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Mediterranean and Atlantic settler colonialism: Late fourteenth to early seventeenth centuries

Historical and cultural geographers evince a strong interest in this topic as it embraces many issues deeply ingrained in geographical tradition. Borders and frontiers, assimilation and separation, migration and cultural transfers, political economies and state sponsored terrorism figure amongst the many issues are hotly debated under this heading. The editors of this book have usefully discussed many aspects of this issue. On a broad canvass, for instance, transmigration is a form of settler colonialism and it is an actively state supported policy producing highly conflictive outcomes given robust resistance in areas as Afghanistan, Xinjiang (East Turkestan) and Tibet in China, West Irian (Irian Jaya), and Kalimantan in Indonesia. In other states and much more recently, some governments have sought for differing reasons, for instance, to relieve demographic pressure and congestion, to adopt policies on internal colonization as in Spain via the *Confederaciones Hidrográficas* from 1926 and the INC *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* from 1939 and in Ireland from the 1890s via the auspices of a state agency, the Congested Districts Board, 1891-1923 and afterwards the Land Commission. Some of these state initiatives were multi-functional: they involved the relief of demographic ‘congestion’, bolstering national food output, settling ‘colonists’ in lightly settled areas, or designed to break the power of certain political classes, often their opponents, by introducing as settlers supporters of government.

Settler colonization carries intensive geographical implications and over time some movements have been planned by governments with particular geo-visions and such actions can be titled as being prescribed (Dijkink, 1996). By way of contrast, others can be described as permissive in that population movements have been more haphazard in their planning and motivation and have come 'from below' and from within communities. Irrespective of their origins some settler movements have been so robust that they have smothered pre-existing territorial structures as apparently did the Arab and Berber conquest of many parts of Iberia.

What did settlers bring to their new locales? Most importantly, what new ideas in relation to economic and spatial organization were transferred by newcomers? How effective were they at transferring and inaugurating cultural landscapes in areas that were heretofore empty or establishing them in areas already settled? What new elements and instruments of landesque capital were they able to institute so as to exploit their new surroundings and what ones, already in place, were they able to efficiently utilise and which ones did they discard? These might be some of the topics that historical geographers might pose in relation to the contexts explored below.

Reconquest

One of the most significant settler colonial movements in medieval Western Europe was the so called 'Reconquest' of Iberia beginning in c.711 and continuing until 1492. It was a turbulent period of Iberian history and it helped to shape Portuguese and Spanish geo-visions down to our own day. It was a prescribed process with profound spatial implications and the cultural landscapes of the peninsula today are deeply inscribed

with the legacies of this long-drawn out movement. It was a process that involved displacement and development and its nature, in any region, was dependent upon a number of key factors, for instance: the agents and actors involved such as the monastic orders and the military orders, the role of the crown, the density of pre-existing settlement and the prospects for development and enrichment. The outcomes of the interplay between these players and the nature and number of settler newcomers facilitated the crystallization of a mosaic of cultural and economic regions throughout the peninsula still evident today.

To start, I will consider the final years of the peninsular process here. The Reconquest did not run out of steam. As García de Cortázar (1985, p. 18) noted the social attribution of space was realized through legal formulas regulating rights to land occupation, acquisition and settlement: distinctive formulas were applied in different areas. Legal confirmation of settlement was available through different procedures; for example, the *presura* tantamount to a charter for squatters common in the Duero Valley, the *carta pueblo* town charter in Extremadura and *repartimiento* in Andalusia.

During the period of its reconquest Andalusia was a zone of immense wealth and resource endowments. Its spatial extent was much more limited than the area formerly known as *Al Andalus* : the former name of the Islamic kingdom of the peninsula. It waxed and waned in size depending of the military strength of its rulers and their ability to defend it against 'Christian' encroachment. It was most culturally sophisticated zone counting the largest cities. Prized also for its bountiful agricultural output, it was the jewel of the peninsula.

Most of Andalusia was occupied by ‘Christian’s’ during the thirteenth century. The *capitulaciones* ‘terms of surrender’ left towns emptied of Moors or they were confined to a particular district(s) known as *morerías*. Over the course of only two generations there transpired an almost total regional transformation in land ownership. Large *almohade* estates were carved up often into much smaller holdings. The great military orders had been very active in the area between the Tagus and Guadiana rivers played prominent roles initially; later leading protagonists were some major secular groups. The *re poblacion* ‘re-peopling’ strengthened the role of towns as their planned growth gave them enhanced military prominence. The *Mesta* a stock breeders cartel and several military orders were the principal beneficiaries of these land grants in the provinces Jaén and Córdoba during the reigns of *Fernando* III and Alfonso I.

