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**Title of the Dissertation:** *The Asymmetrical Colonisation of Alterity: Colonisation, Conquest and Movement of People in Eighteenth century visions of the Spanish Peninsula*

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## Introduction

“Nothing enables a ruler to gain more prestige than undertaking great campaigns and performing unusual deeds. In our own times Ferdinand of Aragon, the present King of Spain is a notable example. He might almost be called a new ruler because, from being a weak king, he has become the most famous and glorious king in Christendom. And if his achievements are examined, they will all be found to be very remarkable, and some of them quite extraordinary. This man attacked Granada at the beginning of his reign, and this campaign laid the foundations of his state. First of all, he began this campaign when things were quiet and when he was not afraid of being opposed: he kept the minds of the barons of Castile occupied with that war, so that they would not plan any revolts. And he meanwhile was acquiring prestige and increasing his hold over them before they were even aware of the fact. He was able to maintain armies with money from the Church and from his subjects, and during that long war he was able to develop a powerful army, whose achievements have subsequently brought him so much honour. Moreover, in order to undertake even greater campaigns, he continued to make use of religion, resorting to a cruel and apparently pious policy of unexampled wretchedness: that of hunting down the Moors and driving them out of his Kingdom. Using this same cloak, he attacked Africa; he invaded Italy, and recently he has attacked France. Thus he has always plotted and achieved great things, which have never failed to keep his subjects in a state of suspense and amazement, as they await for the outcome. And these deeds of his have followed one another so quickly that nobody has had enough time to be able to initiate a revolt against him.”<sup>1</sup>

Niccolò Machiavelli begins Chapter XXI of *The Prince*, titled How a Prince Should Conduct Himself to Gain Renown, with these words of praise for Ferdinand of Aragon. Why begin a piece on Eighteenth century Spain with Machiavelli’s thoughts on reputation? Because, As John Elliott has argued, it would be the idea of maintaining the territory’s reputation that would greatly influence Spanish policy-making over the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries<sup>2</sup>. The subsequent attempts in the Eighteenth century to address Spain’s apparent decline by emulating other European nations cannot be understood without analysing the prevailing discourse during its rise<sup>3</sup>. This opening is an overt statement about this article’s objective: To situate the analysis of Eighteenth century Spain, a period that has too long been dominated by the historiography’s

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1 Machiavelli, N. (1988) *Machiavelli: The Prince* (Trans. and ed. by Skinner, Q. & Price, R.) Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 76-77

2 Elliott, J. (2014) *El Conde-Duque de Olivares: El Politico en una Época de Decadencia* (Trans. Lozoya. & Feros, A.) Barcelona: Espasa, p. 83

tendency towards exceptionalism, within broader contexts of the Early Modern period<sup>4</sup>. From this article's perspective, the King's advisors in the Seventeenth century were keen to preserve Spain's reputation, sustaining its military and fiscal power, yet by the Eighteenth century Spain seemed anchored in the past, as the rhetoric of progress grew to be the new barometer of greatness, and ideas of humanity and civilisation became the pillars of a European nation's reputation; this piece is a study of discourses in a constant state of flux. The problems of Seventeenth century Spain corroded further in the Eighteenth, but the Enlightenment suggested reforms were not new. What was new was the prevalence of the teleological rhetoric of progress of the Enlightenment as the discourse used by reformers to justify these changes. By analysing the concepts and uses of conquest and colonisation, and their ties to ideas of nation-hood and empire, we can best understand attempts at territorial and ideological crystallisation of the rump Spanish peninsula and its empire in the Eighteenth century.

This builds on the recent work of the two leading scholars on Early Modern Spain, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Tamar Herzog, both of whom have tried –among other things- to improve our understanding of Early Modern Spain by historicising the developments of the Eighteenth century, and to place the Spanish peninsula within an Atlantic context<sup>5</sup>. By focusing on the issue of conquest and colonisation, we add to this literature, contextualising the peninsula as a territory that often required a refracted view of the Americas to explain its own identity as a land that still required populating and improving. In this way, we echo Junco's view that suggests "the question is not how the European pen configured and constructed the "other", it is about thinking how the "other" and the European are involved in a shared history. The

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3 Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that in his 2014 book titled *The Reception of Machiavelli in Early Modern Spain*, Keith David Howard convincingly unearthed Machiavelli's previously neglected influence over the Spanish *raison d'état* and imperialist political thought of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries.

4 This is not to say the purpose of this paper is to produce another facile bashing of the Enlightenment; instead, we hope to precisely carve out further dimensions of this intellectual and social movement and to problematize certain ideas that have become embedded in the historiography of the Eighteenth century.

