

GOBERNAR ES POBLAR  
The Spanish Repopulation Project and the Greco-Corsican Colony, 1766-1768

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*The phrase “gobernar es poblar,” or, “to govern is to populate,” comes from a nineteenth century Argentine intellectual, Jaun Bautista Alberdi. Though his writing does not pertain to eighteenth-century Spanish history, the phrase appropriately encapsulates the thrust of my thesis.*

*Dedicated to Daniel Zarza*



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Map 1: The Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal (1744-1747)



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## Introduction

Until the late twentieth century, the Spanish eighteenth century had been largely ignored by the English-speaking historical community. Looking backward through the constant and particularly acute economic and civil strife of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, previous historians had seen in the 1700s a consistent inability on the part of the Spanish to modernize and overcome their backward socio-economic policies and blinding religiosity. These failures accounted for the economic decay and the still-birth of liberalism which would characterize and explain Spain's difficulties and failures in the times that followed.

However, in many ways, the beginning of the 1700s had marked the start of a new era for Spain: a dynastic struggle between the French Bourbons and the Hapsburgs over the Spanish throne, the Spanish War of Succession, ended with the ascendance of the first Bourbon king, Philip V, to the Spanish throne in 1713.<sup>1</sup> Beginning with Philip, and continuing through the reigns of the Bourbon monarchs who followed him, impressive political, social and economic reforms were conceived, developed, and in many cases seen through successfully. Among the more ambitious programs undertaken was a large-scale recruitment initiative beginning in 1767 to re-populate the sparsely inhabited provinces of Sierra Morena and Andalusia in the south of Spain. The project aimed to fill the uncultivated countryside with *nuevas poblaciones*, or new settlements of foreign laborers who were recruited from disparate parts of Europe.

The theses of this essay are two-fold. First, I argue that previous historians have failed to adequately situate the repopulation and the ideas which drove this project in the context of their uniquely Spanish history. I analyze the decision-making process that drove the repopulation project, whose purpose was to enhance the productivity and, in turn, the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom, to show that it was a program whose design was the result of a reconfiguration and reconciliation of traditional and novel settlement practices, and not, as has been previously argued, a completely novel social experiment borne out of the minds of prominent Enlightenment thinkers. The project had a matrix of influences whose complexity and dynamism suggests that Spain was neither completely wedded to outdated traditions nor mimicking the



policies and intellectual trends of other nations to which many prominent Spanish thinkers subscribed.

Second, whereas many historians have treated the Spanish as uniquely inhibited by their religiosity, I argue that, at least in one key instance, Catholicity was subordinate to other considerations. I investigate a heretofore ignored episode of international competition in 1768 between Spain and Great Britain to recruit an Orthodox Greek colony settled in Corsica, an effort made possible by an extrapolation of the policies of the large-scale recruitment and repopulation project. I argue that the effort to recruit the Greek colony highlights the flexibility and tenacity of Spanish diplomacy at a time of sensitive international, imperial rivalries—an image of Spanish government that has too rarely been drawn.<sup>2</sup>

The democratic revolutions, the rise of Prussia, the expansion of the British Empire, and the incredible political and philosophical intellectual production in France have all constituted, and in many ways still do constitute major milestones and the essential foundations of modern European culture in a variety of narratives about Western civilization. Spain was, until recently, thought to stand in stark contrast with its eighteenth-century neighbors and was largely excluded from these grandiose narratives, considered by historians both old and contemporary to have become modern only by imitation and after tremendous religious resistance. A primary aim of this thesis is to undermine the assumptions which made this contrast seem viable.

In the historical community, Spain had a reputation as the backward cousin of Europe for centuries.<sup>3</sup> Charles III, who was king during the years that fall under the purview of my thesis, was sometimes one of the few anomalies to that tradition; a handful of historians went so far as to include him on their short list of eighteenth-century enlightened absolutists despots and often credited him as the Bourbon monarch who most revived Spain economically, culturally, and politically.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, in those instances, his inclusion in their narratives never consisted of more than an ‘honorable mention,’ without a proper treatment of Spanish eighteenth century history to supplement it. Spain was pigeon-holed for its financial troubles, its struggles to maintain control over its colonies, and the supposed endurance of its constraining relationship

with the Catholic Church. Ultimately, in the eyes of historians, Spain had failed to modernize as a result of its uniquely backward and ultra-religious culture.

Since Spain began to emerge as a significant economic and political contender in the Western global community following the death of its longtime dictator Francisco Franco in 1975, historians have started to extensively reexamine the period. However, the revisionist willingness to ask with greater sensitivity the old question: “what went wrong in Spain?” is inadequate.<sup>5</sup>

What is needed is recognition that to insist upon viewing Spanish modernization exclusively as a response to events in other European nations is narrow-minded and does not meet the facts. We can take inspiration from historian David Ringrose, who on a broader scale has argued for fundamental reassessment of how Spanish history should be approached, to differently understand Spain. In order to understand modern Spain, he unearths and reexamines the eighteenth century to find the economic and political roots of modern Spanish society, rather than reason how the black sheep of the European family may have in fact ‘been in tune’ with its Enlightened neighbors all along or, inversely, suddenly came-to in the twentieth century and sprinted to catch up.

The series of decisions reached by Charles and the members of the Council of Castile between September 1766 and April 1767 which are the historical objects of this essay’s enquiry, exhibit all the elements for which we look in acts whose ideological and political character we would declare uniquely Spanish. Unfortunately, they are not included in Ringrose’s work and are, in general, overlooked by English-language historians. While there are a number of English-language works on Spain in the period under consideration, by far the most commonly cited is John Lynch’s *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808*, which mentions the repopulation project only in passing, and whose account of it relies on insubstantial evidence and is, in short, incorrect. For the background of the project and an evaluation of its success, Lynch relies on the journals of two English travelers who passed through southern Spain a decade after the project was initiated. For an evaluation of the project’s meaning and importance, he cites the biographer of a renowned Francophile in the Spanish bureaucracy who judges the internal colonization as a “social

experiment...[and] enlightened programme untrammelled by the Spanish past.”<sup>6</sup> I argue that this evaluation is incorrect; far from being the exclusive product of borrowed philosophical musings, the idea which shaped the repopulation derived directly from those which had shaped older Spanish polices.

In contrast to the English-speaking world, the late twentieth century saw a proliferation of histories large and small on the resettlement of Sierra Morena and Andalusia in post-Franco Spain. Sensitive during and immediately after Franco’s dictatorship, Spanish historians were scrambling to prove that Spain could be considered a respectable and modern nation which did, in fact, have a commonality in an Enlightenment heritage that it could point to. The fault which a majority of these texts have in common is their assumption that the repopulation was an enlightenment project whose conceptualization was almost entirely drawn from the personal philosophies of men such as Pedro Rodriguez of Campomanes, the *fiscal*<sup>7</sup> at the time the repopulation project was configured, or Pablo of Olavide, the highest-ranking administrator of the new settlements.<sup>8</sup> The planning process which brought the repopulation project to bear, and which exposes the intellectual roots of the project, is either completely disregarded or oversimplified at best.

In his prologue to Manuel Capel’s *La Carolina, capital de las nuevas poblaciones*, one of the most highly cited Spanish-language histories on the repopulation, Vincente Palacio Atard characterizes the project as a product of enlightenment thought. The new settlements were an attempt to create the ideal rural society, a utopia, he argues, “unobstructed by a historical legacy” and “conceived thanks to Reason...which illuminated everything in the Enlightenment.”<sup>9</sup> This argument is echoed in numerous essays on the repopulation project. José Lopez de Sebastián in his classic *Reforma agrarian en España* argues in the repopulation project historians can see “how Spaniards received the modern theories of their time” which materialized in an effort to “create agricultural communities absentminded of the surrounding reality and based in usual principles.”<sup>10</sup>

Miguel Avilés Fernández, investigating the relationship between the new settlements and enlightenment visions of utopia, similarly argues that utopian visions “inspired the creation of this adventure of our enlightenment thinkers which today we welcome.”<sup>11</sup> To historians such as Atard, Sebastián, and Fernández, the project was exclusively the product of eighteenth century, pan-European enlightenment thought. I do not dispute that in the eighteenth century, as now, international and domestic policies were informed by the practices of neighboring countries. To ignore the influence and interchange between countries would be a grave error in method. Instead, I argue that the foreign recruitment and internal repopulation project undertaken by Charles III and his ministers in the 1760s need not be considered an ‘enlightenment experiment’ to create a utopian society, to the extent that this label serves as an attempt to inscribe it into a western discourse of liberalism, modernization, and progress, in which Spain receives enlightenment but does not produce it. It should instead be situated in an older and established Spanish history: a colonial one.

Also common to nearly all literature in the English and Spanish languages regarding the repopulation is the assumption that, while the Church as an earthly institution was attacked by Charles III and his ministers, religion was always a fundamental requirement for any recruited foreign laborers. Most authors now agree that the monarchy exercised unprecedented control over the clerical establishment—Lynch argues the Church was more submissive and dependent on the monarchy than it had ever have been before (or afterwards), while others go as far as to say that the eighteenth century marked the Church’s “collapse.”<sup>12</sup> However, underneath the descriptions of virulent attacks on the Church administration by Spanish reformers, it is always taken for granted that the drive behind the belligerence was a distaste for the far-reaching hand of the papacy and the economic excesses and privileges of the Spanish clergy, and never a disregard for the Catholic faith itself, which remained an essential influence on their policies. Lesmes, like other historians, argues, in an essay on the relationship between the Church and state at the start of the repopulation, that the king demanded a strict vigilance over the recruits before they entered Spain in order to impede the immigration of non-Catholics and exercised “the most

scrupulous care” in making sure that the “new subjects of the Crown would be provided with the necessary spiritual nourishment for the support of its religious life.”<sup>13</sup> I argue that the effort to recruit the Greek colony on Corsica challenges the assumption that Catholicity was an inflexible requirement for the laborers recruited as part of the repopulation effort. No examination of the record can avoid the conclusion that Spanish officials’ faith did not inhibit them from putting practical priorities above spiritual ones and they were, in fact, willing to recruit and accommodate non-Catholic, able-bodied laborers.

## Contracting for Domestic Development

The beginnings of the repopulation project are found in September of 1766, when Charles III was presented with an offer to recruit foreign Catholic laborers and artisans and send them to Spain's American territories in order to establish brand new colonies. Though the proposal was fairly typical, it was not immediately accepted by the Spanish monarchy; Charles and his ministers needed to judge whether or not the project was in Spain's best interests and the proposal quickly became the subject of serious debate. After several months of a series of deliberations concerning it, the king and the Council of Castile found the proposal to their favor, but upon accepting it they revised it in a key respect: the original venture that had been proposed, that of further colonizing Spanish imperial possessions and increasing the number of Spanish vassals in the Americas, was adapted into a domestic reform project to repopulate sparsely inhabited homelands in Spain. The monarchy, it turned out, was more interested and considered it much more expedient to invest in Spain herself rather than in her territories abroad.