To what extent then were Islamic and pre-Islamic structures obliterated or incorporated into Iberian regional outcomes of this process? By the start of the fourteenth century Andalusian regional output had fallen far below its productive potential and it supported lower demographic thresholds as González in García de Cortázar(1985) has contended. The same author noted that a tenurial revolution that transformed Andalusia was the slow and relentless emergence of large estates known as *latifundios* or holdings of 200 plus hectares. A variety of processes obliged many smaller and medium sized holders to sell off lands received in the *repartos*. Others left later for the Americas. The buyers were the usual suspects: major convents and other ecclesiastical institutions, merchants and several landed families. The social outcome of this retrenchment was the emergence of a strata of wealthy landed families such as the Medina Sidonia’s and a vast mass of landless people, most living in ‘formless new settlements’ on the edges of the landed

properties providing them with an accessible and cheap labour pool. Many however rented minifundist holdings of less than five hectares on the edges of these settlements. This kind of tenorial dichotomy has lasted to our own days and is the outcome of this process.

Portuguese expansion and settler colonization

A chronological analysis of the Portolan charts made by, or for, Portuguese authorities and/or their sea captains provides us with a space – time appreciation of the early attempts of Portugal to break out of Europe and the Mediterranean. Rounding the Sahara and tapping into the diverse and varied resources of the Gulf of Guinea and beyond exercised many of the early voyagers in their quest for slaves, spices, bullion, ivory and sugar. The Portuguese endeavour was multi-national: Genoese money and cartographic skills, Basque seamanship, Castilian organization and Portuguese seamen and ships were decisive parts of the mix. To achieve their goals, the occupation and settlement of pre-existing settlements and empty zones were requisites.

During the fifteenth century seaborne expansion led to early settlement on the Portuguese, Majorcan and Genoese elements on the Canary Islands. Merchants from Portugal soon established sugar growing and refining. Their acquisition of the archipelago was contested by Castile and the latter's control was confirmed by the 1479 Treaty of Alcáçovas. Portugal was now at liberty to carve out her maritime destiny south of the Canaries. An analysis of the sequential appearance of Portolan charts offers a crude chronology to Portugal's move southwards and westwards.

To understand Portugal's early colonial abilities, its geographical reach and the nature of their overseas settlements over the period concerned, it is pertinent to rehearse some key ingredients of Portugal's national fabric: it had a small population and was almost at constant war with Castile besides being undercapitalised. These were some key negative features. On the positive side, Portugal had established military supremacy over the Moors and had managed to keep Castilian incursions in check. Portugal was a very homogeneous nation whose elites were eager to participate in overseas capitalist adventures.

It is difficult to establish what, if any, lessons the Portuguese were able to deploy from past experiences of their reconquest to bear on the occupation and settlement of the islands their sailors discovered to the south and west of the Canary Islands. Madeira was discovered in 1419 and was settled in 1420; the Azores were discovered in the 1420s and settled in 1444; they constituted a western group of islands. Cape Verde, settled from c. 1460, São Tomé and Príncipe, c. 1470, Annobom, 1473 and Bioko or Fernando Po, c. 1472 – its former Spanish title – made up a more southern group. All of these islands were uninhabited with the exception of Bioko. The resources of the Guinea coast attracted a gaggle of Portuguese merchants and slavers and a constellation of forts were constructed; six were built alone on the Cape Verde's and more on the African mainland (Sarmiento, 2011). Many were taken over by the Dutch or again reverted to Portuguese control. Portuguese settler colonialism tended to peter out during the sixteenth century south of the Canaries. Several of the islands and archipelagos brought under their control were uninhabited such as the Cape Verde's (Duncan, 1972). Others were inhabited such as Bioko and did not experience substantial in-migration from

Portugal. By the end of the fifteenth century Portugal seemingly had run out of potential settler-migrants and construction of small often imposing, forts was that nation's response to its pool of fewer potential migrants. This network of forts and settlements sustained the emergence and maturing of Portugal's seaborne empire and facilitated its extension further from the Atlantic into the Pacific as far as Japan.

Portugal's early overseas expansion began in Morocco at Ceuta and Tetuan and spread slowly down its Atlantic coastline in the form of forts initially constructed at, or within, existing settlements. This is how Portugal enacted a strategy to break the stranglehold of the Sahara and to deal with the problem of its collision with an array of vast empty spaces. One study asserts that between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries, some 244 forts were erected as the Portuguese extended their reach to India, China and Japan. Within many forts were *feitorias* acting effectively, as small trading stations under the surveillance of the crown and manned by royal officials (O'Flanagan, 2008). The office of *feitor* was one such and was another Portuguese innovation designed to foster commerce and trade. Portugal also captured, occupied and fortified a number of North African existing port towns in the late fifteenth century such as Ceuta, Safi, Salé and Tangiers in an effort to neutralise any threat to its maritime ambitions. Forts were erected at Arguim, now in Mauritania, Mazagan (Mazagão) in Morocco, Axim and Elmina in Ghana and Santiago on Cape Verde. They were amongst the most impressive structures sustaining Portugal's seaborne empire and they represented a further step in the construction and intensification of Portugal's growing maritime commerce. A representation of Elmina (El Mina) in Braun's Atlas of 1572 depicts the castle and the settlement of St. George. Built in 1482, and lacking however any detailed description in

this atlas, it was captured by the Dutch in 1637. It acted as the pivotal Portuguese gold trading post on the African coast.

