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Port Cities

Europe's largest city today is Istanbul with a population of some 11 million plus; larger than Moscow and twenty-first in the world league of urban places. It is the **leading** European city just in front of Moscow (Demographia.com, 2009,01/12). This iconic port city has drawn its in-migrants from everywhere, from Europe, Asia, and Africa It is, and always has been, a port city and it has played a global role for at least 2,000 years. The oldest urban centres on the planet are associated with the transportation of goods and people. Port cities, because of their specific discrete functions, have promoted the emergence of specific class structures. Port cities represent a very early form of urbanism and have been a constant feature on nearly all continents**.** Here we explore how port cities worked as relay centres for the movements of migrants, ideas and merchandise of all kinds in a systematic manner.

In western world, Constantinople was amongst the oldest port cities of the Mediterranean. This basin witnessed the flowering of many famous maritime civilizations such as the Greeks, Minoans, Phoenicians, Romans and Carthaginians; each developed their suite of ports or superimposed themselves on pre-existing networks. Constantinople acted as a break point for moving goods east from Europe and merchandise coming from the opposite direction. In 1560, there were no less than 15,000 small boats at work in and around this city whose urban core was the sea itself. It was then also the largest city and probably the largest port in the Mediterranean. The Black Sea acted as a kind of antechamber for these trades and it was the scene for the foundation of many small ports populated by Greek merchants over which this city

exercised trading exclusivity. Its hinterland and foreland were truly global and have overlapped in certain domains.

The presence of many foreign merchants allowed this city to consolidate its role as a global port city. Mansel reports that this happy state related to liberal trading enticements called 'capitulations' that induced many foreign merchants to reside there shielded by the immunity of their ambassador (1997)**.** Constantinople was after all an imperial port city and a city of refuge: it offered three extraordinary advantages: toleration, prosperity and the prospect of revenge as it was a state too often at war with its enemies. Hence the presence of many exiled Spanish Jews and Arabs. But this was also a city of enormous cosmopolitanism. Indeed, many of its Jews had several different identities: Jewish, Ottoman and Spanish (Sephardi)**.**

Taking once again the example of Constantinople: '…it was the natural object of desire…'. 'Situated at the end of a triangular peninsula, it was surrounded by water on three sides. To the north lay the harbour, one kilometre long and six kilometres wide, called the Golden Horn, to the east the Bosphorus, … to the south, the Sea of Marmara, a small inland sea linked to the Mediterranean' (Mansel, 1997, p. 112). This was and is Europe's most populous port city. All roads within the Ottoman Empire led to it**.** After its capture by the Ottomans in 1453, its population rose to some 80,000 in 1477 and by 1530, it has been claimed to have grown to some 400,000 making it at least three times bigger than its nearest European rivals, Lisbon or Seville; Amsterdam only counted some 30,000 in 1560. It has always acted as an entrepot linking its hinterland (where it sourced its exports) on both sides of the Bosphorus to a foreland (where it sourced its international imports), which extended in the early sixteenth century to Japan and China.

On the other side of the Mediterranean, Alexandria, like Constantinople, linked Africa with the Mediterranean and indirectly to northern Europe. Founded in 331BC, its growth was explosive and by the first century AD, it is reputed to have recorded some 180,000 adult males out of an estimated total population of 500,000 making it one of the world's largest cities after Changan in China.

The Mediterranean however held other annexes. The Red Sea linked it to the East African coast and the Indian Ocean. Butel (1999) recognises a Mediterranean Atlantic extending from The Straits of Gibraltar to Senegambia connecting it to sources of gold, slaves and ivory from sub-Saharan Africa.

The emergence of port cities throughout, if we may call it, the European Atlantic was more complex and was also a late and protracted process. It was connected to the 'First Imperial Age' between 1400 and 1715, which witnessed the dynamic expansion of a series of minor ports along Europe's Atlantic façade transformed into major international centres of banking, business, commerce and trade and sometimes into proto-industrial centres (Scammell, 1989). Nation states at that time, wittingly or unwittingly, sculptured individual port centre hierarchies through the medium of distinctive political economies.