Nevertheless, the official program for repopulation that the king and his ministers produced incorporated the first proposal with much of its original character intact as well as a series of suggestions which had surfaced early in the deliberative process and were likewise based on policies developed for and long applied to the Americas.

A close study of the debates which surrounded the initial proposal and shaped the final repopulation program provides us with a way in which to adequately appreciate and understand the repopulation project as a Spanish enterprise on every level. The final plan would also, as the later effort to recruit the Greek colony on Corsica highlights, provide the monarchy with a policy template from which it could draw on to satisfy both domestic and international prerogatives.

The effort constituted a flexible extrapolation of the policies which the deliberative process had produced in order to remain competitive in Spain's ongoing international rivalry with Great Britain—an extrapolation so flexible, in fact, that the Spanish were willing to disregard their written provisions regarding Catholicity.

The original proposal was presented by a Bavarian military contractor, Lieutenant-Colonel Johann Kaspar von Thürriegel, who, no doubt aware that Spain was facing heavy competition from Great Britain, aimed to address perceived Spanish concerns regarding their hegemony across the Atlantic. He proposed to recruit six thousand German and Flemish settlers whose demographics would mimic the diversity of an organically formed population, varying in age, sex, and skill. Whole families would make their way to Puerto Rico or other Spanish Caribbean islands to establish new settlements together rather than cadres of young men. He proposed that the settlers would be evenly split between the sexes<sup>14</sup>—with three thousand men and women between the ages of sixteen and forty, one thousand men and woman between the ages of forty and sixty-five (allowing two hundred of these to be grandparents between the ages of fifty-five and sixty-five), one thousand boys and girls between the ages of seven and sixteen, and finally one thousand young children under seven years of age.<sup>15</sup> Given this composition, fully half of the population would be of a productive, child-bearing age, with an equal distribution of younger and older individuals to keep families together and ensure their perpetuation.

Thürriegel appealed to the king's religious sentiments. The settlers, he assured the monarchy, would be Catholics, adherents to the religion of the kingdom. He offered suggestions for their spiritual administration, advocating that religious services be made available to them: for every five hundred colonists, he suggested, there should be a priest of the same nationality to confess them and serve as their curate. For every thousand people there should be a bailiff, again of the same nationality, with knowledge of Latin. However, if it was not possible to meet these terms, he expressed his trust that the Spanish Jesuits would be perfectly capable of instructing them in the true Christian faith.<sup>16</sup>

Despite its detailed vision for the ideal composition of the recruited population and how it would function as a lucrative colony for Spain, the proposal was the product of a military careerist, one who was neither a Spaniard nor a reformer. Thürriegel has been described as an adventurer and entrepreneur by various historians, and understandably so given his résumé.<sup>17</sup> Forty-four years old when he made his trip to Spain, he had plenty of experience and credible references, albeit

established on false pretenses, to call upon when needed.<sup>18</sup> Born in small town of Gossersdorf to humble parents, Thürriegel started his career as a scribe in a beer factory and later worked as a notary, but he quickly turned to a military career. At first he fought with the Bavarian army in the Austrian War of Succession, but he left after realizing that there was little opportunity for upward mobility.<sup>19</sup> He decided to work as a mercenary, “offering his services,” writes one historian, “to whomever, in the moment, would pay him best.”<sup>20</sup> There being no threat of hegemonic power in Europe between the end of the Spanish War of Succession and the French Revolution, the European monarchies and other political entities never ceased to be in a constant rivalry and focused on building up their military forces. Spain was not unique in this regard—it too underwent military reform, especially after the Seven Years War. The reforms were, in fact, largely influenced by the Prussian military, as Charles III had sent officials to Prussia to observe and records Prussian military tactics, which he admired. Spain also, like other nations, also actively recruited foreign warriors to serve in the military, partially because of the unpopularity of conscription as well as because some foreigners were thought to be particularly skilled and adept at warfare and thus more desirable than the native Spanish population.<sup>21</sup> Men like Thürriegel, then, were now out of place in the Spanish milieu of the time.<sup>22</sup>

In the mid-1760s, after working for several different sovereigns and spending time in jail, Thürriegel decided to try a new course and offer his services to Spain.<sup>23</sup> At first glance, it is surprising that he gained an audience with the Spanish king—coming from a relatively pedestrian background, he would have had little access to the royal court and, in fact, he only managed to gain an audience by passing off his wife as a relative of Emperor Charles VII.<sup>24</sup> Thürriegel’s was to leverage his experience in military recruitment to take advantage of new opportunities. He would recruit people as he might have done for military purposes,<sup>25</sup> but his unusually foresighted goal would be to find settlers who could establish loyal, self-perpetuating and wealth-producing colonies for Spain. In this way, he would strengthen Spain’s American territories and help it remain competitive—Spain could both increase the revenue it received from the colonies and augment its presence and control in the Americas.



In a memorandum which he submitted alongside his proposal, he expressed more specific concerns and advice on certain of its points. He encouraged the king to publish a decree under his signature and royal seal regarding the contract between them, most likely because of his past experience of being accused and incarcerated for carrying illegal papers: the more official documents and letters patent in Thürriegel's possession the greater the ease with which he could carry out the stipulations of his contract in foreign lands. He also asked to be promoted to the rank of colonel and requested 326 *reales* for each person that he recruited, to be paid upon completion of his task.<sup>26</sup> For the seven months during which he was to actively recruit, he requested the stipend of four thousand *reales* per month, and for each of the eight officers that he would appoint to assist him, the payment of one thousand *reales* per month.

He offered some cost estimates for intermediary ports where the recruits would arrive from Germany and then continue onwards to the Americas and asked the king to determine which were, for his purposes, the most expedient.<sup>27</sup> With the aid of eight officers of his choosing, Thürriegel determined, he could complete the recruitment within seven months. However, he made it clear, as he had in the initial proposal and nearly all subsequent documents which he remitted, that he was not offering himself, nor did he want to serve, as an administrator; rather, he was simply a recruiter who, because of his experience and familiarity with Germany and the German and French languages, could successfully gather the appropriate foreign laborers and artisans.<sup>28</sup> He had no interest in working out the details of the actual colonization project or overseeing the establishment and settlement of the people he would procure—that was a task for the Spanish bureaucracy.

Thürriegel's proposal bore on many contemporary concerns, and to determine whether or not it satisfied them all took nearly three quarters of a year. The proposal was first translated and then sent to an ad-hoc junta. Comprised of the Count of Aranda, then president of the Council of Castile, and some members of the Council of the Indies,<sup>29</sup> the group considered the expediency of financing such an enterprise as Thürriegel proposed. Weighing the pros and cons of his

proposition in light of contemporary conditions in the Americas, international politics and Spanish colonial law, the junta, in the first official review of the proposal, discouraged the venture.

It expressed several general concerns, one of which was a skepticism regarding the proposal's practicality. On the most pragmatic level, the members of the junta advised against allowing the two hundred grandparents to be included in the recruitment, who did not serve what they saw as the principal aim of the recruitment: the establishment of new towns which would increase the number of Charles III's vassals in the Americas.<sup>30</sup> Grandparents most certainly would not be able to reproduce and thus their presence constituted an unnecessary expense. The junta also discouraged the inclusion of the young children under the age of seven, whose maintenance, education, and clothing were not worth the expense, as the juveniles would for a long time be inactive, unproductive members of their communities.

The project clearly had both long-term and short-term goals. On the one hand, already established families would guarantee the natural perpetuation of the new settlements; on the other, the age distribution would enable the population to hit the ground running, as it were, and become productive almost immediately—it was, in effect, a transplantation. However, it was this aspect of the proposal that was unsettling for the Spanish authorities. The majority of the junta's concerns were belied by a discomfort and distrust of the colonists' foreignness. The junta worried that the colonists, traveling as families and coming from the same nation(s), were likely to continue observing their own traditions and speaking their mother tongue instead of conforming to Spanish customs and learning Castilian. With the absence of this fundamental cultural connection and the sense of patriotism that having a shared culture ostensibly carried with it, could the colonists be trusted not to conduct illegal business with enemies of the crown when there was such an active foreign presence surrounding their American territories? They could not trust that the colonists, and their future offspring, would grow to become loyal subjects of the Spanish crown. This presented a fundamental problem if the purpose of the enterprise was to provide the monarchy with more loyal (and wealth producing) vassals.

The discomfort with the settlers' foreign nationalities was not a matter of prejudice—in fact, for centuries Spanish monarchs had been welcoming foreign vassals to their kingdom.<sup>31</sup> In the eighteenth century, as historian Tamar Herzog has described, “foreign” and “native Spanish” identities were blurred and often the foreigners who come to Spain could “become natives based on proof that they felt loyal to the community.”<sup>32</sup> However, because the new colonies proposed by Thürriegel would be established in unpopulated or deserted areas, there was no preexisting community to integrate into nor to encourage and reinforce the new vassals' loyalty to the Spanish crown. Belonging and integrating into the Spanish “community” was a process, but one which the foreign recruits would not be able to undergo.<sup>33</sup>

In the event that the new colonists were sent across the Atlantic against their advice, the junta insisted that Thürriegel's proposal would have to be adopted along the lines of those Spanish laws which had been set for the governance of the Americas. In their report they frequently cited provisions from the Laws of the Indies which would inform and guide their acceptance (or alteration) of methods by which the colonists should be transported and governed. All the articles of law which the junta referenced applied as a matter of routine to the formation of new colonies by foreign settlers in the Americas.

In addition to more logistical and technical concerns, such as the minimum number of houses and bare essentials that were needed to form a settlement,<sup>34</sup> the junta's report made reference to the matters of vassalage and loyalty to the crown. “Forming a national body and union in the Indies,” warned the junta, “could be very dangerous” and could, in fact, stand in direct opposition to “the fundamental laws concerning the conservation of the religion and customs of [the American territories in which they would settle].”<sup>35</sup> Specifically, the report advised that, in conformance with existing law, the foreign colonists not be allowed to settle on the coast, where they would pose a security risk to Spain's most valuable colonial strongholds.<sup>36</sup> Offhandedly it suggested that instead of sending the colonists to the Americas, the Spanish should send them to what were well-known depopulated areas within Spain herself. There they would encounter Spanish communities and Spanish authorities would have more direct oversight.<sup>37</sup> The junta

closed its report urging that the considerations it had enumerated be taken into account as the deliberation on Thürriegel's proposal continued.

