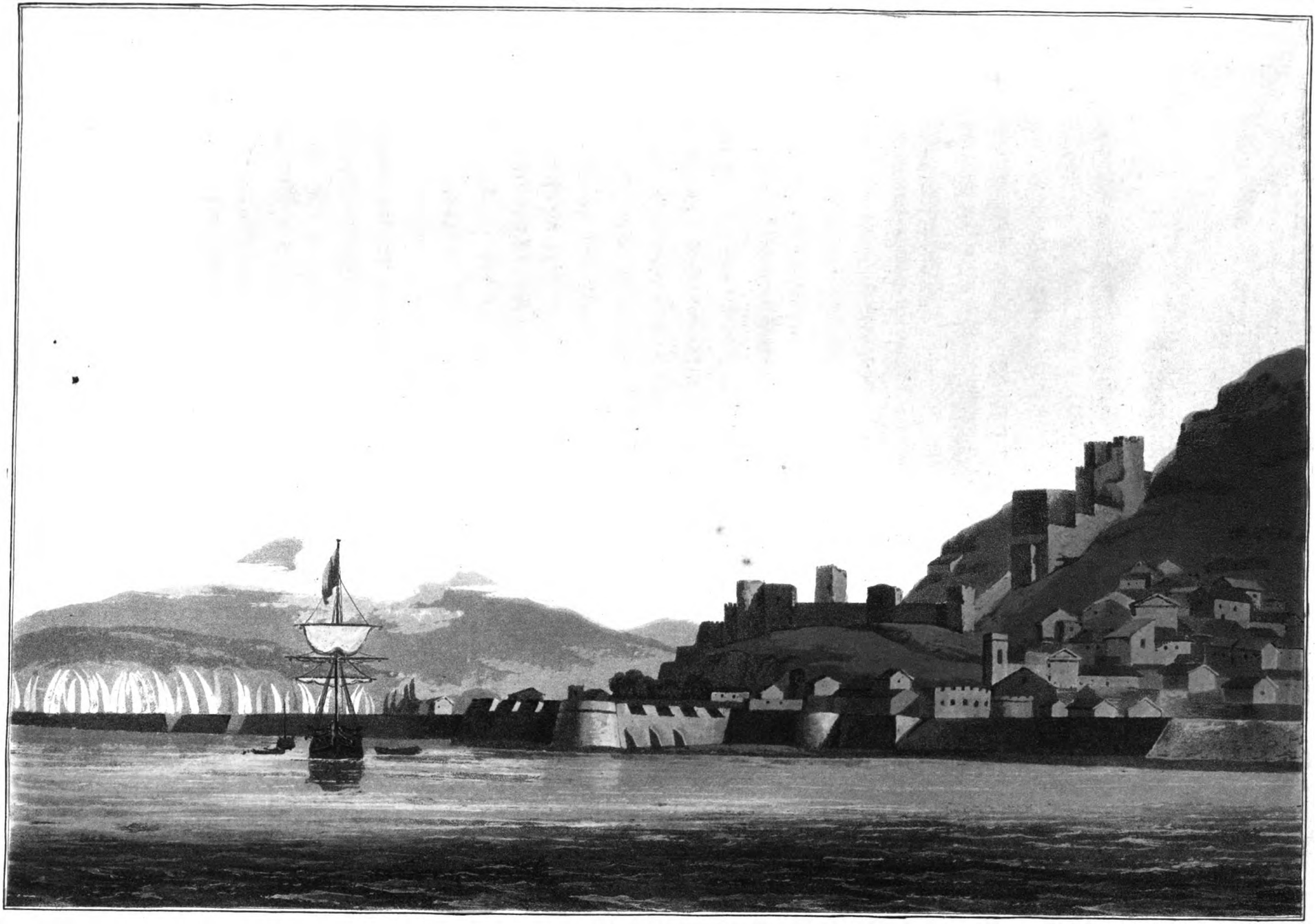

(Gibraltar.)

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those means of defence with which nature had provided them in that almost inaccessible range of mountains, were so lulled into security, that they had disgusted their best officers, and imprisoned their most virtuous patriots; and being reduced to the last extremity by an irruption of the enemy, which was foreseen by every intelligent man from the day of the fatal battle of Ocaña, they have sent an order to General Castaños, one of the best and most successful, but the most ill treated of their commanders, to repair to Seville to take the command of their armies, and assume the rank of Captain general of the four kingdoms of Andalusia. This respectable officer, obedient to the calls of the distressed citizens, disdaining to remember the treatment he has received from those into whose hands the power of the nation has unfortunately fallen, and anxious only for the welfare of his country, is prepared to depart, and to-morrow will leave his home at Algeziras, on his way to Seville. He has been at this place to make arrangements with General Campbell respecting supplies, and to request such assistance as the garrison can afford him. I have engaged to spend this evening at his house, and to accompany him on his way as far as our route continues the same.

The celebrity of this officer entitles him to more than a casual notice, and the conduct of the Junta towards him would stamp indelible disgrace on that body, even if their other follies, and, I fear, in some instances, their treachery, could be forgotten. Castaños was commander of the Spanish army before Gibraltar during the last war. His politeness, his respect for the English nation, and his friendship for many individuals within this garrison, created a degree of civility between the two hostile armies, which,

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though formerly common, gave such umbrage to the French ambassador, who at that time ruled the cabinet of Madrid, that repeated orders were sent to Castaños, to suffer no kind of intercourse between the garrison and the continent. These orders Castaños treated with as much attention as was necessary to screen him from disgrace, but still adhered to that line of conduct which had been customary between civilized nations, as far as his power, and the jealous feelings of those who ruled his government, would allow.

When the conduct of Buonaparte roused the Spanish nation to oppose his mandates, Castaños was among the first to foster the rising spirit of the people. Unauthorised by any superior power, and animated solely by the patriotism of his own feelings, he opened a negociation with Sir Hew Dalrymple, then Governor of Gibraltar, secured a supply of troops and stores, and obtained from Lord Collingwood permission to dispatch officers by the Adriatic sea, to convey intelligence of the passing events to the Austrian government. These arrangements were settled previously to the first movements of insurrection in Seville; and when the revolution was completed, and the newly invested government in that city sent their secretary to ascertain if supplies could be furnished from Gibraltar, they learnt with surprise and pleasure, that the patriotic General had anticipated their wishes, and had arranged with the British commander every preparation and assistance which their situation demanded. This proof of patriotism was too unequivocal to leave a doubt on any mind; and Castaños, by the voice of the country, was invested with the command of an army to oppose the troops of France, which, under Dupont and Vedel, were hastening by forced marches to occupy Seville, and reduce Cadiz.

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Castaños collected the few regular troops in the district, organized the citizens, who, at the sacred call of their country, crowded to his standard, and, with a rapidity and vigour which has not since been displayed, fought and captured the first invading army of this formidable enemy. So long as heroism and patriotism shall continue to attract the praises of mankind, so long as history shall transmit to futurity the brightest triumphs of liberty, so long will the field of Baylen and the fame of Castaños be admired by posterity. This is the brightest spot in the records of Spanish contests, and may be dwelt upon with pleasure amid the dreary scenes that surround it. O si sic omnia! But the success, though not the merit, of Castaños, had here its termination.

The Central Junta, induced by his popularity, conferred on the hero of Baylen the command of the army of the centre, but basely deceived him with assurances of placing 75,000 men under his command; when he reached the army he found scarcely 26,000 collected, and those were without stores or provisions, and badly clothed. With this insufficient force, he had to defend a line extending from Tudela to Logroño, of more than fifty miles in length, and to resist the army of France, increased by newly arrived reinforcements to 120,000 men, with one hundred and seventy pieces of cannon, led by the most experienced generals, and commanded by Buonaparte in person. The calamities which followed were such as might naturally have been expected, and were not the fault of the general, but of those who equipped so insufficient an army, and weakly conceived that they had prepared a force equal to the defence of the kingdom.

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Castaños was thus sacrificed to the incapacity of the Government, which recalled him immediately after the defeat of Tudela. Misrepresentations of his conduct were scandalously circulated, cries of treason were loudly raised in every town through which he passed, and it was only by means of the escort which accompanied him, that this general could be saved from the rage of the people, though but a few months before he was received as the saviour of his country, was hailed with acclamations of applause and gratitude, and triumphal arches were every where erected for him.

Castaños approached the city of Seville, whither the Junta had fled from Madrid, and when at a short distance from it, announced his arrival, and demanded, in the peremptory tone of conscious honour, that a manifesto, declaring the state of the army he commanded, should be published, to undeceive the people, and justify his character. To this just demand, at first evasive, and afterwards rude answers were returned; and he was ordered to remain at the monastery of Santi-Ponce, in a situation nearly resembling that of a prisoner. He in vain insisted upon an enquiry being made into his conduct, or that permission should be given him to publish his justification, and was answered by an order to retire to his own house at Algeziras; and though pretended enquiries have been since instituted, yet the dilatory proceedings prove, that the sole object of the government was to screen themselves, at the expence of one of the first characters in the country.

The irruption of the enemy has caused a great many of the fugitives to take refuge in this garrison, and the number being expected to increase, the governor has wisely ordered all the male

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Spaniards to depart, and join the defenders of their country, while restrictions, rendered necessary by the existing circumstances, are laid on the admission of those who may hereafter arrive. Preparations are now making for destroying the Spanish lines in front of this place, and for blowing up the forts of St. Philip and St. Barbara; in fact, every precaution is taking, which the importance of the place demands, whilst a part of the army is about to embark to take possession of Ceuta on the African shore.

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LETTER LII.

DEPARTURE FROM GIBRALTAR — WILD SCENERY BETWEEN THAT PLACE AND VEGEL — SINGULAR SITUATION OF THE TOWN OF VEGEL — DUCHESS OF MEDINA CELI — ARRIVAL AT CADIZ.

CADIZ, JAN. 1810.

AFTER closing my last letter I left Gibraltar, intending to pass the evening with General Castaños, and proceed with him to Chiclana; but owing to an unfortunate blunder of the servants, they were waiting for me without the gates of Gibraltar whilst I was searching for them every where within the town, when the evening gun announced the closing of the gate. I learnt their situation by accident, and applied to General Campbell, who, on account of the peculiarity of my case, had the goodness to order the gates to be opened, which occasioned no little trouble, and occupied a considerable time. When I had got fairly without the fortress, and had reached the Spanish lines, I found that the servants had gone to St. Roque, and I was, consequently, obliged to follow them, instead of enjoying the pleasant evening which I had anticipated with Castaños at Algeziras. There was no remedy, and being in an excellent house, the mortification was more easily borne.

At day-break, Mr. Ridout, who had accompanied me from Gibraltar, returned thither, having made a party to pass over to Ceuta

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and Tangiers, and it being arranged that he should join me at Cadiz after his visit to Africa. I began my dreary journey to this place alone. The first part of the road was good, and the country pleasant; but at the expiration of two hours I passed the town of Dos Barrios, a place containing about 1000 inhabitants, when I began to ascend the Sierra, which, though not so high, is equally wild with that called the Trocha, at the back of Algeziras. The roads over it are excessively bad, and the prospects dreary and romantic beyond description. It occupied four hours to reach the summit of the Sierra, where huge rocks, lifting their heads among the trees, and gushing streams bursting in every part, gave to the prospects a sublimity, and a solitary wildness, which excited the most awful impressions.

In one of the rudest parts of the road, at a sudden turning, I met General Doyle, who, with his aid de camp and servants, was going to Gibraltar, on his way to Catalonia. I cannot describe to you the pleasure of such an interview, in such a situation. He had all his usual cheerfulness and gaiety, and did not appear incommoded by the fatigues of his journey, though, as I afterwards learnt, he had slept the preceding night among the horses and mules at a gypsey hut on the plain below. After having remained on horseback for seven hours, I reached the miserable hovel from which he had proceeded, and was too much disgusted with its filth to venture within it; but while the horses were refreshing, ate the meal I had brought with me under some cork trees, that grew at the door. I was joined at this place by some Englishmen, one of whom I slightly recognized: they had come from Algeziras that day,

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and our joint stock of provisions made the Spaniards almost envy us the sumptuous repast, which was spread on the grass before us.

From this wretched venta I passed over a fine plain, which the late rains had rendered wet and muddy, but which appeared totally uncultivated. A few straggling oxen were the only cattle I observed, and I could discover no vestige of an habitation till, after four hours riding, I reached Vegel. As I found I could be accommodated in a venta near that place with an apartment, and straw beds, both for myself and for my countrymen who were following me, I determined to pass the night there, and employ the time till dark in seeing the town. The ascent is steep and dangerous, and scarcely passable for any animals except mules and asses. The sight of the town was by no means a recompence for the labour of ascending to it; and though it contains (as I was informed) seven thousand inhabitants, not a single object was to be seen deserving attention. It is, however, surrounded with fruitful corn fields, and the country in general appears fertile.

I accidentally met the Corregidor, and conversed with him on political subjects, with the freedom allowed to an Englishman. He expressed himself much in the same manner as the Spaniards in general do when conversing about the state of their affairs. He exultingly pointed out to me the secure position of his own town in particular; and concluded by saying, that if the Junta gave up all Andalusia to the French, the inhabitants of Vegel could defend their own asylum against every enemy. I have seen so many instances of this parochial patriotism, if I may be allowed the expression, that it has ceased to excite astonishment. But, amidst the gloom which

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now overshadows the political horizon, it forms the only consolation, and constitutes the only hope, that remains for Spain. Numerous armies, without combination, and without confidence in their leaders, can no longer be relied on. But the native valour of the people, their unconquerable hatred of the invaders, their capability of enduring fatigue and hardship, and the unassailable fastnesses of the country, hold forth the best promise of a war, which may ultimately terminate in the emancipation of the Peninsula.

When I descended from the mountain, and reached the venta, the horrors which precede invasion were strikingly exhibited. The Duchess of Medina Celi, the wife of the proprietor of all this extensive country, and the richest subject in Europe, had just arrived with her family, having fled from St. Mary's, to escape from the enemy. She was attended by several carriages, as well as many mules and asses; but as the road would not admit of wheel carriages beyond this place, a sufficiency of the latter was provided, to carry her grace and her suite to Algeziras, where she intended to embark for Majorca. There was a cheerfulness in her conversation, and a liveliness in her manners, which proves what I have often had occasion to remark, that Spaniards, even of high rank, possess an elasticity of mind, which renders them superior to the unexpected calamities of life, and drives away those imaginary ills, which are the worst enemies of human happiness.

In a miserable hovel, at the foot of a mountain, which towered over our heads, with all the horrors to be expected from an approaching enemy, and without the aid of a festive board, my countrymen, and myself, collected in our apartment a society of the

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neighbours, who, with the guitar, the grave fandango, and songs of "long life to Ferdinand, and death to Napoleon," passed an evening as merrily and as happily as if we had been their oldest friends; and appeared as tranquil as if the enemy was not at hand. I shall feel a respect, and even affection, for the simple pleasures, the cheerful lives, and the generous character, of the Spanish peasants, as long as I recollect this and other similar societies, of whose hilarity I have been a partaker.