Each of the major imperial powers carved out an Atlantic system to suit their commercial requirements and objectives. In this way, the Dutch, the English, the French, the Portuguese and the Spanish partitioned the Atlantic to accommodate their imperial imperatives. Each of these Atlantics was an exclusive imperial domain and only overlapped at their edges with their neighbours' domains.

The inner Atlantic was an ancient platform which was eventually used as a springboard to launch the maritime endeavours of Europe's leading states. Before the discoveries, here, ports were trading items coming from central Europe with Atlantic Europe. There were also exchanges between different Atlantic ports and, finally, between these ports and both sides of the Mediterranean. Most of these interchanges involved primary products with little added value. The foundations of this Atlantic system were assembled on a more ancient and venerable inner Atlantic network of ports. Southern Atlantic and Mediterranean products such as wine, fruits and salt moved northwards; northern goods, for instance, butter, leather, provisions and fabricated items moved southwards. Merchandise and other goods from Russia and the North Sea came down from the Baltic and the Rhine respectively and continued onwards to the Mediterranean.

Much of the South Atlantic had to wait until much later to witness the emergence of major ports. Exceptions were a string of Brazilian ports, as they were vital hubs in the Portuguese *Carreira da India*. Many of these ports were further energised by the commodity trades such as sugar, gold and precious stones and slaves, later coffee and cotton . The ports of Portuguese Africa only expanded significantly after the independence of Brazil, when Portugal sought to realize their vast potential resources.

The Caribbean may also be regarded as another antechamber of the Atlantic. In the 'First Imperial Age', it was at the forefront of developments later to slip back into near oblivion. Its ports played pivoted roles in the dispatch of products from its cash crop economies and very distinctive societies emerged in its cities and countrysides. Havana was unique, it operated as an early sixteenth century New World metropole; it acted as a marshalling centre for goods and fleets moving to Europe. It was a hub for transactions

between Veracruz, Cartagena de Indias and Seville or Cádiz. It was also a pivotal military, shipbuilding and outfitting centre besides being the capital of the richest Caribbean island. Remaining in Spanish hands until 1898, it swallowed massive investments in its defensive infrastructure.

The Indian Ocean was another Atlantic annex acting as a platform of enterprise and surface of contact for India's impressive suite of port cities (Arvind Palat, 1991). India's ports played the role of entrepots across this great expanse of water and their commerce sustained the rise of opulent merchant classes. Gold and slaves were imported from East Africa, horses came from Persia and porcelain and silk from China. Its vast land expanse boasted of no single authority. The East Indies and parts of South East Asia boasted of a dense network of settlements and many pivotal ports involved in intensive long distance trade. This was the realm were the Portuguese seaborne empire grafted itself on to several of its cities through superior naval firepower (Boxer, 1960). Here they built their *feitorias*, where Portuguese merchants lived under the eye of a *feitor*. These were often walled settlement annexes attached to existing ports, a model which was transferred from European centres such as Bruges and Antwerp. He was an official simultaneously discharging several roles both on behalf of monarch and merchants.

Port cities have discharged a range of discrete functions many of which have remained constant over the centuries (Broeze, 1995). Air travel, the industrial and digital revolutions have modified the role of port centres and dock areas no longer are the physical fulcrum of many ports settlements, Lisbon being a classical example of these trends. Porto and Leixões or La Rochelle and La Pallice are further instances of centres where new ports have been erected to cater for larger vessels and more complicated land-

based handling equipment. Air travel has also impacted on many ports as far fewer people now travel by sea and the districts with their discrete facilities catering for migrants and sea passengers have been swept away. Globalising processes have impacted on the nature of shipping and have encouraged the container revolution with their attendant handling complexes. Most ports now deal with bulk goods and larger and larger ships have been put into service. Because of their nature and sometimes security issues connected with certain cargoes, newly built ports have been completely detached from existing ports to provide space and deep-water berthage for ever larger ships. Port cities are today and since the 'First Imperial Age', vital ingredients of globalised transportation networks and surfaces that cover the planet.