The second review of the proposal was offered a month later by the then atypical figure of Pablo of Olavide. A Creole born and raised in Peru, but who had become a servant to the Spanish monarchy, it is curious that Olavide would have had a say in the deliberation over Thürriegel's proposal as, in general, creoles were marginalized by the Bourbon monarchs, especially in regard to peninsular affairs. He did, however, represent a rare case and his opinion was solicited by the Council of Castile in this matter.<sup>38</sup>

Olavide was thought to have an intimate knowledge and understanding of the American territories and thus could provide a reliable assessment of the question at hand. The opinion he submitted was, in part, didactic in nature and began by categorizing the territories that could be found under Spanish control into three types, acknowledging that the usefulness of his testimony was precisely found in his intimate knowledge of the Americas.<sup>39</sup> After briefly discussing the social conditions of the territories and the nature of the people who inhabited them, he addressed whether colonies such as Thürriegel proposed would be appropriately placed within these domains: only the last two categories of land, those which were wanting in development or entirely deserted, could be considered appropriate, most especially the last.

However, Olavide, like the junta, was troubled by the notion of having an exclusively German colony within the Spanish Americas. "It is necessary to consider," he advised the council, "that it would not be expedient to populate any of these lands only with Germans. A colony made up solely of foreigners could not be considered Spanish."<sup>40</sup> He reiterated the junta's beliefs that were the Germans to be left in a colony of their own, they would continue speaking their own language, observing their own customs and thinking of no one but themselves, evidencing no love for or fidelity to the Spanish king. Their society would be a "venal" one, "disposed to take advantage of the first opportunity which would leave them better off, and from whom no rigorous defense could be expected in case of invasion."<sup>41</sup> Thürriegel's contract was

inappropriate for the American context, and could possibly jeopardize Spain's position across the Atlantic.

Should the monarchy ultimately decide to recruit and then transport German colonists to its territories in the Americas, Olavide believed it would then be necessary for the settlements which they would either join or form to be composed primarily of Spanish natives. For every German sent, he suggested, there should be sent two Spaniards.<sup>42</sup> The colonies which they would establish would be governed by Spanish laws and administered spiritually by Spanish clergy. These conditions would help to ensure that colony's fidelity to the Spanish monarchy and promote the hispanicization of the foreign colonists who resided in them.

His practiced observations aside, however, Olavide was not swayed by the proposal. It was his opinion that in Spanish American colonial society manual labor was performed primarily, and best, by African slaves. The foreigners, he assured the council, would learn this fact about Spanish America very quickly and would naturally want to disassociate themselves from the stigma inherent in their performing similar tasks as the slaves. They would pursue more dignified opportunities for work at their earliest opportunities and would readily abandon their obligations as outlined by Thürriegel's project. Furthermore, Olavide predicted, there would likely be an effort on the part of already established Spanish landowners to co-opt these new white settlers as slave-drivers and workers on their plantations.

The worry that the established American Spaniards<sup>43</sup> would work against the plans of the crown in their own interests belonged to a larger set of preoccupations regarding the state of economic and political affairs between Spain and America. In general, the Bourbon monarchs asserted more control over their colonies as competition over American resources, territory and maritime trade between European imperial powers was grew ever fiercer, and it is generally accepted that trade between Spain and America increased dramatically in the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup> However, it was clear that, by the 1760s, well-established systems of governance and economy in the Americas were difficult to control and monopolize from the Iberian Peninsula. From the years 1750-65, one historian has noted, the Spanish monarchy attempted to

“hispanicize the American government”<sup>45</sup>—by filling the highest-ranking posts with Spaniards—the Spanish administration was not only worried about the loyalty of foreign settlers, but also about those who ostensibly, should have been loyal in the first place.<sup>46</sup>—

After the Seven Years War, the government felt pressure to deviate from its long-standing policies which established monopolies and to try new approaches to Spanish-American trade. Finding themselves short on funds in late 1765, Charles and his ministers reluctantly opened American trade access to an additional eight ports in Spain and allowed for more open intercontinental trade between the colonies themselves, an act which has been identified as the initiation of *comercio libre*, or free trade, in the Spanish empire. However, rather than cause an upset in prior economic relations, or exemplify a sharp turn in economic thought, the concession by the monarchy was just that: a concession. Troubled, the monarchy tossed in the towel and opted for a fresh approach to encourage economic development and increase revenue brought in from the American colonies.<sup>47</sup>— They were willing to try out a new strategy, but they were certainly skeptical.

Pablo of Olavide was more in favor of the economic policy of 1765 than other royal officials, as he is notorious for having been an *afrancesado*, or Francophile, in the sense that he subscribed to popular currents of thought of the philosophes, among which were theories of free trade.<sup>48</sup>—

Olavide took advantage of the opportunity and used the report as an opportunity to promote his ideas concerning which reforms would be most beneficial to the Americas’ productivity and general economic and social condition. The easing of restrictions on the import of African slaves would, in his mind, bring more efficiency and wealth to Spain’s holdings, as opposed to Thürriegel’s foreign labor and settlement project. He urged the monarchy repeatedly in his letter to do away with the contemporary restrictions and quotas on slave imports—the question of Thürriegel’s colonists appeared more as an afterthought, or supplement to his own opinions and priorities.

After the two principal reports from the junta and Pablo of Olavide were submitted, Thürriegel’s proposal was circulated within the Council of Castile. By November, the revised proposal

consisted of nine stipulations which were to endure through to the final version. They addressed many of the concerns that had been expressed in the reports, namely the religion, nationalities, and privileges of the colonists as well as the extent of Thürriegel's rights and obligations.<sup>49</sup>— All of the stipulations were open to discussion save for the set price of 326 *reales* that Thürriegel was to be paid per colonist he recruited.

There had been ample deliberation upon the proposal's nine basic stipulations—even Thürriegel's translator submitted recommendations on how best to formulate the project.<sup>50</sup>— In terms of structure, the original character of the proposal had remained more or less intact, with some additional provisions drawn from the junta's report. However, by late spring of 1767, in a fundamental way, the purpose and direction of the proposal was changed. The Council of Castile, taking what had in the junta's report figured as off-handed advice, decided that resettlement would be realized in Spain instead of the Spanish American territories.

The decision to build a domestic community from scratch was not based on new ideas. For more than a century Spanish officials had considered 'repopulating' the southern regions of Sierra Morena and Andalusia. Lesmes remarks at length that during the reigns of Philips III, IV, V and VI there was talk of repopulating areas of land for various reasons, and there are other proposals to be found scattered in the papers of the Council of Castile,<sup>51</sup> including a proposal made by a Frenchman in early 1750 to bring German colonists to Spain to "cultivate the land."<sup>52</sup>— However, with a king and a council intent on addressing growing concerns that their population was decreasing and aware that other European kingdoms were implementing similar 'populating ventures,' the decision to finally carry out the project must have appeared newly expedient in late 1766 and early 1767. Russia, in particular, was accepting into her lands large numbers of Greeks and Poles, who were anxious to emigrate as a result of conflicts within the Ottoman Empire. Britain was recruiting Greeks, French, and Germans to its colonies in the Americas, both to its older settlements in what is now Pennsylvania and to its newly acquired territories in Florida.<sup>53</sup>— "Although in the other times," the Council wrote in the spring of 1767, "people wanted to debate whether or not it was expedient to bring foreigners to repair our depopulation... the Council, if it

wants, can instruct itself of the truth of the situation.”<sup>54</sup>— Though the Spanish population was, in fact, growing at an incredible rate during the eighteenth century,<sup>55</sup>— the Council, citing the numerous expulsions of Jews, Moors, and vast and continuing immigration of Spaniards to the Americas, was convinced that the Spanish population was shrinking.<sup>56</sup>— “It is an axiom in political science and government,” wrote the Council in a report regarding Thurriegel’s proposal in February of 1767, “that the power and wealth of a state is yielded by the abundance of its population.”<sup>57</sup>— The Council decided that it was time to deal with the problem proactively. The repopulation project was not solely informed by older Spanish policies. The Council saw it as part of a broader economic and social reform in the mid-eighteenth century to release the Spanish agricultural system from the influence of nobles and ecclesiastics who sat on huge tracts of uncultivated land. Before the reign of Charles III, efforts had already been made on the part of his predecessor’s ministers to address deficits in revenue and flaws in the Spanish tax system which, by extension, went hand in hand with an initiative to address social and infrastructural problems of the kingdom.<sup>58</sup>— Some proposals entailed a drastic change in fiscal policy, most notably a change from a diversity of *rentas provinciales*, private taxes specific to the several Spanish provinces and levied on consumer goods and services, to a single ‘income tax’ which would be calculated according to each citizen’s ability to pay. Ferdinand VI did, in fact, issue a royal decree in 1749 abolishing provincial taxes, one which, while its intended scope was not fully realized, cut tax farmers out the middle men in the tax collection process and brought taxes under the uniform control of the king and his ministers.<sup>59</sup>— However, while these achievements were considerable, they were resisted: to the Church and the nobility, the reforms could constitute nothing less than an attack on their personal fiscal and social privileges, and they managed to counteract much of the change by quiet protest and, later, by successfully agitating to remove from power the minister whose influence had driven the initiatives.<sup>60</sup>—

The most substantial land reform was seen under Charles III’s reign, in large part due to Pedro Rodriguez of Campomanes. Starting in 1763, the government issued a suspension of evictions for those who had been on short-term leases and, following the example of the *intendente* of



Badajoz, ordered that southern provinces distribute town lands to the neediest peasants, with preference to landless laborers and farmers, at low fixed rents.<sup>61</sup>— The intention was to increase cultivation and productivity by making use of lands that lay either unattended or in *manos muertas*, the hands of those who did not cultivate their property, such as the clergy.<sup>62</sup>— Spain was having difficulty producing enough grain to supply its growing population, and was relying heavily on imports from its colonies in the Americas.

Two important practical goals of the construction of the new settlements then, were to cultivate more grain on Spain's own unused land and establish safe-posts and guardians for the carriageways that ran from the southern coast of Spain, where imports from the Americas were received, to Madrid in the center of the peninsula. Influenced by both old precedents and new lines of thinking, the Council of Castile laid down the rules for the carrying out of an internal agricultural and economic reform. The goals of the reform were in the long term, to further increase Spain's population and to make use of the land that lay uncultivated. In addition, Pablo of Olavide was named as the primary administrator of the project as Pedro of Larrumbe, the Spanish royal official who would have been the first choice for the appointment, was incapacitated by serious illness.<sup>63</sup>—

The lands to which the foreign colonists were to be sent were not always 'deserted' in the sense that nobody owned or inhabited them. Quite to the contrary; much of the territory was uncultivated land appropriated from Spanish nobles, the unused communal property of towns, or lands that surrounded the royal road connecting Cádiz, the port city at which all imports from the Americas was received, to Madrid, which had no established populations but which teemed with bandits and vagrants.<sup>64</sup>— While the appropriation of the last two categories of land by the Spanish government certainly presented a significant social restructuring, it was the first category, though it constituted but a small percentage of the land that was used,<sup>65</sup>— that was the most remarkable, and also the most problematic.