I left Vegel early the next morning, and after ascending one mountain, from the sides of which gushing streams of transparent water turn a series of mills, I gained a level and barren plain; and, after about five hours, reached Chiclana. But having already passed some days there, about six weeks ago, and there being a nearer road than that through the town, I passed it on the right hand, and proceeded to the ferry over the river Santi Petri. There I met a number of convicts, chained together, who were marching to Algeziras, to be embarked for Ceuta before the arrival of the enemy.

I pushed on with eagerness to Cadiz, the situation of which it is impossible to describe. The French are advancing with rapidity, and no force exists to impede their progress. The battery of St. Fernando is unfinished; there is no government to forward its completion, and no troops, except volunteers, to man the works, and too few even of them to perform the requisite duty. The late feeble government is dissolved, and some of its solitary members are dropping in here, glad to have escaped from the fury of the populace at Xeres, and other places. The fears of an insurrection in this city are so strong, that patroles are parading every night, and detachments of

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volunteers are constantly under arms, while the British sailors are actively employed in blowing up those forts which may be rendered subservient to the views of the advancing enemy. Amid these scenes of terror, the apprehension of a scarcity of many necessary articles increases the gloom; while those who have wives and daughters are imploring from all who are connected with shipping, the means of removing the objects of their affection from the horrid scenes which they anticipate. It is, however, probable, that this giddy people, who, when I left Cadiz, were buoyed up by the most absurd confidence, are now as unreasonably depressed. A day or two will produce some alteration; but I must now close my letter, in the hope of being able to transmit to you some interesting details in a few days.

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LETTER LIII.

VENEGAS — HIS APPOINTMENT — STATE OF SEVILLE AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE FRENCH — DUKE OF ALBUQUERQUE.

CADIZ, FEB. 1810.

ON the night of the 30th of January, an express arrived from the Duke of Albuquerque, announcing that he had thrown himself between the advancing enemy and this city, and having gained a day's march on him, would conduct his army to this place; by which a competent garrison will be formed, that must prevent the French from taking the city by a coup de main. Thus, for the present, Cadiz is safe, and the alarm which prevailed has in some degree subsided; but its safety is owing neither to the foresight of the Central Junta, to any precautions taken by its governor, nor to any efforts made by its own inhabitants, but solely to the patriotism of Albuquerque, and the strenuous exertions of his army.

Venegas, the commander here, received his appointment from the Central Junta, not on account of any extraordinary military talents which he possesses, but rather because the distrust manifested by the British ambassador and the British generals, when he was at the head of an army, in the command of which he discovered but very moderate skill, was a recommendation to the favour of that body, ever jealous

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of its English allies. By the populace of Cadiz, he has always been regarded with suspicion; and he and his partizans have been in continual alarm, lest an insurrection should break out, to which he might become a sacrifice, like his predecessor Solano.

If Venegas discovered no skill as a soldier, it must be confessed he has managed the populace with the dexterity of a politician; when it was known that the Central Junta had fled from Seville, and were dispersed in various directions, the public indignation here was so strongly felt, that he, having been appointed by them, was no longer secure in the command, which he had but negligently exercised: he therefore addressed the corporation of the city, stating to them, that as the government which had nominated him no longer existed, he wished to resign his command into their hands, to become a private citizen, and perform any duty to which they should appoint him. The city magistrates, gratified by this submission of the military to the civil authority, a submission the more flattering as it was new among Spaniards, requested him to continue his power, by acting as the president of their body till a Junta could be elected for the government of the town. An election has accordingly taken place, and Venegas has been chosen president of this new body of the representatives of Cadiz.

I believe, that on no occasion have representatives of the people been more fairly and freely elected: a balloting box was carried from house to house, and the head of each family voted for an electoral body, consisting of about fifty or sixty persons, who met and chose eighteen members, to compose the Junta for the government and defence of the city. Though I see nothing to condemn in

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the plan by which this body of men was elected, and though, so far as I can learn, no unfair influence was used, I have not a very high opinion of its capacity for managing the defence of this important military post. The members are too numerous for an executive government, and though divided into sections, they have so ill arranged the distribution of the different branches of the government, that in the few days they have acted, they have already been found to clash. They have exercised no energy in commanding the inhabitants; and, though nothing can be of so much or of such pressing importance as completing the battery of St. Fernando, instead of making requisitions of the whole, or a proportion, of the population, for this necessary work, proclamations, or rather invitations, have been issued, which, while they urge the willing to labour, leave the indolent and the selfish, who are by far the greater number, to the full indulgence of their injurious propensities.

Mr. Frere, and the English who were in Seville, together with numerous families of Spaniards who dreaded subjection to France, have arrived here, and unite in representing the conduct of the Central Junta at the period of its dispersion, as marked by the same indecision and imbecility, not to say treachery, as had uniformly characterised that body. They were strongly urged to remove the warlike stores, to destroy the depôts, and especially to blow up the cannon foundery; but all without effect: and the enemy will thus, by their misconduct, be furnished with powerful means for their attack on this city, the last asylum of the defenders of Andalusia.

The people of Seville, who had been duped by the government, and to whom, only two days before their flight, the Junta had repre-

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sented that the city was in no danger, rose with indignation, and demanded arms to oppose the enemy. In the wild fury of the populace, they sought out Romana for their leader, who, seeing no end that could be answered by resistance, had made preparations for his departure to join the army of Estremadura. His horses were arrested at the gate, and himself compelled to appear at the head of the indignant people. He saw but too clearly the futility of defence, and therefore at length withdrew, to take the command of a body of troops collecting in the vicinity of Badajoz. The spirit of the people was great, but means adequate to it were wanting; or Seville, notwithstanding its imperfect defences, might have rivalled in renown Saragossa and Gerona.

The flight of many members of the Junta, caused an agitation, which the eloquence and patriotism of Saavedra could with difficulty restrain from acts of the most ferocious violence; by his influence it was in some measure calmed, and instead of perpetrating any of those enormities which an enraged populace too often commit, they contented themselves with restoring to liberty the imprisoned patriots Count Montijo and Palafox, and selecting others of their most zealous citizens to act with them for the public good; but it was then too late for action, and the best friends of the people could only use their endeavours to prevent such an opposition as would justify the cruelties of an enemy, ever eager to impress terror, by adopting the most severe measures towards those who feebly oppose him.

I cannot pass over the eulogiums pronounced by all on the character of the Duke of Albuquerque. His general conduct is highly extolled, and his late retreat, by which this city has been saved, has

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exhibited such great proofs of military talent, that public opinion has pointed him out as the proper officer to have the command of this fortress.

In rank and possessions, this nobleman was among the first in Spain under the old government. He entered into the army in 1795, and displayed, in the war then carried on against France, the presages of that courage and military skill, which have recently been more fully developed. He was a pure Spaniard, detesting the dominion of France, to which Godoy had subjected his country; and to avoid the humiliating spectacle which the influence of that favourite exhibited, offered his services in the army, which the Marquis Romana led into the north of Europe. The first intelligence of the new disgraces which were preparing for his beloved country, reached him when in Funen with that distinguished officer. Though suffering from sickness, he determined to return home, and hastened with expedition to Paris, where he first heard the particulars of the base transactions in Spain. The Spanish grandees who were assembled in that city, endeavoured, by persuasions and threats, to prevent him from returning to join the patriotic party on his native soil. He escaped the dangers of the road, and having joined his countrymen in Valencia in June 1808, he there organized an army, which, under his command, marched to Madrid.

He published a manifesto, addressed to the tenants and peasantry on his extensive estates, which, in language at once patriotic and energetic, called on them to arm in the cause of their country. He lessened the rents of those who had suffered by the incursions of the enemy, remitted their fines, and, by his liberal donations to the volun-

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tary defenders of the country, did every thing in his power to assist the common cause. He distinguished himself at the battle of Medellin, which the blundering Cuesta unnecessarily fought, and as negligently lost; and by his conduct at Talavera, where he commanded the Spanish cavalry, obtained the confidence of Lord Wellington, and the praise of the British and Spanish armies. When Cuesta was removed from the command, the British ambassador urged the appointment of Albuquerque to succeed him; an appointment so proper in itself, and so acceptable to the Spanish army, that nothing could have prevented its adoption, but that paltry jealousy which instigated the Central Junta to decline every suggestion made by their ally.

Ariesaga, on whom the command of the army was conferred after the removal of Cuesta, was the most inexperienced of all their generals, and had no other merit than that of confessing his inability to execute the duties of the station to which he was appointed, and of reiterating his requests to be relieved from the command, both before and after the disgraceful battle of Ocaña. Under this man, Albuquerque did not disdain to serve his country, but commanded a division of about eight thousand men. When the French penetrated into Andalusia, the communication between the Duke and his superior was entirely cut off, and orders from the Junta were communicated to him, without the intervention of the commander in chief. Cornel, the minister of war, of whom the strongest suspicions of treachery had long been entertained, and whose conduct on this occasion justified those suspicions, communicated in that interesting

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moment, orders and instructions so vague and contradictory, that they served to confuse rather than inform this high-spirited officer. He fought, with inferior numbers, an army of well-disciplined foes; and the various steps of his subsequent retreat were taken with such skill and judgment, as excited the admiration of all military men.

When he arrived at Guadalcanal, he received orders to retire upon Seville, and other orders of the same date to march to Cordova; the following day the orders to march to Cordova were repeated in the most peremptory language, though it must have been known on the first day (the 22d January) that a division of the enemy was in Cordova, and another division pushing forward towards Seville. Had he obeyed these orders, his little army would have been placed between two columns of the enemy, his retreat would have been cut off, and Cadiz must have fallen without defence. Though Cornel had not intimated it in his last dispatch, the Duke knew from other sources that, whilst he was writing it, the Junta were preparing to escape, and therefore he did not hesitate to disobey its orders: instead of returning towards Cordova, he passed his army over the Guadalquivir at Cantillana, and by forced marches pushed on towards Cadiz. The cavalry of his army, which covered the artillery, and was constantly engaged with the advanced parties of the enemy, passed along the Camino Real, through Alcala and Utrera, whilst his infantry crossed the Maresma by Lebrixa, at a season when that marshy tract was deemed impassable, and both divisions happily united at Xeres; when the enemy, finding they had completely escaped, relaxed in the pursuit.

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Never, perhaps, did an army endure greater fatigues and privations, and never did general share in them with more readiness, than this gallant officer, who has merited the everlasting gratitude of his country, by disobeying its treacherous government, as much as by the exertions he has subsequently made.

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LETTER LIV.

DESTRUCTION OF THE FORTS SURROUNDING CADIZ — FRENCH PRISONERS — ENGLISH GARRISON EXPECTED — PEOPLE OF ST. MARY'S PREPARING TO FLY — FLAG OF TRUCE.

CADIZ, FEB. 1810.

IF any thing could conquer the gravity of Spaniards, we might naturally expect that an approaching siege would infuse some degree of activity into the conduct of the people, but the characteristics of the nation are patience and perseverance, not vivacity and zealous exertion. The number of the citizens who daily assemble on the ramparts, and, wrapped in their long cloaks, spend hours silently gazing on the explosions of the forts that surround the bay, which the English sailors are busily employed in blowing up, naturally excites this remark. They appear indifferent spectators of the events around them, rather than the persons for whose security these exertions are made.

Our countrymen are labouring with great activity in destroying all those batteries which may annoy the shipping at their anchorage in the bay. The castle of St. Catharine, near St. Mary's, is strongly built, and requires great exertions to demolish it; but by the help of gunpowder under the buttresses which support the arches on which the platforms are constructed, they have nearly reduced it to a heap

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of ruins. Fort Matagorda and Fort Louis, two other forts, situated on the points of land which form the entrance of the canal leading to the arsenal, are undergoing the same operation, and will in a few days be totally destroyed; and until they can be re-constructed, the vessels will remain in security in their present anchorage; but as it is scarcely possible to prevent the enemy from re-building them, the shipping must move nearer to the entrance of the bay; and if the number of vessels be as considerable as at present, there will be great danger of the contracted anchoring ground being too much crowded.

Whilst these attentions are paid by the British to the safety of the shipping, the Spaniards are occupied in demolishing every house, shed, and wall, on the neck of land beyond the gate, so as to leave no shelter near the glacis, if the enemy should succeed in forcing his way to that front. There is something very striking in the effect of these various labours of destruction. The sounds of explosion have never ceased, day or night; and as there is a great scarcity of charcoal, the wooden parts of the buildings blown up have been carefully preserved, and brought into the city to be used for fuel.

Amidst the confusion which the aspect of affairs has occasioned, the Junta of this city have behaved with great liberality towards the British subjects. The Custom-house being shut, no property can be shipped off, but they have determined to allow the English to remove their effects without undergoing that usual process of examination, which was formerly rigidly practised by the officers of the revenue. This indulgence is felt as an act of liberality, and our countrymen are availing themselves of it with as much eagerness as the present

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scarcity of labourers will permit. The Junta have purchased all the provisions they have been able to collect; and it fortunately happens, that several American vessels have lately arrived, loaded with flour, rice, and salt fish, which have added a seasonable supply to the stores collected within this place.

The prison ships, on board of which a considerable number of Frenchmen are confined, have been removed lower down into the bay, where they are under the guns of the British and Spanish ships of war. These unhappy men have been shamefully neglected amidst the late events: they have been sometimes for days without food; at other times without water; and so excessive have been their sufferings, that many have escaped the centinels, plunged into the water, and swam to the British ships, to implore food for a single meal, and have uttered complaints to the British officers, which they had not the power to remedy.

It is well known, that more than twelve months ago, the British government, in its earnest wish to assist the cause of Spain, projected and submitted to the Junta, a plan of operations materially different from that which has since been adopted, by which the British army would have advanced to the Sierra Morena, and have been enabled to act a more beneficial part in the assistance they have rendered. But to this plan it was indispensably necessary that they should have possession of Cadiz, from whence to receive supplies; and to which to retreat in case of necessity. The propriety, therefore, of garrisoning this important post with British troops was so obvious, that General Sherbrooke was sent out with a force for that purpose, not anticipating any objection on the part of the Spaniards: but the

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Junta, whose jealousy and indecision have nearly ruined their country, would not permit the troops to land, and the people of Cadiz applauded their determination. Now, however, when the enemy is approaching, the sense of immediate danger has removed their apprehensions of the good faith of their ally, and the people of Cadiz have clamoured as loudly for a British garrison, as they before did against the admission of foreign troops. Dispatches have been sent to Lisbon and to Gibraltar, earnestly pressing for assistance; and all the anxiety now discovered, is for the arrival of those very means of defence which, when danger was more distant, had been decidedly, not to say insultingly rejected.

The infantry of the Duke of Albuquerque's army has entered the Isla, whence one regiment has been marched into this city. They appear weather-beaten and ragged; but having been supplied with good great coats, their appearance is already somewhat improved; whilst the gallant commander discovers in his manners, his countenance, and his conversation, that determined spirit, which inspires confidence in all who meet him.

Notwithstanding the rapid advance of the enemy, and the prospect of an impending siege, the gaiety and dissipation of this city is not in any degree diminished. The public walk and the square are as lively as at any time; and, from the great influx of distinguished fugitives, more crowded with the gayest company than at any former period. The government have, indeed, ordered the theatre to be shut; but the private parties, for gaming, and other amusements, have only been more numerous and more crowded in consequence of it. The scarcity of provisions is not perceptible at the tables of the

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rich; who, regardless of the increased prices, spread as sumptuous a board as when there was no alarm.