The concept of entrepot is a key urban descriptor of a major port whose lifeblood is sustained by seaborne commerce. Port cities in the past invariably maintained robust military and naval installations in the form of many customised building and docks such as barracks, arsenals, graving docks, shipbuilding and repair facilities. In turn, all these facilities called on the services of vast retinues of trades people and skilled artisans. Carpenters, caulkers, turners, architects, engineers, sail makers, cartographers, coopers and joiners were some of the diverse range of professions listed by chroniclers as working at Lisbon during the sixteenth century (Feist Hirst, 1967). Specific streets, at centres such as Seville or Lisbon, were occupied by particular crafts and the guilds associated with them. Triana at Seville was a district almost exclusively occupied by 'sea-people'. Procurement for these services was spread over an entire national territory as was the case in Spain where men and materiel were sourced from every region leaving in their wake major labour force shortages especially for local fishing activities

(Goodman, 1997). The coincidence of capital city and port city usually acted as a powerful stimulus to generate additional expansion and growth. Amsterdam, Constantinople, Lisbon and London for centuries combined these important attributes consolidating their positions as leaders of their national urban hierarchies.

Port cities during the 'First Imperial Age' discharged many different functions, the most salient of which was the throughput of goods and merchandise and all of the trade and exchange associated with such activities. Goods had to be assembled, stored, packed, housed, processed and exported. The wool trade out of Basque Bilbao during the sixteenth century is an excellent example (Phillips and Phillips, 1997). Some states erected a complex edifice of institutions to regulate all of these activities such as: exchanges, consulates and consuls, customs, licensing procedures for merchants, merchant 'factories', maritime education facilities, missionary schools and seminaries (Jesuits at Cádiz), a substantial and diverse military and naval complexes, for instance, around the Bay of Cádiz or Southampton and added value facilities like sugar milling or tobacco drying. A range of financial functions evolved and matured in these conditions such as banking, finance, marine insurance, legal infrastructures to deliver instruments for all forms of trade and exchange. Passenger traffic also demanded a discrete range of onshore facilities, such as ticket offices, hotels and boarding houses, translators and accountants. Another raft of expertises and a consummate variety of craftspeople were also drawn in to design and erect a vast array of philanthropically supported religious and secular buildings representing the immense wealth of some of the ports leading movers and shakers.

Migrants

Migrants and the movement of goods have always helped to define the morphology of many port settlements. Much migration through ports prior to the early nineteenth century was involuntary. Enormous volumes of slaves moved from Africa to the Caribbean and Ibero-America. In the sixteenth century and beyond, the Portuguese held what was known as the *Asiento* to supply much of Ibero-America with slaves. On their Atlantic journey, few slaves moved through the ports of Europe but transferred from a complex of holding areas and *feitorias* on the coast of Senegambia such as those of São Tomé, Axim (1515) and Elmina (1482) in modern Ghana directly to the mines and sugar plantations of Ibero-America and the Caribbean (Kamen, 2003). Yet, contemporary descriptions of the ethnicity of some major cities such as Seville and Lisbon note that at least one fifth of their population were of slave origins during the late sixteenth century (Thomas, 2004). The bloated size of these newcomer groups may well be related to manpower deficits due to high outmigration of urban residents to the New World.

Old World famine migrants were another involuntary group on the move and for instance, during the nineteenth century, enormous numbers of people left Ireland for North America and Australia**.** Many small ports around the coast of Ireland developed rudimentary infrastructures to accommodate the ceaseless flow of humanity. Queenstown (now Cobh) in County Cork, Ireland emerged as a leading port for oceanic migration stimulated by the arrival of the railway in 1862. This small anteport developed an impressive portfolio of facilities to cater for this mass migration (**Plate, xxx**) **Waterfront at Cobh, Ireland]**. Hotels, boarding houses, public houses, ticket offices and tea houses

all sprung up along and behind the waterfront. Beside Dublin, at the same time, Kingstown (now Dún Laoghaire) acted as Ireland's leading port of departure for migrants to the United Kingdom.

Even older currents of migration had left Ireland for the Caribbean. Many refugees had departed as indentured labourers from the turmoil bequeathed by Cromwell during the mid seventeenth century. They were settling on some of England's main Caribbean sugar islands such as Jamaica and Montserrat. Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, acted, though much later, as another transoceanic penal colony for Irish convicts. Missionaries from Spain and Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries established themselves throughout Ibero-America and generous philanthropy allowed many religious orders erect seminaries, churches and schools in many of the port cities associated with the Iberian colonial endeavours[**plate.Foundation dates of Presentation Sisters**] Highly educated Jesuits described, often in minute detail, exotic and unimagined worlds during the sixteenth century and some, like Bento de Göes, even crossed into western China (Bernard, 1934).