Although those who were unburdened of their property were ostensibly compensated, many protested that, beside the fact that they did not agree with the measure to begin with, the

compensation was inadequate. On the whole, their protestations were to little or no avail. The council made sure to include a provision in one of the contracts they would publish, to prevent the dispossessed from petitioning or being recompensed in any way that could “interfere or paralyze the development of the new settlements.”<sup>66</sup> The Council, probably most especially Campomanes, who had denounced the inefficiency of the agricultural system and the impediments of noble and ecclesiastical landholdings in a tract he had published only two years before, was ready to reform and reshape Spain’s economic and agricultural structure with little sympathy for its unproductive aristocracy.<sup>67</sup>

In the end, three royal decrees constituted the Spanish monarchy’s positive response to the proposal. First, Thürriegel’s contract with the Spanish monarchy, published on 2 April, 1767, consisted of a longer and more detailed version of the earlier nine stipulations discussed above. It also outlined Thürriegel’s obligations and the specifications for the colonists that were to be brought to Spain from Germany and Flanders. A full three months later, on 5 July, the second decree was published, documenting the official instructions for the royal commissioners who were to facilitate the receipt of the foreign colonists in the port cities in which they were to disembark. Consisting of nineteen stipulations, the instructions officially announced the leadership and administrative role bestowed upon Pablo of Olavide and outlined the rules which both he and the commissioners were to observe. Third, and perhaps most importantly, a *fuero de población* was published two days later, laying down in detail the rules and laws under which the new colonists were to establish their settlements and conduct their lives.

The *fuero* which the Council published was a mixture of established Spanish legal precedents and some novel social and economic arrangements. The colonists who were to colonize southern Spain were required to observe the laws that governed the territories in which they made their settlement, but they were also allowed substantial privileges, many of which were derived from the laws pertaining to the settlement of American territories to which the initial junta had referred in its report. Most of those privileges which were taken from existing precedents pertained to the material and logistical aspects of the settlement: the colonists were given large

plots of land, 50 *fanegas*, or around 80 acres,<sup>68</sup> a variety of livestock, and functional agricultural tools to facilitate a quick and proper settlement. At the same time, there were ostensibly strict rules and regulations imposed on them: they were required to be Catholic and, as was determined from the outset, they could be of no higher status than a laborer or small artisan.<sup>69</sup> They were also restricted from pursuing education higher than the primary level and in when and whether they and their offspring could leave the land they had been granted for cultivation.

At the project's conception, the main concerns driving it were mainly economic, not explicitly social. Though the repopulation effort was contemporaneous with significant educational and administrative reforms in Spain, the foreign settlers were not brought into the kingdom to join the cultured elite—they were recruited to form part of a broad agricultural reform and, in a crude way, were viewed as units of wealth. Though they would initially present an expense for the treasury and were granted an exemption from paying tribute to the crown for ten years, in the end they were meant to produce wealth and maximize Spanish resources. Their relocation was an investment.

The long-term and large-scale project to settle foreign Catholic laborers in southern Spain served as a framework for a general policy to address Spain's economic needs in the late 1760s. Both Charles III and the Council of Castile proved to be flexible and pragmatic, even opening the floor to the Creole Pablo of Olavide who, only fifty years earlier, would not have been asked to participate in on the deliberation and planning process, much less granted primary oversight over the general repopulation project. A documentary study of the lengthy consideration which Thürriegel's proposal received reveals that, contrary to the arguments of previous historiography, the recruitment and repopulation initiatives that the Spanish monarchy undertook were not solely or even largely the product of borrowed Enlightenment ideas.

## Domestic Initiatives and Geopolitics: “The Corsican Question”<sup>70</sup>

Why sleep lethargic!—crush the foe,  
And ward the *meditated* blow.  
Had Cadiz known thy *hostil* pow’r,  
Sunk in the dust th’embattled tow’r  
Had quell’d the Spaniard’s pride;  
No more had Bourbon’s hydra-race  
(While black Dishonor veil’d his face)  
A Conqu’ror’s arms defy’d.—

If the Spanish crown was drawing its ideas from its own history and books of precedent, it was also flexible in ways previously unimagined. Only six months after the Council published the *fuero de población* it adopted the document to authorize the recruitment of a Greek colony on Ajaccio, Corsica. In the case of the Greek colony, domestic and international concerns explicitly converged; in an effort to hinder Great Britain’s own recruitment efforts, the Spanish completely disregarded their documented prerequisite of Catholicity to recruit the Orthodox Greeks on Corsica and include them in the repopulation project.

The Spanish governments' attempt to recruit the Greek colony was made at a turbulent time, for in 1768 Corsica lay at the heart of political maneuvering among European powers. The French had briefly annexed the island in 1553 and, since the late sixteenth century, had enjoyed considerable influence over Corsican affairs. Although the Republic of Genoa had officially exercised control over the island for centuries, the relationship between the Genoese and the French was characterized by what one historian has described as a tutelage; while the Genoese paid "the cost of [the island's] administration and [bore] the grief caused by its rebellious people," the French could sit back and "reap the advantages."<sup>72</sup> The English, concerned that France had designs in the Mediterranean and fearing that France planned to assume permanent sovereignty over the small island whose location made its possession so geopolitically important, pressed for transparency in French policies.

Why in 1768, given that the French position was a lucrative one, was Great Britain afraid that France would attempt to assume direct control of Corsica? The British were aware that concern had heightened in the French court when the exploitative character and decadence of Genoese rule incited a Corsican rebellion in 1729. It was an event in which no other major power had taken much interest or intervened but which had nevertheless left the French uncomfortable and nervous. After the Spanish War of Succession, during which French gained a familial ally in Spain but the Spanish lost several key territories in Europe, and especially following Spain's cession of Gibraltar and Minorca to England with the Treaty of Paris in 1763, control of the Mediterranean had become a serious concern for all the major European monarchies.<sup>73</sup> Political and social instability, not to mention the likelihood of rebellion, in the Mediterranean were no longer acceptable. Unlike in the previous century, the French could no longer afford to have an indirect influence over the little island. In order to secure their interests and power in Europe, the prudent choice in 1768 was direct annexation.

The British, as well as the Spanish, were anything but naïve about the stirring preoccupations of the French court. In early December of 1767, the Marquis of Viviani, the Spanish ambassador to Florence, wrote to the Council of Castile that the minister of England resident in the Florentine

Court was “conducting business in the name of General Paoli” (the most prominent nationalist Corsican leader at the time) when the latter was absent, as well as on “other important occasions.”<sup>74</sup>— There were rumors that the British were planning to take possession of Ajaccio, the best seaport on Corsica, and in late April there seemed to be concrete evidence that the English were increasing the number of ships they had in the Mediterranean.<sup>75</sup>—

In London, the Prince of Maserano, the Spain’s ambassador to England, observed while increasing numbers of “secret conferences” and meetings were held and tensions rose between the French ambassador and British representatives after plans for the cession of Corsica were officially announced. In early July, Maserano reported to the Council of Castile that the atmosphere in England had become one of disquiet and confrontation:

Lord Shelburne said that he did not want to break the peace, and somewhat angrily added that as a good minister and citizen he would never allow France to gain any advantage over England. [Chatelet] answered that he too, as a good ambassador and good vassal of his most Christian Majesty, would not allow that England should gain any advantage over France, adding that he did not see in the present case an instance in which his court was trying to take something belonging to England, since Corsica [was] not England’s...<sup>76</sup>—

For months heated discussions continued between the two powers. Although the British had formerly denounced the Corsicans as illegitimate rebels when they had rebelled against the Genoese in 1729,<sup>77</sup>— it seemed crystal clear to everyone, especially after Paoli had been represented by an English diplomat in the Florentine court, that the British had changed their minds. “We infer,” wrote Maserano, “that from now on [the British] will secretly help the Corsicans with money and arms in order so that they can oppose the French.”<sup>78</sup>—

Initially, the Council of Castile’s only interest in Corsica was using it as a dumping ground for the Jesuits Spain had recently expelled from the Iberian Peninsula and Spanish territories abroad—Corsica was an easily accessible location to which to transport members of the exiled order.<sup>79</sup>— Although the Republic of Genoa would not allow the Jesuits to pass to their continental territories, it was perfectly willing to allow them to relocate to the island while it was still in their

possession—they had little regard for whether or not the mass immigration might present difficulties to the native population as, by the time they had agreed to the transfer, the Republic was in the process of relinquishing its sovereignty over Corsica to France.

Although the arrangement between Spain and Genoa was disagreeable to French officials, as they were concerned that the Jesuit presence would put strain on the provisions of the French troops who were already stationed on the island in early 1768, they nevertheless allowed it to continue.<sup>80</sup>— The Duke of Choiseul, the French minister of foreign affairs who would be largely responsible for annexing Corsica to the French kingdom, ordered the French troops to allow the Jesuits to pass without difficulty. No doubt Choiseul, as one of the authors of the Third Family Pact, was acutely aware of the importance of the Bourbon alliance and felt it imprudent to impede Spanish ambitions.<sup>81</sup>— The French were willing to compromise in order to protect their alliance with Spain: at a time when Europe’s “states were linked together in a tangle of rivalries” it was advantageous to establish and then maintain alliances against common enemies—in this case, Britain. They thus dealt with the Jesuit problem diplomatically and, at least at first, granted Spain’s requests.<sup>82</sup>—

In late 1767 and early 1768 the Spanish learned of a small colony of Greek refugees in Ajaccio and became intent on including them in their larger repopulation project. The Spanish already had the administrative machinery in place to easily accommodate the new recruits—all they had to do was modify the *fuero de población* published six months before. As there would already be at least one Spanish ship sailing to Corsica to transfer unwanted Jesuits from the Americas, no extra expense or arrangement would have to be made to secure the Greek’s transport to Spain: they could simply board the boat for its return voyage.

The Greek colony’s origins no doubt constituted a motivating factor for the Spanish to recruit them. The Greeks had come to Corsica from the district of Maina, on the peninsula of Morea, Greece, an area which was thought by some contemporaries to be the home of the direct descendants of the Lacedemonians (Spartans). Although, when Ottoman forces attacked Maina

in 1666 they did not forfeit their reputation as fearless and immensely skilled warriors, the “bravest of all Greeks.”<sup>83</sup> Still, they eventually succumbed. The invaders conquered the territory and exploited its inhabitants, offering, as one descendent of the Greek colony wrote, nothing more than a life of slavery and misfortune.<sup>84</sup>

Though many refused to leave their homeland while war continued, approximately one thousand individuals, led by the Stephanopoulos family of Oitylo, chose to seek asylum abroad.