5 See Herzog, T. (2015) *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, Herzog, T. (2003) *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Esguerra, J. (2001) *How to write the history of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-century Atlantic World*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, Esguerra, J. (2006). *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

problem then, is not one of the European and the other, but one of their mutual, albeit asymmetrical, ties”<sup>6</sup>

Before we do so, let us return to Machiavelli’s text, since it is much more prescient about the pillars of Spain’s reputation than we might first think. Among the many thought-provoking aspects of Machiavelli’s thoughts on Ferdinand of Aragon’s success, we must focus first on one latent dimension, namely, the degree of movement of peoples – of both coordinated armies and the exodus of Moors (and eventually, the departure of the Jews) - involved in the early development of the often porous and long contested space of peninsular territory that today we call Spain. After the union of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, Machiavelli points out, the foundation of Ferdinand’s *dominions* was the attack in Granada, or in other words: *in the beginning of Spain’s crystallisation was conquest*. This is the fabric of national epics and tales of patriotic heroes, such as Christopher Columbus and Hernan Cortés, both of whom were central to a stream of Early Modern writing known as Neo-Latin literature.

Yet a sobering aftermath of the conquest is that the preservation of power required populating the land. Tamar Herzog has recently problematized the conceptual space between Ferdinand and Isabella’s legal framework that followed the union of their lands and the enforcement and assimilation of the rules embedded in the laws that justified, executed and mapped out said colonisation<sup>7</sup>. Our focus is similar, since the evasive space between law and practice mirrors the negotiated ground that stands between conquest and colonisation. This negotiated ground will be the central dilemma that runs through our exploration of the Early Modern Atlantic; which we will address by assessing two very different and interpretations of this impasse in the Eighteenth century, as expressed in the economic works of Pablo de Olavide and the cultural writings of José de Cadalso. Olavide was a creole, the product of the asymmetry of rights and identities that resulted from colonisation, rights and identities which he was able to exploit until he was assigned the unlikely responsibility of colonising and populating land with German labourers. Cadalso, a soldier, saw in Ferdinand’s time the Golden Age of Spain and dreamed of a nation of patriots who could emulate the zeal of *conquistadores* and invigorate a national economy dominated by lassitude and hereditary rights.

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<sup>6</sup> Junco, J.A. Las Historias de España: Visiones del Pasado y Construcción de Identidad, in Lázaro, J., Villares, R. & Suárez, D. (2007). *Historia de España*. Barcelona Madrid: Crítica Marcial Pons p. 230

<sup>7</sup> Herzog, T. (2015) pp. 138-139

The expulsion of the Moors, the extensive need for soldiers to fight in the conflicts derived from acts of aggression, the original gold rush that took place after the colonial framework of the Americas (which happened after Machiavelli's death<sup>8</sup>), and the expulsion of the Jesuits in the Eighteenth century, were all movements which drained the negotiated and negotiating community that was Early Modern Imperial Spain of its people. And people were seen throughout Early Modern Europe as both the essence and ultimate resource of a state<sup>9</sup>. This brings us to the main point of this paper: to demonstrate how the territorial formation of Early Modern Spain and the concepts behind its identity are and – this is a pivotal clarification- *were perceived as* being intricately linked to the different forms of movement of peoples that followed conquests and colonisations<sup>10</sup>. Both depopulation and the fluid and often chaotic movement of people is a persistent force behind Spain's Early Modern national identity, and the state's fate depended on its ability to steer it in its favour. This is a rather logical conclusion that has yet to be extracted from a new wave of historiography on Early Modern Europe and Spain in particular, and it is the purpose of this paper to extract the deep implications this has for our understanding of the Spanish Empire, the Enlightenment and the individual formulation of identities in Europe and the Atlantic. Our research question is: ***How did the movements of people related with conquests and colonisations affect economic and cultural understandings of the Spain in the Eighteenth century?***

Talk on migration can often seem to lack an explanation for the agency behind it. A final aspect of Machiavelli's text helps us bring out a degree of agency that might, at first sight, appear to be missing from our path dependent logical explanation of the Early Modern Spanish peninsula. The interplay between the barons of Castile, the Catholic Church and the Kingdom that Ferdinand stretched out would substantially determine the political dynamics until the late Nineteenth century. The money from the Church- contrary to its principles- had interests attached, and the barons of Castile would not be fooled for long. The *arbitristas* of the Seventeenth century would attempt to curtail the power of the barons and the reformers of the

8 For an interesting analysis of Machiavelli's thoughts on the Spanish model of European annexation Rivero Rordriguez, M. (2015) Miembros Añadidos al Estado ya hereditario del Principe: Machiavelo, Fernando el Católico y los orígenes del Sistema de Cortes Virreinales en la Monarquía Hispana, *IULCE*, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 267-277

9 Green, N.L. (2005) The Politics of Exit: Reversing the Immigration Paradigm, *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 77, No. 2, pp. 263-289

10 We actively try to refer to movements of people throughout this paper rather than migration because of the problematizing definitional aspects of the latter term, which are beyond the scope of this paper.