The fortification across the narrow neck of land leading to the town is now proceeding with much alacrity, and will probably be completed in a few weeks. In order to prevent the enemy's horse from passing the extremities of the battery, which might be done when the tide is low, the rejas, or iron gratings before the windows of the public buildings, have been removed, and are placed on the beach, where they form an excellent chevaux de frise, which it is impossible for cavalry to penetrate.

The French have not yet appeared in sight. The inhabitants of St. Mary's, like those of every other place which they approach, are prepared for flight: but as there is no escape but by water, and the number of boats is not sufficient to convey to this place any considerable proportion of the population, the demand for water conveyance has raised the price of boat-hire to an enormous rate, and only the richer inhabitants can, therefore, avail themselves of it. Besides which, the restrictions on the reception of strangers into this city have been increased. Thousands are now waiting without the Landgate to obtain admission, and many boats filled with passengers are lying at the wharfs till their friends can gain permission for them to land.

A flag of truce has been received from the French General Victor, Duke of Belluno, addressed to the Junta of Cadiz, in which he states, that he has advanced into this part of the country by orders from King Joseph; that he is ready to receive the submission of his subjects; and as the respective capitals of the four kingdoms of

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Andalusia; Jaen, Cordova, Granada, and Seville, had received his Majesty's forces with every demonstration of joy, he expects the same reception from the inhabitants of Cadiz; and as the fleet and arsenals are the property of the nation, he demands that they should be preserved for the rightful sovereign. The Junta returned a short answer; in which they expressed their determination to acknowledge no one as king of Spain but Ferdinand the Seventh; and this answer was signed not by the president alone, but by each individual member.

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LETTER LV.

JUNTA OF CADIZ — ELECTION OF THE REGENTS — BISHOP OF ORENSEE — CASTAÑOS — SAAVEDRA — ESCAÑO — LARDIZABAL.

CADIZ, FEB. 1810.

A NEW government has been created here, which, considering the circumstances under which it was formed, and the important consequences to which it may lead, not only in the Peninsula, but in the more extensive, and to us more interesting, transatlantic possessions of Spain, deserves considerable attention. The Junta, elected in Cadiz, in the end of January, by the unbiassed suffrages of its inhabitants, were in full possession of all power, civil, military, and naval. The fleet in the bay, the stores at the arsenal, and the army, which the spirit and skill of Albuquerque had collected in Cadiz, and the Isle of Leon, acknowledged their authority. The revenues were at their disposal; and the supplies of money, daily expected to arrive from America, were destined to fall under their controul. This body, chosen in the manner I have before related, was composed of the principal merchants and capitalists of the city, with the addition of two artificers, on whose professional skill

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reliance was placed, to superintend the works; of two priests, known to have imbibed the animosity of their profession towards the French; and of two military men, who had never been engaged in any very active professional service.

Power, fascinating to all, is to none more so than to those whose recent acquisition of it has not yet taught them the cares and anxieties with which it is ever attended. This body, with honest intentions, but unaccustomed to look beyond the objects immediately connected with Cadiz, found themselves in the actual exercise of the supreme power, not only in their own city, but so far as orders to distant provinces could be effectual over the extensive regions of Spanish America.

As the enemy advanced towards Cadiz, the best patriots of Spain, retreating before him, naturally took refuge within these defences, and a body was assembled, of the most respectable and honourable characters which Spain contained; a class of men who naturally felt that an assembly of merchants, however respectable their characters might be, or however qualified to protect the local interests of their city, were very ill adapted for the regulation of those important affairs, which included, within their purview, the delicate state of twelve millions of transatlantic Spaniards, among whom discontents already existing, were likely to be increased when subject to the power of a body, whose first feeling was supposed to be jealousy of the commercial monopoly which they had long enjoyed. It was felt that the connection with Great Britain, on which so much depended, could only be secured by a government national, and not local. It was

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remembered, that before the creation of the central Junta, when the different provinces were ruled by their provincial Juntas, the British government had felt difficulties in the way of granting assistance, that were only removed by the formation of a supreme power, which the whole of Spain would obey.

The weight of these considerations was felt by those patriots who were collected here, and their attention was sedulously turned to the subject. The difficulties to be surmounted were considerable. It was necessary to select, for the exercise of supreme power, such men as enjoyed a character for probity and patriotism above all suspicion. It was necessary to appoint men who were not implicated in the selfishness, or the treachery, of the lately-dispersed Junta; such as would be likely to conciliate the inhabitants of America, and yet not disgust the citizens of Cadiz. Above all, it was indispensible that the appointments should have such an appearance of justice in their foundation, that the other provinces in arms against France, such as Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and Gallicia, and the distant dominions of America, might recognise its authority, and submit to its power.

It is principally owing to the intelligence, the patriotism, and disinterestedness of Jovellanos, that these difficulties have been surmounted. Those fugitive members of the Junta, who, however imbecile when in power, detested the French usurpation, had collected in the Isle of Leon. Those who were traitors, had either joined the enemy, or fled to hide themselves from the indignation of their countrymen. The small number collected here still wished to

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preserve the power they had been found incapable of wielding, and would have exercised it if the general sentiment had not, on the first attempt, convinced them that no confidence was placed in, and no obedience would be paid to them. Jovellanos, one of their body, availed himself of the occasion to point out the necessity of devolving their power on other men, in whom the people might repose confidence; and strenuously urged, that neither himself, or any other member of the Junta, should be appointed to the office of Regent. The influence of Mr. Frere, the British Minister, was exerted to effect this laudable purpose; and being supported by all the virtuous fugitives who had fled hither, this remnant of the Junta was prevailed on to select five men, of known and approved integrity, into whose hands they resigned their power: but on the express condition, that they should exercise the supreme authority only till the Cortes of Spain was assembled; the convocation of which was to be one of the first acts of this new executive body.

The appointment of these men was, however, acquiesced in rather than approved; and suspicions were felt, if not uttered, that the impure source from whence they emanated would be more injurious than beneficial to the cause of Spain. Their president, the Bishop of Orense, had been long revered, within his diocese, for his piety, his integrity, and his benevolence. The influence of his name was so great, that when Murat, in prosecution of the plans of Buonaparte, attempted to conciliate some of the most respectable characters in Spain, this prelate was selected as one of the first objects of his seduction. A letter was addressed to him, in flattering and con-

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ciliating terms; the aim of which was, to attach him to the partizans of France. With virtuous indignation he repelled the attempt on his patriotism, published the seductive letter, and accompanied it with a protest against the interference of France, and a zealous exhortation to his flock to resist all attempts that might be made to lessen their regards to their country, or dissolve their allegiance to their legitimate sovereign. This conduct, followed up by a series of actions, all directed to the same end, the independence of his country, pointed him out as one of the most proper persons that could be selected; and the appointment has given the most general satisfaction.

Castaños, another of the Regents, is too well known to you, by what I have already communicated relating him, to need my saying more. Saavedra, notwithstanding his age, still displays his firmness and his patriotism; and the last days of the existence of the late government at Seville, gave the best proofs of his disinterestedness. Instead of securing his valuable private property, by sending it to this city for safety, his time was occupied in calming the populace, in preserving the public records, and the public treasure. And as there was a scarcity of vessels, that which he had hired for the embarkation of his own effects, was devoted to the purpose of embarking the public property.

Escaño, another of the regents, was known at Madrid as a man of application in the office he held as the minister of marine; the duties of which he executed with assiduity and fidelity; but being better known among the respectable fugitives than among the

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natives of Andalusia, the appointment has been acceded to rather than wished for.

A person of the name of De Leon, of whom I can learn nothing, was nominated as the fifth regent. But the appointment not being agreeable to the Junta of Cadiz, he was set aside, and Lardizabal finally settled in the office. This man's pretensions are principally founded on the circumstance of his having been selected in America as a deputy to the Cortes; and being favoured by the people of Cadiz, who suppose he will resist all attempts to give to America that freedom of commerce which they dread, he has been nominated rather to concilitate them than from any known character, either for talents or patriotism.

After the members of the central Junta had yielded up their power to the Regency, it was necessary to exercise all the influence of the British name before Mr. Frere could prevail on the Junta of Cadiz to submit to their authority. The spirit of monopoly towards America was alarmed; the dread of losing their newly acquired power was excited; and only the firmness of the British Minister could have obtained acquiescence in a plan, which was indispensably necessary for the security of what yet remains unsubdued of Spain, for the combination of those parts of the country under one head, and especially for the management of those pecuniary supplies which America was expected to furnish. Three days of intrigue, of discussion, and of deliberation, were occupied before the Regency was acknowledged as the supreme power: and I think there is too much reason to apprehend, that, notwithstand-

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ing their acquiescence, the Junta of Cadiz, with its corporation spirit, will attempt to exercise an influence over the Regency, which, if it does not deprive them of power, will so cramp them in the exercise of it, that, instead of being the supreme, they will become the subordinate body.

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LETTER LVI.

ENTRANCE OF THE FRENCH INTO ST. MARY'S — MILITARY NARRATIVES — LIMITED VIEWS OF THE JUNTA OF CADIZ.

CADIZ, FEB. 1810.

THE French have at length made their appearance in considerable force. On the 5th, they entered Port St. Mary's, at noon; and as they were expected, those inhabitants who were afloat in boats in the river, as soon as the head of the column was visible on the hill above that city, moved down, and the approach of the enemy was made known here by the crowds of small craft which were standing across the bay; the arrival of which announced the intelligence more decidedly.

As it was of the utmost importance that every boat should be removed from the opposite shore, and no means left for the enemy to construct a flotilla, encouragement had been held out to the owners of these small vessels, to repair hither when they did arrive: so little attention had been paid to the former professions that considerable difficulties and delays occurred, before the people who had escaped in them could obtain permission to land even on the wharfs, and they were under the necessity of remaining in the open boats, exposed to

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the inclemency of the weather, till the Junta could find leisure to issue the necessary orders for their landing.

As soon as the enemy entered the city of St. Mary's, their first effort was to secure the boats, which, fortunately for the defence of Cadiz, had all escaped. A party of horse belonging to the Duke of Albuquerque's army, were the only troops in the place; after some slight skirmishing, they retired over the bridge of boats, across the river Santi Petri, which they immediately destroyed, and retreated to Puerto Real. The French, with their accustomed celerity, have pushed their parties in every direction. A body of English seamen, employed in completing the destruction of St. Catharine's fort, were surprised before their work was ended, and with difficulty escaped to the shipping, leaving behind them their gunpowder and their tools. Other French parties have established themselves on the ruins of Fort Matagorda, the nearest battery to Cadiz, and are already endeavouring to collect the ruined materials, with which to re-construct the fortifications; and should they succeed, they will soon be enabled to annoy the shipping, and in some slight degree the city itself; since the engineers calculate, that with the largest land mortars, they may be enabled to throw shells to the land gate of Cadiz.

The attempts of the enemy to re-establish themselves in Matagorda, have been gallantly resisted, both by the British and Spanish naval forces. An old 80-gun ship is moored near it as a floating battery, and an incessant cannonade from her, as well as from the English gun boats, is kept up, the object of which seems to be the demolition of the new works which the enemy construct within the

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ruins. The sound of this, added to the explosions which are made by the destruction of the buildings on the glacis, at first impressed awful feelings on the mind, but it soon became familiar; and now, after three or four days habit, it is totally disregarded.

The arrival of General Bowes and Colonel Campbell from Gibraltar, who are the forerunners of troops hourly expected from that fortress, and the intelligence from Lisbon, that three British and one Portuguese regiments were embarked, and waited only a fair wind to come here, have added to the security which Albuquerque had in part afforded, and the people feel as confident of their safety as if no enemy had reached their outworks; and, indeed, if no greater force is collected than is at present employed in the attack, there can be no apprehension from the enemy; the greatest danger must arise from the superfluous population, now increased by the numerous fugitives who have resorted hither for refuge from the surrounding country: these may produce such a scarcity of provisions, and especially of water, as to lead to the ultimate surrender of the place.

Whilst the south of Portugal and the coast of Granada is unoccupied by the enemy, fruits and vegetables, the principal subsistence, will be brought in abundance; and the numerous American ships, loaded with grain and flour, in search of markets, will naturally find their way to this port, so long as specie continues in sufficient quantities to pay them; but with no commerce but that which depends on this isolated city itself, with no resources but those contributions which may arrive from America, and with little hope of intercourse with the surrounding country, I anticipate such a scarcity of money as must produce a scarcity of food. The supply of water is at present

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sufficient for the inhabitants, because, at this season, the rains have filled all the cisterns of the houses of individuals, but when the warm weather of summer shall arrive, I know not in what manner the superabundant population can be furnished with that indispensable article, especially if the intercourse by water between this city and the Isle of Leon be interrupted by the enemy when they have succeeded in establishing themselves at Fort Matagorda.

In ordinary times, the population of Cadiz amounts to 80,000 souls, and that of the Isle of Leon to about 40,000. The garrison and the fugitives are supposed to amount to 50,000, and the sailors and prisoners to near 30,000; so that about 200,000 people, cooped up within the defences of this place, must be provided with food altogether, and with water in part, by means of shipping, at an expence very ill to be borne, when that commerce to which they formerly trusted is destroyed, by the suspension of all intercourse with the continent. The Junta, if they have the power, have hitherto discovered little inclination to remove the useless inhabitants; perhaps from the difficulty of finding an asylum where they would be received; and perhaps in some degree from a dread of losing their popularity; for this attention to popular feeling is now carried to the extreme of weakness, and threatens to incapacitate the inhabitants for the vigorous defence which must become necessary.

There are two governments here, whose views, if not diametrically opposite to each other, are yet sufficiently at variance to indicate, that no long period can elapse before they must clash with each other, and either terminate by general subjection to the enemy, or

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by one submitting to the other. I have already described to you the mode by which the Junta of Cadiz was elected; and they are as free a representation of the feelings, views, and interests of this city, as could by any means have been collected, but they represent *only this city*, with its local prejudices, its mercantile spirit, and its monopolizing propensities. After their own immediate security, their most earnest and anxious desire is the continuance of that dominion over America which has rendered that extensive continent a colony of Cadiz rather than of Spain. Without the means of benefiting by this dominion, without power to enforce submission, and without disposition to conciliate, they still entertain the expectation, that twelve millions of men beyond the Atlantic will yield that obedience to Spain, now Spain is included within this confined nook, which they unwillingly paid when she was in the plenitude of her power.

The revenues derived from the custom house of this city are claimed by this Junta, as well as the treasure expected from America; and they thus wish to have the controul of every department, since the disposal of the public money would create an influence, greater than any the Regency could possess without it. The Regents are certainly men of more enlarged views. In their contemplation, Cadiz is only important as the point where, in most security, they can contrive their plans for the liberation of the rest of Spain; where they can best maintain their intercourse with England, and most effectually draw those pecuniary supplies which America is expected to furnish in aid of the common cause. They are not imbued with that spirit of monopoly which looks only to immediate and local

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gain; and do not conceive that the inhabitants of America will submit longer to those restrictions which they have hitherto only borne, because they have been amused with delusive hopes that they would soon be removed.