Such endless waves of people contributed to the making of some of the world's leading port cities into cultural melting pots. Mass movement of people accelerated the spread of plagues and other diseases during the first era of globalisation. Portugal and Spain, for instance, were afflicted during the last decade of the sixteenth century by the so-called Atlantic plagues. To what, if any, extent this plague contributed to the decline of Castile, the jury still remains out! Ports were natural hubs for the diffusion of diseases. Later on, as sailors and poor migrants came to be recognised as public health hazards, a new infrastructure of surveillance with police, fever hospitals, quarantine stations were

erected, all on the peripheries of many major ports. Port cities such as Pennsylvania and Seville were constantly the targets of infectious diseases such as typhoid and yellow fever. It is reported one tenth of the city's population died during a severe epidemic in 1793. This jolted the city's elites to found a Board of Health some few years afterwards. By the turn of the century, a Lazaretto had been erected some ten miles outside the city which included a hospital, residences, and offices at this quarantine facility. Seville was affected by several major outbreaks of cholera during the nineteenth century. Earlier, the so-called Atlantic plague (1596-1602), because of its perceived origin at Santander, spread to Seville and popular belief ascribes to it a harvest of almost ten per cent of contemporary Castile's population and unknown implications as a contributory factor towards the decline of that immense region. Soon afterwards, the 'Great Plague of Seville', 1646-1652, was the final chapter in a series of economic and public health reverses recorded there during the first half of the seventeenth century. As late as the 1960s, this author recalls being warned by friends at Seville of a further outbreak which had harvested some deaths but it was kept under wraps for fear of threatening Spain's burgeoning tourist sector.

Historic background

Many different kinds of state sponsored institutions emerged to govern and regulate trade, encourage manufacturing, keep the lid on subversion, filter the movements of people and slaves. The clergy were detailed to spread and sustain ideological purity, particularly amongst New World natives and newcomers. States such as Portugal,

possibly because of their size and paucity of resources, assigned various aspects of the suite of regulatory powers to a combination of free market agents (mainly merchants) and delegates of the state. So arose Portuguese *feitorias* in the Old and the New World. Bruges recorded an early instance of this form of institution. Here, Portuguese merchants met and discussed trading opportunities supervised by the *feitor* who was a delegate appointed by the crown to oversee and arbitrate on merchant activities. Here the crown set prices as the holder of the monopoly and also confirmed those who could trade. *Feitorias* were then attached to existing settlements in the East Indies where minute communities of Portuguese merchants, administrators, military personnel and priests resided. They usually consisted of small walled buildings added on as annexes to existing ports as at Malacca. Nearly fifty forts were constructed by the Portuguese mainly in strategic locations around the Indian Ocean**.** Feitorias were erected at Goa, Macau, Hormuz and Ternate. Of these, Goa acted as the principal hub and merchandise, especially porcelain and spices, were dispatched onto Lisbon's Casa da India, some commodities were further relayed to Antwerp, which acted as the leading north European relay point. These Indian Ocean *feitorias* also traded in circuits as between Goa and Macau and on to Nagasaki.

Given the increasing closeness of commercial and political ties between the English and the Portuguese, at least three English 'factories' were founded in late sixteenth early seventeenth century Portugal sited at Viana do Castelo, Oporto and Lisbon. The 'factory' at Oporto emerged as the largest and the most lavish and opulent and it remains active to this day [**PLATE]English Factory at Oporto, Portugal}**. The degree of crown involvement in the affairs of these was substantial (Delaforce, 1990),

although each ‘factory’ maintained a considerable degree of autonomy. Likewise, the Portuguese maintained a network of consulates throughout Europe during the nineteenth century and earlier (Gonçalves Horta, 2008). Ireland counted six, with the chief consulate being located at Cork.