Representatives were sent to Italy, and reports soon came that the Republic of Genoa had agreed to facilitate the Greeks’ settlement on Corsica. The agreement stipulated that the settlers would be able to hold the land which they settled, in the territories of Paomia, Ruvide, and Salogna, in perpetual fief, contributing a certain percentage of their harvest to the Genoese and paying a small tax.<sup>85</sup> For the sum of forty thousand pounds, refundable in ten years, the Republic supplied them with the necessary seeds for planting.<sup>86</sup> In 1676 a total of 430 Greek men, women, and children left Maina, with their bishops and priests, to begin their journey to Corsica.<sup>87</sup>

The Greeks were rumored to be hardworking and naturally gifted farmers and, rising to expectations, they brought the lands the Genoese had granted them to an impressive level of cultivation soon after they had settled.<sup>88</sup> James Boswell, who had toured the island and befriended the leader of the Greek colony in the early 1760s, suggested that their success was one reason why the Greeks quickly found themselves at odds with their Corsican neighbors.<sup>89</sup>

Not only was their allegiance owed to a sovereign disliked by native islanders, but the Greeks were uniquely prosperous on land that was not, in Corsican eyes, rightfully theirs.

Moreover, they had purposefully isolated themselves—the Greeks maintained a cohesive community and their faith until 1768 when the Spanish solicited them.<sup>90</sup> Although the Greeks had had to formally recognize the supremacy of the Pope in Rome as a condition for their settlement in Corsica in the seventeenth century, there was a lack of pressure from the Genoese to truly convert to Catholicism. The Greek colony therefore had had little incentive to do away with its previous religious customs and beliefs and assimilate into a Catholic community. Their faith was another factor which contributed to their poor relations with the native Corsicans: the



Greeks belonged to the Greek rite and continued to be spiritually administered by Orthodox priests, worshipping in their own, separate church.

Nevertheless, how the Greeks chose to live their lives was ultimately of little interest to the Republic of Genoa. It was the Greeks reputation for skill in the military arts, more than anything else, that had persuaded the Genoese to offer the Greeks asylum and an advantageous contract for settlement. When the Corsicans rebelled in 1729, an event which the Republic of Genoa had anticipated, the Genoese called upon the settlers for assistance in quelling the uprising. There are conflicting accounts regarding whether or not the Greeks wanted to fight, but the fact that they did, and lost much by doing so, is not disputed. As Boswell noted:

The Genoese formed three regular companies of [the Greeks], to whom they gave pay; and they were always employed in the most difficult enterprises. In particular, they were detached to attempt taking the castle of Corte from the patriots; on which occasion, they were sorely defeated, and a great number of them were killed.—<sup>91</sup>

The Corsican rebels targeted the Greeks, whom they identified as auxiliaries of the Genoese, and drove them from the lands which they had called home for the past sixty years and into Ajaccio.<sup>92</sup>— As a result of their obligations to the Genoese guarantors of their asylum, the Greek community had lost many men and its properties. While the colony reestablished itself, its members were disillusioned and disappointed by the role they were coerced to play in the 1729 rebellion. “The misfortunes of their original country,” wrote the Duchess d’Abrantès, a descendent of the Greeks, a century later, had “seemed to pursue them in their new asylum!”<sup>93</sup>—

The earliest documented proposal to recruit the Greek population to immigrate to Spain was made in early 1768 to the Council of Castile by Alfonso de Albuquerque, commander of the ship which had been charged to transport members of the Jesuit order from the Americas to the island. The observations and conclusions concerning the utility of transporting the Greek population which he submitted to the Council of Castile were supplemented by reports of the Spanish royal commissioners who were placed in Corsica at the time, Fernando Colonel and

Pedro Laforcada. They concurred that the Greek families would be worthwhile to recruit due to their agricultural and war-fighting talents and that they should be included in the repopulation project which was already underway.

Spanish officials had, by late 1767, turned away more than seventy foreign settlers because they were deemed physically unfit enough to be useful.<sup>94</sup>—

Recruiting the Greek colony was an opportunity to quickly and easily transport settlers whom they already knew to be industrious. Informed of the community's troubled history by their commissioners on the ground, the Spanish were confident that they could entice the Greeks to immigrate with a more stable political atmosphere and the same benefits they were extending to all foreign recruits: free passage and generous plots of land for which they would have to pay no taxes for ten years. In addition, the Spanish promised to grant the Greek colony a town of their own, La Parrilla, where they could be administered by their own priests.

Spain's entreaties, as had been predicted and intended, were well received by the Greek colony. When it was clear that the Corsicans were going to rebel against the treaty ceding France sovereignty over the island, many of the Greek settlers were unwilling either to fight against the Corsican rebels once again or to gamble on the rebels' mercy or respect by opting for a position of neutrality. Immigration to Spain was an opportunity to escape their precarious situation and would provide for them even better than their original arrangements with the Genoese had.<sup>95</sup>—

Spain had little reason to suspect, after it had been allowed to continue the export of its expelled Jesuits, that the French would impede the Greek colony's immigration to Spain. However, the Spanish were concerned that Great Britain, quite apart from its attempts to prevent French annexation of the island, would set its sights on the Greek colony, for, having discovered that the Floridian territories, which they had acquired from the Spanish in 1763 at the end of the Seven Years' War were largely deserted, the British were engaged in a 'repopulation' project of their own.<sup>96</sup>— The British government instituted easily-accessible and generous land grants for colonists, and the newly appointed Governor of East Florida, James Grant, enticed potential settlers with descriptions of the fecundity and abundance of the available land. Appearing

alongside his descriptions, which were published in the London *Gazette*, were clear instructions on how to obtain the land grants being advertised. The propaganda was to the point: there was wealth to be had for those willing to aggressively claim and cultivate the territories.

The question of Eastern Florida had attracted the attention of several notable individuals in Britain, among whom there appeared to be a consensus—Greeks, it was thought, would be the ideal colonists for the Florida territories. Archibald Menzies, who had been traveling in Greece when the British assumed control over Eastern Florida, published upon his return to England a pamphlet urging the British government to facilitate the immigration of Greek laborers, who he cited as being extraordinarily “industrious” and who had many skills that could be of use to the British.<sup>97</sup> Much in the same tone, William Knox encouraged Greek immigration, arguing that, should the British tolerate the Greek Orthodox faith (at least for the time being) and incur the cost of their voyage, the Greeks would be “induced to become [British] subjects.”<sup>98</sup> In fact, the government did pay heed to the various recommendations, for in 1765 Dr. Andrew Turnbull, the British consul stationed in Greece, was granted a huge tract of land<sup>99</sup> to establish New Smyrna, a colony that would be populated mostly by Greek immigrants from the Morea peninsula and the island of Minorca. In 1768, England’s interests in Corsica did not solely revolve around the protection of its strategic position in Europe as against the French—the British were, in fact, in competition with the Spanish, also actively recruiting the Greeks of Ajaccio as colonists twice over.

The Spanish monarchy was extremely sensitive to and concerned about the British plan to include the Greek colony on Corsica in the colonization of Eastern Florida. “Now more than ever [is it important to recruit the Greeks of Ajaccio],” Fernando Coronel wrote to the President of the Council of Castile in March of 1768, “as an English ship has come, making them various offers to come to Saint Augustine.”<sup>100</sup> Although the Spanish had been assured by the leader of the colony that the Greeks had no interest in accepting Britain’s offers,<sup>101</sup> the information that the British were not only capitalizing on the land that Spain had had to concede to them<sup>102</sup> but potentially ruining current Spanish initiatives was an unacceptable blow to the monarchy’s pride.

The Spanish monarchy was quick to respond. Council of Castile, in drafts of the contract it produced for the Greek settlers, made its desire to impede British activities explicit:

It's also in our interest that [the Greeks] do not go to Florida at the urge of the British and become our enemies...in virtue of admitting them [to Spanish territories] the English recruitment will everyday encounter more difficulties...while [the English] think of populating the most distant lands of the Americas, your majesty floods these domains with new vassals, with whom you augment your internal forces.<sup>103</sup>—

Only two months after the proposal to recruit the Greeks, the Council of Castile, on the first of May, 1768, produced an official contract for the resettlement of the colony.<sup>104</sup>— On 9 May the Council dispatched copies of the contract with orders to Pablo of Olavide and two other commissioners, Lorenzo de Tavares in Málaga and Francisco Xavier Larumbe in San Lucar de Barrameda. Urged to accommodate the Greeks as soon as possible, Spanish officials immediately began to arrange and prepare for the settler's move to Spain.

That the Spanish would be willing to recruit the Greeks even though they were only nominally Catholic is, at first, astounding. However, when situated in the context of the repopulation project and Spain's age-old rivalry with Britain, the decision is not surprising at all. The Greek colony was a unique and advantageous opportunity for the Spanish monarchy: in one fell swoop Spain could at once, with relatively little effort, transplant a notoriously industrious community, to begin immediate cultivation of Spanish lands, and foil the plans of the British, who were actively recruiting the Greeks for their own colonial purposes. The key for the Spanish, however, was to successfully recruit the colony before the British did. Spain's decision was, essentially, a strategic and practical response to Britain's looming competition.

The British believed that Spain would refrain from recruiting any non-Catholic peoples. Similar to Russia in Eastern Europe, it was thought, Britain could gain industrious Greek colonists for its territories by virtue of religious tolerance. This was echoed in Menzies' publication, which argued that religion would be “a bar to [the Greeks] forming connections with French or Spaniards” and that Britain should therefore actively recruit them as one way to get the better of

its European rivals.<sup>105</sup> Of course, Menzies was speaking of the Greeks he had encountered in the Levant, and not specifically of the Greek colony on Corsica, but the strategy was a general one. Britain clearly underestimated Spanish flexibility. Reacting to British policies, the Spanish administration was willing to overlook the religion of its recruits in order to carry out its pragmatic goals, a fact whose recognition profoundly undermines the caricature of Spain as an inflexible and backward European power blinded and impeded by its religiosity. In a way, this flexibility and discrete tolerance was in line with Charles III's anti-papism and policies which brought the Church further under the purview of the state; although the Church maintained a great deal of its structure and influence, it was no longer independent and was expected to act, by the King and his ministers, as a party to reform.<sup>106</sup> Exercising unprecedented control over the clerical establishment, the Spanish monarchy had no trouble carrying out its plans for practical economic reform and simply wagering that, in the long run, the Greeks would intermarry with Spaniards and, eventually, truly convert to Catholicism.