Two powers thus differing in their views, must cease to act in unison; more especially as the Junta, with a love of newly-acquired power, though by acknowledging the Regency they have acknowledged their superiority, have already demonstrated a strong tendency to act, if not adversely, at least independently. It is hard to say what effect, in this concussion of interests and feelings, may be produced by the conciliatory conduct of a British minister, backed, as he will be, by a garrison sufficient to awe into submission either of the parties who may act with rashness.

It was scarcely to have been expected, that those gallant saviours of this city, who, under the conduct of Albuquerque, have preserved it from destruction, should have been the first to feel the effects of the jealousy of the two ruling bodies. They arrived here almost destitute of clothing, and though repeated applications have been made to the Junta, to supply them with what their pressing necessities demand, they are still in nearly the same want as when they first arrived; whilst the Junta have seven hundred pieces of cloth adapted for their use, but which are withheld till it is settled whether the Regency or the Junta are to have the controul over the finances; and if they should fall to the disposal of the Regency, the Junta expect to gain a profit by selling the cloth to that body.

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After this single fact, which may be depended on, no reliance can be placed, no hope can be entertained, that such a heterogeneous mixture of authority as now exists within this city, will be able to adopt any great or enlarged system of policy, either with regard to what remains unsubdued of Spain, or what is also of importance to the different provinces of America.

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LETTER LVII.

ARRIVAL OF BRITISH TROOPS AT CADIZ — PASSAGE HOME — ARRIVAL OFF PORTSMOUTH.

ON BOARD THE PERSIAN SLOOP OF WAR,
MOTHERBANK, MARCH 1810.

WHILST I am detained here to perform quarantine, which is necessary in consequence of the vessel in which I am arrived having been in the Mediterranean, I will narrate to you the last occurrences before I left Cadiz, and the few particulars of my voyage. The day we sailed, a fleet of transports arrived in the bay of Cadiz, having on board between three and four thousand British and Portuguese troops, who were received by the inhabitants with the loudest acclamations, and the most lively expressions of joy.

The French had previously shewn themselves at all the different points which there was a possibility of attacking; but it was either with a view to reconnoitre, or to distract the attention of the besieged. Some apprehensions were entertained, that a serious attack would be made near the mouth of the river Santi Petri, in which if the enemy succeed, they will be able to reach Torre Gorda on the isthmus, and separate the troops in the Isle of Leon from those in the city of

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Cadiz. To oppose such an attempt, Colonel Mazaredo's regiment, which had at length been furnished with muskets, was marched to that point, which was further strengthened by gun-boats placed in the mouth of the river; these, with the fort there, are deemed sufficient securities; and now there is a British garrison, the inhabitants will consider themselves in a state of safety, and probably soon sink into their accustomed apathy, unless the more formidable approaches of the enemy shall again rouse them to exertion.

According to the opinions of military men, there are two points of attack, at which the enemy, if in great force, may possibly succeed in their attempt on Cadiz; one is at Santi Petri, should they be enabled to pass the river; the other is from the Canal of Trocadero, near Matagorda, where a flotilla may remain in security, and from whence a favourable wind might bring them in ten minutes to Puntales, within the new battery on which so much dependance is placed, the guns of which would then be turned by the enemy against the land gate of Cadiz. This would be a most hazardous plan, and, if unsuccessful, would bring inevitable ruin on the attacking force.

I have now done with Cadiz and with Spain, and shall only inform you of the occurrences of the passage home, which, from the politeness of Captain Colquit, has been as pleasant as the accommodations of a small vessel would allow. After leaving Cadiz, we had light and unfavourable winds for two days, in which time we had not reached Cape St. Vincent; when near that cape, a storm commenced, which continued two days, and drove us in the direction exactly opposite to that which we wished to take. When the storm had abated, the wind continued adverse, and after having been seven days

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at sea, we were farther from England than when we left Cadiz. The Captain, however, continued standing on one tack, being persuaded that by running to the westward, we should catch a wind from that quarter which would carry us to England with a rapidity that would more than compensate for the time we had lost; and in this persuasion the event fully justified him, for when we were in latitude 36 and longitude 14 20, after a day of calm, we caught the westerly wind, at first gentle, but afterwards gradually increasing till it became a fresh breeze, which carried us for four days at the rate of one hundred and eighty miles in the twenty-four hours, and brought us gladly within sight of the Scilly light-house.

On our passage, we chased and spoke several vessels, mostly Americans, and one Spaniard; as we hoisted French colours, their alarm was succeeded by no slight expressions of joy, when they found we were friends, and not the nation whose colours we bore. In coming up the British Channel last night, an enemy's privateer, a large lugger, mistaking us for a merchant vessel, approached, with an evident design to board, and was within musket shot before she was discovered; when she found her mistake, by the discharges of musketry and of cannon, as soon as they could be brought to bear, she lowered all her sails, and we, imagining she had struck, ceased firing, and attempted to tack in order to take possession; but the Persian not answering her helm, the Frenchman, with great alertness, again hoisted his sails, determining to have a fair chace. As soon as we had the vessel about, by wearing, we pursued, and she, being to windward, and lying nearer the wind, gained slightly on us. The chace continued four hours, with constant firing of round and grape

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shot, but I believe with little effect; till at midnight, being near Guernsey, and fearing to run on the Caskets, we relinquished the pursuit, and retired to rest.

This morning, when I rose, we were at the back of the Isle of Wight, just below Steephill, the elevation of which appeared tame after the mountains of Marvella, Granada, and Ronda, which I have so lately viewed. At noon we reached this anchorage, where we must wait with patience till orders arrive from London for our liberation from quarantine.

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POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, FEB. 14, 1811.

A YEAR has elapsed since I left Spain, and, during that period, the peninsula has continued to exhibit the singular spectacle of two nations, small in point of population, weak in resources, and destitute of that warlike reputation which distinguished the monarchies of Austria and Prussia, opposing the progress of France, checking the conqueror in the midst of his boasted triumphs, and keeping in suspence his mighty project of universal dominion. Their armies have been dispersed, their chiefs deposed, their generals dismissed, and their fortresses taken: yet the resistance of the people is not lessened, their detestation of their enemies is not changed into servile fear, nor their lamentations for the fate of their country into apprehensions of subjugation, or a disposition to yield obedience to the oppressor. The situation of Spain, so different from that which has been seen in the powerful kingdoms of the North, where dependance was placed on well appointed battalions, and not on the love of the people for their country, or the hatred and animosity they bore to its enemies, is one of the clearest demonstrations, that popular energy and popular

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feeling are more powerful bulwarks against an invading foe, than the best disciplined armies, or the most complete system of military tactics.

I am far from undervaluing the assistance we have afforded to the cause of Spain: an army of forty thousand British troops, under such a general as now, for the honour of England, commands in Portugal, must be esteemed a most powerful and beneficial assistance. It has presented a point, to which the chosen troops of the enemy have been attracted, to which the efforts of his ablest generals have been directed, and in order to conquer which, the other parts of the peninsula have been drained of his best forces. The provinces of Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and Galicia, have thus had time to strengthen their armies. The dispersed parties of warriors in the interior have had opportunity to collect; the spirit of insurrection has been nurtured; and the hope of final success kept alive. But if the hopes of Spain had been destroyed by the dispersion of her armies; if the capture of her cities and her towns had subdued the spirit of the country; if the severe sufferings of the peasantry had reduced them to apply for mercy to the victors; would this small number of British warriors, with all their discipline, and all their courage, have been able to withstand the numerous, the overwhelming forces, which France has destined to combat them? Could British arms, deprived of that powerful aid which operates without eclat, which in the obscurity of local patriotism acquires no fame beyond its own district, but which creates distrust and terror in the enemy, have made that firm stand which has lately been displayed? Are not we, is not Europe, then, indebted to the persevering habits, to the patriotic feelings, to

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the everlasting hatred of France, which animates the people of Spain? Does not the only hope of civilized man depend, in a great degree, on that resistance to France, of which Spain has exhibited the most persevering, if not the most brilliant, examples? And if Spain be conquered; if she be so conquered as to yield no resistance to the oppressor (for I should not consider the expulsion of the British army, the dispersion of her own regular troops, and the capture of all her strong towns, as a conquest), what prospect remains to the continent but the lengthened continuance of that gloomy despotism, which threatens to bury in darkness all that has elevated the character of man?

It is then to Spain we must look for continued opposition to France; to her should our most strenuous assistance be afforded, and every stimulus presented, so long as there remains a point by which we can maintain an intercourse with her people.

Feeling, as I do, the warmest attachment to the cause of Spain, and the highest respect for the nation, I deplore, with most sincere grief, the wretched state of the government, and lament that such a nation and such a cause, should be committed to the management of weak, selfish, and intriguing rulers; to men actuated by local, not national views of policy; whose narrow conceptions have produced mischief in Spain, and kindled a flame in America, which, probably, nothing will extinguish but a total separation from the parent state. I feel no pleasure in the recital of their misconduct, nor any sensations but those of mortification and regret, in relating those paltry subterfuges, those monopolizing measures, by which they have attempted to dupe America; but which, having been easily detected,

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have induced that country to disclaim the power of the government in Cadiz, and erect in her different provinces, temporary systems which, while they keep alive the spirit of loyalty to their monarch, induce the people steadily to resist the restraints by which the continuance of their subjection is attempted.

The American dominions of Spain contain a population of twelve million souls; of these, two thirds are the aborigines of the continent, whose ancestors, after the conquest of the country, became subjects of Spain, converts to its religion, and obedient to its laws; and the present race is so familiarized to the manners and language of the conquerors, as only to be distinguished by their complexion and features; there are indeed some parts where the Indian race is more insulated, and in others totally unmixed with Spaniards; these, however, are only exceptions to the general description. The negro slaves are a small body, in many parts not one tenth, in others, as in the kingdom of New Granada and in Chili, not a twentieth part of the inhabitants; but in the islands, and in Venezuela, the proportion is much greater. The sexual intercourse betwixt the Spaniards and the Indian and Negro races, has been always more considerable than in the colonies founded by England; and hence has arisen a much greater proportion of those mixed races denominated Mustees and Mulattoes, who, after mixing with the descendants of Europeans for three generations, acquire the name, and become entitled to the privileges of Spaniards. Hence, though in the tables of Spanish American population, the Spaniards are estimated as one sixth of the whole people, in the estimation are included those of the mixed race who enjoy the rights of Europeans.

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The Spaniards are divided into the Creoles and the natives of Europe; and the latter are understood to amount to one twentieth of the former, or one hundred and twentieth part of the whole population. Yet to this small body was entrusted the sole power of the government. The most lucrative offices in the state, and the best benefices in the church, were filled by them, whilst the Creoles, natives of the soil, and possessed of the largest property, were kept in a state of comparative degradation. The policy of the court of Spain had prevented the intercourse of all foreigners with their colonies, a prohibition which, having been adopted by the other European nations, was not a subject of complaint, till the independance of British America excited the eager desire for privileges similar to those which their neighbours enjoyed: this desire was increased by the situation in which they were placed by the long-protracted war with England, during the continuance of which, the difficulty of maintaining an intercourse with the mother country was so great, as to separate them from all but casual connection.

The same policy which forbade intercourse with foreigners, was extended to their agriculture and their mines. To sustain the vineyards and olive-gardens of Spain, the inhabitants of America to the eastward of the Andes, were prohibited from making wine or oil, and to promote the manufactures of the parent state, the mines of iron and lead with which the country abounds, were forbidden to be explored; and so far were these restrictions carried, that in some instances they were forbidden to navigate their finest rivers.

The numerous tribes of Indians complained bitterly of the capitation tax, not so much from its amount, as from the great power

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it gave to the individuals who collected it, and who ruled each district, to remove them from their native towns to distant places, as well as to practise various other oppressions.

The embers of insurrection, which had been smothered in Santa Fee de Bogota and in Caraccas, were not extinguished, and an unshapen mass of discontent was gradually, but silently, increasing in every part of Spanish America, at the period when Buonaparte, by his attempt to secure the throne of Spain to his family, created the revolution, and excited feelings in the breast of every man who spoke the language of Spain, which have hitherto frustrated his expectations. The flame of liberty which had spread through the peninsula, was quickly extended to America, where the whole continent, as if animated by a common soul, reiterated vows of attachment to Spain, denounced threats of vengeance to the agents of France; and opened an intercourse with the colonies of England, without waiting for the formalities of peace. Their internal complaints were silenced, and Creoles, Spaniards, and Indians, forgetting every former animosity, vied only with each other in the strongest demonstrations of hatred to France, and the firmest resolutions to support the cause of the monarch whom Buonaparte had insulted and deposed.

When the revolution broke out in Spain, and that kingdom was ruled by Provincial Juntas, none of those bodies claimed the right of legislating for America; none of them affected to exercise sovereignty over that country, or deemed themselves more entitled to such power than to authority over their brethren in the adjoining provinces. They were bodies formed by the will of the people of

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Spain, the emergency of whose affairs justified such a choice; but in no legitimate sense were they, or did they affect to be, the sovereigns of Spain and of the Indies. When the necessities of the country led to the formation of the Central Junta, that body, composed of and delegated by these provincial assemblies, was certainly entitled to no power beyond that which its constituents themselves possessed, and therefore had no right to consider the Americans in any other light than as fellow citizens, and not subjects. When the Central Junta assumed the name, and affected to exercise the rights of the captive Ferdinand, the language used towards America was flattering and soothing; promises were made, that their complaints should be attended to, their grievances redressed, and their privileges extended; that the Cortes should be assembled, in which America, no longer as a colony, but as an integral part of Spain, should be represented by deputies chosen from itself. These promises, though perhaps made with sincere intentions, were not realised; and when the imbecile body which made them was dispersed, America was left without one effort having been made in its favour, or any attention having been paid to its situation.

The patriotism of America never relaxed; the difficulties of Spain, instead of damping the ardour of that country, only stimulated it to still further efforts, and millions of dollars from Mexico and Peru were poured into the treasury of the parent state.

The dispersion of the Central Junta, the temporary assumption of power by the Junta of Cadiz, and the creation of a Regency, were events of such rapid succession, that the greatest pains were taken to prevent the Americans from becoming acquainted with them, till

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such a colour could be given to the proceedings, as might induce them to retain the firm allegiance which they had hitherto manifested. The Junta of Cadiz, with a cunning regard to its monopoly, detained every vessel bound to the western world, till they supposed their own representation of the occurrences would be made public there. Their precautions, however, were unavailing; the intelligence reached America in its real colours, and the inhabitants, from one end of that vast continent to the other, saw the necessity of providing for themselves the means of government, and not depending on those whom chance rather than merit had placed at the head of affairs.

