

INTRODUCTORY STUDY*

THE *THEORY*
AND THE UTRECHT TREATIES

REYES FERNÁNDEZ DURÁN

* Traducción al inglés de Muriel Feiner / English translation by Muriel Feiner

For the first time *Clasicos del Pensamiento Español* includes the English version of a book written originally in Spanish. *Theorica y Practica de Comercio y de Marina* was published in Madrid for the first time by Gerónimo de Uztáriz around 1725. It was translated into English and published in London in 1751. *Clasicos del Pensamiento Español* had not include in his collection up to now Uztariz's *Theorica*. Pedro Schwartz and Alfonso Sánchez Hormigo have decided to include Uztariz's *Theorica* but in his English version. I think the international reader will appreciate.

This is the translation that Adam Smith read and had in his library.

The whole eighteenth century span between the historical events lived by the author and those linked to the years when the translations of the *Theorica* into English, French and Italian were published.

I start my introduction analysing the contents of the Peace and Trade Treaties signed between the Spanish Crown and Great Britain at Utrecht in 1713. I conclude with Godoy receiving the copies of the Italian translations in 1794, done by a Spanish ex-Jesuit, who was working in Rome for Cardinal Ruffo, Pius VI's General Treasurer.

The text reprinted corresponds to the copy found in the collection of the *Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* and which had belonged to English politician Henry Dundas (1742-1811). Dundas had been War Minister, and first Lord of the Admiralty and a close collaborator of William Pitt during his long mandate as Minister.

If the Asiento de Negros (the Slave Trade contract), signed by the Spanish Crown with Great Britain in Madrid in March of 1713 and the Peace and Trade Treaties signed by both Crowns at Utrecht that same year conditioned the contents of the *Theorica*, the signing of the Aquisgran Treaty of 1748 and the Convention signed in Madrid in 1750 which put an end to the *Asiento de Negros* explains the reason why the project for the English translation of the *Theorica* was undertaken.

These treaties signed by the Spanish Crown with Great Britain influenced the relations between both monarchies during the first half of the 18th century. They were treaties in which the Spanish Crown did not know how or was unable to defend its highly strategic commercial interests. There was no pressure group or lobby in Spain which demanded to be protected. The Spanish Crown was more interested in defending other political petitions. In the case of Utrecht, the Spanish plenipotentiaries exhausted themselves defending the interests of the *Princesse des Ursins* who seriously hindered the negotiations of the trade treaty with Great Britain. At Aquisgran, the Spanish Crown decided to support the dynastic interests of Isabel de Farnesio. England and France knew perfectly well what their commercial interests were. In England, the textile manufacturers and merchants defended their interests in the Parliament and conditioned their support to the government. The English and French included merchants in the commissions, who negotiated the commercial treaties in their favour. The Spanish plenipotentiaries were neither merchants nor businessmen and they did not receive instructions to defend Spain's commercial interests.

Foreign trade affairs were handled in Great Britain by the *Board of Trade and Plantations* which represented the industrial and commercial interests and the Secretaries of State consulted the Board in regard to matters of foreign trade. There was no such institution in Spain.

On the pages preceding the text of the *Theory and Practice of Commerce and Maritime Affairs*, I examine the political moment the first edition of the *Theorica* was published, together with certain aspects of Gerónimo de Uztáriz's life in Felipe V's Court. The contents of the trade treaty of Utrecht and the Asiento de Negros are summarised. The contents of the *Theorica* are broken down in order to facilitate its reading. In his Dedication to Felipe V, Uztáriz warned that his discourses may seem somewhat jumbled and at times without sufficient coordination between the chapters. In 1750, when in London the translation into English of the *Theorica* was being considered, the British ambassador at Madrid Court, Benjamin Keene, obtained from the Spanish Ministers better commercial conditions for the British in their trade relations with the Spanish Crown, than what they had obtained at Utrecht. Attempts are made to shed light on the figure of John Kippax, the translator, and the role Richard Wall, Spanish ambassador in London played in the translation of the *Theorica*.

Handwritten backgrounds consulted in the following archives and libraries are cited:

Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (AHN)

Archivo General de Simancas (AGS)

Archivo General de Indias (AGI). Sevilla

Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid

Archivo Municipal de Sevilla (AMS)

Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (BN)

Biblioteca Universidad de Barcelona

The National Archives. Kew (NA)*

Parliamentary Archives. Parlamento británico. Londres

The British Library (BL). Londres

Archives diplomatiques. Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Paris

* For a researcher it is very rewarding to work in The National Archives of Kew and in The British Library

When Gerónimo de Uztáriz y Hermiaga published the *Theorica y Práctica de Comercio y de Marina*, he was a member of Saint Yago Order, high official in the *Consejo de Hacienda*, Secretary of the Royal Tobacco Board and high executive official in *Secretaria de Despacho* for War. He presented his merits in this order.

The book was not submitted for censure, nor did it have a licence or seal of approval. It did not bear either the name of the printshop, the year of its printing or the sales price. The book did not meet any of these requirements for its publication because it had not been published with the intention of its sale, but rather to be distributed to a select group of readers. The copies existing from this first edition are marked with the year 1724 in ink. However, the year was written in ink in a different place on the cover of each copy. The edition included at the beginning a complete index of the chapters, organised in blocks and at the end, there was a detailed index of the subjects covered and the people and places cited.

The book is printed full page, in folio size, with wide side margins, where apostilles were added in many chapters to highlight the contents of the paragraphs and attract the reader's attention. In addition to these printed apostilles, five pages of the text feature carefully cut and pasted strips of paper with additional printed texts. These texts refer to the regulations approved by the King while the book was being printed: *...The King Our Lord has willed to order by a decree dated 4 February 1725... After printing this chapter, I have been assured by a person who had been on the island of Puerto Rico... By a decree dated 21 December 1725...*

The book is dedicated to The Catholic Majesty of our Lord Felipe V. In his Dedication, Uztáriz explained why he had written and published this book. The Dedication was signed by Uztáriz on 20 December 1724.

The book which probably had a very limited edition, was intended for special and very select readers, ministers of the Councils and high officials

working in the *Secretarías de Despacho* Council Ministers, Official Secretaries and representatives of the European Countries at the Court of Madrid, but above all Uztáriz wanted the King to read it, and so he devoted extra special attention to the layout and printing. The King liked books. The book given to the King was printed on better quality paper and on a larger page format. It must have included the Chapter Index at the beginning, the meticulous index of subjects, people and places cited at the end, and the many apostilles highlighting some of the contents in order to facilitate its reading by the monarch and by this select group. The inclusion of the index of subject matters whose elaboration had to be complicated and costly to a certain extent contradicts the explanation which Uztáriz gave in his Dedication, to the effect that he had not been able to organise the contents of the book better, due to a lack of time. He had written it in the brief periods which *the daily and indispensable attendance* to his employments had allowed him. Why such a hurry? It could not have been published in 1724. In any case, with the addition of the last pasted comment, it was finished in 1725¹.

Uztáriz explained to the reader that he wrote the book to express his gratitude to his majesty for the great benefits he had received and to suggest proposals to improve the revenues of the Crown due to the knowledge and experience he had acquired in his positions in the Ministries of War, Finance and the Navy. He confessed that he had had the honour of being an instrument in the formality of the orders of his majesty. He stated that he dedicated a block of 21 chapters to reproducing the resolutions, regulations and rulings approved by Felipe V for the improvement of the trade, manufacturing and navigation. He had participated in the drawing up of all the regulations he reproduced. These regulations were approved from 1714 to 1724.

He presented these reflections on Trade and the Navy to his majesty together with reliable data on the regulations which were applied by other Kingdoms and Republics. He obtained this information by reading books and manuscripts referring to these countries and during the trips he had made over

¹ I have consulted the copies of this first edition found in the Library of the Royal Palace, in the National Library and in the Marqués de Valdecilla Historical Library. The three contain the same added comments on the same pages and so they had to have been added to the entire edition. The copy kept in the Marqués de Valdecilla Library (BHFL) is of a large folio size, like the one in the Palace, and it is bound in light blue silk with a red leather spine. The one in the National Library (BN) has a Spanish binding. Both copies contain a notice to the reader, written in ink in the right-hand margin of the first page of the Chapter Index: *At the end of the work, there is an index of the most noteworthy items listed in alphabetical order...*

a period of more than 20 years to France, Italy, England, Flanders, Holland and Western Germany, and through several provinces in Spain.

Even though ten years had passed since the signing of the Treaties of Utrecht which put an end to the War of Succession to the Spanish Crown, Uztáriz referred to the long and bloody War of Succession and to the calamitous tribulations which the Duke of Anjou's supporters had to bear. He mentioned how the Court was invaded by the enemies on two occasions, how they were finally defeated at Brihuega and Villaviciosa and how they withdrew *disappointed and chastised*. He felt that Felipe V came out victorious because *he owned the hearts of the Spaniards*, despite the fact that he relied on a limited number of troops and a few very distant and unprotected strongholds.

Uztáriz referred in his Dedication to the War of Succession but he did not mention the Treaties of Utrecht which put an end to the war.

In January of 1724, Felipe V abdicated on behalf of his son, Prince Don Luis. He did not want to continue to reign and retired to *La Granja de San Ildefonso*, to contemplate his own death and the salvation of his soul. José Grimaldo accompanied him on his retreat and appointed Orendain as Secretary of the State Of the new monarch, Luis I. On 31 August of that same year, Luis I died of smallpox and Felipe V had to return and assume the throne once again. But there were in the Court, ministers who felt that once he had abdicated, he should not put on the crown again, among them, the President of the *Consejo de Castilla*, Luis de Miraval, the *Marqués de Miraval*, who had abandoned the presidency of the *Consejo*.

Queen Isabel de Farnesio wanted to guarantee as soon as possible the rights for her children. Baron Ripperdá had gained the confidence and trust of the queen. He was sent in November of 1724 to Vienna to negotiate the peace treaty with the Emperor, which had not been signed at Utrecht. He was given instructions that Spain had to support the Company of Ostende, created by the Austrians in the Netherlands. No mention is made in his instructions regarding other commercial matters. Isabel de Farnesio obtained the inheritance of the Dukedoms of Parma and Toscana for Prince Carlos and arranged the marriage of Prince Carlos with the Archduchess Maria Teresa and that of another prince with another archduchess. The formal rivals of the Spanish Crown now sealed the peace. The price was an advan-

tageous trade treaty for the subjects of the Austrian Empire. The trade treaty with Austria was signed on 1 May 1725. Tariff rights in the order of 10% were established for the imports of Austrian goods entering Spain. The level of the customs tariffs for the Spanish merchandise entering Austrian territory were not agreed.

The support to the Company of Ostende was determined in a very secret Treaty of Friendship and Alliance. The Peace Treaty between the former rivals was signed on 7 June 1725, after the trade treaty was signed.

This entire process occurred while the *Theorica* was being printed, but it is not reflected in any of the notes which had been added to the text.

Uztáriz wrote in support of the Company of Ostende in his book

The fact that he referred to the War of Succession in his Dedication, was perhaps due to his knowing that Ripperdá was negotiating peace in Vienna with the former pretender to the Spanish Crown.

Uztáriz dedicated the book to the king in order to encourage him to continue on the throne. He devoted a block of chapters to the political measures which Felipe V had approved from 1714 to 1724, in order to remind him of everything he had legislated and approved in relation with a variety of problems particularly in regard to the management of tax matters and the Customs situation. The monarch's protagonism is highlighted with the many printed apostilles which he inserted in the margins where it is possible to read: *Don Phelipe V en el Pardo... Don Phelipe V en San Lorenzo... Don Phelipe V en Madrid.* and then he wrote about the subject covered in the paragraph or regulation which was discussed in the chapter. The author wanted to make it clear that Felipe V was the legitimate heir to the Spanish Crown and he referred to his glorious predecessors, such as Fernando *el Católico*, the Emperor Carlos V, Felipe II and Felipe IV, and how they protected trade and navigation. His abundant references to Louis XIV were intended to highlight Felipe V's lineage. It is necessary to bear in mind that Felipe V signed his name with the letter A, of Anjou, and introduced the *Flor de Lis* in his coat of arms.

The rest of the book is presented as a noteworthy report with proposals for measures which he recommended to be adopted. He furnished the

King with a great deal of financial and economic data on the Spanish Crown of which the monarch was unaware.

The king kept Uztáriz's book and had it bound with his coat of arms. It is found nowadays in the Library of the Royal Palace in Madrid and is classified, according to its origin and the binding, in the category of Super Royal Books².

Uztáriz could not finance the publication of the book, for he lived off of the wages he received which were very often paid with considerable delay. It is highly likely that the book was financed by Juan de Goyeneche. Uztáriz dedicated chapters of the *Theorica* to the industrial projects of the Navarra-born industrialist. Juan de Goyeneche published *La Gaceta de Madrid*. He had a magnificent library in his palace at *Nuevo Baztán*, where Father Feijoó had lived for some time. Throughout his life, he financed among other publications an edition of the *Historia de la conquista de Méjico*, by Antonio Solís³. He himself wrote a book about the Baztán Valley. Of course, he would finance the edition of the translation his son made of Huet's book in 1717 and which appeared under the title of *Comercio de Holanda* with a prologue by Uztáriz and which Juan Francisco de Goyeneche dedicated to Prince Don Luis⁴.

Much has been written about why this first edition of the *Theorica* was not more widely distributed.

Bernardo de Ulloa included a summary of all the chapters of the *Theorica*, in 1740, in his book *Restablecimiento de las Fábricas y Comercio Español*⁵. He mentioned in his Introduction that he did not want to disappoint the limited public that could enjoy the original...

² Moreno Gallego, Valentin, *Super Libros Reales. Guía para la identificación beráldica en la Real Biblioteca*. Patrimonio Nacional. 2008.

³ Solís y Ribadeneira, Antonio, *Historia de la Conquista de Méjico, población y progresos de la América Septentrional*, conocida con el nombre de Nueva España... con la vida del autor, por Juan de Goyeneche. Bruselas, 1741.

⁴ Huet, Pierre Daniel, Obispo de Avranches, *Comercio de Holanda o el gran tesoro histórico y político del floreciente comercio que los bolandeses tienen en todos los Estados y Señoríos del Mundo*. En la Imprenta Real. 1717.

⁵ Ulloa, Bernardo, *Restablecimiento de las Fábricas y Comercio Español*. Edición y estudio preliminar de Gonzalo Anes. *Clásicos del Pensamiento Clásico Español*. Instituto de Estudios Fiscales. 1992.

The author of the English translation, however, wrote in his Introduction: This valuable treatise was first printed in the year 1724 and dedicated to the late majesty of Spain but it was apprehended by the Court of Madrid with the consideration that it was not a proper season to make it public. The printed copies were accordingly destroyed, while the author was praised, rewarded and treated with honours...

The French translator Veron de Forbonnais, in his Introduction, stated: *Ce libre apparut en 1724 et l'on tira très peu d'exemplaires...*

The limited distribution of the first edition of the *Theorica* was due to several circumstances. On one hand, the limited printing, with very few copies. In addition to this short printing was the defense that Uztáriz made of a new Customs and Tariff policy, which was contrary to the Trade Treaty which had been signed with England at Utrecht, and to his clear and explicit criticism of these treaties in Chapter 87. In 1729, the Spanish Crown once again signed several treaties with England in Sevilla which confirmed what was signed at Utrecht. It was not the moment to give a lot of publicity to Uztáriz's book. And finally, in those years, José Patiño had become the head of three *Secretarías de Despacho*: Finance, the Navy and the Indies, and War. Uztáriz had disagreed with his opinions, such as in the case of the transfer of the Consulate and *Casa de la Contratación* from Sevilla to Cádiz, and he slipped in some veiled criticisms of his person in the *Theorica*.

Gerónimo de Uztáriz was born in 1670 in the town of Santesteban, in the Valley of Baztán, Navarra, to a rich family of Spanish noblemen. In 1686, he entered the *Real Academia Militar* in Brussels. He studied Mathematics, Fortification, Artillery, Geography and Navigation there for two years. These were courses that he could not study in any other institution of the Spanish Crown. The classes were given in French which was the language spoken by most of the students. The Director of the Academy was Sebastián Fernández Medrano⁶. The title of Engineer of the Military Academy of Brussels was highly respected in Spain and in the rest of Europe. His stay at the Brussels Academy was considered of special merit and was cited in his subsequent appointments, until he was granted one of the Secretariats of the *Consejo de Indias* in 1729. When he finished his studies, he entered into service in the Spanish Army in Flanders, from 1687 to 1697. He participated in the battles which took place in the Netherlands, when Spain joined forces with William of Orange to fight against France which had attacked Flanders and Catalonia. In the campaigns of 1692 and 1693, he participated in the battles of Steinkerke and Nerwiden. These were some of the bloodiest battles of the 17th century. He was wounded and taken prisoner. He also participated in the siege of Namur, under the orders of the King Consort of England, William of Orange.

In 1698, Uztáriz was appointed secretary of the Marqués de Bedmar, who was the commander-in-chief of the Flanders army. The government of these provinces was in the hands of Maximilian Emmanuel, elector of Bavaria. The Marqués de Bedmar and Gerónimo de Uztáriz professed a mutual respect for one another. Uztáriz got married in Brussels and six of his children were born there. The Marqueses de Bedmar were the godparents of the first daughter Gerónimo de Uztáriz had with his wife María Francisca de Azuara van Sassequen⁷.

⁶ Rodríguez Villa, Antonio, *Noticia biográfica de Don Sebastian Fernández Medrano. Director de la Academia Militar de Bruselas (1646-1705)*. 1882.

⁷ Fernández Durán, Reyes, *Gerónimo de Uztáriz (1670-1732). Una Política Económica para Felipe V*. Minerva Editions. 1999.

Uztáriz's visit to England probably took place at that time, during his stay in Brussels⁸.