Portugal's colonial superstructure was managed by the *Casa de Guiné e Mina* from 1482 to 1483, and later incorporated in the *Casa da Índia* which was overseen by one director and three treasurers. These *Casas* were further subdivided into *Mesas* tasked to administer many different aspects of Portugal's colonial enterprise such as the *Casa de Escravos*. Without an exhaustive study of their actions, an understanding of Portugal's early political economy has to remain obscure as will the design and operation of Portugal's early maritime economy.

Madeira and Azores

Both archipelagos were unoccupied and were settled first by Portuguese. The Azores were sited on return sea route from New World. Easily settled and attractive and not unlike regions of the mainland, hence their allure for settlers experienced at operating within similar contexts in Portugal proper. The Portuguese devised a power structure to facilitate and promote the occupation of these islands. At first they were granted to the '*Ordem de Cristo*' one of the great military orders. It is unclear what, if any, role military orders discharged in the management of settler occupation of these islands. The crown acted as first *donatário* in the case of the Azores and it granted a territory to a person with a stipulation to populate, exploit and manage these lands. It also formulated the office of *capitão* which embodied both an individual and land; they were at once hereditary lordships and administrative divisions. They were also instruments and structures devised to ensure the success of the occupation of these islands worlds. The

capitães represent the interests of the *donatário* within their respective landed *capitanias*: Madeira was divided into two and on the Azores there were some eight *capitães*; most Azorean islands counted only one, some few had more. These individuals held wide sweeping administrative, fiscal and legal functions reporting directly to the *donatário*. With these functions came a raft of responsibilities: they were charged with attracting settlers, the creation of holdings, placing of settlers and promoting prosperity besides maintaining order. They were also awarded exclusive trading privileges in relation to the commercialization of certain goods like salt. So all in all, the *capitães* could make or break the fortunes of any island. The Portuguese applied this model to a series of uninhabited island contexts. Considered successful, subsequently this device travelled across the Atlantic to be instituted by 1533 in Brazil and their putative dimensions were represented on an exquisite 1574 map of Brazil by cartographer Luis Teixeira.

Gonçalo Velho Cabral was an early example: he was a knight of the *Ordem de Cristo* and he was appointed *Capitão-donatário* of Santa Maria and São Miguel, a statue of whom proudly occupies a prominent location today at Ponta Delgada, capital of the last mentioned island. In 1444, for example, Velho Cabral introduced the first settlers to São Miguel by allocating significant holdings to numbers of his followers. Despite elaborate management organization, no archipelago could boast of a resident *donatário*: their interests were discharged by their *capitães*.

By way of contrast, many of the early settlers on Madeira were Portuguese nobles and foreign merchants. The *donatários* endowed them with extensive holdings ‘*en regime*

de sesmaria with obligations of clearing the land and erecting houses and if, within the space of five years, no action had been taken, the holding reverted to the original donor (Ribeiro, 1985, p. 47). The *sesmaria* was an internal colonization device already in vogue amongst the *charnecas* of the south of Portugal and it was modified and applied to the islands. Soon these lands were producing bumper crops of wheat, oats and sugar and many pastures had been cleared for cattle were often irrigated by erecting the now famous *levadas* or complex gravity irrigation channels. Even at this early stage, many of these products were exported especially to the Canary Islands. In return these islands sent enslaved *guanches* northwards.

Sugar soon developed as a cash crop and its cultivations spread northwards and southwards to other archipelagos and Madeira acted briefly as Europe's principal supply zone. Sugar production was to sustain the early settlement and attract more and more immigrants and slaves. By 1452, the first sugar mill went into production and by the end of the century, Madeira could boast of more than eight mills in production managed by Italian sugar-masters (Ribeiro, 1985, p. 48). At that time most of the sugar was exported, two thirds going to Italy and one third of the trade was handled by Flemish merchants. It was to be a short-lived boom with Brazilian and Caribbean sugar soon to flood Europe's markets.

Madeira according to geographer Ribeiro escaped the worst excesses of a cash-crop monoculture later to be the scourge of many Caribbean islands. It also quickly developed a unique reputation as a wine producing centre and here some highly distinctive viticultural landscapes emerged. Yet we are fortunate in that the process of

the peopling, settlement and the formatting of their cultural landscapes have been the subject of attention for a number scholars: São Miguel, by R. Soeiro de Brito (1955), Graciosa by A. de Brum Ferreira (1968), Corvo, the smallest island by C.A. Madeiros (1987), and Madeira by O. Ribeiro (1985).

Property, holdings and landscapes.