The Regency, though acknowledged as the supreme power by the people of Spain, by their British allies, and even by the Junta of Cadiz, was soon taught that it was subordinate to that corporation of monopolists. A law was decreed by the Regents, granting to America the privileges to which it was justly entitled; the decree was ordered to be printed, previous to its promulgation, and the jealousy of the Junta was thereby kindled to fury. The threats they held out so operated on the Regents, that the decree was disavowed, and the secretary who, by their order, had delivered it to the printer, was given up to the vengeance of the Junta, who have immured him in a prison, where he still languishes in solitary confinement, without a ray of hope that any examination into his conduct will ever take place. Having thus subdued the Regents to their authority, on the subject which occupied their principal views, they were disposed to leave them in possession of the shadow of power, lest, if the Cortes should assemble and succeed them, they might be found a less tractable body.

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Every obstacle was thrown in the way of assembling the Cortes, both by the Regents and the Junta of Cadiz; and when such a number of deputies had collected as was sufficient to form a quorum, they were afraid to assemble, till the assurance of support from the British minister, and of protection from the British garrison, convinced them they might meet without fear of molestation. When they did assemble, they talked in a tone of high authority; displaced the Regents; appointed others in their place; debated and issued proclamations in favour of the freedom of the press and the liberty of America; and affected to display a superiority to the narrow views and selfish prejudices of the city of Cadiz; but as the Convention of France yielded to the Commune of Paris, so has the Cortes of Spain submitted to the Junta of Cadiz: the decree in favour of the liberty of the press, has terminated in appointing licensers from their own body; and that for giving freedom to America has been so frittered away by subsequent regulations, as to produce no effect beyond that of convincing the Americans, that relief will never be afforded them by any power in Spain which is under the influence of the city of Cadiz.

During the course of the past year, in every change of circumstances in Europe, the Junta has constantly directed its views to the retention of the dependence, and of the monopoly of America; their system has been shewn in the appointment of such men to the different offices of authority, both civil and military, as were most servilely devoted to their interests. Venegas, who first ingratiated himself with this corporation, by submitting to their authority whilst it was yet in embryo, has been rewarded by the highest ap-

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pointment to which a subject, in any country, ever was promoted. The viceroy of Mexico is almost an absolute sovereign over five millions of people, and enjoys a revenue commensurate to his power; and this has been the rich reward of his subserviency to the views of the Junta of Cadiz. Alava has been appointed to command in Cuba; and the officers of the navy, for the different stations in America, have been selected from among those who have entered most cordially into the feelings of Cadiz.

Attempts to enforce authority, by those who are destitute of power, always terminate in their own disgrace; and the futile endeavours to obstruct all intercourse with Caraccas and with Buenos Ayres have only served to render the European government more contemptible in the eyes of the Americans, and to unite those people more firmly together.

Nothing can be more absurd, or more unjust, than the expectation, that the extensive territories, peopled by Spaniards, in the western hemisphere, should submit to the Cortes; who, whilst they are assembled within the defences of Cadiz, can never be supposed to act but in consequences of impulses given to them by the Junta of that city. The people of America are not represented in the Cortes, for the suppleans, purporting to be representatives of that country, were not chosen by them; nor have they in general any common feelings with them; and if they could, by any strained conception, be considered as their representatives, it is scarcely to be expected that, whilst the whole assembly is notoriously under the influence of Cadiz, the Americans will obey the orders which may emanate from such a source.

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It is impossible to look across the Atlantic without feeling the keenest anxiety, and entertaining the most painful apprehensions, that a civil war, of no ordinary degree of ferocity, may spread itself over that interesting country, and long continue to desolate its fairest provinces; that, in the contest between the Europeans and the Creoles, the wild bands of Indians may be called in as auxiliaries by the weaker party, and scenes of horror and desolation be produced, at the prospect of which humanity shudders. But whatever may hereafter be the fate of those distant countries, the imbecility of the Central Junta, the selfish and narrow views of the Junta of Cadiz, and the timid conduct of the Cortes, which has submitted to its influence, ought alone to answer for the dreadful consequences. If the attachment demonstrated by America, had been met by very moderate concessions on the part of those who ruled in Spain, the Europeans and Creoles would have united in their efforts to succour the parent state, as long as her exertions should have continued; and would have afforded a peaceable asylum to her people, if Spain should be conquered; whereas, by the contests that have been introduced, the pecuniary succours will be suspended, and a country, destroying itself by intestine divisions, offers little inducement for the natives of Europe to repair to it.

In viewing, however, the present situation of affairs in Spanish America, it is some consolation to know, that, among none of the parties which agitate that country, is there any tendency to conciliation with France; that the detestation of her politics, and the animosity to her name, pervades all ranks and classes of society; and if any of the officers, who have been placed in authority by the Junta,

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should hereafter, in the event of Cadiz being captured, wish to retain a connection with that city, when under French dominion, the universal voice of the people would frustrate their views, and probably visit them with all the severity of popular vengeance.

The part which Great Britain should act in this critical situation is, of all others, the most difficult to point out. The Creoles are the avowed friends of British intercourse, and look to this country for support and protection: the Europeans, without any hostile feelings, are probably more solicitous to preserve their superior privileges than to cultivate an intercourse with us, and, perhaps, the anxiety discovered by the Creoles for British connection, may make their opponents more averse to it. If we interfere prematurely, we may produce incalculable mischief to the cause of the Peninsula; and if we delay too long, we shall be the means of increasing and prolonging the sufferings of America. It requires the utmost consideration, and the coolest judgement, to give a right impulse to the affairs of Spanish America; and I trust those whose duty it is to direct the impulse, will act in such a manner as to lead to the tranquillity of that country, to healing its divisions, and to a lasting and beneficial connection with Great Britain.

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APPENDIX.

Copy of a Letter from Sir A. WELLESLEY to the Marquis WELLESLEY.

MY LORD, *Merida, August 24th*, 1809.

I HAD the honour of receiving last night, at Medellin, your Excellency's dispatch dated the 22d instant.

From all that I have heard of the state of the Government at Seville, I am not surprised that they should have been astonished and alarmed when they heard that I had at last determined to adopt the measure which I had so frequently informed them I should adopt.

Although I was desirous to avoid as long as possible to withdraw into Portugal, and certainly remained in the position upon the Tagus as long as it was practicable, and longer probably than was consistent with the anxiety which I have always felt for the welfare and comfort of the troops placed under my command, I am of opinion that, having been compelled to withdraw, it becomes a question for serious consideration, whether any circumstances should now induce me to remain in Spain, and to hold out hopes of further co-operation with the Spanish troops, to be decided on grounds very different from those which were to lead to a decision whether, being joined in co-operation with the Spanish Army, I ought or ought not to separate from them. I beg to lay my ideas upon this point before your Excellency, and to request the aid of your superior judgment, to enable me to decide upon it in the manner which will be most beneficial to the national interests.

When the two Armies were joined, this implied engagement existed between them, that as long as the operations were conducted by mutual consent they were to continue in co-operation.

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I should not have considered myself justified in separating from the Spanish Army unless Portugal should evidently have required the protection of the British Army, or unless the Spanish Army should have been under the necessity of adopting a line of operation, to follow which would separate me from Portugal, or unless driven as I was to separate by necessity, or unless the Spanish Army had again behaved so ill as a military body, as it did in its shameful flight from the bridge of Arzobispo.

I conceived this last case would have made it so notorious that it was necessary for me to separate; that I had determined that it should induce a separation equally with the occurrence of any of the other three; and I should have stated it broadly and fairly as my reason for withdrawing the British Army from all communication with a body endowed with qualities as soldiers in a degree so far inferior to themselves.

Your Excellency will observe that my conduct in continuing with the Spanish Army would have been guided by a fair view of our reciprocal situation, and by a consideration of what they might consider an engagement to act with them, as long as it was consistent with the orders I had received, to consider my Army applicable to the defence of Portugal; with which orders the Spanish Government are fully acquainted.

At the present moment however I have been compelled to separate from the Spanish Army; and the question now is, whether I shall place myself in co-operation with them again.

The first point which I should wish your Excellency to consider is the difference of reasoning by which the decision of this question must be guided, from that which I have above stated would have guided, and did in fact guide me in the decision on the other; in that case I considered the Armies to be under an implied engagement to each other, not to separate except on certain defined or easily definable grounds: but in this case there is positively no engagement of any description; there is none in the treaty between His Majesty and the Spanish Government: there is none implied or expressed by me; indeed the argument would lead the other way, for, His Majesty having offered the Spanish Government the services of his Army upon certain conditions, the conditions were refused, and it must have been understood that His Majesty would not give the aid of his Army; and accordingly His Ma-

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jesty has never ordered, but has only permitted me to carry on such operations in Spain as I might think proper upon my own responsibility, and as were consistent with the safety of Portugal.

The question then comes before me to be decided as a near one, whether I shall join in co-operation with the Spanish Army again.

I must here take into consideration, as I did upon the first occasion, the objects of such co-operation, the means which exist of attaining those objects, and the risks which I shall incur of loss to my Army, and of losing sight of Portugal, for the defence of which country the British Army has been sent to the Peninsula.

The object held out in your Excellency's dispatch, and which I consider as only the first and immediate object (for I am convinced your Excellency must look to offensive operations as soon as the means will be prepared for them) is the defence of the Guadiana.

Upon this point I must inform your Excellency, that in my opinion the Guadiana is not to be defended by a weaker Army against a stronger. It is fordable in very many places, and it affords no position that I know of; and the result of withdrawing the Spanish Army from its present position to that which has been proposed to your Excellency for them, would be to expose them to be defeated before I could assist them.

The Spanish Army is at this moment in the best position in this part of the country, which they ought to hold against any force which can be brought against them, if they can hold any thing; as long as they continue in it they cover effectually the passages of the Guadiana, which they would not cover by the adoption of any other position; and their retreat from it in case of accidents must always be secure, there is no chance of their being attacked by superior numbers; I have reason to believe that Soult, as well as Ney, has passed through the mountains into Castille, and there remains only Mortier's corps and two divisions of Victor's in Estremadura, the total of which force cannot amount to 25,000 men.

The subsistence of the Spanish Army in their present position, particularly now that we have withdrawn, cannot be very difficult.

Upon the whole then I recommend that they should remain in their present position as long as possible, sending away to Badajoz the bridge of boats which is still opposite to Almaraz.

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According to this reasoning, it does not appear to be necessary, and it is not very desirable, that the British Army should be involved in the defence of the Guadiana. But it may be asked, is there no chance of resuming the offensive? In answer, I have to observe, that at present I see none, and hereafter certainly none.

Your Excellency is informed of the history of the causes which led to the late change in our operations; from the offensive, after a victory, to the defensive. The same causes would certainly exist if we were to recommence our operations. The French have as many troops as we have; indeed I am not certain that they are not now superior to us in numbers, as they are certainly, at least to the Spanish Army, in discipline and every military quality. Unless we could depend upon the troops employed to keep the passes of the mountains, we could not prevent the French corps in Castille from coming upon our rear, while those in Estremadura and La Mancha would bein our front; but I certainly can never place any reliance upon the Spanish troops to defend a pass, and I could not venture to detach from the British Army, British troops in sufficient numbers to defend the passes of Banos and Perales. Even if we could, however, by the defence of those passes, prevent the Enemy from attacking us in the rear, we could not prevent him from penetrating by the passes of Guadiana or Arila, and adding to the numbers in our front.

To this add, that there are no troops in the north of Spain which could be employed to make a diversion. Blake has lost his Army, the Marquis de Romana's is still in Gallicia, and he cannot venture to quit the mountains, having neither cavalry nor artillery.

The Duque del Parque has very few troops, and, as he has shewn lately, he does not like to risk them at a distance from Ciudad Rodrigo. But I come now to another topic, which is one of serious consideration, and has considerable weight in my judgment upon this whole subject, and that is, the frequent, I ought to say constant, and shameful misbehaviour of the Spanish troops before the Enemy. We, in England, never hear of their defeats and flights; but I have heard of Spanish Officers telling of nineteen or twenty actions of the description of that at the bridge of Arzobispo, an account of which I believe has never been published.

In the battle at Talavera, in which the Spanish Army, with very trifling

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exceptions, was not engaged, whole corps threw away their arms, and ran off in my presence, when they were neither attacked nor threatened with an attack, but frightened I believe by their own fire. I refer your Excellency, for evidence upon this subject, to General Luerla's orders, in which, after extolling the gallantry of his Army in general, he declares his intention to decimate the runaways; an intention which he afterwards carried into execution. When these dastardly soldiers run away, they plunder every thing they meet; and in their flight from Talavera, they plundered the baggage of the British Army, which was at the moment bravely engaged in their cause.

I have found, upon enquiry and from experience, the instances of the misbehaviour of the Spanish troops to be so numerous, and those of their good behaviour so few, that I must conclude that they are troops by no means to be depended upon; and then the question arises again, whether, being at liberty to join in co-operation with those troops or not, I ought again to risk the King's Army. There is no doubt whatever that every thing that is to be done, must be done by us; and certainly the British Army cannot be deemed sufficiently strong to be the only acting efficient military body to be opposed to a French Army, not consisting of less than 70,000 men.

Upon every ground, therefore, of objects, means, and risks, it is my opinion that I ought to avoid to enter into any further co-operation with the Spanish Armies, and that at all events your Excellency should avoid to hold out to the Government any hope that I would consent to remain within the Spanish frontier with any intention of co-operating with the Spanish troops in future. At the same time I see the difficulty in which the Government may be placed. Their Army may be seized with one of those panic terrors to which they are so liable, and may run off and leave every thing exposed to instant loss. To which I answer, that I am in no hurry to withdraw from Spain. I want to give my troops food and refreshment; and I shall not withdraw into Portugal, at all events, till I shall have received your Excellency's sentiments upon what I have submitted to your judgment.

If I should withdraw into Portugal, I shall go no farther than the frontier (but for this I should not wish to engage) and I shall be so near that the Enemy will not like to venture across the Guadiana, unless he comes in very large force indeed, leaving me upon his flank and his rear; I shall therefore,

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in effect, be as useful to the Spanish Government within the Portuguese frontier as I should be in the position which has been proposed to your Excellency, and indeed more useful, as I expect that the nearer I shall move to Portugal, the more efficient I shall become: at the same time, that by going within the Portuguese frontier, I clear myself entirely from the Spanish Army, and should have an opportunity hereafter of deciding whether I will co-operate with them at all, in what manner, and to what extent, and under what conditions, according to the circumstances at the moment.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

H. E. Marquis Wellesley,
&c. &c. &c.

Copy of a Letter from Sir A. WELLESLEY to the Marquis WELLESLEY.

MY LORD, *Merida, August 31st*, 1809.

THE Spanish Government have lately sent forward a large number of shirts and of sheets, for which I had applied through Mr. Frere, for the use of the hospitals; I shall be very much obliged to your Excellency if you will give directions that I may be furnished with an account of the expence of these articles, stating to whom I shall order payment to be made for them.

The persons who brought them have run away, with their mules, and I am apprehensive that I shall be obliged to leave here the shirts and the sheets. But that is no reason why the Spanish Government should not be paid for them.

After I had written to your Excellency on the 28th instant, nine carts arrived here from Seville loaded with biscuit for the use of the British Army; and the carts are marked as intended for our service. It is very desirable

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that I should be informed by the Government on what terms these carts are to be received into the service, whether to be purchased or hired, and at what rates. I propose now to employ them in the removal of the men, who have lately been taken ill, to the hospital at Elvas; but if the Spanish Government should be of opinion that when the British Army will be in Portugal, it ought not to enjoy the advantage of the means of transport which have been procured for it in Spain, these carts shall be sent back; notwithstanding that, if the Government and the people of Portugal had acted upon the same principle when the British Army entered Spain, the Army could not have made one march within the Spanish territory.