Eighteenth century would shoulder this responsibility, all the meanwhile attempting to undercut the influence of the institution of the Church on political, economic and social matters in an attempt to emulate the process of state centralisation that took place, to varying degrees, throughout Europe.

### Sources and Methodology

In 1767, Pablo de Olavide was assigned the tough task of repopulating an area known as Sierra Morena, in Andalusia, the region where the *Reconquista* first took place. A wealthy Peruvian-born public servant who had repeatedly clashed with the state on account of corruption charges, Olavide made a name for himself in the peninsula after joining the right intellectual circles and was chosen by Carlos III's council to lead a 'colonization' of lands in the Americas, which involved the transport, integration and employment of six thousand Germans from their native land. Olavide was chosen because of knowledge of the region. The idea for the project was one of many that had been proposed by the Crown over the century, but this one was made by a particularly persistent man and a German spy who faked his way into government circles, Johannes Caspar von Thürriegel. Thürriegel was put in charge of the propaganda behind the initiative, where he would portray Spain as a goldmine to his fellow Germans.

*Prima facie*, the plan bears the mark of the Enlightenment: The ingenuity and boldness of the belief that a nation *is and ought* to set up an artificial state of nature where men and women could thrive and contribute to the national economy is consistent with the Enlightenment belief that man and state could take over the rule of God and his Church. Much of the literature has tried to force links between this project with vague Enlightenment ideals and even utopian works<sup>11</sup>. Olavide would ultimately defend the meaning of agrarian reform in Enlightenment terms, referring to the need of Spain to emulate the rest of Europe, but the project of Sierra

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11 An anonymous work titled *Sinapia* was found in Campomanes' archives, and it is one of the few known attempts at writing a utopia based on an agricultural model that resembled the ideals of many reformers during the Spanish Enlightenment, and it has often been linked, with no evidence, to the colonisation of Sierra Morena. Please see: Aviles, M. (2013) *Descripción de la Sinapia, Península en la Tierra Austral*, Círculo de Bellas Artes, Madrid, García Luaces, P. (2014) *Utopía en Sierra Morena, Historia y Vida*, N 558, pp. 54-63. Jonathan Israel has suggested Olavide was the closest intellectual to the Radical Enlightenment in Spain, see Israel, J. (2013) *Democratic Enlightenment : philosophy, revolution, and human rights, 1750-1790*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.390. As compelling a narrative as it is, the historiography has highlighted that the affair was far more complex, but Diderot's comments on Olavide resonated greatly throughout Europe. For Diderot's views, see Israel, J. (2013) p. 40 and Blas, L. (1992) *Pablo de Olavide (1725-1803) El Ilustrado*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense, p. 75

Morena must be contextualised within a broader Spanish tradition that, we will argue, can be understood to be one of the most important common threads underlining the needs of the state throughout the whole Early Modern Period: colonising and populating a conquered land. After all, Spain's history cannot be understood without grasping the meaning of the colonisation of the New World.

One might wonder what similarities a planned migration of labour can have with the glory seeking act of colonisation by Cortés and Columbus. The discovery of the New World still had magnetism as a tale and was somewhat of a puzzle when it came to European perceptions of Spain. It is this point which is most helpful when trying to understand the ambivalences of Enlightenment thought. While many European intellectuals in Britain and France decried the Spanish brutality in their conquest, many of the very same individuals then praised the audacity of the great men who had led the enterprise, shifting the blame to the Spanish state and away from the early, intrepid conquistadores. This provides the second source of our investigation, a Spanish soldier and intellectual, José de Cadalso, with his basis for his understanding of the Spanish nation. Rejecting Montesquieu's views of Spain as expressed in his *Lettres Persannes*, which largely represented many views in France of Spain, Cadalso set out to defend the virtues of his nation, while he remained largely critical of many aspects of its society. This paper argues that, while it has so far gone unnoticed by the historiography, Cadalso uses the figure of Hernan Cortés as the model for the Spanish people to construct the Spanish nation. The martial values of courage and valour are mixed with Enlightenment values of impartiality and justice, and by assigning to the people the responsibility of the nation's future, Cadalso is tellingly handing over the reins of the state to the *pueblo* and away from the enlightened despotism, which can be seen as an early issuing in of a voice in the conflict between liberalism and monarchy that would dominate Nineteenth century Spain. In what we see as a variation of what Kitts has argued is a "performative" model of nationhood, Cadalso overcomes some of the tensions in his work by suggesting each citizen is to behave in a virtuous and patriotic way if the nation is to thrive<sup>12</sup>.