Minifundios are today the order the today on both archipelagos and Ribeiro (1985, p. 70) noted that in the 1970s on Madeira, there were some 257 holdings per square kilometre making average holding size some 3,900 metres square. How did this situation evolve and how old is this property pulverization? Madeira's size, location and sugar output made many of its early settlers very wealthy and a testament to this was the presence of some 56 foreign families; – Italian, French and Spanish – from a total of some 170 noble ones in the early sixteenth century. The free population of Madeira were almost entirely of Portuguese origins. The earliest newcomers seem to have arrived from the Algarve and another, though later settler wave originated in the Minho region of northern mainland Portugal. Most were rentiers of the larger holders and formed a labour pool for the sugar producers at harvest time. They lived near the production sites on the lower coastal fringes while enjoying access to more upland pastures for cattle grazing. A small but significant class of artisans was also represented as was a larger group of slaves of various origins. Most of the new settlements hugged the coastline and Funchal soon counted 10,000 residents making it a major early Atlantic port city (Ribeiro, 1985, p. 52).

Within a short period, the zone between sea level and c.700 metres on the island's southern side was transformed into a vast stepped zone of thin *socalcos* or terraces watered by irrigation permitting their intensive cultivation in almost tropical conditions. The northern island edge was distinctive, here a more fragmented topography prevailed only allowing cultivation in discontinuous plots etched out in tiers of minute terraces cascading down the mountain sides (Ribeiro, 1985, p. 55). In the upland interior, by way of contrast, escaped slaves and criminals lived out their lives in relative security.

On the larger Azorean islands, early colonists burned and cleared the lands with fire employing charred vegetation remains as dividing lines for their new fields, soon to be replaced by planted shrubs serving as boundaries and protecting their tiny plots from often violent winds. Soeiro de Brito in her early path-breaking study of São Miguel of 1955, claimed that this process of land taking is best represented on the island of São Jorge where a landscape of box hedges set in a quadrangular landscape evokes comparisons with cultural landscapes of Entre Douro and Minho of northern Portugal. Wheat, barley and vegetables were grown hugging the lower lands as today at Povoação, the earliest settlement and also at Vila Franca. The southern lowland coastal zone boasted of a more varied crop mosaic countered by a more restricted range of crops in northern zones. Even so these fertile soils soon showed signs of early exhaustion. Soon to become sites for cash crops namely sugar and woad, a plant producing dyes for the fabric production zones of northern Atlantic Europe such as Holland, England and some towns in Ireland such as Bandon (O'Flanagan, 1988), the Azorean islands of São Miguel, Faial and Terceira were its leading producers and the turn of the sixteenth century marked a production crest. Like sugar, producers soon

reduced output and cheaper indigo from Mexico became the principal competitor and the ultimate winner.

More distant from Portugal were the Cape Verde Islands, settled from c. **1460**, and their occupation was quite distinctive to what has already been described. It was part of much more tentative process to extend Portugal's colonial activities south into the Gulf of Guinea. Forts and *feitorias* were erected along Guinea's coastline. Few settlements outside these kinds of contexts transpired. Cape Verde's islands were unoccupied and they presented a more secure opportunity to sustain the trades of the West African coast besides acting as staging stations for Portugal's African and Atlantic endeavours. This archipelago however presented a series of new challenges: they were semi-arid and quite distant from the Portuguese metropole. Their occupation followed precedents already established to the north. Commerce based on ivory, slave, spices and sugar was critical as was the victualing of ships as it was these activities that made a small number of merchants rich. Barley, wheat and other crops which grew so well to the northern islands were not successful and had to be soon jettisoned by early farmers to make way for more traditional African crops whose surpluses were traded around the gulf of Guinea. Stock raising, goat meat production and salt, sugar and cotton were also important cash crops for export. Slaves were an early economic mainstay. As Duncan's work stresses early documentation of the origin of the slaves and the African ports where they began their travails were often referred as Cape Verde. Over the sixteenth century Cape Verde meant '... neither the actual cape where Dakar now stands, nor the Cape Verde Islands, but rather the 'Guinea of Cape Verde stretching roughly from the Cape Verde peninsula to the Sierra Leone River; an area called Rios de Guiné by the

Portuguese' (Curtin in Duncan,1972). Tools, metals, alcoholic, textiles and weapons were exchanged for slaves and ivory and these were the lynchpins of the Cape Verdean Atlantic economy and Guinea's trade blossoming during the seventeenth century provided some islands with fortunes and others with misery.

Andre Alvares de Almada wrote a critical report on the islands commerce in 1594 (quoted by Duncan, 1972, p.214) stating that the Portuguese exchanged wines, silver coins metals, beads, horses and paper in exchange for gold, African textiles, slaves, wax, hides, amber and musk from the Gulf of Guinea. Middlemen from Cape Verde were active in trading on the coast of the African mainland. These people known as *lancados* and *tangomaos* were few in number and mulatto. They formed '... Afro-Portuguese trading class, speaking both creole and African tongues, professing Christianity and practising paganism, tolerated by African society but not part of them, imbued with certain European racial concepts and wedded to the notion that they were "Christian", "Portuguese" and "white" ' (Duncan, 1972, p. 214). A measure of their commercial integration was the exclusive dedication of some of their numbers to African trade only. So despite the minute settler numbers on the Cape Verde's and their fragile agricultural practises, the islands functioned as a significant entrepot for a series of trades namely: the redistribution of goods of multifarious origins to the Gulf of Guinea: textiles occupied a predominance position in these exchanges. Goods from Portugal, Europe and Spanish America all flowed in and out of the islands (Duncan, 1972, p. 215). A measure of the slow rate of in-migration is a crude estimate of population of the islands totalling only some 8,000 by 1572 (Duncan, 1972, p. 173) and

the largest settlement of Ribeira Grande counted 1,500 residents in the same year an infinitesimal number compared to Funchal.