I am very anxious to receive your Excellency's sentiments upon the points which I submitted to you in my letter of the 24th; that part of the British Army (the cavalry particularly) which had moved by the road of Caceres, having been pressed for provisions, and not having received, by some accident, the notification of my intention to halt here for some days, had marched on, and had actually arrived within the Portuguese frontier. In the mean time the Spanish Army has, I understand, marched to take up its position behind the Guadiana, and it will probably arrive at La Serena this day. This being the case, it is necessary that I should get the British army in a more collected state, either in Portugal or within the Spanish frontier; and as the opinions entertained in my Dispatch of the 24th instant, are strengthened by reflections since I addressed you, I propose to commence to move to Badajoz on the day after to-morrow, unless I should in the immediate time receive from your Excellency a communication of your sentiments which shall occasion an alteration of my opinion.

The bridge which had been on the Tagus near Almaraz arrived here last night, on its way to Badajoz. I cannot avoid to take this opportunity of drawing your Excellency's attention to the ease with which all the services of this description required for the Spanish Army, have been performed; at the same time that nothing of the kind could be done, on the most urgent requisitions of service as well as of humanity, for the British Army.

When the guns taken from the Enemy at the battle of Talavera were given up, there was no difficulty about drawing them off; when the British Army laid down its ammunition for want of means of conveying it, there was no

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difficulty about transporting it, and there has been none in providing the means to remove the bridge from the neighbourhood of the Tagus at Almaraz to Badajoz. Yet the application of these means at any period of the service of the British Army, would have relieved many of the difficulties under which we laboured, and would certainly have prevented its separation from the Spanish Army at the moment at which it was made. But I beg your Excellency to observe, that among all the offers which are pressed upon me to divide the contents of the magazine of provisions at Truxillo, to take what I pleased from it, nay, to take the whole even at the risk of starving the Spanish Army; offers, of which I knew, and explained, and have since been able to prove the fallacy of, not one was even made to assist the British Army with a cart, or mule, or any means of transport, which abounded in the Spanish Army.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

His Excellency
The Marquis Wellesley,
&c. &c. &c.

Copy of a Letter from Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY to the Marquis WELLESLEY.

MY LORD, *Merida, September 1st*, 1809.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's private letter of the 29th of August, containing a copy of Mons. de Garay's note of the 25th August and of your Excellency's answer of the 28th, and of your dispatches of the 30th.

I am happy to find that your Excellency concurs with me in the opinions which I laid before you on the 24th, and I propose to-morrow to commence my movement from this place.

I intend that the greatest part of the Army shall remain within the Spanish frontier, if I should be able to maintain it in that position, and I will

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apprize your Excellency of the exact positions which I shall occupy, and hereafter of any change which I may think it necessary to make.

My reason for wishing not to engage to remain on the Portuguese frontier is, that the principal magazines of the British Army are at Abrantes, Santarem, and Lisbon; and notwithstanding the good will of the Portuguese Government, and the inclination of the people to give us every assistance in their power; Alentego being a poor country, I might find it impossible to maintain the whole Army at such a distance from the magazines as the positions which they will occupy upon the frontier. I besides think that it is desirable that the Spanish Government should be induced to look into and acquire an accurate knowledge of their real situation compared with that of the Enemy, and that they should be induced to make such an exertion as will at least provide for their defence by their own means.

On this account, and as I think I ought not to involve His Majesty's Army in any system of co-operation with the Spanish troops for the reasons stated in my dispatch of the 24th, I beg to decline to accept the honour which the Government have offered to confer upon me, of the command of the corps of 12,000 men to be left in this part of the country.

I could not have accepted this command under any circumstances without His Majesty's permission, excepting for the time that I should have considered myself authorized by the instructions of his Majesty's Ministers; or should have been enabled by circumstances to continue in co-operation with the Spanish Army; but, having been obliged to separate from them, and considering it advisable that the British Army should not at present enter upon any system of co-operation with them again, I cannot take upon myself the command of any Spanish corps whatever. In respect to offensive operations in future, it is desirable, that the means actually existing in Spain, of the French and of the Allies, should be reviewed; and the advantages which each Party possesses in the use of these means should be weighed.

I estimate the French force in Spain, disposable for service in the field, to amount to 125,000 men, well provided with cavalry and artillery; in which number I do not include the garrisons of Pampeluna, Barcelona, &c. &c. I include however the corps commanded by St. Cyr and Suchet, which

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I calculate to amount to 32,000 men, which are employed in Arragon and Catalonia: and the remainder, being 90,000 men, are in Castile and Estremadura. Of this number 70,000 men are actually in the field in the corps of Victor, Soult, Ney, Sebastiani, and Mortier; and the remainder are employed in garrisons, as at Madrid, Escurial, Avila, Valladolid, &c. &c. in keeping up the communication with those places; every man of whom might be brought into the field if occasion required.

In these numbers I do not include sick and wounded, but found my calculations upon what I know were the numbers of the French Army before the battle of Talavera, deducting a loss of 10,000 men in that battle.

Your Excellency will observe, that there are seven French corps in Spain; I believe there were originally eight, for Suchet's is the 8th corps, and each corps composing in itself a complete Army, ought to consist of from 30 to 40,000 men. Against this force, the Spanish Government have about 50,000 men in the two corps of Eguia and Venegas. Blake may have collected again about 6,000 men, and the Marquis de Romana has 15,000 men, of which number 1,500 have no arms. The Duque del Parque has 9,000 men in the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo, but he is unwilling to detach them. Besides these numbers the British Army may be reckoned from 20 to 25,000 men.

I am aware that there are troops in Spain besides those which I have enumerated; but they are not in any manner, and cannot be considered, disposable for the field.

The plan of operations must be founded upon the relative numbers above stated.

But, besides considering the numbers, it is necessary to advert to the composition, and to the state of efficiency of these different Armies.

The French corps are, as I have already stated, each a complete Army, having probably a greater proportion of cavalry, and certainly of artillery, than they ought to have for the existing numbers of their infantry; and they are well disciplined excellent troops.

The Spanish corps of Venegas and Eguia have probably between them not less than 10,000 cavalry, which is more than their proportion; and they are

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well provided with artillery. But the corps of Romana has neither cavalry nor artillery, and for want of these arms is unable to quit the mountains of Gallicia. The Duque del Parque is unable, if he were willing, to assist him with what he wants.

Blake's corps, I believe, consists only of infantry. Both infantry and cavalry are comparatively undisciplined; the cavalry are tolerably well clothed, well armed, accoutred and mounted; but the infantry are not clothed nor accoutred as they ought to be, notwithstanding the large supplies of clothing and accoutrements sent out from England.

With these relative numbers, and adverting to the state of discipline and efficiency of the different Armies, it would appear impossible to undertake any offensive operations with any hope of success; more particularly adverting to the local difficulties with which the Allies would have to contend, and of the advantages of the Enemy.

The Enemy has it in his power to collect his whole force in Castile and Estremadura at any point north of the Tagus; and can dispose of the parts of it in the front or rear of the Armies of the Allies as he may think proper.

The Allies must move upon the Enemy in two distinct corps at least; there can be no military communication between the corps assembled in this part of Estremadura and that which would advance from La Carolina through La Mancha; on account of the chain of mountains on the whole of the left bank of the Tagus, from the Puente de Miravete to the bridge of Toledo, the only communication which those two corps can have, is by the right bank of the river from Almaraz, and by the bridge of Toledo; and it is obvious that a battle must be fought with the Enemy's whole force, and won by one of the two corps, before that communication can be established.

This consideration was the reason that in the late operations the march of Venegas was directed upon Viana and Fuente Duenas and Arganda. It was impossible to join with Venegas, before a battle should be fought with the Enemy's whole force by one of the Armies; and it was thought best to order Venegas to adopt such a line of march as should be most distant from the combined Armies; in relation to which and the combined Armies the Enemy could not have taken up a centrical position, from which he

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could have had the choice of attacking either. The Enemy would thus have been forced either to detach to oppose Venegas: or if he had kept his whole force collected to fight the combined corps advancing from this side, he would have lost Madrid; and his retreat would have been cut off.

Venegas however did not obey the orders he received; I believe in consequence of directions from the Junta: instead of being at Arganda close to Madrid on the 23d, he did not approach the Tagus till the 28th, where he was kept in check at Toledo by 2,000 men, while the whole Army were engaged with us at Talavera.

These circumstances will shew your Excellency the difficulty which attends the position of the Allies; and indeed ought to have some influence with the Spanish Government in their distribution of their troops at present.

The French having 70,000 men disposable in Castile and Estremadura, may employ them either in opposing the advance of the Allies from this side, who could not bring more than from 50 to 55,000 to oppose them, or they would detach 20,000 to oppose Venegas, and meet the Allies with 50,000. The whole would thus be kept in check, even if it could be hoped that one or both corps would not be defeated.

The Marquis de Romana, the Duque del Parque, Blake, &c. could afford no relief from these embarrassing circumstances, having no cavalry to enable them to enter the plains of Castile, nor artillery.

But even if these first difficulties could be overcome, and the French Armies should retire to the northward, the numbers of the Allies would be found still more unequal to those of the Enemy. The corps of St. Cyr and Suchet would then take their place in the operations; and the Spanish Armies would have no corresponding increase. The difficulties however are not of a nature to be overcome by the means at present in the power of the Spanish Government; they must increase their troops, and discipline, cloath, and equip their forces, before they can reasonably attempt any offensive operations against the French; and in the mean time it becomes a question how the troops ought to be disposed of. From what I have already stated, your Excellency must observe the importance of their having a strong Spanish corps in this part of Estremadura. The British Army must necessarily be the foundation of any offensive operation the

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Spanish Government can undertake; and it is obvious that the place of this Army must be on the left of the whole, issuing from the frontiers of Portugal.

If the Spanish corps which is to act with the British Army should be weak, their operations must be checked at an early period; and in that case I should apprehend that the operations of the larger Spanish corps directed from La Carolina would not be very successful.

But the prospect of these offensive operations may be considered too distant to render it reasonable to advert to them in a disposition of the Spanish Army which is now about to be formed; and I would therefore suggest other grounds for recommending that the Army in Estremadura should not, if possible, be weakened.

Your Excellency has observed that Soult entertains a design of attacking Ciudad Rodrigo; which design, I understand, was discussed and recommended by a council of War held some time ago at Salamanca.

The success of this enterprize would do more mischief than the French are capable of doing in any other manner. It would completely cut off the only communication the Spanish Government have with the northern provinces; would give the French the perpetual possession of Castile, and would probably occasion the loss of the Portuguese fort of Almeida.

I should be desirous to make every exertion to ease Ciudad Rodrigo; but if Estremadura should be left with only 12,000 men, it must be obvious to your Excellency that Seville, as well as Portugal, will be exposed while I shall be removed from this part of the country.

I am much afraid, from what I have seen of the proceedings of the Central Junta, that in the distribution of their forces, they do not consider military defence and military operations, so much as they do political intrigue, and the attainment of trifling political objects.

They wish to strengthen the Army of Venegas, not because it is necessary or desirable on military grounds, but because they think the Army, as an instrument of mischief, safer in his hands than in those of another; and they leave 12,000 men in Estremadura, not because more are not or may not be deemed necessary, in any military view of the question, but because they

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are averse to placing a larger body under the command of the Duke d'Albuquerque, who I know that the Junta of Estremadura have insisted should be employed to command the Army in this province.

I cannot avoid to observe these little views and objects, and to mention them to your Excellency, at the same time that I lament that the attention of those who have to manage such great and important affairs as those are which are entrusted to the management of the Central Junta, should be diverted from great objects to others of trifling importance.

I cannot conclude this letter without adverting to the mode in which Don Martin de Garay, in his note to your Excellency of the 25th instant, disposes of the Portuguese troops, without having had one word of communication with the Portuguese Government, or any body connected with it, respecting them.

In fact those troops have been equally ill, indeed I might say worse treated, than the British troops, by the Officers of the Spanish Government, and were at last obliged to quit Spain for want of food; and I will no more allow them, than I will the British troops, to enter Spain again, unless I should have some solid ground for believing that they will be supplied as they ought.

It is a curious circumstance respecting Marshal Beresford's corps, that the Cabildo of Ciudad Rodrigo actually refused to allow them to have 30,000 of 100,000 pounds of biscuit (which I had prepared there, in case the operations of the Army should be directed to that quarter, and for which the British Commissary had paid) and seized the biscuit on the grounds that debts due to the town of Ciudad Rodrigo by the British Army lately under the command of Sir John Moore, had not been paid; although one of the objects of the mission of the same Commissary to Ciudad Rodrigo was to settle the accounts and discharge those debts.

Yet this same Cabildo will call for assistance as soon as they will perceive the intention of the Enemy to attack them, having seized, and holding probably in their possession at the moment, the means which, if lodged as directed, in the stores at Almeida, would enable me effectually to provide for their relief. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

His Excellency the Marquis Wellesley,
&c. &c. &c.

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Copy of a Dispatch from the Marquis WELLESLEY to the Right Honourable GEORGE CANNING.

SIR, *Seville, 15th September,* 1809.

On the 4th of September I had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 12th of August, by the messenger, Daniel. Not having at that time received any communication from Sir Arthur Wellesley, respecting the arrival of the copies of your dispatch at the head quarters of the British Army, I forwarded to him on the 4th of September the letter of which a copy is inclosed.

On the 5th of September I received from Sir Arthur Wellesley a letter dated from Badajoz, the 3rd of the same month, in which he notified to me the receipt of a copy of your dispatch, and added his observations upon its contents.

On the 7th of September I received from Sir Arthur Wellesley his answer to my letter of the 4th of the same month; and on the 8th I addressed to Don Martin de Garay the note of which I have the honour to inclose a copy.

The substance of His Majesty's commands, as notified to me in your dispatch, appears to be contained in the following statement: first, the opinion of Sir Arthur Wellesley is to be taken with regard to the expediency of engaging a British Army of thirty thousand men in the operations of a campaign in Spain; if his opinion should be adverse to such a plan, the Spanish Government is to be distinctly apprized that the security of Portugal must form the more particular and exclusive object of our attention in the Peninsula, and that the utmost extent of the aid to be afforded to Spain by a British Army, is to be confined to that species of occasional concert which recently took place between the forces under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley and of General Cuesta: secondly, in the event of a determination to employ a British Army of thirty thousand men in the operations of a campaign in Spain, effectual measures are to be taken, previously to the commencement of joint operations, for securing the means

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of transport, and of constant and regular supplies to our troops: thirdly, with a view to secure the effectual co-operation of the Spanish Army, and (in a case of extremity) the safe retreat of our troops, the supreme command of the Spanish Armies is to be vested in the British Commander in Chief, and a British garrison is to be established in Cadiz, if these conditions should be deemed indispensable to the security of our operations in Spain, on the scale of an extended campaign.