We begin by reviewing the historiography's understanding of Spain in the Early Modern period and the Enlightenment, and we suggest that a way of bringing together its largely fragmented insights is by addressing what the literature sees as Spanish decline; something that is agreed on throughout the spectrum. Following this, we proceed to analyse the influence of Columbus and Cortés, in both Cadalso's imagination, in the Early Modern European thought and the

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12 Kitts, S.A (2008) El concepto de la nación Española en las Cartas Marruecas de José de Cadalso, *Hacia 1812 desde el Siglo Ilustrado: Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Estudios del Siglo XVIII*, Sociedad Española de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, pp. 657-670, p. 668

Enlightenment. We then contrast this with the different discourses that made the colonisation of Sierra Morena possible.

Pablo de Olavide and José de Cadalso provide rather unique examples of the institutions they represent: a rare Creole public servant in Spain, and an Andalusian soldier-intellectual. Both were educated by Jesuits, have different thoughts on the principles of colonisation, and they can be understood to often represent what the two parts of Imperial Spain (the Empire and the peninsula) thought about the peninsula's situation in relation to Europe and the world more broadly. Both conducted Grand Tours of their own and were highly aware of the European impressions of Spain and, to a great extent, their plans for reform can be understood to be a response to their awareness of Spain's status in Europe. Both of them spent large amounts of time in Andalusia, and even worked on what was effectively a grand governmental project in that region, although there is no evidence that they met. Understanding their differences enables us to grasp the economic and cultural conceptualisations –not entirely unrelated– of Spain's problems and their potential respective solutions. In our source selection, we have been as comprehensive as possible in using the documents from Olavide's time in Andalusia. For our section on Pablo de Olavide we have chosen to use the documents kept at the records of the Inquisition at the National Historical Archives in Madrid. These remain as organised by the Inquisition during their attempt to gather evidence against him. As such they include Olavide's personal correspondence during his time in Seville. Little other biographical information of Olavide's life prior to this date was preserved. Some of his earlier political writings served as background but have not been included in order to focus on the *Fuero de Población*; the collection that includes plans for the original colonisation of Puerto Rico, the views of several ambassadors about him, and the accounts of most of the agents involved in Sierra Morena. Other material that is in Vienna and Seville was taken from Alcazar Molina's 1923 collection of documents, which is not an ideal summation of the events because of his refusal to reference rather than interpret, but is sufficient for our background on Sierra Morena. Finally, we have also used an original manuscript of his *Informe de la Ley Agraria y sus Cálculos*, stored in the Biblioteca Nacional de España. We have also used the latest editions of the widely published work *Cartas Marruecas* by Cadalso, as well as some of his exchanges with Tomás de Iriarte, which served to inform the essay's background. His other literary works are considered in our biographical examination, but any thorough analysis of these is simply beyond the scope of this paper.

Because of the multifaceted approach of the research which aims to cover several fields such as migration history, cross-cultural integration and the history of ideas, our methodology employs insights from all of these fields. We believe integrating the fragmented aspects of the Early



Modern Spanish historiography is necessary to form a coherent picture of what might constitute the Spanish identity in the Enlightenment. Our attempt to lead with an emphasis on colonisation and conquest and the movements of peoples attempts to build on the literature on transnational, Atlantic histories of territorial and identity formations. We zone in on the perceptions of the weaknesses of the peninsula because that was the main concern of both of our central authors, but as we will see, the Americas feature heavily in their conceptualisation of the peninsula's history, identity and economic situation. We also attempt to understand what terms were used to address the Americas themselves in the peninsula. The limitations of attempting such a broad enterprise are largely related to ensuring each insight relates to the other, as well as combining economic and ideological insights. Furthermore, both the idea of a national identity, as well as the assessment of the effects of movements of people, as we argue throughout, are extremely liquid, but by contextualising heavily we hope to trace the evolution of the two through the lenses of institutional history, economic history and the history of ideas.

## **Background**

### Dilemmas and Debates on Spain's Decline: A Fractured Historiography

In order to assess the state of Spain in the Early Modern period we must engage in an exercise of puzzle making. There is a lack of a dialogue between the historiography on Early Modern Spain, the Spanish Enlightenment and the Spanish Atlantic. The single question that recurs throughout these studies is why Spain and its empire *declined*.