While France initially agreed to allow the transfer of the Greek families, the growing unrest of the Corsican population changed the political atmosphere on the island and prompted the French to stall. When rebels took partial control of Ajaccio, the Greek settlement came to be viewed as a strategic asset for the French forces,<sup>107</sup> serving as leverage against the Corsicans who had infiltrated the port city.<sup>108</sup> After numerous delays and purposefully ambiguous correspondence between the Spanish and French courts, by August of 1768 the French finally made it clear that, in light of the circumstances, they could not allow the Greeks to leave the island. Nonplussed that the French had reneged on their agreement and "wrecked" their plans, the Spanish officials complained amongst themselves, fully persuaded that had the island still been Genoan hands their project would have been carried out.<sup>109</sup>

Ultimately, however, that the Spanish failed to recruit the Greek colony in the end was and is unimportant. In practical terms, 140 Greek families did not, after all, constitute a monumental loss—they had only been tacked on to the six thousand other individuals who were immigrating

to Spain. The Spanish monarchy decided, and wisely so, that the incident did not constitute a grave enough offence to warrant any reaction which could jeopardize Spanish and French relations and their alliance against Great Britain. For purposes of our argument, meanwhile, the importance in the Greco-Corsican episode lies in the fact of the attempt to recruit, not its success or failure. In the interest of bolstering its repopulation project and keeping Britain on its toes, Spain cast aside religious concerns and risked its precious bargaining power to invite non-Catholics to its heartland.\*

## Conclusion

Mid eighteenth-century Spain, rather than being judged a backward kingdom in economic and social decay in the context of general European modernization, or a country which strove to imitate the enlightenment of other countries, is characterized by aggressive and deliberative action toward the improvement of its domestic and international standing. The Council of Castile drew on long-standing colonial settlement policies to shape its domestic reform project of 1767 to repopulate and cultivate the barren Spanish countryside, believing that it could govern Spain in an optimally efficient and productive way and, by extension, strengthen her in the face of

competition from powerful neighbors. This repopulation project, rather than being borrowed from contemporary enlightenment theories, is rooted in a Spanish history of colonization. Furthermore, Spain cannot be considered as xenophobic or fanatically religious as it has erstwhile been described. Though Catholicism was always articulated as a prerequisite to settling within Spanish territories, the fact that the Greek colony, which very nearly joined the thousands of German and Flemish colonists who were delivered by Thurriegel and his associates, was only nominally Catholic, and essentially Orthodox in creed, highlights the pragmatic disposition of the governing Council and Charles himself in the 1760s. Pressured by the successful activities of other European powers, and acutely aware of longstanding domestic problems and drawbacks to the contemporary economic and agricultural systems within the Iberian peninsula, the administration was willing to reconsider or bend its requirements in order to remain competitive. This is not to say that they actively recruited non-Catholic foreign laborers on a broader scale, but rather that, when an opportune moment presented itself, they were ready to take advantage of it.

This thesis has attempted to study and pinpoint a specific episode's place in the complex and dynamic context of European rivalries as well as situate it in the context of Spain's history. The purpose has not been to advocate for a Spanish place in the history of enlightened despotism and the policies of the European "Enlightenment," or argue that all prior conceptions regarding religiosity, unsuccessful reform, or the extent to which diplomacy was utilized have been false. The Bourbon eighteenth century was indeed a century in which the Inquisition as an institution endured, the Church maintained a great deal of its property, in which the majority of the population lived in extreme poverty, and during which Spain experienced drastic demographic change due to its tremendous population growth and the strife that resulted from a network of static agricultural and economic policies. These 'facts' of Spanish history, however, have nearly always been embedded within a larger narrative of modernization in which they serve to separate or contrast Spain from more 'advanced' nations—a historiographical tradition I have, in this project, hopefully left behind.

## Epilogue

“There is a story relative to the family name of the Bonapartes,” wrote a Mr. Tennent in an 1867 issue of *Notes & Queries*, “that somewhat excites the curiosity as to the amount of truth which it may contain.” He continued:

...one of the persons...employed by Napoleon to rouse the Greeks in 1798 [in preparation to descend upon Egypt] was named Stephanopoli; and one of the arguments which he used was that Napoleon himself was a Greek in blood, and a Mainote by birth, being descended from one of the exiles who took refuge at Ajaccio in 1673. The name of this family he said was Calomeri, *Καλομερις*, which the Corsicans accomodated to their own dialect by translating it into *Buonaparte*...it is desirable to know whether it has ever been authoritatively denied...—<sup>116</sup>

In response to his query, another author wrote two months later:

I am happy to be able to assert with confidence, and on the authority of General Kallergie, the intimate friend of the present Emperor, of Prince Pitzipios, and others, that the story devised by Nicholas Stephanopoulos, and mentioned by his niece the Duchess d’Abrantes in her *Memoirs*, that Napoleon was a Greek in blood and a Maniote by birth, being descended from the family of Calomeri who took refuge at Ajaccio Corsica, was never authoritatively denied.—<sup>117</sup>



Napoleon's origins have never been confirmed, but this legend of his Greek "extraction," amongst various others, has persisted to the present day. However, it is likely that Napoleon was not born to Greek parents, despite the latter author's confidence in his genealogy.<sup>112</sup> While the theory was, as he writes, never officially denied, it was never affirmed either. In the cited memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès, she does not, in fact, assert that Napoleon was Greek, but merely acknowledges the possibility that it could be true.<sup>113</sup> At the very least, however, it appeared as though Napoléon knew and grew up with members of the Greek colony, the Duchess herself being descended from them, and that he expressed admiration for their lifestyle and customs later in his life.

Nevertheless, on the off-chance that Napoleon was, in fact, descended from the Greek refugees in Ajaccio, perhaps it can be said that something 'went wrong' in Spain in the eighteenth century after all. What went wrong, however, was not excessive religiosity, backwards economics, or lack of modernization and liberalism. Rather, the failure (or, better put, stroke of bad luck) can be found in what would have to be considered, in the end, not a trivial but monumental debacle: had the Spanish monarchy fought harder and succeeded in transferring the Greeks in Ajaccio to Sierra Morena and Andalusia, they might have changed or, for that matter, completely robbed France of its Napoleonic legacy.

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W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1982.

<sup>1</sup> The war erupted when the last Hapsburg monarch left the kingdom to Philip, the duke of Anjou and a grandson of French King Louis XIV. For nearly thirteen years battles were fought on both continental and American fronts. Britain and other, smaller European countries rallied behind the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, a

Hapsburg, fearing that Philip's ascendance to the Spanish throne would facilitate the consolidation of the French and Spanish kingdoms, a powerful union that, in the eyes of many, was to be avoided at all costs. When the Treaty of Utrecht ended the war in 1713, Philip forfeited his rights to the French crown in order to assume sovereignty over Spain.

2 I will not address Spain's relationship with her American colonies because even there are certainly interesting parallels and connections to be made, this angle falls beyond the scope of my paper. However, for the benefit of those interested in pursuing the topic, I have included some literature on the subject in my bibliography.

3 Since the discovery of the Americas (which also marked the emergence of Spain as a unified kingdom under the Catholic monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand), the Spanish monarchy had been subject to vicious propaganda. The most well-known propaganda campaign is referred to as the *leyenda negra*, or the black legend, of Spanish civilization. Making use of the harsh criticisms iterated against the Spanish conquistadors by Bartolomé de las Casas in his *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, enemies of Spain, most likely protestants in the Netherlands who lived under Spanish sovereignty, accused the Spanish of being hyper-Catholic, socially backwards, hypocritical and unusually cruel. The rhetoric of the black legend persisted in a quieter form through the nineteenth century until Latin American revolutionaries, fighting for independence from Spain, revived it to garner sympathy and support from other European countries and the United States. For centuries an image of Spain as an oppressive, backward, and brutal conqueror has been continually re-invoked and it has shaped the world's conception of Spanish culture and society for the worse.

4 John Lynch, "Review: The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain," *The English Historical Review* 75, no. 295 (Apr., 1960): 309.

5 David R. Ringrose, *Spain, Europe, and the "Spanish miracle," 1700-1900* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 10.

6 John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 213.

7 A fiscal is what would be the equivalent of the king's lawyer or an Attorney General today. In a Spanish dictionary published in the early 1700s, the position is defined as the "deputy minister who defends the right of the King." La Real Academia de la Lengua Española, "Fiscal," in *Diccionario de la lengua castellana : en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las frases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes, y otras cosas convenientes al uso de la lengua; 1726-1739* (Madrid: Gredos, 1963).

8 Pablo of Olavide is a well-known figure of the Spanish enlightenment and was classified both by his contemporaries as well as present-day historians as an 'afrancesado' or admirer and subscriber to French culture and thought. See the highly regarded and most frequently cited biography of Olavide: Marcelin Defourneaux, *Pablo de Olavide, ou l'Afrancesado, 1725-1803* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1959).

9 "Se trata, por consiguiente, de crear ex ovo una sociedad campesina ideal, no trabada por un legado histórico, sino concebida a la luz de la Razón, esa Razón iluminadora que todo lo alumbró en el Siglo de las Luces." Vicente Palacio Atard, "Prologue," in *La Carolina, capital de las nuevas poblaciones: Un ensayo de reforma socio-económica de España en el siglo XVIII* (Jaén: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 1970), XX.

10 José Lopez de Sebastián, *Reforma agraria en España, Sierra Morena en el s. XVIII* (Madrid: Editorial ZYX, S. A., 1968), 66.

<sup>11</sup> "...el utopismo original...inspire la creación de esta aventura de nuestros ilustrados que hoy nos acoge: las nuevas poblaciones de Sierra Morena y Andalucía." Miguel Avilés Fernández, "Utopía y realidad: La 'descripción de la sinapia península en tierra austral' y las nuevas poblaciones de Andalucía," in *Las "nuevas poblaciones" de Carlos III en Sierra Morena y Andalucía*, ed. Guillermo Sena Medina Miguel Avilés Fernández (La Carolina: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba: Seminario de Estudios Carolinenses, 1983), 143.

<sup>12</sup> William J. Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

<sup>13</sup> Juan Rafael Vázquez Lesmes, "Iglesia-Estado en los inicios de la colonización de las nuevas poblaciones de Andalucía," in *Carlos III y las "nuevas poblaciones": Congreso Histórico sobre las "Nuevas Poblaciones" de Carlos III en Sierra Morena y Andalucía (2nd : 1986 : La Carolina, Spain)*, ed. Miguel Avilés Fernández and Guillermo Sena Medina (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba : Seminario de Estudios Carolinenses : Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, Centro de Estudios Territoriales y Urbanos de la Junta de Andalucía, 1988), 143.

<sup>14</sup> The distribution would err on the side of more males should the numbers not be equal.

<sup>15</sup> *A.H.N.*, Fondos Contemporáneos, Leg. 2.152, 2: Johann Kaspar von Thürriegel to King Charles III, 16 September 1766.

<sup>16</sup> "...les peres Jesuites seroient les plus propres que seavent [...] idée les mieux quider les peuple dans le vrai Christianisme et [...] devoir." Ibid. Thürriegel was taught by Jesuits himself, which his probably why he recommended them. This proposal was made after the Motín of Esquilache had occurred but before the Jesuits were accused of instigating the riot and were expelled.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Weiß, *Die deutsche Kolonie in der Sierra Morena und ihr Gründer Johann Caspar von Thürriegel, ein bayerischer Abenteurer des 18. Jahrhunderts*. (Köln: 1907).