Nations who traded with Spain also maintained a series of ‘factories’/consulates on Spanish territory, the largest of which was located at Cádiz. Here paradox ruled. This happened probably as a result to the constantly strained relations between Spain and England underlining the fact that trade continued to be conducted even during periods of hostilities. Resident English and Scottish merchants never made up more that five per cent of the total membership, yet it was always from their ranks that a consul was elected. Irish merchants made up the vast body of this fraternity (O’Flanagan, 2008). In a sense, it may be possible to regard these ‘factories’/consulates as permissive institutions in as much as their activities were independent of state controls, although they acted as state surrogates on many matters.

These institutions were state sponsored elements of their respective political economies. Soon after the first landfall in the New World, Spain’s political economy was being devised. Undoubtedly, some of its leading ingredients were borrowed from existing Portuguese templates. It was to have immense economic and spatial implications for the ‘First Imperial Age’ of globalization. At its core was monopoly and concepts of exclusion. It quickly set about re-ordering Spain’s urban network as only one port Seville was allowed to trade with New World ports. We can categorise this port as a metropole. Transport of goods and flows of people on the peninsula were thus deflected to take account of this new reality. Seville’s foreland embraced the so called Carrera de Indias

and its New World foreland, which simultaneously acted as network, system and surface. This represented the oceanic thoroughfare for shipping traffic in fleets (after 1556) across the Atlantic to the New World. It was by no means an amorphous expanse of ocean. Other hubs on the other side of the Atlantic were designated also as exclusive ports such as Havana, Veracruz and Cartagena de Indias. Ports belonging to Spain in the New World were forbidden to trade with each other; they were obliged to trade only with these metropoles. In this way, in the New World, these ordinances skewed urban and port evolution in the New World as they also did in the Old one. Across the Atlantic, a classic response and example of this legacy was the long delayed emergence of the River Plate and its ports (O'Flanagan, 2008). It also signalled the start of the primacy of the Atlantic over the Mediterranean which was to endure for at least three centuries and ushered in a phase of commercial and physical stagnation at such places as Barcelona, Málaga and Valencia.

'Monopoly was common place in the organization of European commerce, and was for centuries to remain a widely accepted way of handling valuable long distance trades' (Scammell, 1992, 97). A number of key institutions were founded at different times during the sixteenth century to deliver the monopoly. They were all located at the metropole and provided massive employment opportunities. They were *La Casa de Contratación* (crudely, House of Trade), *El Consulado and La Aduana*. In Portugal, all eastern commerce was the remit of an institution named *A Casa da India*. This model was based, to a large degree, on what the Venetians had implemented for the control, distribution and sale of Asian spices in Europe. What the Portuguese attempted to achieve was a monopoly (as exclusive purveyors of spices to Europe) on an unparalleled scale

and this intention was realized for a short period of time. This was achieved even without the Portuguese capturing the principal sources of supply. Spices were then brought to Lisbon on licensed ships, much of their cargoes were then re-directed to Antwerp where they were redistributed throughout Europe. Even through this monopoly was in shreds in the latter half of the seventeenth century, extremely wealthy Portuguese merchants were capable on investing in elaborate houses or engaging in philanthropic grants to the convents and monasteries of Goa. Monopolies were also promoted on salt, tobacco, shipbuilding, joint stock companies and manufacture of goods, especially textiles for colonists abroad.

The Dutch and English developed similar trading control instruments for the Indian Ocean in terms of joint stock companies. It was these companies who held the monopolies, they had to make the investments and take on all the risk. Early success crowned the activities of the Dutch (VOC) *Vereenigeds Oost-Indische Compagnie* founded in 1602. The remit of its activities was indeed considerable: it built its own ships, it could declare war and occupy territories and make commercial treaties. Headquartered at Amsterdam, it provided this port city with further energy to retain its premier rank as northern Europe's largest port city. It was conceived as a vehicle for enriching the Low Countries, breaking the commercial power of Portugal, dividing the commercial interest of the then united Iberian crowns and drawing off the Iberia's land armies from this fledging state. In its early form, it achieved most of these objectives. The East India Company , whose emergence and consolidation coincided with England's materialization as a leading global sea power, was a constant threat to the Dutch and a serious rival for England.