If we are to believe the economic historian Regina Grafe, the need for constant negotiation between the diverse but powerful authorities of Early Modern Spain is to blame: "The most important Achilles heel of Spanish political economy in the early modern period was not a predatory absolutist state, an overextended empire, the exploitation of Spain as part of the semi-periphery of a capitalist world system, or a bourgeoisie that chose a rentier's life. It was the fragmentation of the internal markets that resulted paradoxically from the very strength of a system of governance that allowed the Spanish Crown to rule by negotiation and compromise."<sup>13</sup> Elliott presented a similar case in his 1997 paper on composite monarchies, arguing that the struggle between unity and disunity was at the chore of the successes of failures of European nations in the Early Modern period: "How did unions so artificial in conception and so loose in

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13 Grafe, R. (2012) *Distant tyranny markets, power, and backwardness in Spain, 1650-1800*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 37

articulation hold together for so long? Contiguity, as contemporaries asserted, was obviously a help, but it proved insufficient to keep Portugal within the Spanish monarchy.”<sup>14</sup>

These examples of institutional history then points towards tensions between institutions, unsurprisingly. However, the case of Early Modern Spain has allowed both authors to challenge some of the basic assumptions of their discipline. Elliott remarks how while writing about seventeenth century Spain while Franco ruled the country over the 1950s and 1960s, he was under the impression that unity and diversity were at the heart of the nation’s identity: “The history of Spain appeared to consist of a never-ending conflict between the country’s inherent diversity and an insistent pressure from the centre for unity”<sup>15</sup>. Yet Elliott quickly goes on to refer to the limitations of such an approach: “perhaps influenced by the sociological models of the day, I cast my story in terms of the struggle between centre and periphery, which in retrospect can be seen as a rather crude formulation of an always complex process of negotiation and conflict in which the dividing lines were rarely clear-cut”<sup>16</sup>. According to Grafe, Spain’s journey towards a modern state clashes with New Institutional Economic analyses of modern state formation, and shows that an alternative model to the modern military fiscal nation was possible<sup>17</sup>. In both of these cases, however, the lens of the clash of institutions as the driver or obstacle to *progress* -a notion that is rarely defined by either of the authors- remains lodged in this historical logic.

We hope that by assessing how the people at the time thought of progress and decline, we can enrich our understanding of what the intellectuals and monarchs of the time were trying to achieve. It is therefore important to trace the origin of the internal perception of decline. Outside of Spain, the rhetoric of Spanish decline begins its tale with the Black Legend and can be firmly set in the seventeenth century, as Elliott’s interest attests, but international views on Spain are dogged by this rhetoric even in the Eighteenth century. Many Enlightenment studies of internal perceptions of decline take for granted that this coloured the nation’s own self-awareness, and therefore ignore the Seventeenth century national awareness of Spain’s situation. Studies on

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14 Elliott, J.H (1992) A Europe of Composite Monarchies, *Past and Present*, 137 (1), pp. 48-71, p. 68

15 Elliott, J.H (2012) *History in the Making*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 27

16 Ibid

17 See Chapter 1 in Grafe, R. (2012) for the whole argument.

economic history in the Eighteenth century, such as Richard Herr's seminal work *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain*, tend to take for granted the validity of the lenses of the intellectuals they assess, and to trace the roots of their ideas to the intellectuals' affinity to European Enlightenment values. According to this logic, it would take the arrival of the spirit of the Enlightenment and its defence of the state to develop the necessary ideas to address the issue of land speculation by a notoriously lethargic nobility that had no interest in assisting the national economy, a point fervently made by the economic historian Vincent Llobart<sup>18</sup>.

In this way, little effort is made to reconcile the gaze of Eighteenth century political economists with broader historiographical trends that dominate studies on sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain. The *arbitristas*, a rather unhelpful and derogatory term for those who sent economic proposals to the King's Courts, were dismissed by the public at the time because of the inexperience and sheer folly demonstrated by some proposals<sup>19</sup>, but have also been snubbed by Eighteenth century historiography, which often tries to overemphasise the distinctly enlightened ideas of Charles III's reformers<sup>20</sup>. Described as an aborted bourgeoisie<sup>21</sup>, these thinkers were said to be different from the economics of the Eighteenth century largely because of their lack of integration in the government's administration<sup>22</sup>. This problematic grouping should not prevent us from addressing the most historically telling aspects of their discourse, one of which was to address the problem of depopulation and lethargy, and some in fact went as far as suggesting

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18 See Herr, R. (1969) *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, Llobart, V. (2010) Una Aproximación Histórica y Analítica al Pensamiento Económico de Jovellanos, *Documentos de Trabajo*, Asociación Española de Historia Económica, pp. 2-34