The letters which I have had the honour of addressing to you since my arrival at Seville, and the correspondence which has passed between Sir Arthur Wellesley and me, will have already furnished you with sufficient information respecting our sentiments with relation to the first and second articles of your instructions of the 12th of August.

You will observe that on the same day of the date of your instructions, I addressed to M. de Garay a representation of the defective state of the supplies of the British Army acting in Spain; that in consequence of the increasing distress of our troops, I was not contented with the mere assurances of the Junta, but required satisfactory arrangements to be actually made for securing provisions and means of movement to the British Army; and that, at length, finding no satisfaction either in the promises or acts of the Spanish Government, I concurred with Sir Arthur Wellesley in the necessity of withdrawing his Army to Portugal, and of abstaining from all engagements to co-operate with the Spanish troops within the territory of Spain.

In addition to the total want of supplies of every description, you will have seen that the condition of the Spanish Armies, the failure of concert and co-operation in the Generals and troops of Spain, and the mismanagement of the whole system of the military department of this Government, opposed insurmountable obstacles to the ultimate success of the Army under Sir Arthur Wellesley. Even if the system of supplies could have been corrected, the state of the Spanish Army alone would have formed an irresistible motive in my mind for withholding from the Spanish Government any expectation of future co-operation, while the same evils should be left unremedied, and should menace the recurrence of the same misfortunes on every similar occasion. Sir Arthur Wellesley appears to agree entirely with me in this branch of my opinion.

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While the military resources and power of Spain shall continue in this state of inefficiency and disorder, it is my decided opinion that no British Army of whatever strength can safely be employed in joint operations with the Spanish troops within the territory of Spain.

The difficulties and dangers of our Army in any such operation could not be diminished (although they might be increased) by any practicable augmentation of its numbers. Within the limitation of numbers stated in your dispatch (whether 30 or 40,000 men) a British Army which should attempt to act in Spain, under the present circumstances of this country, and of the Enemy, would be exposed to the utmost hazard of total destruction.

Although some expressions in your dispatch might favour the supposition that you did not intend to apply to the case of an occasional concert and limited plan of operations in Spain, the same restrictive rules of precaution which are established with relation to a more extended scale of campaign; an attentive examination of your instructions convinces me, that it was not your intention to permit any movement of the British Army into Spain, until the British civil and military Authorities should be fully satisfied on all the important points of supply and co-operation. My sentiments and conduct have been conformable to this interpretation of His Majesty's commands.

The principles on which I have acted, are not confined in their application merely to the case of a general system of joint operation in Spain, which might lead the British Army to a considerable distance from the frontier of Portugal. Any advance into Spain, even for limited objects, or for purposes merely defensive, would, in my opinion, be attended with considerable peril, while our Army shall be subject to the failure of provisions, of means of movement, and of all adequate support from any auxiliary force.

The recent example of the distress of Sir Arthur Wellesley's Army is a sufficient illustration of the necessity of applying these precautions to all cases without any exception. Sir Arthur Wellesley entered Spain with a view of acting upon a limited scale of operations, and not with the intention of engaging in a plan of extended campaign; yet the defect of supplies and of auxiliary support frustrated the objects even of that limited plan, and exposed the Army to great danger. It is indeed difficult to fix the precise point at which the operations of a British Army shall cease, when it shall once have entered the

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Spanish territory, for purposes even of occasional concert. An operation, of which the original plan may have been defined within narrow bounds, may be extended by unavoidable necessity, and even by success. Difficulties and dangers may spring from success itself, and the occasional extension of a plan, originally limited, may furnish pretexts of complaint to Spain, if any exigency should require our General to revert to the original limits of such a plan. It must be observed, that Sir Arthur Wellesley's difficulties commenced at Placencia, within four days march from the frontier of Portugal, and within a few days after his arrival at Placencia.

These objections would necessarily apply, with greater force, in proportion to the increase of the Enemy's strength in Spain; it is improbable that any crisis of affairs can occur, in which the Enemy's Army in Spain will be much reduced below its actual scale, unless he shall be compelled to evacuate Spain altogether. This event would create an entirely new order of things in Europe, and would lead to a new view of the situation of Spain. But the principles which I have stated are applicable to every probable state of affairs in this country; and I therefore submit to you, without qualification, my opinion, that no British Army can safely enter this country for the purpose of acting with the Spanish Armies, unless some important change shall take place in Spain.

With these sentiments I presented my note to M. de Garay, under date the 8th of September; I take the liberty of soliciting your particular attention to that paper, in which I have plainly declared the causes which occasioned the retreat of the British Army, in the full lustre of its glory; and have added my opinion, that "until these evils shall be effectually remedied to the entire "satisfaction of the British Government, and until other necessary arrange-"ments shall be made for the security of the British troops, no British "Army can attempt to co-operate with the Spanish Armies within the ter-"ritory of Spain."

By these expressions it was my intention to leave open to future negotiation all questions respecting the employment of a British Army in Spain, the command of the Spanish troops, and the garrison of Cadiz.

It appeared to me to be proper, at the same time, to renew the general assurance of His Majesty's attachment to the alliance, and of His Majesty's

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intention to afford to Spain every other species of assistance (excepting that of a British Army in Spain) which might be consistent with the means and the interests of the British Government.

You will observe that Sir Arthur Wellesley is of opinion, that in the event of a British Army acting in Spain, especially for the defence of the southern provinces, it would be absolutely necessary that the chief command of the Spanish Army should be vested in His Majesty's Commander in Chief, and that a British garrison should be placed in Cadiz. I entirely concur in these sentiments; but under the present circumstances I have postponed all discussion with regard to the command of the Spanish Army, and the garrison of Cadiz. First, because I am convinced that, in the present crisis of affairs, any such discussion would occasion great jealousy in the minds of those best affected to the British cause; would strengthen the misrepresentations of the French, and of their partizans in Spain; would impair the general confidence of the Spanish nation in our sincerity and good faith; and would induce the people to believe that our Army had retreated for the purpose of enabling me to obtain these objects. Secondly, because the British Commander in Chief could not now accept the command of the Spanish troops, and the immediate appointment of a Spanish Commander in Chief might preclude all future possibility of introducing a British Officer to that command. Thirdly, because no modification of the command of the Spanish Army, in any form in which it could now be granted, would secure either the co-operation or the efficiency of the Spanish Army, or remove any of the causes to which the sufferings of our Army can be justly imputed. Fourthly, because the demand of a British garrison for Cadiz would certainly be now refused, and such a refusal might oppose great obstacles to the success of any proposition of that nature upon any future occasion.

In obedience to the general tenour of His Majesty's instructions, upon my arrival at Seville my earliest attention was directed to the propriety of abstaining from all unnecessary interference in the internal concerns and interests of Spain; but I had not been many days at Seville before I learnt that His Majesty's Army, which had gloriously conquered in the cause of Spain, had been defrauded of every necessary supply; that His Majesty's brave soldiers, wounded in vindicating the independence and glory of Spain, had been aban-

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doned by the Spanish General to the mercy of the Enemy; that the Spanish Generals, instead of co-operation, had displayed a systematic spirit of counteraction, and had disconcerted every plan and operation which they were appointed to support; and that His Majesty's General (after having compelled the Enemy to retreat from a British force of far inferior numbers) had been himself compelled to retreat from the Country which he had saved, lest his troops should perish by famine and disease.

With such a scene unexpectedly presented to my view, my duty towards His Majesty, and my respect for the honour of Spain, demanded a particular examination of the causes which had produced events so injurious to the interest of the alliance, and so dangerous to the friendship and welfare of both Countries.

The causes of these misfortunes cannot be justly ascribed to the absolute want of resources in the Country, or to any inherent or incorrigible defects in the materials of which the body of the Army is composed; or to any perverse or untractable disposition and temper in the mass of the people.

At the time when the determination to resist the usurpation of France broke forth in several of the Provinces of Spain, the Country was still labouring under the mischievous consequences of a long course of evil government. In the more recent periods of that destructive system, the particular tendency of the administration had been to subvert the efficiency of the Army, and to injure the military resources of the Nation.

These ruinous purposes had been perpetrated with success to a considerable extent; and when the independence of Spain was first invaded by France, the utmost exertion of public spirit was required to call forth the means even of temporary resistance. But although the military resources of the Country had been impaired, they had not been destroyed. Great and successful efforts were made by several Provinces, according to their separate plans of resistance; and nothing more seemed to be requisite for the purpose of a successful defence of the whole Country, than to combine in one system the means which were to be found in its separate parts.

At present local difficulties certainly exist in some of the Provinces; and many Districts continue to suffer, under the consequences of war, or of former mismanagement; but many Provinces abound in the means of subsistence

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and transport. No system however has been established by which the deficiencies of one District can be supplied from the abundance of another; nor does any regulation exist, properly calculated to secure and collect the resources of any Province for its separate defence, and still less for any more remote objects of active war. The Civil establishments throughout the Provinces are not properly formed for the purpose of ascertaining or bringing into use for the service of the Army, either the productions of the soil, or the articles of transport and conveyance existing in the several Districts. To this want of due regulation and system, must be added the corruption, and even the positive disaffection of many of the Civil Authorities in the Provinces. In many instances, the strongest evidence has appeared of positive aversion to the cause of Spain, and of the Allies, and of treacherous inclination to the interests of France.

The disposition of the people is generally favourable to the great cause in which the nation is engaged, and the mass of the population of Spain certainly appears to contain the foundations on which a good and powerful Government might be securely established, and the materials of which an efficient Army might be composed. Among the higher and middle classes of society are to be found too many examples of the success of French intrigue; in these classes may be traced a disposition to observe events, and to prepare for accommodation with that party which may ultimately prevail in the existing contest. Many persons of this description, if not favoured, are not discountenanced by the Government. From these circumstanees, and from the want of any regular mode of collecting popular opinion, the public spirit of the Nation is not properly cultivated nor directed to the great objects of the contest. The people also are still subject to many heavy exactions, and the abuses and grievances, accumulated by recent mal-administration, have not yet been duly remedied or redressed.

The population of the Country has not yet afforded to the Army a supply of men in any degree adequate to the exigencies of the Country, nor to the original inclination of the people; yet no demand could be made upon the people for that purpose with any prospect of success in the present state of affairs. But no increase of the numbers of the Army could be useful without a total change of the whole system of its composition and discipline: these

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are at present defective in every branch; and no measures have been adopted, or appear to be in contemplation, for remedying the abuses of every description which prevail throughout the whole structure of the Army, and every stage of the military department.

In this condition of the Army, it is not surprizing that many Officers, even in the highest commands, should be notoriously disaffected to the cause of Spain, and of the Allies, and should not be duly controlled by the Government. In reviewing the events of the last campaign, it is impossible to imagine any rational motive for the conduct of some of the Spanish Generals and Officers, unless it be admitted that their inclinations were favourable to the Enemy, and that they concerted their operations with the French instead of the British General.

The generous resolution of Spain to assert her independence, most justly exacted the admiration of the world. In considering more deliberately the nature of her original danger, and of her efforts to meet it, reflections arise which may illustrate the real nature of her present situation.

The usurpation of the rights of Spain did not proceed merely from the violence or corruption of internal government; it was not merely an act of that character which in other countries has justified and required national resistance, and against which that resistance has frequently and happily prevailed. The usurpation of Spain was a great military operation of the most formidable military Power on the Continent of Europe; it was a contest between two great States, as well as between a depraved government and an oppressed people. In order to vindicate their independence, it was therefore necessary that Spain should not only resort to the general spirit of resistance which animated the great body of the people in the separate provinces, but that she should guide and concentrate that spirit, for the indispensable purpose of invigorating her military resources, and of embodying an Army, which, with the aid of her Allies, might enable her to gain sufficient time for the restoration of her Monarchy on a just and legitimate foundation. To this great object all her efforts should have tended; and in forming a temporary organ to supply the absence of her legitimate Sovereign, and the consequent defect of the executive power, she should have combined such principles of council and action as might have afforded to the temporary Government the entire force of popular opinion and public zeal. This support was necessary to give due vigour

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to the regulations requisite for raising an efficient Army in Spain, and sufficient supplies to support not only the Army of Spain, but the auxiliary force of the Allies.

The first election of the Central Junta was certainly an apparent step towards the consolidation of the powers of the Country. Previously to that event, no point had been fixed for combining the desultory efforts of the several provinces, separated by ancient institutions, habits, and prejudices, and united only in a common sentiment of aversion to the French yoke. But the constitution of the Supreme Central Junta is not founded on any well understood system of union among the provinces, and still less on any just or wise distribution of the elements or powers of government; the confederacy of the provinces yet exists; the executive power is weakened and dispersed in the hands of an assembly too numerous for unity of council or promptitude of action, and too contracted for the purpose of representing the body of the Spanish Nation. The Supreme Central Junta is neither an adequate representative of the Crown, nor of the aristocracy, nor of the people; nor does it comprize any useful quality either of an executive Council or of a deliberative assembly, while it combines many defects which tend to disturb both deliberation and action.

Whether this Government, so ill-formed, be deficient in sincerity to the cause of Spain and of the Allies, is certainly questionable: whatever jealousy exists against the British Government or the Allies, is principally to be found in this body, its officers, or adherents; in the people no such unworthy sentiment can be traced. But, omitting all questions respecting the disposition of the Junta, it is evident that it does not possess any spirit of energy or activity, any degree of authority or strength; that it is unsupported by popular attachment or good will, while its strange and anomalous constitution unites the contradictory inconveniences of every known form of government, without possessing the advantages of any.

It is not an instrument of sufficient power to accomplish the purposes for which it was formed; nor can it ever acquire sufficient force or influence to bring into action the resources of the country and the spirit of the people with that degree of vigour and alacrity which might give effect to foreign alliances, and might repel a powerful foreign Invader.

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This is the true cause, at least of the continuance, of that state of weakness, confusion, and disorder of which the British Army has recently experienced the consequences, in the internal administration of Spain, and especially of her military affairs.

The Junta certainly possess the means of applying to these evils the only remedy from which any benefit can be expected to arise, although its operation might be slow and even precarious.

The original powers delegated to the Junta, have not been clearly defined, either with relation to time or authority. Much contest has lately arisen on this important question; and as far as I have been enabled to form a judgment upon it, it appears to me, that the question was not a point of distinct attention in many of the provinces at the time of the election of the Junta; but that, wherever it became matter of notice, the formation of the Junta was considered merely as a preliminary step to the assembly of the Cortes, and to the establishment of a more compact form of executive power in the absence of the legitimate King of Spain. It appears also to have been generally expected that the earliest proceedings of the Junta would have been directed to the redress of the principal grievances under which the Spanish Nation and the Colonies have suffered, especially in recent times.

In some movements of urgent peril or alarms, the Junta appears to have been impressed with the same sentiments which certainly prevail throughout the Nation, and to have considered the primary articles of their duty, as well as the limitations of their right of government, to be, the choice of a Regency for the due exercise of the executive power, the convocation of the Cortes, and the early redress of existing grievances. Accordingly, they have announced their intention of assembling the Cortes, and have very lately taken steps towards the repeal of some heavy exactions, and promised the repeal of others, and they have repeatedly discussed the question of appointing a Regency. But the desire of protracting the continuance of their own authority to the latest possible period of time, has prevailed over every other consideration. The meeting of the Cortes is delayed to a distant period of time. The question relating to a Regency has been often debated, and as often adjourned. No plan has been adopted for any effectual redress of grievances, correction of abuses, or relief of exactions; and the administration of justice,

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the regulation of revenue, finance, and commerce, the security of person and property, and every other great branch of government, is as defective as the military department.