Portuguese settlement was also established during the 1470s, on São Tomé, Príncipe and Bioko, the first two were uninhabited. Bioko was only effectively settled after 1778 due to the fierce resistance of the islands residents to the Portuguese from the fifteenth century and the fact it was so distant and unknown to offer any attractions to Portuguese settlers whose potential pool was increasingly tenuous (Sarmiento, 2011). An impressive fort known as Fort Sabastião was built there between 1566 and 1575. In spite of its impressive dimensions, it was a weak link in a defensive ring of forts on the island erected to protect Portuguese sugar and salving interests. Their erection marked the final settler stage of the Guinea coast. There were few colonists and they never played an important part in the initial phase of the Portuguese seaborne empire.

The Canary Islands

It might be cogently argued that this investigation of settler colonialism should start on this archipelago as it was the first one to be ‘discovered’ by Europeans. Its occupation and settlement was a more protracted affair as Iberian involvement on the island was resented and resisted by its indigenous residents. Unlike most of the other island worlds that have been investigated in this paper, it was the only major one to have been inhabited and for that reason, its occupation was an intensely contested activity as well as translating into a long-drawn out process of subjugation. Of all adjacent island worlds it was the most strategically located from an Iberian perspective. Ships on the outward journeys either to cross the Atlantic or, to move south and break into the

Pacific, had to pass them. The islands quickly began to function as a paramount victualing station. Their initial occupation, starting at the beginning of the fifteenth century was haphazard driven by a number of merchant ventures of different national backgrounds lacking the resources to settle all the islands. The first crown appointed governor of the islands was instrumental in the attraction of non-Castilian settlers, principally of Genoese and Portuguese origins. Portuguese settlers arrived early and soon developed a thriving sugar sector. Most came from Madeira and were already well versed in the sugar production skills; from farming practises to the technology of sugar mill building and sugar refining (Fernandez Armesto, 1982, p.19). The diffusion of sugar production as a cash crop from the Mediterranean via these archipelagos to the plantations of the Caribbean forms a study in itself. Verlinden has suggested that it spread from the Eastern Mediterranean to this archipelago via Sicily and the Algarve buttressed by Genoese capital. Unlike Genoese society on the islands exclusively consisting of merchants, Portuguese settler society was more diverse; several members were important famers and sugar producers, others were small farmers and labourers and finally they were the so-called sugar masters. Occupying such pivotal roles in island society, they drew much envy and jealousy on themselves.

Constant disputes between Portugal and Spain culminated in an agreement between the two states in 1479 that finally assigned the islands to Castilian jurisdiction. The treat of Alcáçovas granted Portugal all other near Atlantic archipelagos and any lands to their south yet to be discovered. Soon afterwards Castilian occupation and settlement began in earnest. For many years the islands had a poor reputation as being the haunt of criminals and fraudsters, Jews and Moriscos; a kind of far 'West' where law and order

still was an aspiration rather than a reality. This kind of tarnished reputation did not deter Castilian authorities from deriving schemes to attract potential settlers and formulate instruments to facilitate their occupation.

These early years seem to have been a series of hit and miss opportunities. For instance, sources from Portugal confirm that the economic development was constrained as settler families returned northwards to Madeira where a transplanted sugar sector rapidly prospered on the back of significant exports to mainland Europe. By the end of the sixteenth century, some 3,000 slaves represented nearly one tenth of the islands population. Many of the slaves were black Africans, most worked in sugar related production activities and there were many *Guanches* – the native population of the Canaries who were enslaved and exterminated.

Historian Fernández Armesto, in his excellent study, claims that the crown was deeply anxious to stabilise control by means of establishing settled communities of farmers on the islands through the bequeathing of settlement rights ‘...contingent upon married residence in a household’ (1983, p. 42). Castilian was of course a term constituted by a constellation of nations and ethnic groups that settled on the archipelago. It comprised Basques, Moriscos, Jews, Galicians, Cantabrians or *Montañeses*, Andalusians and the majority from a region then known as Castile. Most of these settlers were active in agriculture; they were farming in very different contexts and for them, the Canaries must have presented major new challenges. This is an aspect that does not seem to have been fully considered by scholars of these islands. So different to bountiful Andalusia, drought stricken, with a prevalence of high winds and widespread poor soils amongst

many handicaps must have precluded certain farming systems from being established. It may be that some felt these challenges to be too daunting and rapid departure to America then offered easier pickings. Settler instability was a recurring problem during the Reconquest: the potential of greater riches lured many settlers to pack up and move further southwards. What is clear is that as early as 1520, in-migration had been reduced to a trickle and this situation was to be maintained almost up to the twentieth century. By contrast, the allure of the New World and the relative ease of departing, compared with the mainland, swept many people across the Atlantic.