19 Llopis-Fuentes, R. (1991) El Personaje del "Arbitrista" Según Cervantes y Quevedo, *Cincinnati Romance Review*, Vol. X, Department of Romance Language and Literatures, University of Cincinnati pp. 111-123, p. 112

20 Dubet, A. (2003) Los Arbitristas entre el Discurso y la Acción Política: Propuestas para un análisis de la negociación política, *Tiempos Modernos: Revista Electrónica de Historia Moderna*, Vol. 4, nº9, pp. 1-14, p. 3

21 Hermann, C (1990) «L'arbitrisme: un autre État pour une autre Espagne», en VV. AA., *Le premier âge de l'Etat en Espagne 1450-1700*, Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, p. 250

22 Urí Martín, M (1998) Crisis y Arbitrismo: Quevedo y el Pensamiento Económico Español del Siglo de Oro, *LA Perinola: Revista de Investigación Quevediana*, nº2 pp. 263-302, p. 266

that to *govern was to populate*<sup>23</sup>. Far more importantly, some of these thinkers were the first to refer to the ideas of “conservation”, “restoration” and “return to health” of Spain’s body<sup>24</sup>. It is important to note that these thinkers thought of the body politic as being the peninsula, and that the *Americas* did not fit into this Renaissance narrative of body and state, since the Americas were not seen as a body, nor were they conceived of in territorial terms, they were generally described in terms related to their production of silver, which amounted to one fourth of the Crown’s annual income<sup>25</sup>, and was used to pay for everything outside of Spain, where a coin made out of copper and silver served as the main currency. Not only was all the Silver then being spent abroad, it was also often stolen by the Dutch as they grew independent<sup>26</sup>. Silver, then, was more important a term when thinking about the national economy than the idea of the Americas.<sup>27</sup>

By divorcing the discourse of the *arbitristas* and that of Charles III’s reformers, historians might well misunderstand the context of the Spanish Enlightenment. Much has been written about the nature of the Enlightenment recently, but two great contemporary leaders of the field have traced its origins in the 1650s, something that we hope to do with our own study of the Spanish Early Modern period and the Enlightenment, in order to understand where the perception of national decline arose from, and how it was tied to the movement of peoples.<sup>28</sup>

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23 Urí Martín, M. (1998) p. 286

24 *ibid*, Amadori, A. (2014) Remedios para un cuerpo político que declina. El arbitrista de Manuel Gaytán de Torres y el Estrechamiento de los Vínculos Transatlánticos de la Monarquía Hispánica (siglo XVII). *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 71(1) pp.107-143, p. 112

25 Elliott, J. (2014) p. 100

26 *Ibid* p. 108

27 This is not to take away from the important debate around the idea of castas and creoles, in essence, the American identity, which we will explore later on. The point is merely to refer to the language used when discussing the Americas in Seventeenth century Spanish peninsular economic thought.

28 See Robertson, J. (2005). *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680-1760*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Israel, J. (2002) *Radical enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

This move seems to lead us inevitably into the field of Atlantic history, and particularly the work by Cañizares Esguerra, who has attempted to define and write the history of the Iberian Atlantic. Cañizares Esguerra has tried to show how this neglected field can help us understand the formation of identities both in Latin America and Spain itself. In his work *Nature, Empire and Nation: explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World*, Cañizares Esguerra argued that the Scientific Revolution was largely influenced, if not begun by, the Spanish interest in nature and botany. In line with this logic, in his work *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianising the Atlantic, 1550-1700*, Cañizares Esguerra argued that *conquistadores* saw colonisation as spiritual gardening<sup>29</sup>. If we take this at face value, we could suggest that the Spanish perception of the Americas was that of a territory that was not yet civilised, as Herzog has argued, had not crystallised into a people, and was therefore not a body politic unlike the Spanish peninsula<sup>30</sup>. The problem, however, is in extrapolating the ideas of the conquistadores, full of religious zeal, matching them to those of *arbitristas* based in Spain, and seeking a kind of metaphorical coherence based on historiographical constructs. And this points to a greater weakness in his work. While Cañizares Esguerra has certainly filled an important void in the field, it is regrettable that the rest of the work is blanketed by his focus on science, which he applies when writing about the Spanish political economy in the Eighteenth century without much nuance and where he fails to acknowledge the rhetoric of decline.