On 1 November 1700, Carlos II died in Madrid leaving the Duke of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV, as the heir. The Elector of Bavaria sent the Marqués de Bedmar to Versailles so that he could pay tribute to the Duke of Anjou. Surely the Marqués de Bedmar was accompanied by Gerónimo de Uztáriz, who followed him on all of his trips. When Felipe V left France in December of 1700, Louis XIV was the one who governed the Spanish Netherlands at the time. In 1701, Bedmar was granted the general government of the Netherlands. Gerónimo de Uztáriz took charge of all the correspondence which he maintained with the French Court. In 1702, England, Holland and the Emperor declared war on Felipe V and Louis XIV, in order to try to place the Archduke Carlos, the son of the Emperor Leopold of Austria, on the Spanish throne. Uztáriz participated in the campaigns of those initial years of the War of Succession in the Netherlands, accompanying as always, the Marqués de Bedmar. In 1704, the Marqués de Bedmar was appointed Viceroy of Sicily. He took Gerónimo de Uztáriz with him as Secretary of State and the Treasury of the Viceroyalty. During his stay in Sicily he joined the Order of Santiago⁹, surely encouraged by the Marqués de Bedmar, who had just received the Order of Saint Esprit, in Paris, from Louis XIV. According to what Saint Simon relates in his *Memoirs*, this occurred on the same day as Mariscal Vauban. The young and elegant Uztáriz, dressed in the French style, whose portrait is reproduced in the edition of the *Theorica* of 1742, wore a medallion around his neck with the insignia of the Order of Santiago.

After two years on the island and sending reports to the Courts of Paris and Madrid as to the helplessness and defenseless situation of the Viceroyalty, they returned to Madrid at 1708, in the midst of the War of Succession. The Marqués de Bedmar was wounded in the chest while defending the Madrid Palace against the troops of the Archduke with just *a handful*

⁸ AHN, Estado, leg 3456. The Marqués de Bedmar had been sent, during the life of Carlos II, as an Ambassador Extraordinaire to London in 1687, to present his condolences to the Queen of England for the death of her mother, the Duchess of Modena. For this reason, he had spent an extensive period of time in London. He had impressed the English Court: *with his intelligence and large entourage and with the elegant camarades who accompanied him*. We do not know if Gerónimo de Uztáriz formed a part of that entourage.

⁹ AHN, Ordenes militares, Santiago, exp. 8383, *Pruebas del capitán Don Gerónimo de Uztáriz y Hermiaga*.

of people... It is very possible that among that handful of people was Gerónimo de Uztáriz, and for this reason he makes references in his Dedication to Felipe V that the Royal Court was invaded on two occasions by the enemies¹⁰.

It is important to highlight Uztáriz's long stay in Flanders, his technical training and his participation in the battles waged together with the English and Dutch against the French, and afterwards together with the French against the English and Dutch. In the course of these wars, the new techniques of *modern warfare* were employed, including the massive use of artillery to take the strongholds and cities. None of his contemporaries who held posts during Felipe V's administration had received his technical training and were as familiar with the European countries as he was.

When he returned to Spain in the middle of the War of Succession, Uztáriz began to work in the *Secretaría del Despacho* (Dispatch Secretariat), responsible for War and Treasury, with José Grimaldo.

¹⁰ Rouvroy, Louis, duc de Saint Simon, *Mémoires complètes et authentiques du duc de Saint Simon sur le siècle de Louis XIV et la Régence*. Paris, Hachette 1884, volume XII, pp 145-146.

THE TREATIES OF UTRECHT

Uztáriz referred to the War of Succession in his Dedication to Felipe V, although he did not make any mention to the Treaties of Utrecht which put an end to the long, bloody and costly war.

England wanted to obtain advantages in its trade with the Spanish Indies and maintain the customs and tariff advantages it enjoyed in the Port of Cádiz. These tariffs reductions had been granted by the farmer of the customs and were not covered in any trade treaty. In 1711, before the British initiated the secret peace conversations with the French, a Parliamentary Law had created the *South Sea Company* granting it the trade monopoly with Spanish America, trade which was reserved for the Spanish subjects. Robert Harley (whom Queen Anne had granted the title of Count of Oxford) wanted to solve the problem of financing the short-term public debt without resorting to the Bank of England, controlled by the Whigs, and establish his position in relation with future peace negotiations. The holders of that debt, whose service had not been approved by the Parliament, would become the stockholders of the new company. The company's stocks would be quoted on the London Stock Exchange and would receive an annual profitability of 6%. The company's governor would be the Secretary of State himself, Robert Harley¹¹.

Once the company was created, the conversations were initiated with the French¹², who were anxious to end the war due to the financial problems it was creating for Louis XIV and his financial backers. If we focus only on the financial aspects of the negotiations, the French offered Great Britain the highly sought after Asiento de Negros (Slave Trade). The English requested the control of four ports in the Spanish Indies, two of them in the Pacific. The

¹¹ Carruthers, Bruce, G. *City of Capital. Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution*. Princeton University Press, 1999.

Sperling, John G. *The South Sea Company. An Historical Essay and Bibliographical Finding List*. Publication Number 17 of The Kress Library of Business and Economics. 1962.

¹² Archives diplomatiques. *Correspondence Angleterre. 232-233.1711* Micro PO6480. Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Paris.

French refused, for this concession would endanger the highly profitable contraband trade in which the French company, *Compagnie de la Mer du Sud*, was engaged. In order to compensate them, the negotiator Nicholas Mesnager conceded that the English merchandise would not pay any duty when entering Spain. There were no Spaniards present in these negotiations, nor were the Dutch, allies of the British, aware of them. When in January of 1712 the Congress of Utrecht was initiated, the Dutch demanded that the trade with the Indies continue to be carried only by the Spaniards with their *Flotas y Galeones*. The Spanish plenipotentiaries could not go to Utrecht until France signed the peace treaty with England in April of 1713. France negotiated in the name of the Spanish Crown the cessions of territories and commercial matters. The English plenipotentiaries asked the Secretary of State Saint John (he would later become Viscount Bolingbroke) to negotiate the commercial matters directly with Spain in the middle of 1712¹³.

In September of 1712 while the Congress of Utrecht was being celebrated, Queen Anne sent Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington, to Madrid¹⁴.

Lord Lexington had to negotiate the bases for the peace treaty and the trade treaty and the details of the Asiento de Negros. Felipe V appointed the Marqués de Bedmar plenipotentiary for these negotiations¹⁵.

The Marqués de Bedmar had precarious health. He had difficulties in writing. Felipe V ordered that everything that was negotiated be reflected in reports which should be delivered to him. Bedmar and Lexington negotiated in French¹⁶. We know that the first meetings took place in Bedmar's house on 20 and 21 October 1712. Gerónimo de Uztáriz had been the right-hand man of the Marqués de Bedmar in the Netherlands and in Sicily. In 1712, Uztáriz worked in the *Secretaría de Despacho* in charge of the peace negotiations. It is highly likely that he assisted Bedmar in his meetings with Lexington. The language used in the meetings was French.

¹³ NA, *State Foreign Papers. Archives of British Legations*, 105/259.

¹⁴ NA, *State Foreign Papers. Spain*, 94/79.

¹⁵ Storrs, Christopher, "How the war ended. Lord Lexington's Mission to Madrid 1712-1713". *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna. La Monarquía de España y los Tratados de Utrecht*. 2013. BL, Add 46549 – Add 46552 – Add 46551 – Add 46543. Correspondence relating to the mission in Madrid. Lexington Papers. Included among the correspondence are letters Bedmar sent to him and he to Bedmar.

¹⁶ NA, *State Foreign Papers. Archives of British Legations*, 105/278.

In the bases for the peace treaty¹⁷, the *Asiento de Negros* was ceded and the validity of the trade treaty of 1667 was recognised, along with the need to establish a new customs tariff that regulated the fees to be paid by the English merchandise upon their entry into Spain.

Lexington maintained correspondence during his stay in Madrid with the English merchants established in Cádiz and Bilbao, to whom he sent the draft of the bases for the trade treaty¹⁸ and received their comments.

THE ASIENTO DE NEGROS

Manuel Manasses Gilligan accompanied Lord Lexington on his trip to Madrid, in order to negotiate the contents of the *Asiento de Negros*, the slave trade contract, and other commercial matters. Manasses Gilligan spoke Spanish. He had lived in Barbados and had been engaged in the slave trade.

The Spanish Crown had been signing these slavery contracts, *Asientos de Negros*, since the end of the 16th century¹⁹ with private financiers and they did not form a part of any peace treaty. In 1701, when Felipe V had just ascended the Spanish throne, Louis XIV made him rescind the slavery trade contract with the Portuguese company which was exploiting it. The new contract for the *Asiento* was signed with a French company, *Compagnie de Guinée et de l'Assiente*. The text was drawn up in Paris. Both monarchs became stockholders in the company, each holding 25% of the capital. The capital was set at 4 million *livre tournois*, the unit of the French account. Felipe V had to furnish one million *livre tournois*. An exchange rate was set up at one peso equalling three *livre tournois*. Felipe V had to provide 333.333 *pesos*. The French stockholders would furnish it in his name and would collect 8% annual interest. Up until then, no Spanish monarch

¹⁷ AHN, Estado, leg 3367 exp 38. Preliminaries signed by Bedmar and Lexington.

¹⁸ NA, *State Foreign Papers, Spain*, 94/79 and 94/80. "Propositions of the Factory of Cádiz, for the security and encouragement of the British trade and commerce to Spain, and its Dominions"

¹⁹ Vila Villar, Enriqueta, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos. Los asientos portugueses*. Sevilla 1977.

Vega Franco, Marisa, *El tráfico de esclavos con América, Asientos de Grillo y Lomelán 1663-1674*. Escuela de Estudios hispano-americanos de Sevilla. 1984.

Scelle, George, *La Traite Nègrière aux Indes de Castille*. 1906.

had participated in the stock of the companies exploiting the *Asiento de Negros*²⁰.

Gilligan gave Grimaldo a draft similar to the contract of the *Asiento* signed with the French company, *Compagnie de Guinée et de l'Assiente*²¹. However, in this case, the name of the company which was contracting the slaves did not appear. The British queen would choose the company that will exploit the contract. Both monarchs would each hold one quarter of the capital of that company which was not named. The English modified the value of the percentage of stock to be assigned to Felipe V. Using the same amount which appeared in the French contract, they modified the currency. Felipe V had to furnish one a million pesos for his participation; three times more than what he would have theoretically had to furnish to the capital of the French company. The private British stockholders would furnish this sum in his name and would collect 8% interest, just as in the French case.

The members of the *Consejo de Indias* who analysed the proposed text of the *Asiento* advised the King not to participate in the company's stock; nevertheless, this clause was maintained. No exchange rate was established between the *real de a ocho* and the sterling pound which was the currency in which the company's accounting at its London headquarters was going to be carried out.

The English at Utrecht had to renounce the generalised reduction of tariffs which the French negotiator had promised them. Mesnager informed them that there had been a misunderstanding and that he had only promised them that their merchandise being sent to the Indies would not pay duty. The English had understood that it would also be applied to the goods consumed in Spain²². In order to compensate this misunderstanding, the French granted them the *Asiento* for thirty years instead of for ten²³. They

²⁰ Fernández Durán, Reyes, *La corona española y el Tráfico de Negros. Del Monopolio al libre Comercio*. Madrid 2011.

²¹ AGI, Indiferente General, leg 2799.

²² NA, *State Foreign Papers. Archives of British Legations*, 105/259, informed the English plenipotentiaries from Utrecht that they thought that: *Our goods designated for America shall not pay any duty which others do, to the amount of 15%. We thought that was to extend to goods consumed in Spain but he (Mesnager) advised this was never intended...*

²³ NA, *State Foreign Papers. Archives of British Legations*, 105/258.

were also allowed to bring black slaves to Buenos Aires. Gilligan obtained for the company exploiting the *Asiento*, the right to send to the Indies every year a ship of 500 tons loaded with merchandise which would not have to pay any duty upon arrival at the port of the Indies. The ship was called the *navío de registro*. Lexington notified Bolingbroke that the *Asiento* had been signed in terms which were much more advantageous than the French *Asiento*²⁴.

Oxford and Bolingbroke delivered the *Asiento* contract to the *Board of Trade and Plantations*. The *Royal African Company* and the independent merchants trading with Africa might be interested. Finally, the two Secretaries of State, Oxford and Bolingbroke, offered the *Asiento* to the *South Sea Company*. Months later, the merchants represented in the Board explained that they had accepted the *Asiento* contract because Spain did not have sugar plantations in the Caribbean; if they had had them, they would not have agreed, because it would have meant supplying slaves to produce the sugar cane and this would have lowered the price of sugar produced in the British islands in the Caribbean²⁵.

The Spanish monarch could not be a stockholder in the *South Sea Company* because all the stockholders had been holders of public debt or had previously purchased shares in the Stock Exchange. The Spanish Court had already granted the *Asiento* when the decision was made in London to grant the *Asiento* to the *South Sea Company*. There was no contract signed between the *South Sea Company* and the Spanish Crown subject to the Laws of Castilla, as there had been in the previous *Asientos*. The disagreements arising between the parties would not be settled in court but with a war. It was assumed that the capital which the Spanish king had to furnish would serve to launch the trade operations, something rather inconceivable, even though this had occurred with the French *Asiento*. The amount which the Spanish monarch was obliged to provide was a disproportionate sum, but the Spanish Court did not revise these terms despite the fact that in 1716 the British revised certain clauses which did not suit them. In the *Asientos de Negros* signed during the 17th century, the *Asentistas* granted a loan without interest to the Crown to cover its financial needs.

²⁴ NA, *State Foreign Papers. Spain*, 94/80.

²⁵ *Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations. Volume 2. February 1709-March 1715*. Published by E.G. Atkinson. 1925. They can be consulted at *British History on Line*. Institute of Historical Research. It contains the Minutes of the Board Meetings, the matters discussed and those attending.

The obligations were similar to the French Asiento. A total of 4,800 “pieces of Indies” had to be introduced every year²⁶. The payment of 33 *pesos escudos* for “each piece of Indies” was introduced. This sum was not paid but was recorded in the Spanish monarch’s account, in the Company’s bilateral accounting records with the Spanish Crown. The Company had to present its accounts every five years and every year it had to present the accounts of the *navio de registro*. The Spanish monarch could have a director within the Company who would look out for his interests. The Company never presented its accounts.

Felipe V appointed as his representative in the company Arthur Moore, a member of the *Board of Trade and Plantations* and a member of Parliament, who was considered the Minister of Commerce of the Harley (Oxford) Government.

THE TRADE TREATY OF 1713

When Lexington arrived in Madrid, he presented a report written in French with requests related to the foreign trade between Great Britain and the Spanish Crown. The document with the English requests presented by Lord Lexington was surely drawn up by Arthur Moore.

The English requests were initially related to the tariffs paid by the English merchandise when they arrived at the Spanish ports, the taxes which had to be paid in successive sales, and the jurisdiction of the British Consuls at the Spanish ports. They also wanted the agreement signed by several English merchants residing in Bilbao with the Town Council of Santander during the reign of the late Carlos II in September of 1700 to be validated as an international treaty, so that the wool and iron exported from this port to England, would not pay any export tariffs. The English merchants settled in the city would not pay the *alcabala*²⁷ to the Santander Town Council.

²⁶ “A piece of Indies” was a young man measuring 7 spans in height and without any physical defects.

²⁷ AHN, Estado, leg 2788, exp. 32. *Tratado de comercio ajustado entre la villa de Santander y diferentes comerciantes de la nación inglesa residentes en Bilbao, 12 de septiembre de 1700.*

AHN, Consejos, leg 31883, exp.7, Escribanía Carranza. The city of Santander sent its councillor to Madrid to report to the *Consejo de Castilla* and obtain approval on the agreement. The *Consejo de*

The English complained that the tariffs collected by the Customs in the Spanish ports were different depending upon the ports and they asked that a new *tariff be created to cover everything according to what was paid in the Ports of El Puerto de Santa María or Cádiz in the times of Carlos II as they were the harbours and ports of call with the greatest trade in said Kingdoms.*

The customs tariffs collected in the Andalusian ports were different from those collected in the Cantabrian ports and in the “dry” land ports, which were the *diezmos* of Castilla and also differed from those collected at the ports of the Aragón kingdom. At the Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa ports, the English merchandise did not pay any duty, for they were paid in the “dry” ports.

However, the main problem lied with the farmer of the Cádiz Customs during the reign of Carlos II, José Baez Eminente, for he had established important reductions in the customs tariffs which were collected in the ports of Cádiz and El Puerto de Santa María.

The Spanish negotiators explained to the English negotiators that the *alcabalas*, *cientos* and *millones* taxes were not Customs revenue, but provincial revenue... *The rights to the alcabalas, cientos and other aggregates are due for each sale and resale...*, and the *millones* was a tax on the consumption of certain foods, which was collected by the local authorities. Once the English requests were analysed, Lexington and Bedmar signed a two-column document. The requests made by Lexington were written down on the right column. The Spanish responses to these requests were added on the left column. This composition makes it possible to clearly see what was the response and the position of the Spanish Crown in regard to each English request.

Castilla transferred the agreement to the Consejo de Hacienda. It granted its approval to the majority of the considerations covered in the agreement. Carlos II died. There were ten years of war. No-one thought about the agreement again. Grimaldo was surely unaware that this agreement was supported by a dossier from the *Consejo de Castilla* and the *Consejo de Hacienda*. In 1712, Lexington requested the international recognition of the agreement.

²⁸ AHN, Estado, leg 3382, exp.11. “Memoria presentada al Rey de España de parte de la Reyna de la Gran Bretaña, por Milord Lexington sobre la dependencia del Comercio”. The response from the King of Spain to the Report from S. M. B.”

NA, *State Papers*, 108/476 “Articles of Commerce proposed by Great Britain containing the reply from the Court of Spain-Madrid 13 July 1713. In Spanish”. Ditto in French. Signed by SP108/ 475 and SP108/ 476. Ratifications of the treaties are kept.

The text was agreed upon in French and translated to Spanish. Bedmar and Lexington signed the document in Madrid on 13 July 1713²⁸.