Is it possible then to consider the occupation and settlement of these islands worlds as the finale of the Reconquest process which had moved across the peninsula to culminate at Grenada in 1492? The Castilian crowns' involvement in their capture, occupation and settlement of the islands was driven by a geo-vision ranking a putative Ottoman take-over as intolerable (Dijkink, 1996). Besides, Andalusia was perceived as the Reconquest's greatest prize; the Canaries never offered such potential riches. Consequently some of the actors deeply involved, for so long, in the Andalusian enterprise simply did not figure on the Canaries. This is certainly the case with the church and the great military orders. Even the peninsular nobility were not central players. Only the Guzman family from *Medina Sidonia* was a major exception. The crown then was obliged to fill the void left by the failure of the usual suspects to participate in enterprise. Andalusia was portioned off by the imposition of *repartimientos*; these were usually extensive land grant awarded to the victors. According to Fernández Armesto, there were '...commissions of local men... *repartidores* in the Canaries... to measure the lands, fix the limits of the allotments...'

(1983, p. 49). Many differences existed between the *repartimientos* here and in Andalusia: they were smaller and far less ambitious. It was one of the many devices to be transferred to the Americas where it was transformed into bequests of people for work rather than a straight forward grant of land.

The Moriscos

A recent study asserts that the expulsion of the *Moriscos* from Spain, mainly to the Maghreb, between 1609 and 1614 represents one of the largest forced human movements in Europe up to that date. In a sense, their removal symbolises the last act of the Reconquest beginning centuries before. The dates in question however mask the fact that between 1492 and the early years of the seventeenth century, several *Morisco* communities were evicted from their localities and dispatched abroad. *Moriscos* were not the only community excluded, there were others, the Jews being the most significant and many of their numbers were to settle in the United Provinces, Portugal and Ottoman Turkey. In an article in the widely read Spanish newspaper, ABC, of the 17 February 2014, some *Moriscos* in Morocco are reported to have claimed equality of treatment with descendants of the expelled Sephardis who recently were given to believe that their Spanish nationality would be returned to them by Spain's premier Rajoy.

Valencia, Aragon and parts of Castile held different types of *morisco* communities. The presence of substantial crypto- Islamic, 'converted' Muslims to Christianity and residual Islamic communities in discrete zones of the peninsula meant that, in the perceptions of some elements of the then Spanish ruling elite, a potent fifth column was present in the

event of any foreign invasion of the peninsula and the Turks presented an immediate foe as did the Huguenots to the north.

Unlike many of the settler movements already under the microscope, this population movement is an outstanding instance of a prescribed re-settlement programme. Yet many aspects of this massive transfer remain poorly understood. Under consideration here where did they resettle? Whom did this movement ‘disturb’ in their new surroundings and how rapidly were *Moriscos* assimilated by their new hosts especially in North Africa? In addition, how were the technical details of their expulsion considered, elaborated and implemented? How were their assets on the peninsula to be ‘redistributed’? How were the general cultural and economic repercussions of their removal assessed prior to, and after their removal? How were substitute settlers chosen and settled? However, the political background leading to their movement and to decisions to extirpate them are well known and are not discussed here. Their expulsion is rarely discussed in contemporary Spain.

Aragon, Castile and Valencia were the principal zones of origin where the most numerous *Morisco* communities lived. Departure took place from ports on the Spanish Mediterranean coast. Most *Moriscos* were given the choice of conversion or expulsion. Most opted for resettlement in North Africa, some travelled even as far as Ottoman Turkey. Scholarship has begun to shed light on their dilemmas both from inside their communities and from abroad, though much more remains to be achieved. Wide disparities exist in relation to the number of *Moriscos* expelled from Spain and

estimates range from 100,000 to some half a million. Lapeyre suggests a median number of 300,000 were expelled.