Another leading work on the Iberian Atlantic is that written and edited by Pedro Cardim, Tamar Herzog, José Javier Ibañez and Gaetano Sabatini, *Polycentric Monarchies: How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony*, which posits a novel interpretation of the “Imperial Spain” which aims to transcend both the limitations of theories that project methodological nationalism into the history of Iberian empires, and those that are trapped by a hollow analysis of the dynamics between the centre and the periphery<sup>31</sup>. Instead, they suggest political entities- referring to different colonial powers- allowed for the existence of many interconnected centres, which triangulated between themselves and the King; this then, is how

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29 Esguerra, J. (2006). *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press p. 178

30 Cardim, P., Herzog, T., Ruiz Ibañez, J.J. (2012) *Polycentric Monarchies: How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press p. 148 Furthermore, many creole intellectuals would precisely aim to write histories of the civilisations that had existed in the Americas, in order to show that civilisations such as Ancient Rome had in fact existed in those areas.

31 Cardim, P., Herzog, T., Ruiz Ibañez, J.J. (2012) p. 4

they explain the formation of the overall territorial -not national or colonial- monarchical polity<sup>32</sup>. The authors make a point of explaining they are avoiding projecting dated views on decline and successes, pleading instead to assess how these ideas were understood, or whether they were even conceived at the time<sup>33</sup>. However, none of their essays provide a satisfactory answer to this. Their resounding silence on just what decline meant does not rob the work of its value, but understanding how decline was perceived during interactions between the different agents of the Atlantic would yield a great deal of interesting research.

This article will try to avoid some of the pitfalls that the research on the topic has fallen for and will ultimately try to show that to speak of Early Modern Spanish decline is rather unhelpful. The collapse of the symbology that made up the emblems of Spanish greatness was made up of slow, fragmentary cracks. Certainly, after the loss of territories and powers in Europe, Spain's hegemony *declined* as a military and fiscal empire in the European field. The *arbitristas'* cautionary thoughts on the Spanish reliance on silver would be echoed by Adam Smith<sup>34</sup>. The perception of loss of power on the European stage was reflected in treatises. While foreigners were officially excluded from trading and settling in American colonies, not only did Spain hand over the right to the enterprise of slavery to the British in 1707, but, over the century, its ports became little more than bases for other European powers to conduct their own commerce<sup>35</sup>. This, at the time, was seen as a symptom of decline, despite the fact that Elliott has shown that Spain, thanks to the Bourbon reforms, was in fact able to avoid the kinds of deficits faced by its European counterparts during the second half of the Eighteenth century<sup>36</sup>. None of that mattered because the notion of decline was by that time defined by the French and the British intellectual thinkers, as Benito Feijoo anticipated in the early Eighteenth century, they would write the history of that century, and while he complained they were arrogant not to realise it was only one century, he perhaps failed to realise how powerful the narrative was<sup>37</sup>. Spanish imperial mismanagement was seen as the result of its religious backwardness by the

32 Ibid

33 Ibid p. 5

34 Lamikiz, X. (2013) *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic world: Spanish Merchants and their Overseas Networks*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press p. 5

35 Ibid p. 6

36 Elliott, J.H. (2006) *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*, New Haven: Yale University Press p. 408

Enlightenment ideologues who hoped to use civilisation and progress to explain their stadial theories of empire.

In this way, historiographical lassitude has led to a general trend that situates the theme of Spanish decline as one that spreads throughout the Early Modern period, failing to take into account its nuances through time and space, and rarely considering degrees of nuances in French and British interpretations, which we will address later. In the same way that the historiography has moved beyond colonial histories, we must move past the rhetoric of rise and fall, however magnetic and eye-catching it might be. Jonathan Israel titled the last section of his seminal book on Early Modern Dutch history: “Age of Decline 1702-1806”, only to then write several volumes arguing the vitality of the Dutch Enlightenment shaped Modernity<sup>38</sup>. Similarly, Elliott highlighted in *History in the Making* how the Spanish Age of Decline coincides with its Golden Century of arts and culture<sup>39</sup>. Here then we have two seminal works still referring to the narrative of decline, without a consistent definition. Our approach to understanding decline is to go back to the sources from the Eighteenth century and assess what a soldier and a creole perceived decline to be in the context of their thoughts on the movements of people. In the following section, we proceed to provide an alternative reading of Early Modern Spain, through the lines of people’s movement and the evasive nature of territorial and population management.