This document sent to London was extensively discussed by the *Board of Trade and Plantations*. After many meetings with the Spanish merchants in the Board of Trade, an agreement was reached by which Spain would establish a customs tariff of 10% for its imports and exports, but at the last moment, the British backed out and wanted to continue paying the tariffs existing in Eminent's era. When the Duque de Osuna, the Spanish plenipotentiary at Utrecht, received this modification, he demanded an explanation from the Minister who had been sent by the Spanish Crown to London, the French gentleman Patricio Laules. Patricio Laules replied that he did not understand anything about commercial matters and suggested to ask Mr. Gilligan for explanations. Queen Anne was going to send Gilligan to Utrecht to explain the modifications to the English plenipotentiaries²⁹. Felipe V did not accept this article. When George I of Hannover ascended the English throne, the new Whig Government brought this trade treaty before the Parliament, which requested all the reports that the *Board of Trade and Plantations*³⁰ had issued. The Marqués de Bedmar had to sign once again on 14 December 1715, with another English emissary, George Bubb³¹, the modifications imposed by the British. If Mr. and Mrs. Stein termed the commercial contents of the treaties signed by the Spanish Crown with Holland, France and England during the 17th century: *Unequal Treaties*³², indeed the commercial treaty signed in Utrecht by the Spanish Crown with Great Britain was much more *unequal*, to the point that it established the tariffs which Spain had to apply to the value of the English merchandise, but it did not establish the same level of tariffs to be apply by Great Britain to the importation of Spanish products³³.

²⁸ AHN, Estado, leg 3387 box 1. Osuna correspondence.

²⁹ Parliamentary Archives. Records of the House of Lords. Journal Office. Main Papers 1700-1749. HL/PO/JO/10/6/250 and 251. Main Papers 3144. *Papers relating to the South Sea Company, Spanish Trade and the Asiento*.

³¹ BN, VC/852/27, Tratado de Declaracion y Explicacion sobre algunos artículos del antecedente ajustado en Utrecht entre esta Corona y la de England, sobre la Paz y el Comercio, concluido en Madrid en 14 de Diciembre de 1715.

³² Stein, J. Stanley, Stein H. Barbara *Silver, Trade, and War*. John Hopkins University Press. 2000

³³ In Spain, the *Junta de Comercio* dealt with matters of domestic commerce. When the government in those years wanted to discuss matters of foreign trade with Europe or if it wanted to modify the tariffs which were applied at the Dry Ports as it did in 1709, it used the *Junta de Extranjería of the Consejo de Estado*. AHN, Estado, legs 611, 612, Junta de Extranjeros, 1700-1711.

GERÓNIMO DE UZTÁRIZ IN THE COURT OF FELIPE V

Perhaps the most important characteristic of Felipe V's reign was the reorganisation of the structuration of the State apparatus. The *Secretarías de Despacho* were created, which were the origin of today's ministries³⁴. The State Secretaries were the direct interpreters of the King's wishes. This structure coexisted with the synodical regime of the *Consejos*. A result of the territorial losses established in the Utrecht treaties was the disappearance of the Councils of Italy and Flanders. Felipe V suppressed the Consejo de Aragón and their code of laws. The *Consejo de Castilla*, the *Consejo de Hacienda* and, above all, the *Consejo de Indias* continue to bear a great deal of weight. The best paid positions were those of Ministers and Councillors of Castilla and the Indies and the Secretaries of their headquarters. The *Secretarías de Despacho* during the first part of Felipe V's reign were split up and joined together once again according to Alberoni's wishes and afterwards by Ripperdá during their respective periods of influence on Felipe V following his marriage to Isabel de Farnesio.

Gerónimo de Uztáriz would live his life within this framework of *Secretarías de Despacho* and Councils being always a Deputy Secretary although he was about to receive that appointment of Secretary for War in 1724.

Uztáriz arrived in Spain from Sicily in 1708 to work in the *Secretaría de Despacho* for War, whose Secretary was José Grimaldo. In November 1713, he was appointed Secretary of the *Junta de Hacienda* of the Indies, made up with Councils of Indias and Finance members. We can see this appointment as a recognition of his help to Bedmar in the negotiations of the trade treaty with Great Britain.

Uztáriz worked for many years as Deputy for de War Secretary. When he published the *Theorica* in 1724, he continued working in that *Secreta-*

³⁴ Escudero, Jose Antonio, *Los Secretarios del Estado y del Despacho*. Instituto de Estudios Administrativos. Madrid. 1969. Escudero; Jose Antonio, *Los Orígenes del Consejo de Ministros*. 2 vols. Editorial Nacional. 1979.

ría, which had assumed (1714-1721) the competencies for maritime affairs in those years. In 1714, he was appointed Secretary of the *Sala de Cuentas* of the *Consejo de Hacienda*. He had to relinquish this position when the number of secretaries of the *Consejo de Hacienda* were reduced with the arrival of Alberoni. In 1724, during Luis I's brief reign, his name was considered for the post of Secretary for War³⁵. He did not obtain this appointment but was named Secretary of the *Sala de Millones* of the *Consejo de Hacienda*. He held both positions in the Consejo de Hacienda simultaneously, while still working in the Secretaría for War at the request of his superiors³⁶.

When he was appointed Secretary of the *Sala de Millones* of the *Consejo de Hacienda* in 1724, he also became the Secretary of the Royal Tobacco Board.

In 1725, while the *Theorica* was being printed, the president of the Board of Trade asked the king to reorganise it and begged him to choose Uztáriz to occupy the position of Secretary³⁷.

In 1727, he was appointed Secretary of the Board of Trade. The Board of Trade created in the middle of the 17th century, was ascribed to the *Consejo de Castilla* and it experienced a great deal of ups and downs. It never had competencies in matters of foreign trade, except for a brief period between 1704-1705 when Louis XIV's Ministers sent over two people to discuss trade with the Indies within a new commercial framework outside the bounds of the *Consejo de Indias*. These people were Daubeton and Nicholas Mesnager, who was the French plenipotentiary at Utrecht. The competencies of the Board of Trade focussed on domestic trade and the reestablishment of the factories, which had nothing to do with the competencies of Great Britain's *Board of Trade and Plantations*. In 1729, the *Junta de Moneda* was created, which regulated the Royal Mints. It merged with the Board of Trade and Gerónimo de Uztáriz was promoted to being the secretary of the new Board. Finally, in 1729, he was granted the post of Secre-

³⁵ BL, Egerton Ms 364, Ms 365, Ms 366 and Add Ms15.577. *Correspondencia de Juan Bautista Orendain, 1724-1733*.

³⁶ AHN, Estado, leg 4841.

³⁷ Larruga Boneta, Eugenio, *Historia de la Real y General Junta de Comercio, Moneda y Minas y dependencias extranjeras...* mss, Library of the Treasury Ministry.

tary of the *Consejo de Indias* for the New Spain. Uztáriz died in Madrid in January 1732³⁸.

Gerónimo de Uztáriz formed part of the Navarra group, an important lobby in the court of Felipe V. This group of Navarros, Farmers, revenue administrators and businessmen, also held posts in the Councils and *Secretarías de Despacho*. In 1683, they created a religious congregation, the Real Congregation de San Fermin de los Navarros. This religious and financial group became very powerful in the Court and Gerónimo de Uztáriz and his son Casimiro were admitted to this congregation in 1717³⁹. The patriarch of this Navarra group was, without a doubt, Juan de Goyeneche.

Throughout his career, Uztáriz issued many reports. He began in Sicily when he was Consejero de Hacienda with the Marqués de Bedmar. While in Madrid, he was asked on two occasions to draw up a report on the Royal Textile Factories of Guadalajara, which were presenting a lot of problems. The textiles produced were turning out defective and were costing the Royal Treasury a lot of money. He visited the factory in 1724 with Juan de Goyeneche and the Marqués de Torrenueva, and his advice was that the Royal Treasury had to sell the factory to a private entrepreneur who had to be an expert in the manufacturing of fine textiles. In 1727, Patiño asked him for another report⁴⁰. Uztáriz was not in favour of the Crown holding and exploiting factories. He was asked for yet another report on the textile factories of Segovia.

Gerónimo de Uztáriz married Maria Francisca Azuara y Van Sasseguem in Brussels in 1696, in the church of Santiago de Condemberg. Her father belonged to a military family in service to the Crown and her mother was a rich Flemish aristocrat. She was the niece of the director of the Military Academy, Sebastian Fernández Medrano. They had seven children. Maria Francisca died young, in 1705 in Rome, when they were travelling to Sicily. Uztáriz did not remarry. In Madrid, the family lived first in the Plaza del Cordón. In his final years, he moved to the beginning of the Calle Mayor. He devoted his life to raising his children, with the income coming from his

³⁸ Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid. The scribe Rafael Espinosa. Protocol 14.022. He had granted a power of attorney on behalf of his son Casimiro on 1 June 1730.

³⁹ Caro Baroja, Julio, *La bora navarra del siglo XVIII*. Instituto Principe de Viana. Pamplona, 1969. Sagües Azcona, Pio, *La Real Congregacion de San Fermin de los Navarros*, Madrid 1963.

⁴⁰ AGS, Secretaria de Hacienda, leg. 759.

wages and he was forever worrying about his precarious financial situation. He married off his three older daughters quite well. María Manuela married Juan Isidro Fajardo, who worked in the *Secretaría de Despacho* for Finance and had a leading post in Madrid town council. He was a bibliophile and a very learned person and was admitted to the *Real Academia Española de la Lengua* in March of 1723. He wrote the first prologue of the *Diccionario de Autoridades*. One of his daughters had married a Catalan aristocrat, José Monserrat y Peguera, the grandson of Francisco Monserrat y Vives, who had been a farmer and financier of Carlos II, who had granted him the title of Barón de Rivelles and Marqués de Tamarit⁴¹. His extensive knowledge of Catalonia which he reflected in the *Theorica* might have been provided by his son-in-law. His son Casimiro began working at a young age in the War Office, as the scribe of the Marqués de Bedmar. He became Secretary of the *Consejo de Estado y Guerra* and the Superior Notary of the Kingdom. He was a member of the *Real Academia de la Lengua*. Carlos de Borbón, King of the Two Sicilies, granted him the title of Marqués in 1739, he chose to be Marqués de Uztariz, and Felipe V recognised it as a title of Castilla. He had no children. The other son, Luis Gerónimo, went to the Indies, to Caracas, possibly to work for the *Real Compañía Guipuzcoana de Caracas*, for he travelled there on a company ship. He married a young woman in Caracas from a wealthy family, of Navarra origin. He died young. He was the father of a new Gerónimo de Uztáriz, who came to Spain, inherited the title of Marqués de Uztáriz and achieved a brilliant political career. Simón Bolívar stayed in his home in Madrid. He died without children. Luis Gerónimo's other grandchildren were heroes of the Venezuelan war of independence and they renounced their title of Castilla. The youngest of Gerónimo de Uztáriz's daughters, who was handicapped, lived with her father until he died in 1732 and then she entered the Concepcion Francisca Convent in Madrid. Despite her health issues, she was the last to die⁴².

UZTÁRIZ AND THE MARQUÉS DE SANTA CRUZ DE MARCENADO

In 1727, Alvaro Navia Osorio, the Marqués de Santa Cruz de Marcenado, sent Gerónimo de Uztáriz the first eight volumes of his *Reflexiones Mili-*

⁴¹ Sanz Ayan, Carmen, *Los Banqueros de Carlos II*. Valladolid 1989.

⁴² Archivo de Protocolos de Madrid, Scribe Rafael Espinosa, protocols 14.022, and 14.066.

*tares*⁴³, which he had published in Turin between 1724 and 1727. He was the Spanish ambassador in Turin.

Uztáriz read the work and replied in a very long missive. This is the only written document we have of Uztáriz that was not sent to the Crown⁴⁴. He expressed his deep gratitude for the deference shown to him by sending him the work (eight volumes, folio size). In the first part of his comments, he devoted a lot of space to explaining the new method of waging war, with the use of bayonets in the infantry and heavy artillery for taking the fortified settlements⁴⁵. The Marqués de Santa Cruz de Marcenado organised a gathering in his home in Turin and Uztáriz thought that his comments might be read aloud at those meetings.

He writes as an expert in military strategy. He describes for a non-military public, how the infantry with the fixed bayonets had to face the enemy infantry on flat land, without shooting their guns, the whole battalion moving forward together to reach the right distance *to attack*... He explained how the infantry had to face the enemy cavalry and not fire until they were 15 to 20 paces away. As the cavalry had to fight the enemy with sword in hand, the squadron had to advance all together and at a steady trot. He added that: *The Spanish cavalry often advanced with too much passion and celerity, thus losing the advantage of moving ahead in formation and united.*

He spoke of the importance of military training: It would be highly useful as well for the armies to practise marching the troops forward, charging and fighting in this way, so that it would become second nature to them and they could perform and observe with greater *facility*⁴⁶.

In order to explain how the massive and intensive use of the heavy artillery had modified the systems of attack against the fortresses, he described how Namur was taken in 1695 by the troops under William of Oran-

⁴³ *Reflexiones Militares del Mariscal de Campo don Alvaro Navia Osorio, Vizconde del Puerto o Marqués de Santa Cruz de Marcenado*. Turin 1724-1727. Paris 1730. 11 vols.

⁴⁴ Biblioteca de la Universidad de Barcelona. Ms 174 "Dictamen de don Gerónimo de Uztáriz sobre los libros Reflexiones Militares del Exmo. Marqués de S. Cruz." Copy of manuscript with 110 folios. The manuscript comes from the library of the Convento de Santa Caterina of the Dominican Order, which was a public library from 1714 until the Disentailment.

⁴⁵ Parker, Geoffrey, *The Military Revolution*. Cambridge University Press. 1990.

⁴⁶ M Neill, William H, *Keeping Together in Time*. Harvard University Press. 1995.

ge. He experienced the siege of Namur. The setting he described is terrifying indeed.

He stressed that it is more difficult to command an army than to govern a country, because: In the urgent and unexpected circumstances of a battle, standing before the enemies and in a state of terror and panic which may often affect even the most veteran of armies, there is usually not any time to waste and the most appropriate decision has to be taken immediately... The survival of a kingdom could depend on the results of a single battle.

These comments reflect Uztáriz's participation in the battles fought in the Netherlands and also reveal to us a person of great humanity. He was concerned with the fate of the prisoners of war, quoted Pufendorf and Hugo Grotio and declared: *The life of a citizen is worth more than the death of many enemies.*

He felt that it is necessary to negotiate in order to *avoid wars.*

Happy the war which ends with compassion and forgiveness.

He concluded by stating that the major interest of the European nations when they signed the treaties to end the wars was the advancement of their own trade and commerce and the extension of their navigations: *and it will continue to be this way in the future.*

He knew that Marcenado had been a Spanish plenipotentiary in the Soissons Congress. He mentioned that more efforts should be made to amend the conditions stipulated in the Utrecht treaties.

He signed his comments on 20 September 1727 and expressed the great praise his admirable work deserved.

In 1732, after Uztáriz's death, the Marqués de Santa Cruz de Marcenado published a book on Commerce and the Navy⁴⁷. In the pages he dedi-

⁴⁷ *Rapsodia Económica, Política, Monárquica. Comercio suelto y en compañías, general y particular en Méjico, Perú, Filipinas y Moscovia. Por el marqués de Santa Cruz de Marcenado. Comandante General de Ceuta y Teniente General de los Ejércitos de su Majestad. Madrid. 1732.*

cated to the reader, he praised Gerónimo de Uztáriz excessively in a very baroque language which is today very difficult to interpret. He defended himself against the idea that he had plagiarised Uztáriz. He stated that he had received the *Theorica* while he was in Turin, on 15 August 1732. He had sent the manuscript of his book to the King with a letter to Grimaldo, on 5 May 1727, and said: *I did not have the good fortune to speak twice with the author, nor are we countrymen or relatives, nor dependent on anything in his Tribunal.* I think, after carefully reading the pages he dedicated to the reader, he did not like the long and painstaking comments Uztáriz sent him regarding his work *Reflexiones Militares*. He waited until after Uztáriz died to publish his *Rapsodia*, with a quite evident criticism of him: *Mr. Uztáriz's death induces us to cry over his loss, more than sing his praises.* Marcenado did not know that he himself would die at the end of August of that same year, decapitated in the siege of Oran.

The rivalry between Sevilla and Cádiz to control trade with the Indies began in the middle of the 17th century. It was the special system of trade with the Indies which led to the insufficiency of the Sevillian harbour. The fact that the Bay of Cádiz offered unlimited possibilities for fraud did the rest⁴⁸.

In 1717, Andrés Pez, *Consejo de Indias* Chairman, had convinced powerful Alberoni to move from Sevilla to Cádiz the institutions that trade with the Indies, the Casa de Contratación and the Consulate of the Indies. The King signed the corresponding decrees. Alberoni commissioned José Patiño to carry out this transfer and entrusted him with the presidency of the *Casa de Contratación*⁴⁹. In 1719 Sevilla sent the Marqués de Thous to the Court to ask these institutions be returned to the city. The King requested reports from Pez and Patiño. Sevilla continued insisting and finally the Secretary of State Grimaldo managed to convince the King to set up a Junta (working group) to analyse the reasons for the transfer and that its members issue their votes as to where these institutions should be established⁵⁰. The Marqués de Miraval, *Consejo de Castilla* Chairman, would preside over the working group, and he summoned those responsible for the transfer, the *Consejo de Indias* Chairman, Andrés Pez and José Patiño who was the presiding over President of the *Casa de la Contratación*. Patiño also had the top post in the Navy. Alberoni had already fallen in disgrace. Francisco Varas Valdés, attended, he had presided over the Casa de Contratación prior to Patiño arrival. Other public officials from the Councils attended too and a representative of the city of Sevilla and another from Cádiz. *Consejo de Castilla* Chairman asked the King to appoint Gerónimo de Uztáriz as the Secretary of the working group and that he should also issue his vote like the rest of those attending.

⁴⁸ Chaunu, Huguette et Pierre, *Seville et l'Atlantique*. 1955. *Seville et l'Amerique aux XVI et XVII siècles* 1977.

⁴⁹ Girard, Albert, *La Rivalité Commerciale et Maritime entre Séville et Cadix jusqu'à la fin du XVIII siècle*. Paris, Bordeaux. 1932.