Recent work on this forced migration identifies the ports of North Africa where they landed and settled. Regrettably, it is short on detail and it mentions for instance, that in many of these Maghrebian ports, refugees settled in central locations where many already had relations who had fled earlier on in the sixteenth century. This was the case at Tlemcen where a majority of the dispossessed refugees moved to villages in its suburbs. If Aragon is taken as an example of *Morisco* expulsion, we can rely on the observations of Juan Bautista Labanha who describes himself as *cosmógrafo y cronista mayor de Portugal* and who in spite of being hired by Spanish masters, provides a chilling description of the ‘emptiness’ of sections of the Kingdom of Aragon in his now famous work *Itinerario del Reino de Aragón* compiled as a field and background survey for his outstanding map of that region. Collected during the final months of 1610 and the early months of the following year, his notes describe the demographic haemorrhage of those parts of the kingdom densely settled by *Moriscos* such as the Huerva, Jalón and Jiloca valleys and sections of the Ebro just below Zaragoza stand out in Lapeyre’s interesting maps of Aragon in his excellent work: *Geografía de España morisca*, 2014. *Morisco* communities in Aragon totalled some 71,000 people inhabiting some 14,000 houses and represented almost twenty percent of the regional population total. His data were based on contemporary census material. The loss of so many people must have been economically disastrous given that they were concentrated in restricted though rich often irrigated zones of the Ebro Basin. One can easily imagine why they might have been ejected from these areas. Labanha provides graphic accounts of many settlements

just after Moriscos were removed, for instance, Alfamén was ‘...*despoblado porque todo era de moriscos...vivían los moriscos del ganado y del comercio*’. Dealing with Almonacid de la Sierra, he writes ‘*Fue población de moriscos y fueron los últimos que salieron de este reino, había 300 vecinos y ahora no hay más de cincuenta*’. At Muel, only thirty of some three hundred houses remained occupied. The evidence strongly suggests that the process of ejection was teased out with much precision. The potential and real consequences of their loss do not appear to have been carefully addressed nor was the process of their replacement. The impression given by Labanha and other contemporary visitors is of a landscape which has experienced loss and decay.

Ireland

Going northwards to Ireland in and around the same time, the geo-vision held by England’s elites from the mid sixteenth century was a growing awareness of rivalry with its distant neighbour to the south, namely Spain and also potential, albeit more removed, dangers posed by France and the Netherlands. Post reformation Ireland posed potential problems too. The prospect of a fifth column of native Irish subverting English rule and joining with her enemies spread much alarm in England and was, in part, a justification for settling Ireland with loyal Englishmen so as to reduce any temptation for a backdoor Spanish invasion of England. Likewise, the expectation of rapid personal enrichment was another factor swaying English attitudes towards migration to Ireland. English propagandists and writers of the day also encouraged English settlers to move to Ireland. Differences between English and Irish society were often exaggerated by some of English polemical writers who stressed the need to ‘civilise’ the Irish. This kind of zeal was founded somewhat on widening religious differences between the two

islands. So there was a profound moral and religious validation embedded in English readiness to conquer, subdue, occupy and settle Ireland and a means of achieving such goals the word 'plantation' was frequently parroted out as the best instrument. From about the mid sixteenth century, many 'schemes' for planting English and Scottish settlers in Ireland were formulated. At first, the scale of these plans was limited and the means to implement them were often utopian in the light of resources available. As time went on, the schemes became more extensive, grandiose and costly; more precision was being put into how they might be actually implemented as was the case in Munster and Ulster.

In spite of being within less than a day's sailing from England, Ireland was an almost unknown quantity to most English people at the start of the sixteenth century. This situation was remedied by their emergence within the English administrative elite of individuals who appreciated the need to know the lie of the land. These key people sought ever more precise information not just concerning regional topography, also the extent that land was forested, its leading exploitable resources and most significantly details in relation to land ownership, land tenure and social structure. Smyth (2007) has cleverly demonstrated how several pivotal English ministers were responsible for reforming the Tudor and Elizabethan governmental practices. One of the key elements here was the dispatch of a cadre of excellent artists and cartographers to represent and where possible to map accurately different parts of Ireland. These experts were only a link in a line of diverse specialists sent to Ireland to deepen England's enhanced ways of 'seeing' its nearest neighbour to the west. Lawyers, engineers, soldiers and spies were all detailed to report on different aspects of Ireland's 'anatomy'.

It is valuable to compare and contrast, the map collections held at El Escorial by Spanish king, Phillip II and those held by Elizabeth's principal Irish strategist Cecil. This Spanish king was deeply involved in all the details of the management of his vast far-flung intercontinental empire. His impressive collection of maps, besides sea charts, principally relates to fortified settlements often major port cities on both sides of the Atlantic and into the Pacific. In addition, he maintained legions of officials, gathered into different groups to administer his disparate realms. This marked out the structure of the Spanish bureaucracy as then being highly sophisticated yet also deeply cumbersome. There were the customs and various monopolies mostly managed by a state agency, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de Indias* founded in 1524 devoted to both Castilian exploitation and settlement in the New World and *La Casa de Contratación* at Seville (founded in 1503) to name a few.

English official Cecil built up a map collection mainly covering Ireland and here there was a piecemeal selection of maps, many at local or regional scales and of different dates (Smyth, 2007). Added to Cecil's archive was his increasing encyclopaedic and intricate knowledge of Ireland and its different societies. Not only was he interested in military matters and the re-allocation of forfeited lands, he was as Smyth has indicated vitally concerned about how a new dominion might be developed and how ultimately the sponsoring state might draw benefit. That said, he was concerned with the levying of taxes to be collected by introduced upright officials and their location at pivotal settlements and their employment as nodes for diffusing 'civilization'.