The admission of the colonies to a share in the government and representation of the mother country seems to have been suggested, merely as an expedient to confirm the Junta in the continuance of their present authority, and to be entirely unconnected with any enlarged or liberal views of policy or Government.

Under all these circumstances the spirit of the alliance, and the general tenor of His Majesty's instructions, would have justified me in offering such advice to the Supreme Central Junta, as might be calculated to represent, in true colours, the nature of those dangers which menaced the ruin of the common cause, and the necessity of resorting to effectual remedies without subterfuge or delay.

But in the course of the last month, M. de Garay, without any previous suggestion on my part, has repeatedly and anxiously requested my opinion on the state of the Government, especially with relation to the expediency of appointing a Regency, and of assembling the Cortes.

In all these conferences I have carefully abstained from delivering my opinion with respect to the claims of any particular personages to exercise the authority of Regent during the absence of the King. With this sole reserve, I have not hesitated to deliver my opinion in the most distinct and unqualified terms to M. de Garay.

The sentiments which I have expressed may be comprised under the following heads; first, that the Supreme Central Junta should immediately nominate (without limiting the nomination to the Members of its own Body) a Council of Regency, to consist of not more than five Persons, for the exercise of the executive power until the Cortes should be assembled. Secondly, That the Cortes should be assembled with the least possible delay. Thirdly, that the Supreme Central Junta, or such Members of it as shall not be of the Council of Regency, shall constitute a deliberative Council, for the purpose of superintending the election of the Cortes, and of preparing for that Body, with the assent of the Council of Regency, such business as it may be deemed proper to submit to its early consideration. Fourthly, that the same act of

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the Junta by which the Regency shall be appointed, and the Cortes called, shall contain the principal articles of redress of grievances, correction of abuses, and relief of exactions in Spain and the Indies, and also the heads of such concessions to the Colonies, as shall fully secure to them a due share in the representative body of the Spanish Empire. Fifthly, that the first act of the Regency should be to issue the necessary orders for correcting the whole system of the military department in Spain.

These suggestions, originating in M. de Garay's express solicitation, were never committed to writing, nor urged with any greater degree of earnestness than belongs to the usual freedom of private conversation.

M. de Garay listened to me with attention, and expressed his general approbation of my sentiments, signifying only some doubts with regard to the mode of redressing grievances, and to the particular points comprehended under that part of my observations.

At the time when M. de Garay voluntarily opened this discussion, great alarm and agitation prevailed in the public mind in Spain. These sensations have gradually subsided, and with them M. de. Garay's solicitude for the early improvement of the Government seems to have been relieved. Nor should I have been disposed to renew the subject in any form, had not the accumulated sufferings of our Army, and the aggravated outrages offered to the British alliance, compelled me to intimate to M. de Garay, in an official form, the general tenor of those suggestions which he had drawn from me in our private conferences,

In my note of the 8th of September, I have therefore declared in general terms, that the interests of the alliance require an entire change in the military department of the Spanish Government; that no improvement in the system of military administration can be effected without a previous correction of the weakness and inefficiency of the executive power, nor without a due cultivation of the native resources, a proper use of the intrinsic strength, and a strenuous exertion of the national spirit of Spain; and lastly, that the executive power can never possess authority or force, influence or activity, until it shall be aided and supported by the collective wisdom of the nation, and by the loyal energies of the people.

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I am still ignorant of the effect which may be produced by this communication; but if, instead of resorting to the only means by which Spain can be saved, or faith maintained with her Allies, the Supreme Junta should continue to multiply precautions for prolonging the duration of their own power, in defiance of the interests of the Monarchy, and of the intentions and wishes of the people, every mischief and every abuse under which the country now labours must be aggravated, and the cause of the Enemy must gain hourly strength.

The auxiliary force of the Allies cannot enter Spain, under such circumstances, with any prospect of advantage, or with any other result than the certain failure of every military operation.

The insurmountable objections which preclude the possibility of entrusting Spain, under her present Government, with the aid of an auxiliary British force, must ultimately apply to every other species of assistance; since it cannot be contended that such a Government as now exists in Spain, can be safely entrusted with the management and disposition of the generous and abundant supplies poured forth by the British Government and Nation, for the service of a cause which the Government of Spain is no longer able to maintain.

The great objects of the alliance between his Majesty and Spain were to assist the Spanish Nation in restoring the independence of the Monarchy, and the happiness, freedom, and honour of Spain; and, by this just and generous assistance, to accomplish the great political advantage of opposing an additional barrier to the ambition and violence of France.

The spirit of the alliance would be entirely perverted, if the liberal assistance bestowed by the British Government and Nation, should serve only to prolong in Spain the continuance of an order of things, equally adverse to the restoration of the legitimate Monarchy, to the happiness and wishes of the Spanish Nation, and to the prosperity of the common cause in which the Allies are engaged.

These observations are made with great reluctance and pain, under a most serious conviction of their truth, and of the severe duty which requires me to express my sentiments without reserve. The duration of the present

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system of Government in Spain cannot fail to prove highly dangerous to the genuine principles of her hereditary monarchy, by gradually establishing habits, interests, and views, inconsistent with the lawful form and order of the Government. The same system would also endanger all the hopes and expectations of Spain. The hopes and expectations of the body of the Spanish nation are directed with anxious solicitude to some alteration, which, with more attention to the welfare and feelings of the people, may combine a more just representation of the Crown, a more uniform and concentrated authority, a more effectual and vigorous system of military administration, and a more cordial co-operation with the Allies.

In addition to the sentiments of Spain, when the real state of the Government of the Mother Country shall be understood in the Colonies, the utmost peril is to be apprehended of a violent convulsion in that most important branch of the Empire. Whatever may be the result of the operations of the Allies in other quarters of Europe, the French interests must continue to advance within the Spanish territory, and the whole policy of our alliance must be frustrated, while the form, character, and conduct of the Government shall be calculated to pervert, to the advantage of France, every succour which we may afford to Spain.

Many instances might be adduced of the abuse and waste of the supplies of various descriptions, with which the liberality of the British Government and Nation has so largely furnished the Government of Spain.

The most destructive waste of these supplies has been occasioned by the defects of the military department, and by the want of discipline in the Army. In the various instances of confusion, panic, and flight, among the Spanish troops when in face of the Enemy, it has been the usual practice of the soldiers to throw away the arms and clothing with which they had been provided by the generosity of Great Britain. These, of course, have generally fallen into the hands of the Enemy. In the battle of Talavera, Sir Arthur Wellesley witnessed the flight of whole corps of Spanish troops; who, after having thrown away the British arms and clothing, plundered the baggage of the British troops, at that moment bravely engaged with the Enemy. These

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calamities and disgraces all flow from one common source, the state of the Government of Spain; and all tend to one common end, the benefit of the cause of France.

Although deeply impressed with these sentiments, I shall not fail to employ every effort within my power to maintain the temper of the alliance, and to cultivate a good intelligence with the Ministers of Spain, as far as may be compatible with the interests and honour of his Majesty, and with the safety of his Majesty's troops.

No demand of any description has been urged by me since my arrival in Spain. My applications to the Government have been nothing more than plain representations of the condition of the country, and of the impossibility of permitting a British Army to act in Spain, while that condition shall remain unaltered.

I am not without hope (when the Supreme Central Junta shall be convinced of the firm determination of the British Government to withhold all co-operation of the British troops in Spain, until satisfactory remedies shall have been applied to the evils of which I have complained) that motives of self-interest may concur with the just principles of an enlarged policy, to produce a favourable change in the councils of the Spanish Government.

I shall be anxious to receive the advantage of your instructions with reference to the issue of either alternative of the present doubtful state of affairs.

In the most unfavourable event which can be apprehended, I entertain no doubt that the temper and disposition of the Spanish Nation, and the character of the people, will prolong the difficulties which France has experienced in her attempt to subjugate this country. The greatest obstacle to the deliverance of Spain is certainly the state of her own Government; but even if the mismanagement of those now entrusted with the conduct of her affairs should favour the success of the French arms in Spain, much time must elapse before a French Government could be established in this country, and many opportunities must open for the improvement of the British interests with relation to Spain and to her Colonies.

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For the present, the French armies in Spain are in a state of complete inaction; and it does not appear probable that any blow can now be struck to prevent the Spanish Government from accomplishing all the political and military arrangements which are required, in order to prepare this Nation for a more effectual defence of her independence.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

The Right Honourable George Canning,
&c. &c. &c.

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POPULATION AND EXTENT OF SPAIN, 1803.

FROM "CENSO DE FRUTOS Y MANUFACTURAS DE ESPAÑA."

Provinces.	Square Leagues.	Souls.
Province of Madrid	110	228,520
Province of Guadalaxara	163	121,115
Province of Cuenca	945	294,290
Province of Toledo	734	370,641
Province of La Mancha	631	205,548
Province of Avila	215	118,061
Province of Segovia	290	164,007
Province of Soria	341	198,107
Province of Burgos	642	470,588
Province of Estremadura	1,199	428,493
Kingdom of Cordova	348	252,028
Kingdom of Jaen	268	206,807
Kingdom of Seville	752	746,221
Kingdom of Granada	805	692,924
New Colonies of Sierra Morena	108	6,196
Kingdom of Murcia	659	383,226
Kingdom of Arragon	1,229	657,376
Kingdom of Valencia	643	825,059
Principality of Catalonia	1,003	858,818
Kingdom of Navarre	205	221,728
Province of Biscay	106	111,436
Province of Guipuzcoa	52	104,491
Carried forward	11,448	7,665,680

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Provinces.	Square Leagues.	Souls.
Brought forward - - -	11,448	7,665,680
Province of Alava - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	90	67,523
Principality of Asturias - - - - - - - - - - - -	308	364,238
Province of Leon - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	493	239,812
Province of Palencia - - - - - - - - - - - - -	145	118,064
Province of Salamanca - - - - - - - - - - - -	471	209,988
Province of Valladolid - - - - - - - - - - - -	271	187,390
Province of Zamora - - - - - - - - - - - - -	133	71,401
Province of Toro - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	165	97,370
Kingdom of Galicia - - - - - - - - - - - - -	1,330	1,142,630
Island of Majorca - - - - - - - - - - - - -	112	140,699
Island of Minorca - - - - - - - - - - - - -	20	30,990
Islands of Ivica and Formentera - - - - - - - -	15	15,290
Total - - -	15,001	10,351,075

General Result of the Population of Spain.

Guipuzcoa (most populous) - - - - - -	2,009 souls to a square league.
Cuenca (least populous) - - - - - - -	311 - - Dº.
Northern maritime provinces - - - - -	887 - - Dº.
Southern maritime provinces - - - - -	926 - - Dº.
Northern internal provinces - - - - -	604 - - Dº.
Southern internal provinces - - - - -	428 - - Dº.
The whole of the maritime provinces - -	904 - - Dº.
The whole of the interior provinces - - -	507 - - Dº.

If the whole of Spain were as well peopled as the province of Guipuzcoa, the Population would amount to 30,146,050 souls.

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ITINERARY OF ANTONINUS

IN THE

SOUTH OF SPAIN.

Roman Names.	Distances.	Modern Names.
Iter à Malaca Gades M — CXLV.		
Siuel	XXI	Fuengerola.
Cilniana	XXIIII	Las Bovedas.
Barbariana	XXXIIII	Mouth of the Guadiaro.
Calpe Cartejam	X	Gibraltar.
Portu albo	VI	Algeziras.
Mellaria	XII	Valde-bacas.
Belone Claudia	VI	Bolonia.
Besippone	XII	Canos de Meca.
Mergalbo	VI	Conil.
Ad Herculem	XII	Point Sancti Petri.
Gades	XII	Cadiz.
Iter à Gadibus Corduba CCXCV.		
Ad Pontem	XII	Puente Suazo.
Portu Gaditano	XIIII	Puerto Santa Maria.
Asta	XVI	Cortigo de Evora.

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Roman Names.	Distances.	Modern Names.
Ugia	XVII	Las cabezas de San Juan.
Orippo	XXIIII	Torre de los Herberos.
Hispali	IX	Seville.
Basilippo	XXI	El Viso.
Carula	XXIIII	La Puebla de Monon.
Ilissa	XVIII	Osuna.
Ostippo	XIIII	Estepa.
Barba	XX	Cerca de Martos.
Antiquaria	XXIIII	Antequera.
Angellas	XXIII	Iznajar.
Ipagro	XX	Aquilar.
Ulia	X	Montemayor.
Corduba	XVIII	Cordova.

Iter ab Hispani Cordubam XCVIII.

Obucula	XLII	La Monclava.
Astigi	XVI	Ecija.
Ad Aras	XVI	La Venta de la Parrilla.
Corduba	XXIIII	Cordova.

Iter ab Hispali Emeirtam CLV.

Carmone	XXII	Carmona.
Obucula	XX	La Monclava.
Astigi	XV	Ecija.
Celti	XXVII	Penaflor.
Regiana	XLIII	San Pedro de Villacorca, or Fuente la Reyna.
Emerita	XVII	Merida.

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Iter à Corduba Emeritam CXLIIII.

Roman Names.	Distances.	Modern Names.
Mellaria	LII	Fuente Ovejuna.
Artigi	XXXVI	Alhama.
Metellinum	XXXII	Medellin.
Emerita	XXIIII	Merida.

Iter à Corduba Castulone XCVIII.

Calpurniana	XXV	Canete de las Torres.
Urcaone	XX	Arjona.
Iliturgis	XXXIII	Santa Potenciana.
Castulone	XX	Cazlona.

Alio itinere à Corduba Castulone LXXVIII.

Eporo	XXVIII	Montoro.
Uciense	XVIII	San Julian, on the left bank of the Gudalquivir.
Castulone	XXII	Cazlona.

Iter à Castulone Malacam CCLXXI.

Tugia	XXV	Toya in the Sierra of Cazorla.
Fraxinum	XVI	
Hactara	XXIIII	
Acci	XXII	Guadix.
Alba	XXII	Alba.
Urci	XXIIII	Orce.
Turaniana	XVI	

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Roman Names.	Distances.	Modern Names.
Murga	XII	Muxacra.
Saxetanum	XXXVIII	Almunecar.
Caviclum	XVI	Toroz.
Menova	XXXIIII	Vizmiliana.
Malaca	XII	Malaga.

Iter ab ostio fluminis ANÆ EMERITAM CCCXIII.

Præsidio	XXIII	San Lucar de Guadiana.
Ad Rubras	XXVII	Cabezas rubias.
Onoba	XXVIII	Huelva.
Ilissa	XXX	Niebla.
Tucci	XII	Tezeda.
Italica	XVIII	Santi Ponce.
Monte Mariorum	XLVI	Setefilla.
Curica	XLIX	La Calera.
Contributa	XXIIII	Fuente de Cantos.
Percejana	XX	Medina de las Torres.
Emerita	XXIIII	Merida.

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