⁵⁰ AHN, Estado, leg 2933.

All of the work Uztáriz carried out as the Secretary of said Junta during the months of October, November and December of 1722, and all the information he handled would be reflected two years later in the *Theorica*.

Consejo de Castilla Chairman accused *Consejo de Indias* Chairman of having personal interests in the *South Sea Company* and for that reason he had prevented the departure of the Flotas y Galeones in 1722, so that the *navio de registro* of the Company of the Asiento could sell their merchandise more advantageously.

Both *Consejo de Indias* Chairman as well as José Patiño had considered it an insult to be called for attendance when their reports had been issued in 1720. They did not want to sit down together with the other members of the working group.

Uztáriz as Secretary of the Junta received all the documents and reports which were kept in the Consejo de Indias and in the *Secretaría de Despacho* de Indias referring to the matter. He ordered the printing of the documents and distributed them to the members of the *Junta*⁵¹. This recompilation had a detailed index at the beginning. When the votes were issued, the result was an absolute majority in favour of the institutions returning to Sevilla. Uztáriz then drew up a report for Felipe V with the summary of all the reports of the members of the Junta, the results of the voting and a brief history of the Junta. He sent the King this summary on 31 December 1722, with all the members votes and his own vote. His majesty had granted him this power: *In view of his great knowledge in regard to how Trade was carried out throughout all of Europe and his extensive experience obtained outside of Spain*⁵².

⁵¹ AMS, Papeles del Marqués de Mejorada, tomo 2, nº 20 Recopilación de *diferentes resoluciones y ordenes de Su Majestad, Consultas, Informes y Dictámenes de Tribunales, Ministros y Generales, Representaciones de Sevilla y Cádiz, Sondeos y Reconocimiento de la Barra de San Lucar, y del Rio Guadalquivir desde la Mar a Sevilla, y otros papeles sobre si la Casa de Contratación, el Consulado y la tabla y Juzgado de Indias, debe residir en Sevilla, Cádiz o en otra parte...*

⁵² AMS, Papeles del Marqués de Mejorada. Tomo 2, nº 27. *Consulta que hizo al Rey (que dios guarde) Don Gerónimo de Uztáriz como Secretario de la Junta mandada formar el año 1722. Remitiendo a Su Majestad los Votos and Dictámenes que se expusieron en la expresada Junta, sobre la Contienda de las dos ciudades de Sevilla and Cádiz.*

In his vote⁵³, Uztáriz was inclined towards the Tribunals returning to Sevilla. He analysed which kind were more appropriate for the Atlantic navigation. He did not question the system of Flotas y Galeones, nor did he venture an opinion on the trade companies. He devoted several pages to the subject of maritime security on the Spanish and American coasts. Uztáriz thought that the Armada's ships and the merchant ships should not coincide in the same port due to the inconveniences that this could cause. Naval enlistment on the warships and the merchant ships in the same port would mean an increase in the salaries and would make enlistment more difficult. The prices and salaries were much higher in Cádiz than in the rest of Spain. In his report, Uztáriz openly challenged Patiño. He argued that the positions of the President of the *Casa de Contratación* and the *Intendente General* of the *Armada* should not be carry out by the same Minister, positions which José Patiño held in 1722.

The *Theorica* contained many pages of *Uztariz's Voto* without mentioning the origin. Data on textile production in Sevilla and data about Cádiz Customs he had known from the Ministers of the Junta and by reading their reports.

When Felipe V was once again on the throne, and possibly in December of 1725 or January of 1726, he received the *Theorica* from Uztáriz, he knew perfectly well who Gerónimo de Uztáriz was. In 1723, months before abandoning the throne, the last thing he had been given to read, were the *Votos* of the Ministers of the Junta and Uztáriz's report, summarising all the positions.

⁵³ AMS, Papeles del Marqués de Mejorada, tomo 2, *Voto de don Gerónimo de Uztáriz, Secretario de la Junta, mandada formar para el examen de la restitución de los Tribunales, y otros puntos, a la ciudad de Sevilla; a quien S.M. concedió la facultad de que tuviese voto en dicha Junta, en atención a lo muy instruido que se ballaba del modo de hacerse los Comercios en toda Europa, por sus grandes experiencias, adquiridas fuera de España.* There are two copies of Uztari's *Voto* in the British Library.

THE *THEORICA*

Uztáriz stated in his Dedication that his speeches and reasonings *might seem more jumbled rather than carefully distributed*, because he lacked the time to organise the contents better. He probably began to compose the book when Felipe V assumed the throne again in September of 1724. This book must be read with a great deal of attention.

Uztáriz furnished a lot of information and made many calculations in order to provide the necessary reasonings for his arguments. He obtained the information he furnished because of the posts he held in the *Consejo de Hacienda* and in the *Secretaría de Despacho* for War, which also dealt with Navy affairs, from 1715 to 1721. In 1719, all the affairs of the Board of Trade had been transferred to this *Secretaría de Despacho*. The Board of Trade was responsible for the re-establishment of the factories.

He explained in the first chapters and throughout his work that there were many Councils and *Secretarías de Despacho* Ministers who opposed the measures he proposed. For this reason, he insisted on presenting the data to show that the policy which he proposed to Felipe V was feasible and really the only one which could help Spain recover from the crisis.

He tried to describe the causes why Spain's manufacturing industry was on the decline, especially the silk and wool textile industries, and how they could be recovered.

He explained what he considered was useful commerce. Useful Commerce was selling more to the foreigners than what was bought from them. The decay of our textile production was due to the high price at which the textiles reached the final Spanish consumer and the foreign consumer. The very low tariffs on imports of foreign textiles made it possible for them to reach the interior of the peninsula at prices which were much lower than the Spanish textiles. Uztáriz thought that this was one of the reasons for the major decline of the Spanish textile industry. Another one of the reasons was the cascading tax on the sales, the *alcabala* tax and the tax on food.

Salaries in Spain were high to compensate for the high taxes applied to the consumer goods; it was necessary to lower the taxes on some of the goods which the workers consumed. In order to lower the price, the consumers had to pay for the Spanish textiles, he proposed eliminating the *alcabala* tax and the *cientos* tax on the first wholesale sale of the textiles. In order to prevent the foreign textiles from invading the domestic market, he proposed raising the tariffs on imports and situating them at the same level as those in force in other countries, like England and France.

In order to increase our exports, the Spanish products had to compete in price with the foreign ones. It was necessary to reduce as much as possible the tariffs on exports for goods manufactured in Spain. To reduce the tariffs on imports of raw materials which were used in the production process was necessary. To modify the imports and exports tariffs could be done as long as it was permitted under the existing peace and trade treaties. He did not appear to be in favour of imposing prohibitions on imports.

As a result of the deficit of the Spanish commercial balance, millions of pesos had to leave Spain every year. This deficit was set at 15 million pesos annually. There were not enough silver coins in Spain to carry out transactions and so copper was used with all the inconveniences that it caused in regard to the payment of large amounts. He said that in many places it was necessary to resort to bartering.

On the products shipped to the Indies in *Flotas y Galeones*, the same thing occurred; the Spanish manufactured products were being sent to the Indies at prices which could not compete with the English, Dutch and French products, due to the taxes they had to pay in successive sales and the export tariffs. As a result, they were no longer being shipped.

THE SPANISH POPULATION

In order to justify that his proposals were feasible, he calculated the Spanish population. The population supplied the workers to operate the looms which he proposed to re-establish and this same population paid the taxes which filled the Crown's Treasury. Would there be enough of a population to work on those future looms? Was the emigration to America the reason behind the lack of the people in many provinces?

He published a list of the figures regarding the population according to provinces, for Castilla and for the Kingdom of Aragón, Kingdom of Valencia, Kingdom of Murcia, the Principality of Catalonia, Kingdom of Mallorca, Kingdom of Navarra, Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa and Alava. He estimated the population to be 7,500,000 people and explained how he had reached that figure, based on the lists of the local communities which he had at his disposal in the *Consejo de Hacienda* and which had been requested by its chairman⁵⁴.

His estimate of number of people would be used to evaluate the demand for textiles and food by the Spanish population.

He explained that there were enough people in Spain for the most demanding and gruelling trades like that of shepherd:

*In short, if there be not want of hands in Spain for the most rigorous employments, in particular to supply the numerous body of sheperds we have, and stand in need of, whose occupation is the most laborious and severe that can be imagined, exposed as they are to the rigours of heat, cold and wet, ill fed and worse clothed, having the desert of lodging, rocks for a pillow, and brutes for their companions, ever banished from all the conveniences of life; why is it to be imagined (so long as there are such persons) we shall ever fail of hands for manufacturers, which are wrought in the shade, and without excess of fatigue, which deprive us not of human society, and purchase wholesome diet, decent cloths, a convenient lodging, and a comfortable bed? As then we have a large body of sheperds, to take care of our numerous flocks, we must conclude, that if many profitable branches in the weaving trade were set on foot... there will be plenty of weavers*⁵⁵.

This plastic description allows us to discover his opinion about the economy based on wool exports which reigned in Spain.

⁵⁴ The President of the Consejo de Hacienda and the Secretario de Despacho de Hacienda was Juan del Río González, whom Felipe V had granted the title of Marqués de Campoflorido in 1707. Prior to become President of the Consejo de Hacienda, he had been a farmer, and money-lender of the Crown. He died in March of 1725. When I found in the inventory of his assets the contents of his library, I was surprised to see that he did not have a copy of the *Theorica*. I thought then that it had been published in 1724. That is the reason why it was not in his library, because it had not yet been published. He had *Comercio de Holland*. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid. Protocol 15.163. Scribe Pedro del Campillo.

⁵⁵ *Theorica*, Chapter XI p. 20.

It would be necessary to gather the poor, the lazy and the vagabonds, who lived on the alms and the soup provided by the convents, and the scavengers, and put them all to work.

He did not believe that the emigration to America was the cause for the depopulation of many provinces. The poor and deserted situation existing in several provinces of Spain, was not due to those who had gone off to the Indies... *Cantabria, Navarra, Asturias, Montañas de Burgos and Galicia were the Provinces from which the largest number of Spaniards went to those Regions... and they are still the most populated in Spain. They also do not cease to contribute a great deal, the Indianos themselves, with the fortunes they bring back with them or send to their families and diverse relatives... They sent them money so that they could get married and work their lands and fix their dwellings*⁵⁶.

The lack of industry was the reason why the population did not increase and the reason for their poverty. He described that poverty most vividly: *That percentage of the population which lived only on bread and water, ran barefoot and practically naked, the children who died soon after birth, due to a major shortage of sustenance, for a lack of food clearly limits life spans.*

THE CROWN'S REVENUES

He enumerates and describes the revenues of the Crown.

He published this information because he considered this data would condition all of his proposals and to show the limited importance of the customs revenue on the overall total of the Crown's income. In the England of 1750, the revenue from Customs was the second source of income for the Crown after the *land tax*.

The royal income was divided according to provincial and general sources. He published a list of all his majesty's revenues in 1722. Therefore, we know about the fiscal structure with great detail. Some taxes as the alcava-

⁵⁶ *Theorica*, Chapter XII. Uztáriz spoke about the Guipuzcoanos and Vizcaínos but when he made reference to the territory, he always spoke about Cantabria. What is today Cantabria and previously the province of Santander was then the Montañas de Burgos.

la were collected by provinces in the kingdom of Castilla. They were called provincial revenues. He published the revenues collected in all provinces of the kingdom of Castilla

In view of this initial piece of information, we know that 30% of the Crown's revenues came from the provincial taxes of Castilla, made up mainly of the *alcabalas*, the four *unos por ciento*, and the *millones*, plus the amounts to be paid by Catalonia, Aragón, Valencia and Mallorca. The *alcabalas* plus the *cuatro unos por ciento* (14%) were collected on all the sales which were produced in the lands of the Castilian Crown. The *millones* were collected on food and daily consumption, oil, wine, meat, fish..., and soap and candles.

He stated that when the *Fueros de Aragón* were abolished, certain distributions were set up for Catalonia, Aragón, Valencia and Mallorca, and he specified the amounts for these distributions. In Catalonia, this distribution was called the *Catastro*. Uztáriz thought that the charging of the *Catastro* was excessive. A total of 10% of the annual product was collected on all the farming and pasture revenue, and 10% on the earnings of the merchants and the masters of mechanical arts. The *Catastro* had been established by José Patiño. When Uztáriz criticized the excessive taxation, which had been established in Catalonia, he was criticizing the work of the powerful Minister José Patiño⁵⁷.

The importance of this revenue as a fundamental component of the Crown's revenues was the reason why he proposed franchises only on certain consumer products subject to the tribute of the *millones* and he only recommended eliminating the *alcabalas* and *cientos* on the first wholesale sale of the textiles.

The second source of revenue of the Crown was the tax on tobacco. the income from the tobacco, and the third was the tax on salt. Each of these revenues exceeded from Customs.

What was the revenue which the Crown received from the Indies? The revenue from the Indies scarcely reached 10% of the Crown's income. The income the Crown received from the organisation of the traffic of *Flotas y Galeones* (Fleets and Galleons) was the same amount.

⁵⁷ *Theorica*, Chapter CI.

The revenue from Customs did not represent even 10% of the Crown's total revenues. The revenue from Customs that contributed the most to the public treasury was the wool exports, which made up 30% of the total of the revenue from Customs. The second revenue was the almojarifazgo de Sevilla which did not reach 20%, and the diezmos from the Mar de Castilla followed. The Cádiz Customs, which was the most active port of the Spanish Crown, did not collect even 5% of the total income obtained by Customs.

15% of the value of all products imported or exported through the sea ports of Castilla was collected. This amount was part the Customs revenue. Nevertheless. In another place, he stated that the average amount collected was in fact 8%, except at the Cádiz Customs, where 3% to 5% was collected.

The impoverished situation endured by the general population had been the reason for the reduction of the Crown's revenues, because as the Crown's revenues were based on the taxes paid on consumption, if the population did not consume food due to their poverty, they did not pay the *millones* tax. If they did not buy textiles, they did not pay the *alcabalas*.

TAX MANAGEMENT

Felipe V's Ministers proposed to him that to modify the tax system management once the Treaties of Utrecht were signed, when they became aware of the problems involved in having so many farmers for the provincial revenues and for the Customs. In December of 1713, the *Consejo de Hacienda* ordered that each province would have only one farmer for all the provincial revenue, for up until then, the Real Hacienda had 80 different farmers. This measure was highly criticized because there were few subjects who had *enough volume* to concur in these biddings. He listed the names of all the farmers for the provincial taxes according to each province before 1714 and the names of the farmers when they were unified according to provinces. He also evaluated the amount collected in 1714 and in 1724: 10% more in 1724. Why did he give the list of names of all the farmers prior to 1714? I believe we have to look for the answer in the Jewish origin of some of these farmers. There was an increased persecution of the

Jews, between 1716 and 1725. The Jewish families with the greatest influence on economic life and who had supported the Archduke during the War of Succession were forced to leave Spain, and they chose London. Many were farmers. There were also many *autos de fe* in the first third of the 18th century, where farmers of Jewish origin from Andalucía suffered very harsh sentences⁵⁸.

The Customs revenue that was farmed to 12 subjects was transferred to be administered by the *Consejo de Hacienda* by a joint decree of 8 December 1714, from the *Consejo de Hacienda y de Castilla*. The negotiators of the trade treaty with Great Britain had experienced quite a number of problems with the behaviour of the Customs farmers

Another of the measures related to Customs was the intention of creating a single domestic market. In 1717, the *Consejo de Hacienda* decided that Customs should be set up in the seaports where there were coasts and at the borders with France and Portugal, so that the people could trade freely throughout the entire *interior of the Kingdom*. This was carried out without any problems except for Navarra and Cantabria (Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa); the Vizcaínos, Guipuzcoanos and Navarros sent agents to Madrid and they were successful in 1722 in having Felipe V revoke this Royal Charter for Navarra and Cantabria⁵⁹ and the Customs were once again set up in the old towns. Uztáriz was in favour of this unification of the domestic market but he agreed to comply with the wishes of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa. The Kingdoms of the Crown of Aragón did not oppose the elimination of the domestic customs in 1717 and moving them to the border with France and the seaports.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND WOOL EXPORTS

The migratory sheep, the merino lambs, could be calculated at 4 million head and the number of shepherds who tended the flocks at 20,000. That large number of merino heads was the reason for the *high price of the yer-*

⁵⁸ Caro Baroja, Julio, *Los Judíos en la España moderna y Contemporánea*. 1978.

⁵⁹ Uztáriz uses the word Cantabria to refer to Guipuzcoa and Vizcaya.

vas (pasture land) in Extremadura. The number of heads of stabled sheep, which were not in Extremadura, was higher. There were 40,000 shepherds who tended all kinds of sheep, the migratory and the stabled ones.

A total of 200,000 *arrobas* of fine wool were exported each year.

Only 10,000 looms were still active in Spain. The most outstanding decline in the Spanish textile industry was found in Sevilla where the number went from 16,000 looms to 400. Every loom required three or four workers on the average. There was, then, the same number of shepherds as workers in the textile industry.

To calculate the value of the domestic textile consumption, Uztariz used his estimates of the number of inhabitants. The domestic consumption of textiles and underclothing was calculated to be 33 million *pesos*.

Each loom produced textiles worth 700 *pesos* a year. As there were only 10,000 active looms, the difference had to be imported. England, France and Holland supplied Spain and the Indies with textiles particularly those of quality. Uztáriz thought that 60,000 more looms could be set up throughout Spain.

The export tariffs on fine wool exported of the merino variety, had to be raised contrary to what some subjects thought, who advocated reducing that tariff, because it was prejudicial to the livestock owners. He argued with a great deal of facts and figures how the foreign demand for this raw material was stable. It was a widespread custom throughout all of Europe and America among *individuals of distinction* to wear suits made of fine wool. The only country which exported fine merino wool was Spain. In England, the exporting of wool was prohibited under penalty of death because they did not have enough to supply their own textile industry. The textile industry in France and Holland also needed Spanish wool. Uztáriz did not propose prohibiting the extraction of fine wool because there were not enough looms in Spain to weave it. Not even half of the wool production could be used. He thought that the tariff could be raised by 25% and the English would continue to buy it, but in order to avoid political international problems he proposed raising it only 5% and not applying any reductions at Customs.