Increasingly throughout the sixteenth century the English crown and its bureaucracy is demonstrably, via the accumulation of documents and reports, concerned with settling English people in Ireland as a means of fastening its control. Much recent work has stressed the need to view these developments through a sharpening of England's political economy and the island of Ireland perceived pivotal location on the strategic Atlantic sea routes.

A growing emphasis emerged aimed at the establishing reliable facts and figures also distinguishes the metropole's growing requirement for greater clarity. Detailed regional surveys were conducted at various centres where lands were simply stolen from their Gaelic or Old English owners, to be escheated and then re-granted to new own immigrant settlers all this in the name of propriety and the spreading civilization and development. In the same manner as the Chinese government is extolling its actions in Tibet and Xinjiang and as the Zionists in Palestine.

Montano (2011) has written extensively about the motivations behind the English conquest, occupation and settlement of Ireland during the Tudor period and beyond and he emphasises how then English perceptions of 'civility' were a fundamental ingredient motivating their increasing intrusion in Ireland. Another writer, Smyth, deployed Foucault's notion of 'normalization', '...as a tool through which we can gain enriched understanding of English colonial incentives in relation to Ireland as to what is "correct and acceptable" from an English viewpoint against what is regarded as "abnormal"'. A pastoral, semi nomadic conception of the Gaels is presented to literate England against a stable village-based society of cultivators which many Englishmen would be familiar

with. For the English, the most efficacious manner to stamp out any barbarous practice and introduce 'civility' was through 'plantation', a device continuously perfected to facilitate settler colonization, despite many earlier reverses evident in the relatively small scale 'plantations' of Tudor times and despite the presence of many English in certain parts of Ireland since the start of the sixteenth century. The more wide-ranging Munster 'Plantation' extending between 1586-1601 was an attempt to effect a large scale, more thorough scheme of regional social engineering by attracting many new settlers from England and the foundation of some significant towns and villages such as Bandon (O'Flanagan, 1988). A map produced by an unknown cartographer for part of newcomer Walter Raleigh's Munster estate in the 1580s represents a template for the creation of a more familiar settler cultural landscape and the obliteration of a traditional Gaelic landscape in Ireland. Published in 1978 by J.H. Andrews in his work *Irish Maps*, this plan of Mogeely, County Cork depicts an area where woodland clearance were ongoing and a series of closes and meadows bounded in a *bocage*-like manner had emerged. The weaknesses of this plantation were addressed in the more intrusive Ulster Plantation of 1609 where private corporate capital was also recruited more actively as a core means to sustain it.

Despite all the evidence adduced by some writers to justify an English mission in Ireland promoting settler colonization of the period, citing simple English munificence as benefactor of 'civility to a hostile pastoral cultural landscape', seems inadequate by itself. England's then geo-vision conflicted with that of the crown of Castile. Mutual suspicion between these powers was a source of constant tension making conflict between them inevitable.

Writing in the early 1680s, one of County Cork's then most eminent newcomer residents, Richard Cox, extolled the virtues of the English presence in Ireland and he noted the success of the plantation had now entered a mature phase. He is especially adulatory in his treatment of the town of Bandon and its plantation and about which he wrote;

‘...it was now one of the neatest and healthiest towns in Ireland, built within the memory of man, and walled... These rivers are so situate and the streets so placed that almost every house has a garden backward that reaches to the river, and the gardens being planted with trees in convenient places, in summer time this town seems to be built in a wood’

(Cox quoted in O’Flanagan, 1988)

One would imagine from reading the above eulogistic panegyric that English goals for Ireland's transformation had, by then, been fully realised. Future developments in Ireland were to give the lie to such an assertion.

Conclusions

In this essay, the efforts made by three distinctive polities to encourage or impose a series of schemes of settler colonization in radically different contexts have been outlined. Some of these enterprises were planned and prescribed as was the case in Andalusia and the Canary Islands. In the former area, planning involved the delineation of a detailed spatial framework of confiscation, occupation and settlement, It is unclear to what degree, if any, the pre-existing territorial structures were incorporated into the ones devised and executed for the new settlers. The evolution of Portuguese settler

colonization was different; it was in part congruent with national resources deployed to facilitate commerce through occupation. It was largely aimed at the formulation of settler structures for 'empty spaces' on the islands and in pre-existing urban centres on the North African coast. Initially at least, distance decay was a formidable factor best expressed in the trickle of colonists at the leading sites far south on the Gulf of Guinea. Here much commerce was left in the hands of creoles in the absence of Portuguese settlers. In Ireland's case, being so adjacent and so different from England and the increasing closeness of Spain, precipitated a policy of plantation and exclusion. Outside the urban centres, little effort appears to have been made to anticipate, through detailed planning, the kinds of cultural landscapes that might have been facilitated to appear. The settlers themselves were free to choose and they installed structures they were already familiar with in England. Here the minutiae of settler colonization were a matter for the settlers themselves.

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