An additional ingredient of Spain's monopoly policy was the foundation of a series of state or Royal Trading Companies (Shakespeare, 1989). There were several different kinds of companies established. Firstly some were formed to promote overseas trading and to ensure that bullion, goods and merchandise coming in from the new World came in Spanish built and registered vessels. Most were formed during the eighteenth century such as the *Compañía de Honduras* (1714), *de Galicia* (1734), *de La Habana*, *de Barcelona* (1755) and *de Filipinas* (1785). Another important company was the *Real Compañía Guipuzcoana de Caraca*s (1730). Further companies were established on the peninsula to give much needed employment, but also, to ensure that Spain's overseas possessions were exclusively supplied with goods from Spain. Among the most famous were *La Real Compañía de Comercio y Fábricas de Zaragoza* founded in 1746, bankrupt in 1774 and *La Real Companía de San Fernando de Sevilla* (1747) and bankrupt in the early 1770s. Its mission was to invigorate Spanish textile production for the peninsula and abroad. Beside goods, their ships carried many migrants on their transatlantic crossings.

Networks are constructs resonant with spatial meaning. They are lines of points or nodes interconnected and animated by flows of different kinds. A merchants' network is composed of a typical set of family members and, or, business associates often located at different ports and like many networks, it is hierarchically structured. As has been pointed out elsewhere a port city is essentially a network's node as outlined in the Amsterdam example below. The construction of trading networks by different actors and agents promoted the growth and functional diversification of several port cities. It laid the basis for future flows of migrants and exchanges. The rise and decline of Amsterdam and

its trading networks is instructive (Boswell et al, 1991). Antwerp was chosen initially by the Portuguese as their northern export re-distribution centre. However Antwerp's decline became Amsterdam's opportunity from the middle of the sixteenth century. Three prepositions have been put forward to explain Amsterdam's growing hegemonic position at that time within the Dutch trading system (Boswell et al, 1991). These factors included the pivoted position of the Low Countries and Amsterdam for inter-European trade, low risk shipping of bulk commodities was also significant and a variety of reasons allowed the Dutch excel in shipbuilding securing comparative advantage over their competitors. One highly significant migratory group had an immensely vital role in the widening and strengthening of Amsterdam's commercial networks. This was marked by the arrival of Portuguese Sephardic Jews during the sixteenth century after they had been expelled. They were responsible for the opening up of a range of new routes and their efforts broadened merchandise throughput range shipped in and out of that port. Antunes also notes that they helped grease the wheels of trade by introducing new financial products and besides they developed a range of new coincident social networks (Antunes, 2005).

Another interesting example related to the immigration of foreign merchants into a pre-existing trading node is represented by the Irish in Cádiz, Spain (O'Flanagan and Walton, 2004). Cádiz acted as Spain's exclusive metropole for most of the eighteenth century and it was to this city that a significant number of Irish people migrated to take advantage of its breathtaking commercial opportunities. Most came from the extreme south of Ireland; a significant number of Irish migrants came from France and smaller numbers from the Low Countries and England. What they did was instructive. Settling there during the early part of the century, many migrants made commercial and marriage

ties with resident Spanish merchant families. They extended their networks to the New World by sending children on business missions, several of whom settled at ports such as Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Havana and Veracruz (Guimerá Ravina, 1985). Otherwise they amplified Cádiz's trading networks by linking them to their prelisting networks especially in France and opening up new ones in Ireland and possibly in Anglo America. The Irish were, of course, one highly successful national groups who availed of this port's metropole designation and French, Flemish and Italian were especially notable residents. Each of these national groups carried in their wake considerable retinues of business assistants, translators and servants. Social gradations amongst the merchants, whether native or newcomer, were configured in many dimensions, one of which being the number of employees, their ethnic origins and the offices of their servants.