He also considered that the extraction of ordinary wool should not be prohibited because the large amount of ordinary wool from all the herds could not be woven in Spain as well, due to the limited number of looms in operation.

The ordinary wool paid when exported the same export tariffs as the fine wool.

With the arrival of George I, the English Parliament revised in August of 1714 the trade treaty with Spain signed by Queen Anne's Tory government. The Parliament once again contacted the *Board of Trade and Plantations* and to learn about the opinions of the English weavers who consumed the Spanish merino wool. The new government was going to send Methuen as ambassador to Madrid. Methuen wanted to know about the tariffs for exporting Spanish wool. He asked the Commissioners of the *Board* if it would be necessary to pressure Spain to reduce the tariff on wool exports. The Commissioners consulted then with the factors of *Blackwell Hall*. *Blackwell Hall* was the great English textile market, where they sold the wool and dyes to the textile manufacturers and furnished them with credit. At the same time, all the English textiles for exportation also left from *Blackwell Hall*. The factors said that it made no sense for the fine wool and the ordinary wool to pay the same export tariff but that was what happened in Spain. If the tariff on the ordinary wool bought by the French and English was lowered, this would benefit the French who had lower production costs than the British. The fine wool was only bought by the British. The factors considered that if the Spaniards were so stupid to have the same duty applied to both types of wool, that was their problem. They added that the export tariffs on manufactured products would only be detrimental to the Spaniards, and so they considered there was no need not be modified. However, if the export tariff on *cochineal* was raised in Spain to 10%, the *scarlet* textiles would become 3% more expensive.

We will see that Uztáriz did not fall into the category of "stupid".

PROBLEMS WITH THE ROMAN CURIA

The conflictive relations between the Spanish Crown and the Roman Curia date back for centuries⁶⁰. The situation became intolerable when Clement XI recognised Archduke Carlos in 1709 as the patron of the Spanish churches. This was, in fact, like recognising him as the King of Spain. The ambassador of Spain before the Holy See, the Duque de Uceda, left Rome and Felipe V expelled the His Holiness's Nuncio. At the end of the War of Succession, Rome had no choice but to recognise Felipe V. The problems between the Curia and the Spanish monarch affected the royal privileges, the King's usufruct of the vacant mitres, and, on the other hand, *the abuses committed by the Dataría*, the payment by the Spanish population of taxes to the Dataría in order to obtain dispensations and special graces. In order to resolve these serious problems, a concordat was signed in 1717 which did not really solve anything. The relations were severed once again in 1718 when Spain launched its campaign against Sardinia. The Nunciature was not reopened in Madrid until 1720. The situation grew worse with the accession of Spain to the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, the peace treaty with the Empire and the signing of the Treaty of Sevilla in November of 1729, which recognised Prince Carlos's rights to the dukedoms of Parma and Plasencia. Rome considered Parma and Plasencia pontifical fiefdoms.

If the reader is unaware of these facts, he or she may be surprised by the chapters which Uztáriz interspersed in the dense text of the *Theorica*, in which he criticized and condemned certain practices related to the clergy and the Roman Curia. In the end, he was giving the Crown arguments to use in its tense relations with the Roman Curia.

He criticized the millions of escudos which were sent to Rome every year to pay for the graces and pardons which the *Dataría* prepared for the Pope's signature. He made mention of the Memorial which Juan Chumaceo presented to His Holiness in 1633, in which he listed the different offenses committed by the Roman Curia against the Spanish Crown⁶¹. This criti-

⁶⁰ Olachea, Rafael, S.I. *Las Relaciones Hispano-Romanas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. La agencia de preces*. 2 volumes. Introduction by Antonio Mestre. Asociación Española de Historia Moderna. Institución Fernando el Católico. 1999.

⁶¹ *Theorica*, Chapter III.

cism was included in Chapter 3, that is, the reader encounters it immediately. He did not make any reference, however, to the problem of the privileges. He only mentioned the economic damages caused to the Spanish Crown by the practices imposed by the Roman Curia and the Holy See.

At another point, he spoke about how numerous the ecclesiastic state was, both secular and regular, in Spain, and despite the fact that the population in many provinces had declined considerably, the ecclesiastic state had not been reduced. He asked that no more convents or monasteries be authorised⁶².

He protested about the excessive number of fair days and holy days established by the Church on which people were not allowed to work either in the factories or in the fields.

He complained about the number of days which the Church established for abstinence, when one could not eat meat or eggs or milk or butter. There were 120 days a year in the Crown of Castille and 160 in the Crown of Aragón and Navarra. Eating meat on Saturdays was prohibited in the Crown of Aragón. In many convents and monasteries, meat could not be eaten any day of the year. This meant that it was necessary to eat salted fish, especially cod, which was imported. Uztáriz calculated the cost of the consumption of cod in Spain to be three million pesos. This cod was brought to Spain by the English. He thought that the Spanish Crown should ask the Pope to reduce the number of days of abstinence which were a gain for the enemies of the Catholic religion, were increasing the deficit of the Spanish balance of trade⁶³. This reduction in the number of days of obligatory abstinence did not take place until 1755, after the signing of the Concordat of 1753 by Benedict XIV and Fernando VI.

⁶² *Theorica*, Chapter XVIII.

⁶³ *Theorica*, Chapter CVII.

THE DEFENSE POLICY

We do not know why Uztáriz decided “to bury” in the middle of the *Theorica* a series of highly technical chapters discussing the proportion which must exist between the land and the sea forces. He calculated the cost of his project to have a more powerful Navy. He analysed the means for financing his proposal, having in mind the state of the Crown’s revenues. Uztáriz thought that the Crown had many regiments, land forces, and very few ships of war, *in a very extreme and dangerous disproportion*. The Crown needed a powerful Navy. He could have placed this block of chapters at the end and yet he placed them in the middle of the work, as if he was hiding them.

He wrote in 1724 that the Army had 73,000 soldiers in pay, 59,000 in the infantry and 14,000 in the cavalry. He mentioned that the existing men of war could not make up an average squadron. He proposed to have a fleet of fifty ships, with between 50 and 100 guns, even though he thought that most of them should have 60 guns, and 20 frigates with 10 to 40 cannons and 8 galleys.

He proposed reducing the army to 60,000 men, 50,000 foot and 10,000 horses. The proportion had to be one vessel for every 1,000 men in the infantry.

He explained how this proposal could be financed with the reduction of the budget for the army and relying on an allotment the Navy had in the budget of 1724 of 2 million escudos. He used data furnished by Francisco Varas Valdés to support his proposals. He was convinced that this proposal would be financially feasible. The vessels would not have to always be armed due to their high cost. In times of peace, they could be chartered by private parties and could be used for the *Carrera de Indias*. In this way, the Spanish coasts could be protected and the *Armada* of Barlovento reinforced to prevent illegal trade, from Jamaica and the French islands in the Gulf of Mexico.

This proposal would be the information most valued when the translation of the *Theorica* into English was proposed. Nowadays, we would classify it as highly confidential information, not to be published.

THE INDIES

The subject of the Indies represents a significant gap in the *Theorica*. Uztáriz spoke of regulating the traffic of *Flotas y Galeones*, so that they could go out every year, but the Indies would be useless to Spain if they could not be supplied with Spanish goods. The treasures sent from the Indies did not alleviate the situation of the monarchy, for according to Uztáriz once they reached Cádiz port and bay they passed into the hands of the enemies of Spain. He cited the author of *Comercio de Holanda*: All of the mines of America were barely sufficient to pay for the merchandise and goods which the rest of the European nations sent to Spain.

He only worried about the impossibility of furnishing products manufactured in Spain to meet the demand on the continent and he did not contemplate the immense wealth which the English and French were obtaining with the cultivation of sugar cane on the Caribbean islands, *the Sugar Islands*⁶⁴.

He calculated the large consumption of sugar in Spain. He considered it to be roughly 300,000 *arrobos*, which would be equivalent to more than 3,000 tons. This amount was imported, *because the factories in Granada were highly limited*. Spain spent 1 million pesos on these sugar imports. In those years, the English were producing sugar in Barbados, Jamaica and their other Caribbean islands. The French were surpassing the sugar production of Jamaica, with 10,000 tons annually in the Western part of the Española island, *Saint Domingue*, which they had occupied at the end of the 17th century⁶⁵. They did so by importing massive amounts of black slaves from the African coast as manpower for these exploitations. Portugal produced sugar in Brazil. Uztáriz did not propose promoting the sugar cane production in Cuba, Puerto Rico and in the western part of the *Española* island, by importing more slaves and cancelling the tax which had to be paid for each slave brought in, which would have increased their price. He proposed re-establishing the sugar factories along the Granada coast, reducing the *alcabalas*, *cientos* and *millones* taxes, which were paid with sugar

⁶⁴ Dwyer Amussen, Susan, *The Caribbean Exchanges. Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700*. The University of North Carolina Press. 2007.

⁶⁵ Deerr, Noel, *The History of Sugar*. 2 vols. Chapman & Hall. London, 1949.

when they left the factories, and which represented 25% of its price. The *Asiento de Negros* signed with England in some way limited the importing of black slaves to Spanish America and so made it impossible to develop sugar production in the Spanish Caribbean islands.

In his comments on Marcenado's *Reflexiones Militares*, Uztáriz analysed the relations with the American continent and emphasized the importance of "navigation" and the relations between the two viceroyalties, Nueva España and Peru: "*The Monarchy is dominant especially in America where it possesses very rich and very extensive regions that occupy almost all the area lying between Pole and Pole and they need a well-regulated navigation and a very current trade between them, and with the kingdoms of the continent of Spain*". This could only be accomplished with many and good vessels⁶⁶.

THE *THEORICA* AND THE TREATIES OF UTRECHT

The contents of the trade treaty which were first discussed in Madrid in January of 1713 and finally signed at Utrecht in December of 1713 heavily affected the contents of the *Theorica*. The Customs tariffs paid in the Spanish ports, the comparison between the import tariffs paid in Spain and those paid in England, France and Holland, the Customs at the Cádiz port, are just some of the subjects that are repeated throughout the chapters. Sometimes he refers to the treaty without naming it. In some chapters the references to Utrecht Treaties are straightforward.

In the chapters he dedicated to the English foreign trade policy he includes the translation of the Navigation Act approved by the Parliament in 1660, *as a clearer proof of the effectual provisions made by the English to extend their navigation and commerce; and their haughty and absolute manner of resolving and carrying into execution, whatever they please, and is subservient to their purpose, without regard to treaties of peace, or any other considerations*⁶⁷. Kippax translated literally the Spanish text. He didn't censor it.

⁶⁶ Uztáriz, *Dictamen*, pp. 192-194.

⁶⁷ *Theorica*, Chapter XXX.

He informed of all the products whose importation was prohibited in England and the high tariffs which were paid for the rest of the products imported, like wine or *eau de vie*, he added: *Without regard to treaties of peace and commerce; and yet frequent remonstrances are made by the English to this and other courts, earnestly soliciting, that upon the faith of the treaties, no higher duties be laid upon what they import into, and export out of other countries, never considering that these engagements, if they mean anything, should mutually take place in both dominions; for any other supposition is repugnant to common sense, the intent and the spirit of the very treaties...*⁶⁸

From the very beginning of the negotiations of the commercial treaty, the English asked that their merchandise pay, when they entered any port in Spain, the tariffs that were paid in the port of Cádiz and El Puerto de Santa Maria, in late of King Carlos II time.

Uztáriz explained that Don Francisco Eminente, farmer of the Cádiz Customs, was the one who reduced the import tariffs and left them at between 3% to 5%, instead of at the 15% established by the Royal Order. He does not state that Felipe IV was aware of the reductions made by Eminente. But he added: *This abuse, which is our disgrace, is so deeply rooted that it still persists in Cádiz and with universal damage for all of Spain...*⁶⁹

Not only did Eminente lower the tariffs on the English products but he also did the same for the French and Dutch products. He signed agreements with the merchants of the different nations, which were private agreements, known as Eminente's Conventions. Spain became overrun with textiles and products manufactured abroad. Cádiz practically became a duty-free port. Uztáriz added that Eminente did this: *Seeking abusively greater gains...* Uztáriz held him responsible for the decline of the textile industries in Sevilla. Francisco Baez Eminente was a powerful farmer of Jewish origin who died in an Inquisition jail in 1698.

Uztáriz did not mention the concessions Felipe IV granted to the English merchants under the royal charters of 1645, as compensation for the sums of money which these businessmen had given him. These conces-

⁶⁸ *Theorica*, Chapter LXXXII.

⁶⁹ *Theorica*, Chapter LXXIX.

sions made it impossible to control the entry into the bay of Cádiz of the English vessels to be loaded in *Flotas y Galeones*, when the English were still not settled in Jamaica, and the only way to send merchandise to the Indies was via Cádiz.

In Chapter 87, when he proposed promoting fishing in Spain, he clearly explained that Article 15 of the Peace Treaty signed between Spain and England in 1713 was not being respected. It was stipulated therein that even though Terranova went from France to England, the Vizcaínos and Guipuzcoanos could continue fishing for cod, as they had been doing for centuries. However, the English, after Utrecht, did not let the Vizcaínos and Guipuzcoanos fish. Uztáriz stated that this behaviour from the English was not acceptable: *Such an irregular proceeding, and unfriendly treatment one would not expect to meet and the hands of the English, especially in things of such trifling consequence to them, when we reflect upon the many singular advantages, they have been indulged in by the crown of Spain, both in that very treaty of peace, and the contract for negroes, which they still reap the benefit of...* Uztáriz understood that if the English did not respect what they had agreed to with the Spanish King, he could *suspend the use of the graces granted*.

Uztáriz proposed compiling the trade treaties which had been signed with the nations. There were articles which had to be modified because they caused considerable damage to trade in Spain. It would be necessary to bear in mind all the abuses which had been included in those treaties due to *the urgency of the times* in order to try to correct them, because it was *neither just nor decorous, that in His Majesty's Domains, Foreigners can enjoy different exemptions, and other considerable advantages, whose reciprocal use is made difficult for us or are outright denied in their countries*⁷⁰. He recommended that the Spanish Ambassadors and the Ministers in Foreign Courts would receive specific instructions to protect Spanish commercial interests and make sure that the clauses of the commercial treaties were complied with, as is the case in all well-governed States⁷¹.

⁷⁰ *Theorica*, Chapter CVII.

⁷¹ This compilation was carried out by Abreu Bertodano for the treaties up until the reign of Felipe V. Cantillo would do it for those signed in the 18th century.

THE DIFFERENT EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE *THEORICA*

The *Theorica* was not published again until 1742. Gerónimo de Uztáriz had died in 1732. Felipe V continued to live until 1746.

The 1742 edition was undertaken by his son Casimiro de Uztáriz. Casimiro was the Secretary of the *Consejo de Estado y Guerra*. This edition was carefully prepared but very different from the first edition in regard to the form and presentation, although the contents were identical. In this second edition, Uztáriz appeared with the posts he had held at the end of his life: Secretary of His Majesty in the *Consejo* and *Cámara de Indias* and a member of the *Real Junta de Comercio y de Moneda*.

This edition appears with the censorship of the Marqués de Torrenueva, with a licence for publication approved by the King and also the licence from the Real Junta de Comercio y Moneda, and with a dense text of Approval by Father Joaquín de Villarreal of the Compañía de Jesus (Jesuits), the general procurator of the Province of Chile, who, in 1742, was teaching in the school the Jesuits had in Madrid.

The book was printed in Antonio Sanz's printshop. The cover design was modified, the border was eliminated and it was given greater importance by using red ink. Several words were eliminated from the text which referred to the enemies of the Catholic religion, although the words referring to the *emulos* (enemies) of the Real Crown were kept. The apostilles of the first edition also disappeared. It was printed in a folio size as well, but with two columns, which makes it harder to read. An engraving with the portrait of Gerónimo de Uztáriz was included at the beginning of the first chapter. His son Casimiro de Uztáriz ought to have financed this expensive edition.

The engraving which is reproduced in the 1742 edition of the *Theorica* has a medallion in the centre with Uztáriz's portrait. It is a beautiful composition, very much in the French style. The engraving represents to the left of the portrait a bucolic scene with sheep grazing and, on the right,

ships and bales piled up on the ground. The sea forms the horizontal line for both scenes⁷².

When the *Theorica* was published, Spain was at war with England. The war had been declared in 1739. The declaration of war had been published and signed by Casimiro de Uztáriz, President of the *Consejo de Guerra* and rubricated by the King.

The *Theorica* was published again in 1757. This edition was identical to that of 1742. Casimiro de Uztáriz had already died. Richard Wall, The Secretary of State, could have been the one to promote this third edition.

More than two centuries had lapsed, when, in 1968, the Editorial Aguilar published the *Theorica y Práctica de Comercio y Marina* by Gerónimo de Uztáriz. A facsimile version of the 1742 edition was put out. Gabriel Franco (1897-1972), who was a former professor of the Universities of Salamanca and Puerto Rico, was responsible for the publication. Gabriel Franco had been a disciple of Flores de Lemus and had received a scholarship from the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* to study in Germany. He had translated Kleinwächter in his youth, and Henry Truchy. He was a professor of Political Economy and Public Finance in the universities of Murcia, Zaragoza and Salamanca. Azaña appointed him Governor of the Banco Exterior de Spain. He was a member of the Cortes during the Second Republic for the *Acción Republicana* party and Minister of Finance of the Second Spanish Republic. He went into exile in Mexico and Puerto Rico, where he obtained the professorship of Business Administration at the University of San Juan de Puerto Rico⁷³. In 1957, he published his *Manual for Principios de Hacienda Pública* in Buenos Aires. During his stay in Puerto Rico, the *Fondo de Cultura Económica* commissioned him to translate the *Riqueza de Naciones*, by Adam Smith⁷⁴, which appeared in 1958. Ever sin-

⁷² There were few engravers in the Madrid of 1740 who could have engraved it. It might have been Juan Bernabé Palomino, using portraits painted perhaps by Miguel Meléndez, according to Elena de Santiago.