<sup>18</sup> Just a couple of years prior to presenting himself to the Spanish court he had recruited a small army of mercenaries whose services he had offered to the King of Prussia. He had shown that he was skilled in both putting together and managing large groups of people.

<sup>19</sup> Alois Schmid, "Johann Kasper von Thürriegel und seine Kolonie in der Sierra Morena, Bayern - mitten in Europa " <<http://www.br-online.de/alpha/campus/vor0503/20050317.shtml>>.

<sup>20</sup> María Palacios Alcalde, "Espías, aventureros y comerciantes en la España ilustrada según el Manifiesto del Coronel Thürriegel," in *De la ilustración al romanticismo: IV encuentro: Carlos III, dos siglos después: Cádiz, 7-9 de abril de 1988*, ed. Mariano Peñalver (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Cádiz, 1993), 16.

<sup>21</sup> Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808*, 307-308.

<sup>22</sup> Woloch notes that recruiting troops via military contractors was a practice more germane to the seventeenth century. Isser Woloch, *Eighteenth-Century Europe: Tradition and Progress, 1715-1789* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1982), 52.

<sup>23</sup> Why he chose Spain is not immediately clear. Both Alcalde and Alois suggest that Thürriegel was aware of Spanish plans to colonize deserted areas within the Iberian Peninsula. However, although it is true that the idea of 'repopulation' was not a new one in the Spanish court, it is unlikely that such knowledge was a motivating factor for Thürriegel who, when he first made his proposal, suggested that the colonists be brought to Spain's American territories, not to Spain herself.

<sup>24</sup> Alcalde, 16.

[25](#) “Se hará constar al tiempo de recibirlos en los Puertos, ser Cathólicos los Colonos, en la misma forma que se hace con las Reclutas para las Tropas de su Magestad...” *A.H.N.*, Consejos, Libro 1.484, Royal Decree of 2 April 1767.

[26](#) There would be no adjustment based on age, sex, or vocation.

[27](#) “Votre majesté voudra bien determiner le quel de ces ports [...]ouviendroit le mieux, ou, si supliant pourroit pour une plus grande avantage envoyer de ces mondes dans les uns et dans les autres.” Johann Kaspar von Thürriegel to King Charles III.

[28](#) The Flemish peoples he intended to bring over were from the French-speaking territories of Flanders. Also, the colonists that would travel by land to Spain would need to pass through French territory.

[29](#) The Council of the Indies was an institution which oversaw from the Iberian Peninsula matters pertaining to Spain’s American territories. It had lost some of its prior administrative jurisdiction to new organs of administration such as the Secretariat of War, Navy, and the Indies, created by the Philip II, the first Bourbon monarch of Spain.

[30](#) “...mediante no servir los tales, para el präl fin de las nuevas Poblaciones, que es el de q<sup>e</sup> se multiplique en ellas el numero de vecinos, y se aumenten en la America los Vasallos.” *A.H.N.*, Consejos, Leg. 3.465, Report of the Council of Castile, 29 September 1766.

[31](#) Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

[32](#) *Ibid.*, 73.

[33](#) *Ibid.*, 5.

[34](#) *A.H.N.*, Consejos, Leg. 3.465, Junta Report, 29 September 1766.

[35](#) *Ibid.*

[36](#) *Leyes de Indias*, Libro 9, Título 27, Ley 21.

[37](#) The suggestion to instead bring the colonists to the Americas is credited to the individuals Joseph de Carvajal and Joseph Carpintero in the report.

[38](#) Pere Molas Ribalta, "Pablo de Olavide y otras nuevas poblaciones," in *Las nuevas poblaciones de España y América, actas del V Congreso Histórico sobre Nuevas Poblaciones, La Luisiana-Cañada Rosal, 14 al 17 de mayo, 1992*. (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente, 1994), 31.

[39](#) First, there were those lands which were already formed but whose populations would be the better for being augmented. Second, there were lands that had just been conceived, but which were wanting in promotion and improvement. Last, there were lands that were entirely deserted but which were strategically important for Spain’s commerce.

[40](#) “Pero es menester considerar que a ninguno de estos Payses combendría poblar solo con Alemanes. Una Colonia compuesta solo de extrangeros, no podría considerarse Espanola.” *A.H.N.*, Consejos, Leg. 3.465, Report of Pablo of Olavide, 30 October 1766.

[41](#) “...una sociedad venal, dispuesta a entregarse al primero que los sedujera con major partido, y de quien no deviera esperarse una defense vigorosa en caso de Ymbacion.” *Ibid.*

[42](#) Olavide suggested that if they were to sent two Spaniards for every one German colonist, they should only send Spaniards from the ‘two hospices of Madrid’ and San Fernando—workhouses for the poor or homeless that had recently been established by the Conde of Aranda who believed that the Motín de Esquilache, an urban uprising which had occurred earlier in 1766, had been primarily caused by beggars and bandits. It is interesting that Olavide would consider these interned formed beggars as ‘useful’ people—though, it is more likely that

Olavide saw the establishment of these new colonies as another way in which to be rid of problematic persons in the capital. See: William J. Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement: An Aspect of Poor Relief in Eighteenth-Century Spain," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, no. 1 (Feb., 1971).

[43](#) At this time, Ribalta argues, they were not necessarily referred to as “creoles,” but rather “American Spaniards.” Ribalta, 31.

[44](#) Ringrose, 70. It is also argued to be the last great economic expansion of the Spanish empire. See: José Miguel Morales Folguera, "La política colonizadora en Luisiana y Florida durante la monarquía de Carlos III," in *Las nuevas poblaciones de España y América, actas del V Congreso Histórico sobre Nuevas Poblaciones, La Luisiana-Cañada Rosal, 14 al 17 de mayo, 1992*. (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio, 1994).

[45](#) Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808*, 340.

[46](#) Herzog mentions that “naturals” were assumed to already have the allegiance. Herzog, 71.

[47](#) Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808*, 352.

[48](#) Defourneaux.

[49](#) The first stipulation established the time frame within which Thürriegel was to complete his task of introducing the six thousand ‘colonists,’ which, in November, was a term of seven months (but what would later be extended to a year), and what purpose his task was supposed to serve. The second established the prerequisites of Catholicism and German and Flemish nationality in order to be considered for admission, and the third enumerated the breakdown of ages and sex which Thürriegel had originally proposed. The fourth determined the ports of embarkation, the fifth determined the destinations, which, by this point were both in the America’s and within the Iberian Peninsula. The sixth stipulation determined how much land, how many tools, and what types of privileges the colonists were to be granted, while the seventh determined that though the colonists were to live under whatever Spanish law prevailed in the lands in which they were going to establish themselves, they would have clergy who spoke their own language. The eighth stipulation acknowledged Thürriegel’s right to choose eight officials to aide him in his venture and the ninth and final stipulation obliged Thürriegel to recruit more colonists, in addition to the six thousand he was to bring under this contract, if the king felt compelled to extend the enterprise.

[50](#) His translator, Peter Castaing Walrave, is a fascinating figure, as he eventually began to submit his own suggestions pertaining to the colonization project, rather than the recruitment to be conducted by Thürriegel. His proposals may have, in fact, been considered as they are included in the Council’s archive.

[51](#) Juan Rafael Vázquez Lesmes, *La ilustración y el proceso colonizador en la campiña cordobesa* (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1979), 30.

[52](#) *A.H.N.*, Fondos Contemporaneos, Ministerio de la Gobernación, Leg. 2.152, 1: Proposal of Pierre Ruiter, January 1950.

[53](#) For relevant information regarding the contemporary Russian population projects see: Roger P. Bartlett, *Human Capital: The settlement of foreigners in Russia, 1762-1804* (Bristol: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[54](#) “Aunque en otros tpos. se quiso disputar si combendria traher extranjeros para reparar nra despoblaz<sup>on</sup>...podrá el Conss<sup>o</sup> si desea instruirse de esta verdad.” Ibid.

[55](#) Ringrose, drawing on contemporary censuses, records that from the end of the Spanish War of Succession to the incident with the Greeks on Corsica in 1768, the population could have

doubled from 5 to 10 million. Ringrose, 72. Woloch writes that Spain grew from 7.5 to 11.5 throughout the span of the eighteenth century, with the growth rate of the population in the century's second half at least double that of the first half. Woloch, 107.

[56](#) *A.H.N.*, Consejos, Leg. 5.986, 17, Report of the Council of Castile, 28 February 1767.

[57](#) *Ibid.*

[58](#) I refer specifically to the Count of Ensenada, who for a period of over 12 years was an influential member of the Spanish court, developed and pushed administrative and fiscal reform until a coup was executed and he was dismissed from his post in 1754. He is one of the more well known figures of 'progress' of the period.

[59](#) Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808*, 169.

[60](#) *Ibid.*, 168 and 183.

[61](#) The order applied to towns of Extremadura, Andalucía, and La Mancha. It is unclear what is meant by town lands, or what the specific legal status of these lands was—they more than likely varied in nature from town to town. *Ibid.*, 212.

[62](#) Although the reforms did impinge on long-standing economic privileges of the Church and Spanish nobility, it must be noted that the motivation and vision behind the reform was more economic than social and did not truly constitute an attack on the Church.

[63](#) The official titles he was granted were the following: Asistente of the city of Seville, Intendente of the army of Andalusia, and Superintendente of the new towns. See: AHN, Consejos, Libro 1.484, Número 23.

[64](#) The fortification of the royal road between Cádiz and Madrid certainly was one of the major incentives for sending the colonists to Spain rather than the Americas, and there is an abundance of literature regarding the roads, vagrancy, and the development of the route of Despeñaperros that, for lack of space, cannot be discussed at length in this thesis.

[65](#) Juan Aranda Doncel, "Las expropiaciones de tierras a la nobleza y el problema de las indemnizaciones en las nuevas poblaciones de Andalucía: El ejemplo del Conde de la Jarosa," in *Las nuevas poblaciones de España y América, actas del V Congreso Histórico sobre Nuevas Poblaciones, La Luisiana-Cañada Rosal, 14 al 17 de mayo, 1992*. (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio, 1994), 98.

[66](#) *Ibid.*, 99.

[67](#) Needless to say, while the Council allotted Thürriegel and his aides but a year to complete their recruitment, and envisioned a swift transportation and implantation of the colonists in the lands which they were preparing for them, the project, as large-scale projects do, took much longer than expected and encountered immense difficulties along the way. Due to delays, lack of cooperation and funds, conflicts with existing populations, disease, discontentment and lack of organization, the project to establish new towns in the south of Spain achieved varied success. One British traveler who visited some towns ten years after their establishment said they had fallen to ruins—according to the German population there, the Spanish had failed to provide the settlers with the tools and provisions that were granted them in their contract. However, there is a vast body of historiography that tracks the life of nearly each new settlement that was established and it is clear that, in some cases, the populations flourished. For the British traveler's account see: William Dalrymple, *Travels through Spain and Portugal, in 1774; with a short account of the Spanish expedition against Algiers, in 1775: by Major William Dalrymple* (London: 1777).