Migration to, and through, port cities was triggered by the extraordinary wealth of many of its merchants and some of their civic institutions (Checkland, 1984). Merchant houses were often sumptuously decorated and highly skilled artisans were often imported to deliver complex plasterwork, marble-work or detailed work in wood. At Cádiz, Spain for instance, it was commonplace to import Italians to accomplish such tasks and because of the amount of work available at that metropole many artisans settled there permanently. Plentiful wealth prompted many merchants to engage in all sorts of acts of philanthropy such as the building and decorating of churches, convents and hospitals, all of which often necessitated the involvement of skilled artisans. **The magnificent *Hospital de Mujeres*, erected in 1749 [plate,Hospital de Mujeres]** at Cádiz (Spain) is such an example**.** At the port of Waterford in Ireland, philanthropy

emanating from an Irish merchant family at Cádiz was invested in the erection of a church(O'Flanagan and Walton, 2004).

Port cities

Port cities also had to be defended as did their realms. Massive military infrastructures were part and parcel of the defensive furniture associated with port cities. To built for these expensive features, platoons of skilled personnel had to be contracted to provide requisite expertise; this involved the hiring of cartographers, engineers, architects and skilled craftspeople. The domain of the Spanish Carrera de Indias, besides counting braided oceanic routes, also implicated the defence of an entire series of metropoles on both sides of the Atlantic and ports such as Cádiz, Cartagena de Indias and Havana entailed erecting enormously expensive port defences. Arsenals, naval dockyards, barracks; biscuit making, gunpowder production and sail manufactories were all features of some of the major metropoles as at La Carraca, at Cádiz, Spain (Ruiz Nieto-Guerrero, 1999). The throughput of raw materials, in today's jargon, for these and other facilities entailed a national supply-chain effort (Goodman, 1997**)**. It also involved the recruitment and movement of thousands of seamen, sailors, specialised naval craftspeople such as caulkers from other ports to Cádiz, for instance, and on from there to overseas duties. The net outcome, as far as home ports were concerned was local and regional maritime manpower depletion for inter-port tramping trades and fishing expeditions. National maritime defensive frenzy was ratcheted up even more in England and Ireland during the period of the perceived Napoleonic threat in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The outcome of these construction departures was a further acceleration of port defence construction such as those erected around most English and Irish ports for instance the massive harbour defences of Cork in Ireland**.**

Spain and Portugal's monopolies instigated the foundation of a series of regulatory institutions established to protect the state from fraud and so as to ensure the state, as in the case of Spain, obtained the royal fifth from bullion and other high value trades. *La Aduana* and *La Casa de Contratación* are among the most famous Sevillian and Gaditan offices. These institutions were replicated at several New World exclusive hubs such as at Havana, Cartagena de Indias and Veracruz and served Spain well during the period of the monopoly. *Consulados* were also established by Spain in these and other ports. These were more permissive institutions where merchants arranged dealing between each other and also settled inter-merchant house disputes.

The Americans (Kennedy, 1990), English and Dutch (Tamse, 1981) all established so-called consulates in key foreland hubs. 'English factories' appeared at many Iberian ports during the sixteenth through to the seventeenth century at ports like Viana do Castelo, Oporto, Lisbon and Cádiz. It would appear that the Cádiz 'factory' operated at all times despite any military or political difficulties that might have existed between these states even during the eighteenth century. In the English speaking world an 'Exchange' was the term allocated to such a facility. **[Plate: Exchange at Cork/ Plate]**. The 'Factory' or 'Exchange' was a dealers domain where all of the leading 'movers and shakers of the city could meet and transact their business (O'Flanagan,2005). Here,

commercial ‘intelligence’ was shared or keep secret (Muller, 2004). Craftspeople too followed merchants in droves to some major Iberian ports such as Bilbao(Bilbao Acedos,

The overwhelming majority of the members of the Cadiz ‘factory’ were Irish merchants who, because of political persecution, were not allowed to trade directly out of their own country. Nevertheless, they always elected an English or Scottish citizen as a consul. In addition, Irish merchants were encouraged at Cádiz to apply for licences (*matrículas del mar*) to trade with the New World. But to apply for such privileges, these merchants were advised to apply for Spanish citizenship. This was a convoluted process whereby applicants had to provide detailed bone fides concerning their character and religious background which was no easy task at such a distance from home in a country under foreign occupation. Here, many trading alliances were formed and so-called trading houses (*casas*) were established between different merchant families. Insurance agents, brokers, lawyers and *notarios* (*solicitors*) must have been amongst the many actors who frequented these facilities.