⁷³ Martín Rodríguez, Manuel "Gabriel Franco, un economista del exilio del 39" en Fuentes Quintana, Enrique, *Economía y Economistas españoles*. Vol 6, *La Modernización de los Estudios de Economía*. Fundación de las Cajas de Ahorros. 2001. *Diccionario de catedráticos de derecho (1847-1943)*. Universidad Carlos III. 2012. La voz de Gabriel Franco es de Eva Elizabeth Chávez. <http://www.uc3.es/diccionariocatedraticos>

⁷⁴ Smith, Adam, *Investigación sobre la Naturaleza y Causa de la Riqueza de la Naciones*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958. Edition by Edwin Cannan. Introduction by Max Lerner. A new translation and preliminary study by Gabriel Franco.

ce, there have been twenty editions of this translation with the preliminary study by Gabriel Franco. In 1965, Aguilar published his *Historia de la Economía por los Grandes Maestros*. He did not return to Spain until 1967.

In the autumn of 1969, I visited him in the retirement home where he was staying on the Calle Prim. The magazine *España Económica*⁷⁵ wanted to publish a note about the edition of the *Theorica*, and I went to see him at the request of Pedro Schwartz, who had directed my doctoral thesis on Gerónimo de Uztáriz. Gabriel Franco was very kind to me. I was a very young girl at the time, and I still remember fondly when he gave me several pages of fine tracing paper which contained his curriculum with several hand-written notes.

Gabriel Franco mentioned in the Preliminary Note, which preceded his preamble:

Economists and educated people interested in the study of Spanish economic thought and in the economic history of the Iberian Peninsula have been demanding for some time the publication of a library of the Spanish economists of the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries... The most noteworthy countries in the cultivation of the sciences have published in the course of the past century and in the present one, the works of their most famous economists, either in an isolated manner or in special collections. This is not the case with us and this is a huge void that the Editorial Aguilar proposes to fill, by relying on the necessary collaborations to fulfil this goal.

The management of the *Biblioteca de Clásicos Españoles de la Economía* has been entrusted to me by the publishing company and the first book of this collection which we are offering to the public in a facsimile edition is the *Theorica y Práctica de Comercio y de Marina*, by Gerónimo de Uztáriz.

Franco was familiar with how Adam Smith cited Uztáriz in order to show how a country which had established a tax like the *alcabala* on the successive sales of a product would see its factories decline due to the lack

⁷⁵ *España Económica* was a magazine published by the economists of the Servicio de Estudios of the Bank of Spain. It was a publication without ISBN.

of a market. Perhaps this circumstance was the reason why he proposed initiating the collection with this title. However, no other book was published in this collection.

Gabriel Franco said at the beginning of his Preamble that it would be very difficult to evaluate the person and the work of Don Gerónimo de Uztáriz without situating both of them within the context of Spanish life at that time. In my book on Uztáriz, I focussed on the structure of the Spanish administration, on his work for the Crown, on the sources of his thinking and on his surrounding group of friends and family⁷⁶. I wanted this presentation to focus on the international setting and, above all, on the relations of the Spanish Crown with Great Britain during that 18th century, which North American historian Vera Lee Brown very adequately called the Hundred Years War.

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE *THEORICA*

If we speak about the first edition of the *Theorica*, we have to refer to the Asiento de Negros signed by the Spanish Crown in Madrid in 1713 and to the commercial treaty signed by both Crowns in Utrecht that same year. When we analyse the English translation, we have to place it in context with the signing of the other peace treaty, that of Aquisgran of 1748, and the Convention signed in Madrid in 1750 between Great Britain and Spain, in which the *Asiento de Negros* was terminated and Great Britain was once again granted commercial advantages, that were even greater than those granted at Utrecht.

In 1751, the *Theorica* was translated into English and published in London. In 1752 year, the English translation was published in Dublin.

Spain had been at war with Great Britain since 1739. The commercial activity of the *South Sea Company*, the company in charge of the *Asiento de Negros* and the sending of the annual ship, was interrupted. The war began with a confrontation between Great Britain and Spain due to the interpre-

⁷⁶ Fernández Durán, Reyes, *Gerónimo de Uztáriz (1670-1732). Una Política Española para Felipe V*. Madrid 1999.

tation of the *Asiento de Negros* and led to the War of Succession of the Austrian Crown with the involvement of France and Holland, among other powers.

In June of 1747, the Spanish Crown (Fernando VI) sent Marshall Richard Wall to London as the plenipotentiary minister.

Richard Wall was Irish. His family had followed James II in his exile to France. He was a protégé of the Duke of Berwick and the Duque de Huéscar.

The instructions which Field Marshal Wall had received before leaving for London did not include any references to the position to maintain in regard to the negotiation of commercial matters⁷⁷. He was advised that the most important matter was obtaining a territory in the Treaty of Aquisgran that would serve to establish the Infante Don Felipe, Fernando VI's step-brother, who had married a daughter of the French King Louis XV. While the negotiations were being held in Aix, Richard Wall was in contact in London with the Secretaries of State Newcastle and Bedford, and with Newcastle's brother, Pelham, *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. After 1748, the Secretary of State of the South Department was John Russell, Duke of Bedford.

In 1748, in Aquisgran, the Peace Preliminaries were signed between Great Britain, France and Holland. Spain was not at these negotiations. As in Utrecht, France negotiated in the name of Spain. In Article 16 of these Preliminaries for Peace, it was confirmed that Great Britain would continue to enjoy the treaty of the *Asiento* and of the annual ship without specifying the number of years. France had offered seven years.

When Spain acceded to the Treaty in October of 1748, the period was reduced to four years with the possibility of paying a compensation to Great Britain for abandoning the *Asiento*.

In 1748, Benjamin Keene was sent as ambassador to Madrid. His mission was to obtain a compensation for giving up the *Asiento* and maintaini-

⁷⁷ AGS, Estado, leg. 6913, *Instrucción que debéis guardar, y a que os debéis arreglar vos Dn Richard Wall Mariscal de Campo de mis reales ejércitos, Ministro Plenipotenciario mío destinado a la Corte de Buen Retiro, 6 de agosto de 1747.*

ning and increasing Great Britain's commercial advantages⁷⁸. In Madrid, in order to fulfil his goals, he tried to gain the favour of the queen, Barbara de Braganza, who was Portuguese and thus more inclined towards the British cause. Newcastle gave him permission to pay for the best connection to the Queen, the famous Italian castrato singer Farinelli. Carlo Broschi, Farinelli, was the closest person to the monarchs and his position was indeed enviable. Before he was brought by Felipe V to the Spanish Court in 1737, he had lived in London, where he had charmed and delighted everyone, including the British aristocracy and the Prince of Wales himself.

Benjamin Keene was highly familiar with the Madrid Court. He had been sent to Madrid in 1724 by the South Sea Company as its agent. He had combined this position with that of Consul of Great Britain and then as Ambassador of His British Majesty until 1739. He was a man of Robert Walpole. When the war broke out in 1739, he left Madrid.

During his stay in London where he eventually became ambassador, Richard Wall maintained a steady correspondence with the Secretary of State José Carvajal y Lancaster, which is kept in the *Archivo de Simancas*.

In his negotiations with Carvajal, Keene complained that even though the tariffs applicable to the English textiles had not been changed, the value on which the tariff was applied, had indeed been modified. In his meetings with the Duke of Newcastle and Duke of Pelham, Wall insisted that he knew nothing about trade... *I told him that in regard to commercial matters, I understood very little*. When Pelham insisted that a lower value had been established for the French textiles, to which the tariff was applied, Wall replied: *I protested once again about my ignorance... I said to him again what I have told him in previous meetings about my complete blindness in regard to trade...* This is what Wall wrote to Carvajal.

In June of 1749, when Carvajal and Keene were negotiating in Madrid, Carvajal sent Wall two copies of Uztáriz's *Theorica* so that he could pass them on to the Duke of Newcastle and the Duke of Bedford.

⁷⁸ Treaty of compensations and trade between the Crown of Spain and that of Great Britain. Madrid, 5 October 1750. For the execution of article 15 of the "Paz de Aquisgran", in Cantillo Jovelanos, Alejandro, *Tratados, Convenios y Declaraciones de paz y de comercio que han hecho con las potencias extranjeras los monarcas españoles de la Casa de Borbon. 1843*.

Why did he send it to them? So that they could see how detrimental the commercial treaty signed in Utrecht had been for Spain?

On 26 June 1749, Richard Wall sent José Carvajal y Lancaster, Secretary of the *Despacho de Estado*, the following letter:

Your Excellency, Dear Sir: I have received the letter of 29th last, advising me of the sending of the two copies of the work written by Uztáriz on trade, which were delivered to me by the courier sent by Your Excellency, and which arrived in perfect conditions.

I went to see the Duke of Newcastle and the Duke of Bedford, and I offered them these copies on Your Excellency's behalf with many dutiful expressions and they accepted them with much recognition and respect for Your Excellency, especially Bedford. Therefore, as I do not have one, I beg Your Excellency to send another copy to me for my use, for I think that the work will prove very useful⁷⁹.

Spain did not include Thomas Fitzgerald (Giraldino), who had been Spain's representative in the *South Sea Company* from 1732 to 1739, in the negotiations with Benjamin Keene in Madrid. He was familiar with the Company's accounts and had insisted on their being sent to Madrid. The Company ought to have send the accounts every five years. Furthermore, Giraldino had insisted as well that a strong rate of exchange of the peso be applied to the accounting in pounds and not that of the provincial silver. Keene obtained a compensation from the Spanish Crown for abandoning the exploitation of the *Asiento* of 100,000 pounds. In a letter Keene sent to Newcastle, he mentioned that Giraldino had informed him that the debts of the South Sea Company with the Spanish Crown were 300,000 pounds⁸⁰. The Duke of Bedford was also aware that Great Britain did not have any right to demand payment of any amount, because they had not sent the Company's accounts⁸¹.

⁷⁹ AGS, Estado, leg. 6914.

⁸⁰ Lodge, Richard, *The private correspondence of Sir Benjamin Keene*, K.B. Cambridge University Press. 1933.

⁸¹ *Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford, selected from the originals at Woburn Abbey with an introduction by John Russell*. London. 1845.

Keene obtained a sum for the termination of the *Asiento* and reinforced the commercial advantages obtained in the Treaty of Utrecht.

Gerónimo de Uztáriz's wish that in subsequent commercial treaties the terms of those signed at Utrecht would be modified, vanished into thin air precisely when his work was about to be translated into English.

Richard Wall and Keene maintained a close friendship⁸². We know this from the correspondence they exchanged as of 1739. In 1754, Wall sent him a letter informing him that his arch-enemy, the Marqués de la Ensenada had just fallen in disgrace: *The thing is done, my Dear Keene, by the Grace of God, the King, the Queen, and my brave Duke, and when you will read this scrap, the mogul will be five or six leagues of going to Granada. This news will not displease our friends in England. Yours, Dear Keene, for ever.*

Keene and Wall commissioned their portraits from Van Loo.

The Duke of Bedford, who very probably understood Spanish, because he used it in his correspondence with Keene had been first lord of the Admiralty from 1744 to 1748. While glancing through the copy of the *Theorica* which Richard Wall had given him, he might have become interested in the chapters which Uztáriz devoted to convincing the Crown to finance a strong armada. This would be the most plausible hypothesis for undertaking the translation.

John Kippax mentioned in his Introduction that it was the Prince of Wales who supported the translation. The Prince of Wales had been in favour of declaring war on Spain in 1739, contrary to Robert Walpole's pacifist policy. The Duke of Bedford, who had opposed Robert Walpole, backed the Prince of Wales and the opposition that ruled in the Parliament against the government and supported the Prince of Wales in his disagreements with his father George II. This parliamentary opposition of a group of Whigs was called the *Patriot Whigs*. Lord Bolingbroke, Secretary of State responsible for the Utrecht negotiations and the creator of the commercial treaty with Spain, had returned to England after his exile in France and had become an advisor of the Prince of Wales, in his opposition to Robert

⁸² Lodge, Richard, *The private correspondence of Sir Benjamin Keene*.

Walpole. He minted the word “patriot”, in 1739 when he wrote *The Idea of a Patriot King*, which was not published until 1749. Did he ask the Prince of Wales about the need to translate the *Theorica*? The person who translated the *Theorica* had to have certain titles which would be socially recognised in order to grant greater importance to the work, which was promoted and surely financed by the Prince of Wales.

THE TRANSLATOR, JOHN KIPPAX

The person chosen to translate the *Theorica* was John Kippax.

John Kippax is presented, on the cover of the translation, with the following titles: B.D (Bachelor in Divinities), Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge and Master in the Little Tower Street Academy.

The Duke of Newcastle had studied in Clare Hall, in the University of Cambridge. In 1737, he was designated High Steward of the University and in 1748, Chancellor. Few Chancellors played such an active role as Newcastle in the university life of Cambridge. The translation of the *Theorica* by someone who had graduated in the College, where the Secretary of State Newcastle had studied and who was also the Chancellor of the University, was a major guarantee.

John Kippax had entered Clare Hall in 1728 as a *sizar*; he was a Leeds scholar. He was a poor student and the *sizars* had their stay and their enrolment paid for, in exchange for helping in the kitchen and carrying out other domestic duties, and at times they even acted as servants to the rich students. In Clare Hall, Italian, Spanish, French and Arabic studies had been taught since the 17th century⁸⁵. Kippax's father was a minister of the church and vicar in Rochdale where John was born. One of John's brothers also studied at Clare Hall.

Kippax must have learned Spanish at Clare Hall. He obtained the title of *Bachelor in Arts* in 1732, *Master in Arts* in 1735, and then as he wanted

⁸⁵ Forbes, Mansfield, *Clare Hall 1326-1926. University Hall 1326-1346. Clare Hall 1346-1856*. Cambridge University Press 1928.

to join the clergy⁸⁴, he obtained the title of *Bachelor in Divinities* in 1747 and *Doctor in Divinities* in 1753.

After translating the *Theorica*, he was appointed vicar of the parish of Everton-Tetworth, where he remained between 1754 and 1755. The Everton rectory belonged to Clare Hall since the epoch of Henry VIII. Afterwards, he became vicar of Brighton for more than twenty years, until his death in 1777⁸⁵. Brighton was an elegant oceanside spa. Everton's rectory building was located next to Everton House. Everton House and its estate were purchased in 1713 by William Astell, a timber merchant who did business with the Baltic. He was one of the directors of the *South Sea Company*. When the bubble of the shares in the South Sea Company burst in 1720 and Parliament ordered the confiscation of the possessions of the Company's Directors, they allowed Astell to keep his property⁸⁶. Astell recovered his fortune as a supplier of the Royal Navy. In 1730, he rebuilt Everton's house and fixed up his gardens. His son Richard Astell continued as supplier of the Royal Navy and he retired to Everton in 1744 to live as a county gentleman. Kippax and Astell probably spoke of Uztáriz's book and of the chapters which explained why the Spanish Crown needed a powerful Armada. The rectory was located beside Everton House. Jane Austen wrote in her books about how the relationship between the vicars and the owners of the mansions was like in the urban communities where the rectories were located. In the majority of the cases, the mansion owners paid their salaries.

The second title of the translator tells us nowadays very little about him, other than he was a teacher at the Little Tower Street Academy. If one wanted to reach the heart of the business world and the important businesses in the city of London, it was a highly advisable to find a translator who was closely linked to this institution.

⁸⁴ In order to become a member of the clergy of the Anglican Church, it is necessary to obtain the degree of Master in Arts and then study Divinities.

⁸⁵ All of this information was furnished to me by Alexandra Browne of the Clare College Archives and Clair Butlin of the Clare Library.

⁸⁶ *A true, exact and particular inventory of all and singular lands, tenements, goods, chattels, and personal state whatsoever of William Astell, Esq; late, one of the directors of the South Sea Company. London 1721.* There is a copy in the British Library.

At the beginning of the 18th century, academies emerged in England for educating young people who wanted to work in the business world. This very practical education was not taught in the Universities⁸⁷.

Thomas Watts (1695-1742), who was a mathematician, created a school to teach accounting and mathematics in 1715. Thomas Watts was a member of Parliament for the Whig party and of the faction which supported the Prince of Wales. He was a mason⁸⁸ and an important figure in the City, and, in the growing insurance sector, he became secretary of one of the most important fire insurance companies, the Sun Fire Office, from 1727 to 1734. The Academy he created functioned very well and in 1720 he moved it to Little Tower Street, to the house that belonged to John Fleet, one of the directors of the *East Indian Company*...⁸⁹ He added: Sciences and Natural Philosophy to the curriculum of the lessons taught.

Thomas Watts had published a small book entitled: *An essay on the proper method for forming a Man of Business*⁹⁰ in 1716. The book was re-published four times between 1716 and 1722⁹¹.

The Academy created by Watts offered a highly valued education. The new Academy taught book-keeping, mathematics, modern languages, especially French, geography and navigation, and also Experimental Philosophy, that is, practical physics and science courses. The professor of Experimental Philosophy was Benjamin Worster, who published *Principles of Natural Philosophy* in 1722. Benjamin Worster is presented on the cover of his book as a professor at the Little Tower Street Academy.

⁸⁷ Hans, Nicholas, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*. 1951.

⁸⁸ Eric Berman, Schism. *The battle of forged free masonry*. 2013.

⁸⁹ James Bridges, who was appointed the Duke of Chandos (1674-1744), financed this new establishment. Bridges had been commissioned to pay the British troops on the continent during the War of Succession of the Spanish Crown. It was a very lucrative occupation and Bridges amassed a great fortune. He was considered the best accountant in the Kingdom. He built a great mansion with magnificent gardens, Canons House. He had an orchestra at his service. He employed more musicians than servants in his home. Haendel worked for him for two years as the *resident composer* and lived in Canons House. Chandos also had Desaguliers as the chaplain. Chandos lost a great deal of money when the *South Sea Bubble* burst. He was *Chancellor* of the University of Saint Andrews, where he financed a professorship for medicine and anatomy.