[68](#) The amount of land that was to be granted to the colonists varied from each version of the proposal to the next. They could not be granted the same amount of land in Spain as they would have been granted in the Americas, for though there were unpopulated and/or uncultivated lands in Spain, the space was finite while at the time the land in the Americas seemed to be limitless.

[69](#) What was meant by an artisan was a skilled craftsman, such as a shoemaker. However, people such as hairdressers, for example, were not permitted because their skills were not deemed useful.

[70](#) I owe this title to Thadd E. Hall's work on the history of France's interests in Corsica. See: Thadd E. Hall, *France and the Eighteenth-Century Corsican Question* (New York: New York University Press, 1971).

[71](#) Edward Burnaby Greene, "Corsica, An Ode," (London: Printed for J. Ridley, 1768).

[72](#) Hall briefly outlines the history of France's involvement in Corsica at the beginning of his book. In 1553 Henry II of France invaded the island, but lost control over it six years later with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. In 1685 Louis XIV opted not to annex the island because "he could reap the advantages Corsica provided and let Genoa pay the costs of its administration and bear the grief caused by its rebellious people." Hall, 5.

[73](#) Paul Schroeder sees 1763 as a major turning point for European international politics, even a revolution. For more information see: Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[74](#) *A.H.N.*, Estado, Leg. 6.561: Marques of Viviani to Marques of Grimaldi, 19 December 1767.

[75](#) *A.H.N.*, Estado, Leg. 4.259, 1316: Prince of Maserano to Marques of Grimaldi, 29 April 1768.

[76](#) *A.H.N.*, Estado, Leg. 4.259, 1276: Prince of Maserano to Marques of Grimaldi, 1 July 1768.

[77](#) In fact, no "constituted authority" had recognized the rebellion as legitimate. Hall, 23.

[78](#) *A.H.N.*, Estado, Leg. 4.259, 1376: Prince of Maserano to Marquis of Grimaldi, 1 July 1768, 1 July 1768.

[79](#) Although there was already a history of antagonism between the monarchy and the Jesuits, the *Motín* of Esquilache, a popular riot in Madrid which had caused the Spanish monarch to flee the country for several months in the summer of 1766, was the straw that broke the camel's back. In the spring of 1767, Pedro Rodriguez of Campomanes produced a motion to expulse the Jesuit Order, indicting its members for having instigated the riot. Broadly accepted within the administration, in July of 1767 the Jesuits were swiftly condemned to exile from Spain and all of her territories abroad. The reasons for this action are varied, but those which are more commonly given are the suspicion that they had instigated numerous riots, including the *Motín*, as well as a feeling that the Company of Jesus had gained too much power in the Americas. Coupled with a gradual increase of consolidation and centralization of power on the part of the monarchy, these reasons were compelling enough to ultimately lead to the expulsion. According to Herr, the *motín* "was the most serious threat to royal authority in Castile" since the sixteenth century and marked an important turning point in the eighteenth century. Richard Herr, "Flow and Ebb, 1700-1833," in *Spain: A History*, ed. Raymond Carr (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 179.

[80](#) The island in 1767 and 1768 was on the brink of famine and the increase of population that the Jesuits would cause would mean that bare essentials would be stretched ever more thinly than they already were. Hall, 156.

[81](#) *Ibid.*, 155-156.

[82](#) Woloch, 36.

[83](#) Daniel Fenning, *A new system of geography: or, a general description of the world. ... Embellished with a new and accurate set of maps, ... and great variety of copper-plates, ...* By D. Fenning, ... J. Collyer, ... and others., 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: 1765-1766), 12.

[84](#) vicomte Louis-Etienne-François Héricart de Thury, *Rapport fait à la Société Royale et Centrale d'Agriculture, dans sa séance du mercredi 4 juillet 1827, sur l'histoire de la Colonie grecque de Paomia et Cargèse dans l'Île de Corse, de Nicolaos Stephanopoli* (Paris: 1827), 4.

[85](#) James Boswell, *An account of Corsica, the journal of a tour to that island; and memoirs of Pascal Paoli*. By James Boswell, Esq; *Ornamented with a striking likeness of that great general.*, Fifth ed. (Dublin: 1769), 87.

[86](#) "... moyennant la somme de quarante mille livres, remboursable en dix ans, la République leur fournissait toutes les semences nécessaires pour leurs cultures..." Louis-Etienne-François Héricart de Thury, 6.

[87](#) E. P. Panagopoulos, *New Smyrna: An Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966), 42.

[88](#) Louis-Etienne-François Héricart de Thury, 7.

[89](#) James Boswell is best known for his biography of Dr. Johnson, though his work on Corsica predates that work. For more information about James Boswell and his experiences regarding Corsica see: Moray McLaren, *Corsica Boswell: Paoli, Johnson and Freedom* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966).

[90](#) Nick Nicholas, "Negotiating a Greco-Corsican Identity," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 24 (2006): 94.

[91](#) Boswell, 89.

[92](#) *Ibid.*, 88.

[93](#) Laurette Junot Duchesse d'Abrantès, *The Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès (Madame Junot.)* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832).

[94](#) *A.H.N.*, Fondos Contemporaneos, Ministerio de la Gobernación, Leg. 328, Lorenzo Tabares to Miguel de Muzquiz, 27 December 1767.

[95](#) *A.H.N.*, Estado, Leg. 6.558, Marquis of Grimaldi to Count of Fuentes, 22 August 1768.

[96](#) There were some lands, however, that the Spanish had been actively colonizing with colonists from the Canary Islands. See: Felipe del Pozo Redondo, "Colonos canarios en Florida, 1757-1763," in *Las nuevas poblaciones de España y América, actas del V Congreso Histórico sobre Nuevas Poblaciones, La Luisiana-Cañada Rosal, 14 al 17 de mayo, 1992*. (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio, 1994).

[97](#) First, they would be easy to bring away because they were oppressed. They were also "excellent rowers" who could explore the interior via rivers and streams and their women were so "handsome" that they would very quickly intermix with the British settlers and promptly be rid of national distinctions. Panagopoulos, 12.

[98](#) Knox cited in *Ibid.*, 11.

[99](#) New Smyrna was twice the size of the Jamestown colony at the time, around 20,000 acres of land. *Ibid.*, 13.



[100](#) “Hace algun tiempo que escrivi a VE insinuandole que en esta ciudad y su termino se halla establecida de 40 años a esta parte una colonia de Griegos, que fugitibos de su patria encontraron asilo en la Republica para premiarlos en esta: oy se ven despojados de sus propiedades, y cortos terrages que havian adquirido a expensas de su trabajo con la intestina Guerra que aqui subsiste entre corsos, y Genoveses, por el recelo a que seguian el partido de quien los admitio; con cuyo desengaño suspiran por pasar a España, y mas oy que nunca que ha venido un Navio Yngles haciendoles varias partidos para llebarlos a Sn. Augustin de la Florida.” *A.H.N.*, Fondos Contemporaneos, Ministerio de la Gobernación, Leg. 2.152, 2: Fernando Coronel to Count of Aranda.

[101](#) *A.H.N.*, Fondos Contemporaneos, Leg. 2.152, 8: Fernando Coronel to Count of Aranda, 4 March 1768.

[102](#) First, ‘Florida’ as it was mentioned in documents from 1768 did not delimit the same geographical parameters. In 1763 the Spanish had ceded lands to the British, a territory which includes much of the west coast of present day Florida which became ‘British East Florida,’ and the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean. Second, the mention of Florida most probably references the colony of New Smyrna, a settlement established in 1768 by a Scot named Dr. Andrew Turnbull. See: Peter Guilday, "Book Review: Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida," *Catholic Historical Review*, no. 7 (1921/1922).

[103](#) “Ademas de lo que gana nuestra Poblacion, se consigue el interes de que no vayan a la Florida, para que les instan los Yngleses, y se hagan enemigos nuestros: y en virtud de esta admision hallaran los Yngleses cada dia mas dificultad en sus reclutas, y cuando piensan en poblar los paises mas distantes de la America, llena S.M estos dominios de nuevos vassallos aumentando su fuerzas internas con ellos.” *A.H.N.*, Fondos Contemporaneos, Leg. 2.152, 8, Report of the Council of Castile, 18 April 1768.

[104](#) *A.H.N.*, Inquisición, Leg. 3.607, Nuevas poblaciones: Contract for the 140 Greek Families of Ajaccio, 1 May 1768.

[105](#) Archibald Menzies, "Proposal for Peopling his Majesty's Southern Colonies on the Continent of America," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 21-22 (2004-2005).

[106](#) Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874*, 1.

[107](#) *A.H.N.*, Estado, Leg. 6.559, Count of Fuentes to Marquis of Grimaldi, 8 August 1768.

[108](#) According to the Annual Register, the Corsicans took control of the port when France had withdrawn some of its troops. The Greeks represented one of if not the only neutral force in the important port city after France had published its treaty with the Republic of Genoa. See: *The annual register, or a view of the history, politicks, and literature for the year 1768*, London, 1768 [1769]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale Group. <<http://galenet.galegroup.com.arugula.cc.columbia.edu:2048/servlet/ECCO>>, 59.

[109](#) “Mucho perjuicio se nos sigue tambien de desbaratarnos esa Corte el otro Proyecto de trasladar a Sierra-morena las Familias Griegas que habian convenido y pedido venir a Espana, en donde se las habia preparado establecimiento. No se puede negar que en el dia tiene la Francia derecho para impedirlos, pero nos es doloroso que por haber pasado a su Dominio aquella Isla experimentemos este dano que no hubieramos padecido si hubiera permanecido en el antiguo.” Marquis of Grimaldi to Count of Fuentes, 22 August 1768.

\* What happened to the Greeks immediately after they were denied passage to Spain is not entirely clear. It is documented that some, in fact, accepted British offers to go to New Smyrna, while others stayed in Corsica and fought with the French against the Corsicans. What is certain

is that, after the military conflicts subsided, the Greeks who were left on the island eventually relocated to the city of Cargèse. There they built a new home and church, and have remained, in some form, to the present day.

[110](#) J. Emerson Tennent, "Napoleon (3rd S. xi. 195, 223)," *Notes & Queries* 3rd Series, XI (18 April 1767).

[111](#) Rhodocanakis, "Napoleon (3rd S. xi. 195, 223, 307.)," *Notes & Queries*, 3rd Series, XI (22 June 1867).

[112](#) John Ashton, *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I* (London: Chatto & Windus, Picadilly, 1888), 1.

[113](#) d'Abrantès, 35.