5.

The construction of new often upmarket merchant districts within, or close to, the core areas of port cities is characteristic of many Atlantic European port cities for example at Cádiz and Santander on the Iberian peninsula, at Nantes in France and at Cork in Ireland. Many of these new districts were deliberately planned for wealthy resident foreign and native merchants, for their families and businesses. The *Cantones* at Corunna and the *Baixa* at Porto make outstanding and emblematic merchant quarters. Rental culture

became firmly entrenched at many ports and prosperity during the latter part of the eighteenth century was attended by waves of new migrants arriving to seek their fortunes at many centres. The net result was to radically inflate rentals and also to trigger a trend towards multi-family residence. Data for the then prospering Spanish port city of Santander confirm this assertion. In 1753, figures from a national census for this city confirm that almost two thirds of the then housing stock comprised single family residences(Autoridad Portuaria,1998). The corresponding figures for 1829 were precisely the reverse. Many of the more affluent merchants had, by then, moved out of *La Puebla Vieja* and settled in *La Población Nueva.* Merchant houses were now known as *Casas – Tiendas* and were normally three stories, the bottom floor being a dedicated work-place and warehouse (Maruri Villanueva, 1985).

At Cádiz, where space was even more at a premium, a privately and solely occupied family residence was a critical emblem of social distinction. Here, some of the leading foreign merchants, who had migrated to Cádiz, to avail of the stunning opportunities for enrichment, lived in *Casas Palacios*. Many of these elaborate residences have survived down to our day such as *La Casa de las Cuatro Torres* built by a Syrian resident merchant between 1736 and 1745. At the other end of the social scale, some contained households of up to twenty males: females were seldom recorded in official census documents. This was the case at No. 49 on *Calle Nueva* where some twenty-three recently-arrived Maltese inmigrants resided. Even today, some of these packed households are in evidence at Cadiz's old core.

Cádiz, like its mirror port city Havana, was a metropole and *plaza fuerte*, (stronghold) its defences were gargantuan, complicated and extremely expensive[Plate.

Puertas de Tierra,Cadiz]. In 1727, an agency was founded to deliver all aspects of physical development. Known as *La Real Junta de Fortificaciones*, it was composed of military and secular civic interests (Ruiz Nieto-Guerrero, 1999). For more than a century, it delivered synchronised expansion melding defensive requirements with urban growth by employing a series of *cordones*, which were lines of expansion. So block by block (*manzanas*), the city grew within its ever imposing military cocoon of defences. It never apparently devised a city wide plan, so what emerged was a chequerboard-like outcome.

Other Atlantic port cities, like Nantes, experienced impressive makeovers as did smaller, but no less cosmopolitan port cities, such as Cork in Ireland (O'Flanagan, 2005). Here, merchant enterprise rather than civic initiative was responsible for the remaking of this critical provisions exporting port city.

A 1759 map made by cartographer John Rocque says it all**[Plate 'A survey of the city and suburbs of Cork].** In essence, Georgian Cork represents a triumph of commerce over a cluttered and congested medieval morphology. 'The Main Street' running north to south acted as the long standing urban core for at least four centuries almost until the end of the sixteenth century. Individual merchant enterprise was responsible for piecemeal reclamation of this urban centre built upon a series of islands on an upper river estuary. Here, during the early eighteenth century, 'Georgian' Cork gradually took shape, characterised by neat lines of three and four storied solid residences and warehouse along its principal thoroughfares such as George's Street and what is now the Grand Parade . A brilliant cartouche on this representation depicts a quayside populated by foreign merchants and sailors wearing exotic clothes.

This was a period when enormous numbers of new residents made Cork their home. As a provisions redistribution centre, over 20,000 people were reported to migrate there temporarily to participate in all the trades involved with the provisions preparation, their packing, warehousing and export overseas. Data from contemporary sources confirm that new central residential opportunities were initially sized by many existing Protestant residents as is confirmed by **figure[Protestants as a percentage of total surnames, Cork,1787].**

We have tended to forget that besides acting as migrant relay hubs, seismic growth at many port cities made them act like vast sponges sucking in thousands of migrants to avail of their lifestyle and work opportunities .

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