⁹⁰ *An essay on the Proper Method for Forming a Man of Business in a Letter, by Thomas Watts of the Academy of Accountant's Office for qualifying Young Gentlemen for Business in Little Tower Street. 1722.*

⁹¹ Watts, Thomas, *Ensayo sobre el método mas idóneo para la formación del hombre de negocios*. Introduction, J.J. Lanero. University de Leon. 1993.

The mathematician James Stirling, a friend of Newton, was a mathematics teacher at the Little Tower Street Academy. John Bland taught calligraphy. Poet James Thompson, the author of the *Rule Britannia*⁹², lived in the Academy from 1725 to 1726, as a tutor of one of the students, among the students was Charles Talbot's son. Years later, John Kippax would live in the academy and be a tutor of another young gentleman.

Thomas Watts also gave lectures together with Desaguliers that attracted a very select public⁹³.

The Academy was located in the centre of the bustling business quarter of the city of London, in the heart of the maritime community, near the Thames and the Customs building. The street leading to the Tower of London was lined with the splendid mansions of the merchants and with coffee houses where they negotiated insurance matters and exchanged news. Lloyd's Coffee House was located in this street. Nowadays, it is called Great Tower Street.

Watts gave a great deal of importance to the communications between businessmen. A businessman must learn to speak and express himself well: *A man of business must be a man of correspondence...* He had to use a modern, concise and natural language, as if the party to whom he was writing, was sitting directly in front of him.

The students of the Academy went to work with the leading merchants in the City of London. Watts thought that his students could also work for the government and for the English Navy.

Watts wrote about the importance of human capital. Education for Watts was of maximum importance: Education in general is of such vast importance and of such singular use in the scene of life... for in it, in great measure depends all that we hope to be...

Watts knew how to sell his new teaching method very well, highlighting the quality of his teachers. He explained that not everyone who knows

⁹² *Rule Britannia* forms part of the work *Alfred, a Masque*, which was performed in 1740 in Cliveden, the residence at the time of the Prince of Wales.

⁹³ Carpenter, Audrey T, *John Theophilus Desaguliers: A natural philosopher, engineer and free mason*.

a subject well can teach it. Transmitting knowledge to the students and making sure they render the most of themselves was an art.

As the students of the Academy were going to work with the most important merchants in London, including the Spanish Merchants who dealt with Spain, and the merchants of other ports who dealt mainly with the Caribbean like Bristol or Liverpool, as well as with the Royal Navy, Uztáriz's book would prove to be highly useful and interesting reading.

It seems that choosing John Kippax was a very wise decision.

JOHN KIPPAX'S LANGUAGE

Kippax applied that modern, concise and natural language to his translation, which is precisely what Watts wanted his students to use. Nowadays, it is more desirable to read the *Theorica* translated by Kippax than the text written by Uztáriz in 1724 and re-published in 1742, 1757 and 1968.

We do not know if John Kippax published any other works or translated any other books. No other translation or publication by him is known. Translating the *Theorica* was not an easy task, for a person who had not been involved in the field of commercial transactions or foreign trade or navigation. He had to rely on the assistance of people who advised him about the terminology of commerce and the navy. If he lived in the Academy founded by Thomas Watts on Little Tower Street, while he translated the *Theorica*, he could easily have encountered many people who could help him with the work.

In his Dedication to the Prince of Wales⁹⁴, Kippax explained why the translation of Uztáriz's work was of such great interest. The work dealt with two matters which were of great importance to Great Britain, Trade and the Navy, due to the importance of commerce between England and the Spanish Crown. Uztáriz described in his work, the regrettable state of the indus-

⁹⁴ This Prince of Wales never reigned. He had continuous confrontations with his father. He practically maintained his own, parallel court. He died in 1752 when the first volume of the work was being printed. The second volume was dedicated to his son, the new Prince of Wales.

trial sector in his country and Spain's pressing need to import merchandise from other countries for their domestic consumption, and he proposed reindustrialising Spain again.

Kippax warned Great Britain should be on guard and *take every prudent precaution against any measure that may affect or injure her own traffic with that kingdom*, in order to make sure that this Spanish reindustrialisation would not harm the English exports to the Peninsula and to the Indies.

Kippax told the reader that the Prince was very interested in Great Britain's commercial interests and that he supported its trade, and so Great Britain was admired and envied throughout all Europe. And for that reason, he had supported the translation.

Veitia Linaje's work *Norte y Contratación de las Indias Occidentales* was translated into English in 1702⁹⁵. The translator explained in his Preface that: I have not in the English version of this Work confined myself to the Rules of Translation, which would oblige me neither to add nor diminish. He confessed that he had summarised a great deal, in order to maintain the spirit of the work and he had consulted with knowledgeable people in the matter.

Kippax did not mention in his Dedication at any time how he had translated the work, nor the style in which it was written. Kippax did follow the basic rules of translation to which the translator of *Norte y Contraction de las Indias Occidentales* had referred. He did not add nor eliminate any contents, except for Gerónimo de Uztáriz's Dedication to Felipe V, which he did not translate. He translated the Approval of Father Joachim de Villareal of the *Compañía de Jesus* and professor of the imperial school in the Court. Villarroel's approval is written in a dense and baroque prose which Kippax converted into very readable text.

Kippax translated the quotes in Latin, which Villarroel included in order to show off his personal knowledge, into an intelligible English because the

⁹⁵ Veitia Linaje, Jose, *Norte y contratación de las Indias Occidentales*. Sevilla 1673. It was translated as *The Spanish Rule of Trade to the West Indies*. London 1702, by Captain John Stevens and re-edited in 1720. It was dedicated to Sir William Hodges, a powerful English merchant, who lived in Cádiz until 1701. He amassed a great fortune by doing business with the Spanish Indies and ended up becoming the director of the *Bank of England* and a Member of Parliament.

translation of the *Theorica* dedicated to the Prince was intended for the merchants who did not know Latin.

He did not give an opinion about the contents of the *Theorica*, even though Uztáriz criticized Great Britain's policy towards the Spanish Crown

I have only noticed a few modifications in the text.

Kippax wrote in cursive *Let the King be very well armed by sea...*, which Uztáriz did not highlight in the text⁹⁶. In another chapter in which Uztáriz gave information on the population in Great Britain and Ireland, Kippax added a small note at the bottom of the page: *Calculation too low*. These are all of his comments. When Uztáriz referred to Gresham College in Chapter XVI as the Stock Exchange of London, Kippax added in a small note: *The author must mistake Gresham College to be another name for the Royal Exchange*.

At no time, did he interpret, comment or refute Uztáriz's principles, but he did eliminate the reference to the treaties of Utrecht, in the Subject Matter Index.

We can assume that Kippax had little knowledge of the commercial relations between Spain and Great Britain because when he referred to Veitia Linaje's book, which was translated in 1702 and re-edited in 1720, he did not give its title in English, *The Spanish Rule of Trade to the West Indies*. He referred to it as: in his guide to the Commerce to the Indies. And at another point as: *Don Joseph Veitia's remarks on his treatise about the West Indies trade*⁹⁷.

Even though his world was not that of foreign trade and we do not know if he had read any treatises on political economy, the clarity he brings to Uztáriz's text is evident from reading even the first chapters. For the first time, we read the words *exports and imports*, to describe what Uztáriz described as *extracción* (extraction) and *entrada* (entry) of merchandise, *what goes out... and what is brought in to us*.

⁹⁶ Chapter LXV.

⁹⁷ Chapter LXVIII, Chapter LXXI.

With the beginning of a new period of relations between Spain and England, initiated in 1750, it was interesting for the English merchants, the politicians and the leaders to be familiar with all the information that Uztáriz had presented on the Spanish economic situation, its manufacturing activity, its commerce and its Customs policies.

Uztáriz's book offers very precise information on the Spanish economy, on its domestic commerce and its foreign trade, and, above all, on the Customs and tax regulations to which its commercial activities were subjected.

THE ENGLISH PRINTERS

John and James Rivington had a printshop and a bookstore near St. Paul's Cathedral and they were chosen to publish this work. John Rivington was on very good terms with members of the *Highb Church* to which Kippax belonged. James Rivington lived a much more haphazard life than his brother. Their father had founded the Rivington printshop and it continued to exist until the end of the 19th century.

Most of the printers and books dealers had their establishments located around St. Paul's Cathedral. The English book market experienced a great boom as of 1688. The English publications were also sent to the colonies. Readers' societies and bookstores in New England had reached agreements with printers and London book dealers so that they would send them already bound books.

James Rivington in 1756 broke the relationship with his brother and emigrated to New York, where he set up a print shop and a bookstore at the end of Wall Street. He took 3,000 books with him to sell. Perhaps, among those 3,000 books, was the translation of Uztáriz's *Theorica*. In 1773, he initiated the publication of a weekly bulletin, *Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, to supply neutral and unbiased information about both the parties in the war. James Rivington was considered a *loyalist* and so, in 1773, his printshop was attacked by the supporters of America's independence, the *Sons of Liberty*. James returned to England but when he came back in 1777, he switched sides and no-one knew that he worked as a spy

for George Washington from his printshop and *Coffee House* where the British officials would gather⁹⁸.

The cover of the English edition stated that the book would also be sold in John Croft's bookstore in Bristol.

Bristol had become at the beginning of the 18th century, the second most important port in England. At the end of the 17th century, the monopoly of the *Royal African Company* for sailing to Africa to buy slaves came to an end and the port of Bristol wrested the supremacy of the slave traffic from the port of London. It became the major port for conducting trade with the Caribbean. Its merchants and ship captains bought slaves along the African coasts and disembarked them in Jamaica. Their ships did business with the Spanish ports of Bilbao, Vigo and Cádiz. The cancellation of the *Asiento de Negros* and the signing of the new commercial treaty was going to affect the port of Bristol, even though Liverpool had already surpassed it in the number of ships engaged in the slave trade⁹⁹.

THE PUBLICATION OF THE *THEORICA* IN DUBLIN

Watts was a member of the Irish masonic lodge in London. The members met in the tavern *The Ship*, located behind the *Royal Exchange* building. An Irish lobby existed in London.

In 1717, John Desaguliers, a member of the *Royal Society*, had been one of the founders of the Grand Lodge of London. They had drawn up new constitutions. This Grand Lodge achieved immediate success and a great deal of social influence because the aristocracy and the most elite members of the Whig Party belonged to it. They believed in religious tolerance, the promoting of scientific knowledge, a respect for property and, above all, they supported the Hannover House. The members of the Royal Society, Isaac Newton among them, were *free masons*. Jonathan Swift as

⁹⁸ Brian Kilmeade, Don Yaeger, *George Washington's Secret Six. The spy ring that saved the American Revolution*. NY 2013. Pierce, Kara, "A revolutionay masquerade: The Chronicles of James Rivington", *Journal of History*. Spring 2006. Binghampton University.

⁹⁹ Minchinton, W. E. "The trade of Bristol in the eighteenth century", *Bristol Record Society's Publications*. vol XX. 1957.

well. The members of the Lodge formed a network of eminent professionals. They organised talks and lectures on natural philosophy and other subjects which were of interest to the prospering English society and their commercial world.

The religious differences of the businessmen were insignificant in the masonic lodges. The 18th century English masonry offered its members an area free of religious and social restrictions, which made it ideal for consolidating business relations.

Another member of this Irish lodge was Richard Fitzgerald, of the powerful Fitzgerald family which traded with North America and the Caribbean, importing sugar and tobacco, and exporting wine. The Fitzgeralds had a home in El Puerto de Santa María and in the Canary Islands. A member of the family, Thomas Fitzgerald, was appointed by José Patiño to represent the interests of the Spanish Crown in the *South Sea Company*; he Hispanicised his name, Tomás Giralдино. Tomás Giralдино was the first director to be appointed by Spain to represent the interests of the Spanish Crown in the *South Sea Company* who really discovered how the Company worked. He asked the Company to send to the Court of Madrid the state of present its accounts, something which had not been done in almost 20 years. He asked that the exchange rate of the pound/strong peso be applied to its accounting and not what was been applied up until then. Another Irish family were the Hoare. The Hoare family was made up of important merchants and bankers from Cork with interests in maritime shipping and the provisioning of vessels. A member of this family, William Hoare, also belonged to the Irish masonic lodge, *The Ship*. Other members of the family had settled in El Puerto de Santa María.

When the commercial treaty was being negotiated between Spain and Great Britain which was eventually signed in Utrecht in December of 1713, the Irish merchants settled in El Puerto de Santa María felt that England was not defending their interests, and only defended the interests of the manufacturers and exporters of English wool textiles and so they complained to Francis Archer, the English financier living in Madrid. These Irish merchants residing in El Puerto de Santa María were really indignant: We are breaking our heads about your aranzel... is what Richard Hoare wrote to Francis Archer. Archer informed Lord Lexington accordingly¹⁰⁰.

¹⁰⁰ NA, State Foreign Papers, Spain 94/80. Lexington to Darmouth 1713.

Therefore, it does not seem to be an accident that the second edition of the English translation of the *Theorica* was published in Dublin in 1752. The printer was George Faulkner, who had a printshop and a bookstore on Essex Street. George Faulkner was considered the *Prince of Dublin's Printers*¹⁰¹. He had worked in London with printer William Brower (1699-1777). Brower was the printer of the *Royal Society* and of the *Journals of the House of Commons*. George Faulkner was an active mason and travelled often to London where he gave lectures at scientific societies. George Faulkner was the printer of Jonathan Swift's works in Dublin. A year before printing Uztáriz's work, he published Mathew Decker's *An essay on the causes of the decline of Foreign Trade*. In 1750, he printed *The present state of Europe*, by John Campbell. In 1757, he produced Josiah Tucker's work, *A brief essay on the advantages and disadvantages which France and Great Britain respectively attend with regard to trade*.

POSTLEWAYT AND UZTÁRIZ

Malachy Postlewayt (1707-1767) devoted twenty years of his life to preparing the translation into English of the *Dictionnaire Universel*, by Savary des Bruslons. The first edition appeared in 1751, the same year as the edition of the translation of the *Theorica*. Postlewayt made several additions to the original French text. It was a great encyclopaedia on the commercial policy of France, Holland, Spain, Portugal and England¹⁰². He considered his *Dictionary*, a *trading library*. Postlewayt must have read Spanish because he quoted Uztáriz when the English translation of the *Theorica* had not yet been published. He referred to Uztáriz in both volumes. In the first volume, he reproduced Uztáriz's calculations on the consumption and production of textiles in Spain. In the second volume, he included the regulations on the dispatching of the *Flotas y Galeones*, which Uztáriz printed in the *Theorica*. Postlewayt called Uztáriz a *Patriot-Spaniard*.

¹⁰¹ Ward, Robert A. *Prince of Dublin Printers. The letters of George Faulkner*. University Press, Kentucky University. 1972.

¹⁰² Postlewayt, Malachy, *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, translated from the French with large additions and improvements. Second edition. 1757.

He had written about the slave trade and in 1748 about the advantages of continuing to maintain the *Asiento de Negros*¹⁰³. In 1757, in his work *Britain's Commercial Interests*, he changed his opinion radically in regard to the *Asiento de Negros* with Spain and felt that it was a ruinous and scandalous business. He reproduced once again Uztáriz's calculations on the consumption and production of textiles in Spain and on the Spanish population. This is a book with a certain combative nature and an incitement to war with Spain, because Spain wanted to promote its manufacturing and recover its naval power. Without citing Uztáriz, he classified the foreign trade of a country as useful trade and harmful trade: *There is a beneficial national trade and a national trade which is not so*.

THE FRENCH TRANSLATION. VERON DE FORBONNAIS

The work was translated into French in 1753. It was published in Paris, in a lavish, folio-size edition. Veron de Forbonnais translated it. This French translation was also published in Hamburg.

The biographies of Uztáriz's translators reflect a great deal of divergency. Kippax had lived in the heart of the Anglican church, but Forbonnais and his teacher Gournay were more closely linked to the communities of merchants and manufacturers, working for the French administration and within an area of political economy. Adorno, the Italian translator was an ex-Jesuit who worked for the Papal State government. Kippax did not want to pass on to us anything except the contents of Uztáriz's book, and we do not know if he became interested once again in political economy. Forbonnais had his own theories on trade and commerce, which he reflected in the important books he wrote throughout his life. He worked for the French administration and wrote articles for Diderot's *Encyclopaedia*. He led an intense political and intellectual life and focussed on the theory and practice of political economy. He was an educated, liberal and versatile man.

¹⁰³ Postlewayt, Malachy, *The African Trade, the great pillar and support of the British plantation trade in America*. 1745.

Postlewayt, Malachy, *The natural and private advantage of the African Trade considered*. 1746.

Postlewayt, Malachy, *Considerations on the revival of the Royal British Asiento between his Catholic Majesty and the South Sea Company*. 1748.

Forbonnais's first publications were the translation of Uztáriz's book and the translation of the *British Merchant*, which appeared in that same year, 1753¹⁰⁴.

François Veron de Forbonnais (1722-1800) was born in Le Mans to a wealthy family of wool and textile manufacturers, called *veronas*, that were exported to Spain and Italy. He studied in a Jansenist school in Paris. His father sent him to travel throughout Italy and Spain, in order to become familiar with the markets to which they exported the textile production of their factories. He was in Cádiz and was able to meet Vincent de Gournay there. In 1743, he went to work with an uncle in Nantes, where he stayed for five years. Nantes was the leading French port which traded with the Caribbean. In 1748, he moved to Paris and left the family business. He wanted to make his way into the administration.

He belonged to Gournay's circle of friends.

Vincent de Gournay (1712-1759) was born in Saint Malo, also to a family of rich merchants. His family sent him to Cádiz to work in the office his father had set up there with other partners. He lived in Cádiz for fifteen years, from 1729 to 1744. In the eulogy which Turgot dedicated to him upon his death, he said that he travelled to the Court of Madrid and through several Spanish provinces. Cádiz must have been a magnificent university for the young Gournay. If 20% of the English textile exports were sent to Spain and entered through the ports of Cádiz and Bilbao, 30% of the French textile exports were also sent to Spain. Both textile productions, the French and the English, arrived in Cádiz in order to be shipped out to the Indies. From the Customs point of view, Cádiz was a kind of duty-free port. The ships from the East Indies companies also docked in Cádiz and came and went in their trade with China. By the middle of the 18th century, there were sixty French trading companies operating in Cádiz, compared with thirty English trading companies. One of the French companies was the one belonging to Vincent de Gournay's father¹⁰⁵. Gournay had to be familiar

¹⁰⁴ Guasti, Niccolo, Forbonnais e Uztáriz: le ragioni di una traduzione. *Cuadernis Aragoneses de Economía*, Volume 8. Number 1.998.

Guasti, Niccolo, Veron de Forbonnais and Plumard de Dangeulas, translators of Uztáriz. *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 40, 2014.

Astigarraga, Jesus, Forbonnais and the Discovery of the "Science of Commerce" in Spain (1755-1756) *History of European Ideas*. Vol. 40. 2.014.

¹⁰⁵ Pearce, Adrian J, *British Trade with Spanish America, 1763-1808*. Liverpool University Press. 2007.

with the second edition of the *Theorica* because he was still living in Spain in 1742. He must have recommended its translation to Forbonnais, but why they wait till it was translated into English?

The *Theorie et Pratique de Commerce et de la Marine* was published in folio size, in an expensive edition dedicated to the Contrôleur Général des Finances (Minister of Finance), Marchault, by whom Vincent de Gournay was already employed and for whom Forbonnais wanted to work.

In his Dedication to Marchault, Forbonnais informed him that what induced him to translate this work was the fact that it had already been translated into English: *L'Estime que les nations commerçantes accordent à cet Ouvrage, m'en fait entreprendre la traduction...* Its author had been a Spanish minister, admired for his knowledge and for his great love of country.

He dedicated his *Preface* to putting forth his own ideas. He thought that the introduction of the quantification of the economic variables had contributed more to the happiness of mankind than the writings of the philosophers. Conquests by war no longer decided the superiority of an empire: only the happiness of its citizens did. He was referring indirectly to the end of the long war with Great Britain, which was concluded with the peace treaty of Aquisgran. Commerce and trade were friends of Peace and Liberty. The references to the history of Spain over the past few centuries were not very promising, but according to him, it was the venerable Bourbon dynasty that put an end to this calamitous situation.

He referred to Uztáriz's work at the conclusion of his Preface. He stated that the English had already translated Uztáriz's work, which had been published successfully (*avec applaudissement*) in London in 1751, dedicated to the Prince of Wales. The fact that the English had already translated it was not the only reason why he wanted to translate it into French. The French nation could not be indifferent to what was happening in Spain. As citizens of the world, the happiness of others should be of interest to them and as French people, they should be happy to see Urtariz's proposals for reforms carried out.

I think that the fact that the work had been translated into English was decisive for the translation into French. The English merchants possessed a

lot of information on the Spanish economy, which the French exporters had to have as well. The English translation of the *Theorica* was not only important, but perhaps of equal importance was the appearance in 1751 of the English translation of the *Dictionnaire Universel*, by Sabary, which cited Uztáriz's work and reproduced the information on the textile consumption and production in Spain.

Let us not forget that Gournay and Forbonnais were exporters of textiles to Spain and to the Indies. The measures for raising the tariffs on textile imports in Spain affected them, as did the export duty on wool. We do not know what they thought about the Preliminaries of the Aquisgran Peace Treaty, in which the French Ministers —without Spain being present—, agreed to an extension of the *Asiento de Negros* and the *navío de registro* to the English. However, it is necessary to clarify that the *navío de registro* sent by the *South Sea Company* carried English merchandise and also luxury French merchandise, which was in demand in Veracruz and Portobello. Forbonnais wrote in his Preface that: *Les caprices de luxe sont devenus des objets importants...*

Veron de Forbonnais mentioned that he had tried to introduce greater clarity and precision into Uztáriz's work: *La langue espagnole est tres noble mais un peu verbeuse...* In contrast with Kippax, he said that he tried to avoid useless repetitions and also decided not to translate certain chapters. He summarised the seven chapters which Uztáriz devoted to Customs policy and to promoting manufacturing in France, into just one. He mentioned that he did not reproduce Uztáriz's information on the French tariffs because everyone was familiar with them. The five chapters on Dutch policy were reduced to two and he continued to combine certain chapters. The omission is important, because in those chapters, Uztáriz discussed the French tariffs and taxes, and the fact that France was very protective of its textiles. Veron de Forbonnais did not want to discuss the subject of the Customs tariffs in his introduction to Uztáriz's work, perhaps because the work was dedicated to the Minister of Finance, who did not have any competency in matters of foreign trade. The competencies in matters of foreign trade corresponded to the Minister of the Navy. Furthermore, it was made clear that France imposed higher duties and taxes on the Spanish textiles than what Spain imposed.

Veron de Forbonnais thought that Uztáriz wrote about a relatively unknown subject for even educated men and he did not want to fail to take

advantage of the opportunity to emphasize his principles even at the cost of repeating himself.

In his Preface, Forbonnais attributed things to Uztáriz which he had never really wrote. He said that Uztáriz had outlined a plan for re-establishing manufacturing, the Navy and putting in proper order the Crown's revenue, but he added: *Ces objets sont inséparables et supposent eux-mêmes, une excellente culture des terres, base fondamentale de tout commerce, et de toute manufacture. Ces trois grands efforts, l'agriculture, le commerce, & les finances, font mouvoir un Etat.*

However, Uztáriz did not touch upon the subject of agriculture. Forbonnais added footnotes and discussed Uztáriz's text, and in one of them, he mentioned that the author did not pay a lot of attention to agriculture. Nevertheless, he took special care not to recommend that Spain could grow sugar cane in large proportions in Cuba and Puerto Rico, as France did on the islands of Santo Domingo and Guadalupe.

In that same year of 1753, Forbonnais published a free translation of *The British Merchant*, by Charles King¹⁰⁶. He translated it as *Le negociant Anglois*.

The British Merchant collected weekly papers that were published in London during 1713, which attacked the commercial treaty which the Tory government had signed with France at Utrecht and the one it was negotiating with Spain. The government's position was defended by another newspaper, the *Mercator*. *The British Merchant* was published in three volumes. The second dealt with the commercial treaty signed with France and in general with the trade relations with France. In the third volume, the most conflictive points of the commercial treaty signed with Spain were published. Forbonnais translated a free version of the second volume as *Le Negociant Anglois*. This edition was published in Dresden, in two volumes in octavo size. In other words, it was very different from the luxurious edition of the translation of the *Theorica*. It did not have a Dedication, but a rather long preamble from the translator, in which he did not speak of how the translation was prepared, but instead he focussed on the history of foreign

¹⁰⁶ *The British Merchant*. A collection of papers relating to the Trade & Commerce of Great Britain and Ireland. First published by Charles King from the originals of Sir Theodore Janssen, Sir Charles Cooke, Henry Martin, Esq...and Others, the most eminent Merchants of the City of London. 3 Vols, London 1743.

trade between England and France. All of the information on the French tariffs which he did not want to discuss in his Introduction to the *Theorica*, he analysed here in this Preamble. He also talked about the contents of the commercial treaty negotiated with the English at Utrecht.

That same year of 1753, he published a small book in octavo size, *Considérations sur les finances d'Espagne*. When he reported on the revenue of the Spanish Crown, he made reference to Uztáriz's work. His translation of the *Theorica* helped him to learn a great deal about the Spanish Treasury.

The French translation by Veron de Forbonnais was also published in Hamburg, by Chretien Herold. Important commercial relations existed between the port of Hamburg and the port of Cádiz. Kenneth E. Carpenter said that it was very difficult to find Spanish translators in 18th century Germany and that could be the reason for publishing the French translation¹⁰⁷.

The Marqués de la Ensenada wanted the French government to send Forbonnais as Consul to Madrid.

Turgot had in his library the English translation of the *Theorica* not the French one¹⁰⁸.

THE ITALIAN TRANSLATION

In 1793, almost 70 years after the first edition of the *Theorica*, Abbot Gonzalo Adorno Hinojosa translated Uztáriz's *Theorica* into Italian¹⁰⁹.

The translation was dedicated to Monsignor Fabrizio Ruffo, *Tesoriere Generale della Santità di Nostro Signore PP Pio Sesto*. It was published in Rome.

¹⁰⁷ Carpenter, Kenneth E., *Dialogue in Political Economy: Translations from and into German in the 18th century*. Kress Library Bulletin. 1977.

¹⁰⁸ Groenewegen, Peter. *Turgot, Beccaria and Smith. In Eighteenth Century Economics* (pp. 27-71). Routledge. 2002

¹⁰⁹ *Theorica e Pratica di Comercio e di Marina*. Roma 1793.

The French Revolution took place in 1789. One of the first measures which the French National Assembly adopted was the suppression of the *diezmos* paid to the clergy. In 1790, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was approved. The French clergy then depended upon the French State.

Before publishing Uztáriz's translation, Abbot Gonzalo Adorno Hinojosa had published two works criticizing these measures adopted by the French National Assembly¹¹⁰. He signed these works only with his first surname, Adorno. We might think that Pius VI used Adorno's pen to defend the French clergy.

In 1792, the French Republic was proclaimed. The revolutionary troops invaded Savoy. Rome began to recruit troops and prepare for war. The responsibility for the defense was placed in the hands of Cardinal Ruffo who was not exactly an expert in commanding an army. The Spanish Crown offered Pius VI its protection.

It did not seem like the right time or place for the publication of the translation of the *Theorica*, nor for implementing the political and economic measures which Uztáriz had recommended.

Adorno stated in his Dedication that it was Cardinal Ruffo himself who proposed translating Uztáriz's work. He said that the *Theorica* had been translated into French, English and Dutch, something which is not entirely true, for it was never translated to Dutch. And that the Spanish version could not be found in Rome, only in Madrid. He stated that if Uztáriz's proposals were put into practice in the Papal States, they would promote manufacturing and trade. Pope Pius VI had wanted to support the national industry and so he commissioned Ruffo to transfer the Interior Customs to the borders, in order to make the entry of foreign merchandise into the Papal States more difficult. Adorno stressed how beneficial the free circulation of goods was and the need for food to be sold at a reasonable price.

In his Dedication to Cardinal Ruffo, Adorno stated that Genovesi had praised Uztáriz's proposals.

¹¹⁰ *Del Diritto Privativo del Clero sulle Annate e Decime e dell' Abbaglio preso in ordine a queste Dall'Assemblea Nazionale di France. 1789.*

Dell'origine delle immunita del Clero Cattolico e d'ogni altro sacerdozio creduto dagli uomini legittimo e Santo. 1791.

There is not a single reference to the tumultuous moments which Europe and the Papal States were experiencing.

In April of 1794, Adorno Hinojosa sent the two volumes of his translation to the very powerful Manuel Godoy, who in 1792 had been appointed Secretary of State by Carlos IV and had received the title of Duque de Alcudia. A long letter accompanied the package. It was like a Dedication to Godoy. From this letter, we know that he was an expelled Spanish Jesuit: *Your Excellency, please excuse the national passion and enthusiasm of a zealous ex-Jesuit, the most devoted to the honour and glory of his nation...*

In 1767, Carlos III had expelled the Jesuits from all of the territories belonging to the Spanish Crown. Carlos III wanted the Pope to ban the Society of Jesus. He sent José Moñino as the ambassador to Rome in July of 1772 to achieve this. In June of 1773, Carlos III received from Pope Benedetto XIV the Brief on the Extinction of the Society and he granted José Moñino the title of Conde de Floridablanca. Carlos III thought that the extinction would resolve many of the concerns of the Catholic monarchies¹¹¹.

Gonzalo Adorno Hinojosa had been born in Jerez de la Frontera in 1751 and he entered the seminary in 1766. The Adorno family must have been of Genoese origin and they settled in Jerez de la Frontera in the 17th century. They were related to the Hinojosa family. It was one of the most important families in Jerez. When the Society of Jesus was expelled from Spain, he was very young and he went into exile in Sardinia and then moved to Rome. He lived his entire life in Italy. Due to the social position of his family, he surely did not experience the dire financial straits which other Jesuits had to suffer in their exile.

In 1794, Adorno did not have any problem in recognising that he was an ex-Jesuit. He told Godoy that he had added some notes to Uztáriz's text. In reality, he had added many footnotes, some intended to qualify Uztáriz's statements, others furnished a lot of information on the Italian economy in general. Adorno considered Uztáriz: *The prince of the marvels of good*

¹¹¹ Olachea, Rafael, S.I. *Las Relaciones Hispano-Romanas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. La agencia de preces*. 2 volumes. Introduction by Antonio Mestre. Asociación Española de Historia Moderna. Institución Fernando el Católico. 1999.

government. In his letter to Godoy, he included several requests which surprised us, coming from a person who had only written about the rights of the clergy. He asked Godoy to open all the ports of Spain to traffic in order to do business with Mexico and Peru. He also asked to abolish the tax *derechos de toneladas* on all the ships sailing from Spain to America provided that they were built in Spanish shipyards and men in two thirds by Spanish sailors. These were very specific requests coming from an ex-Jesuit who lived in Rome and worked for the Treasurer of the Papal States. However, these requests could be justified because they were requests made by people he knew in Jerez de la Frontera who traded with America. These requests were a far cry from the major concerns which Godoy must have had in July of 1795 in Basel when he recognised the French Republic and therefore received from Carlos IV the title of Prince of Peace. Addressing the all-powerful Godoy in this way in 1794 might make one think. The letter was conserved¹¹². What we can determine is that Uztáriz's criticism of the Roman Curia did not receive any critical comment from the censors: *La licenza de' Superiori* and this is explained by Adorno in his footnotes.

The approval of the text was commissioned to Gioachino Pessuti, a professor of science, physics and math, in the *Roman Archilicèò*. In his approval, Pessuti did not find anything he considered offensive to the religion, the customs or the rights of the princes. He praised the notes added by the translator and also praised Ruffo for promoting the translation. The text of the Approval was very brief.

Pessuti was appointed Consul of the ephemeral Roman Republic which lasted two years, from 1798 to 1799.

Cardinal Ruffo went to work for Fernando IV of Bourbon in Naples, he was appointed Governor of the Royal Palace of Caserta.

Gonzalo Adorno Hinojosa died in Viterbo in 1812.

¹¹² AHN, Estado, leg 3240.

THE OWNER OF THE COPY REPRINTED, HENRY DUNDAS

The owner of the book was Henry Dundas (1742-1811), a powerful Scottish Tory politician and William Pitt's right-hand man and close friend (1759-1806)¹¹³.

Uztáriz's *Theorica* was found in Adam Smith's library¹¹⁴ and we know it was in Henry Dundas's library. Did Smith recommend it to Dundas?

What interest could Dundas have in reading Uztáriz's book written in 1724 and translated in 1751?

The British Crown and the Spanish Crown declared war on each other on too many occasions during the 18th century.

Carlos III declared war on George III in 1779. A peace treaty was signed in Paris between the two Crowns in 1783 and a Convention on Fishing, Navigation and Commerce in 1790. In these treaties, Spain ceded Great Britain the right to cut wood in Campeche and other woods on the Honduras coast, and the right to settle along the Vancouver coast, and guaranteed that no Spanish authority would bother the British settlements. That is how British Columbia was born. It does not appear that the negotiations proved especially beneficial for the Spanish Crown. Floridablanca and the Conde de Aranda were responsible for them¹¹⁵.

¹¹³ He studied Law at the University of Edinburgh. He began practising as a lawyer in Edinburgh. He was Treasurer of the Navy, a member of the Committee of Trade, Secretary of State for Home Affairs, Secretary of State for War from 1794 to 1801, the first Lord of the Admiralty and a Member of the House of Commons. He was Chairman of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India and had absolute control over the *Compañía de las Indias Orientales* and the English commercial policy over India. He opposed the abolition of the slave trade. He had a great deal of influence over the government's policy in Scotland. He was rector of the University of Glasgow and Chancellor of the University of Saint Andrews. He invited Adam Smith to spend several months of rest and relaxation in his Villa at Wimbledon (Warren House), in 1785. Adam Smith met with William Pitt in his home because the latter wanted to ask him for advice on taxes. In 1802, he was granted the title of Viscount of Melville, and in 1804 he was judged for mis-appropriation of public funds. He was the last impeachment made by the House of Lords. There was correspondence between Adam Smith and Henry Dundas.

¹¹⁴ Bonar, James, *A Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith*. New York 1966

¹¹⁵ Cantillo Jovellanos, Alejandro, *Tratados, Convenios y Declaraciones de paz y de comercio que han hecho con las potencias extranjeras los monarcas españoles de la Casa de Borbón*. 1843

In 1782, the *Board of Trade and Plantations* was dissolved and the *Trade Committee* was created. This Committee had to supervise the problems raised by commerce and navigation in the area of the Caribbean and the Pacific. In 1783, the competencies of the *Home Secretary* were expanded to include the *British Settlements*, which were not India. Dundas was Home Secretary and a member of the Trade Committee¹¹⁶. However, Henry Dundas was also the Minister of War, Secretary of State for War and first Lord of the Admiralty. Like the Duke of Bedford, he had to be more interested in the chapters which Uztáriz devoted to explaining the composition of the Armada of the Spanish Empire, rather than the Customs and tariff problems. We should not forget that Carlos IV had declared war on Great Britain in October of 1796, when Manuel Godoy was the Secretary of State.

It is therefore understandable that Dundas had a copy of Gerónimo de Uztáriz's *Theory and Practice of Commerce and Maritime Affairs* in his library. He was probably not very concerned with his opinions on tariffs and Customs, but his chapters on how to maintain a powerful *Armada* surely interested him. The *Theorica* is a work closely linked to the development of relations between Spain and Great Britain throughout the entire 18th century.

¹¹⁶ Ehrman, John, *The Younger Pitt*. 2 vols. Constable, London. 1969.