### **Reconquering the Land of Alterity: José de Cadalso and the European Perception of Spain**

#### Cadalso, The Other, and Eighteenth Century Spain

Jose de Cadalso was born in Cádiz in 1741 to a noble family. Educated abroad and having conducted his own Grand Tour around England, Germany, Italy and France<sup>40</sup>, he would return to his homeland after completing his studies in the famous Lycée Louis-le-Grande. In his autobiography, Cadalso recalls his return to Spain following his years in Paris, and writes: “I

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37 Feijoo, B.J.F. (1778-1779) *Teatro critico universal, o discursos varios de todo género de materias, para desengaño de errores comunes*, Madrid, Real Compañía de Impresores y Libreros, Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, vol. I, p. 571

38 Israel, J. (1995). *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

39 Elliott, J.H (2012) p. 114

40 Gledinning, N. (1962) *Vida y Obra de Cadalso*, Madrid, Editorial Gredos, p. 115

entered into a country that was completely alien to me, but it was my home...it was all new for a child who had left Spain as a child and returned with the recklessness of the French and the hope of the English. This disposition was only aggravated by the sight of the misery of our houses and roads"<sup>41</sup>. This divide between the uncanny feeling towards his nation, and its status as his homeland would haunt Cadalso throughout his life. In view of Cadalso's interpretation of his nation, it might appear surprising that Cadalso then became a soldier for the Spanish army –thereby apparently lending his life to his country – while producing some of the most eloquent albeit problematic ideas of Spanish patriotism in the Eighteenth century<sup>42</sup>.

Cadalso travelled more as a dandy than he did as a soldier. As a soldier, he remained largely confined to Spain, and spent most of his time between Madrid and Cadiz. While on duty, he published a work mocking the affairs of the nobility in Madrid and was thereby banished to Zaragoza. Gledinning and Sebold coincide in pointing out that his lack of integration into the higher echelons of society and his lack of military achievements were a source of frustration<sup>43</sup>. To the extent that we can draw conclusions of this nature in light of the work by Quentin Skinner<sup>44</sup>, we wish to suggest instead that Cadalso's views are better understood as part of his broader awareness of Spain's role in Europe; particularly in relation to the deprecating view that the French and English had of the Spanish nation.

To understand Cadalso's and his contemporaries' responses to these views, we will begin by looking at the patriotic rhetoric of the State and that of the Church. We then attempt to understand Cadalso's criticisms about the nobility and the military membranes of Spain. To do so we need to assess the economic context of the Spain he lived in, and focus on the

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41 Cadalso J., Gledinning, N. (1979) *Escritos Autobiográficos y Epistolario*, London, Tamesis Books, p. 7

42 We use patriotism for lack of a better term. In an attempt to avoid the complex debate around the term, which is beyond the scope of his piece, we adhere to Stephen Nathanson's modern concept of patriotism, which is made up of these clauses: both special affection and a sense of personal identification with one's country, a special concern for the well-being of the country willingness to sacrifice to promote the country's good. See Nathanson, S. (1993) *Patriotism, Morality, and Peace*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield

43 Gledinning, N (1962) p. 112, Sebold, P (1974) *Cadalso: El Primer Romantico "Europeo" de España*, Madrid, Editorial Gredos p. 266

44 For the limitations when relating an author's experiences with his work see Skinner, Q. (1969) Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas, *History and Theory*, vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 3-53



professionalization of soldiers which he lived through. Finally, we address Cadalso's portrayal of the various *others* in his most important work, *Cartas Marruecas*, to suggest that his patriotic understanding of Spain relies on it being *reconquered* by its own, true national spirit, the same one which once helped Cortés take over the Americas.

Travis Landry has provided a rich and layered literary analysis of the role of the other in the *Cartas Marruecas*, as he sees that the shortcomings of the nation in this work as the reflection of the limitation of reason in man; but sees in this limitation a source of motivation, for both the individual and the state<sup>45</sup>. Gledinning has suggested that Cadalso never really reconciles his love of cosmopolitanism with his subjective adoration for Spain's glorious past<sup>46</sup>. However, both approaches lack contextualisation; by looking at the context Cadalso was writing in, we can understand Cadalso's views on the Spanish nation as being torn between a desire to move towards a future that seems too good to be true, through the Enlightenment, or whether to try to recover the martial spirit and the patriotism that existed under Philip II.

Cadalso's work will also be assessed against the background of social attitudes toward the "other" in Eighteenth century Europe. Bethencourt has shown that the French and British empires were the ones who began to make racism about colour; after a brief analysis of Cadalso's work it becomes clear that these ideas had not made their way into Spain by the late Eighteenth century<sup>47</sup>. Of course, there is an Enlightenment tradition of seeing the Amerindians as the "noble savage", which Sankar Muthu has explored fruitfully<sup>48</sup>, and we find the Orientalist can help somewhat<sup>49</sup>, we focus on the broader process of *Otherring*, but only if it is understood as contributing to Cadalso's own construction of his sense of patriotism. As Said argued, led by the Eighteenth century idea of *Einfühlung*, the *Other* was fundamental in defining the Eighteenth century European: "Whereas Renaissance historians judged the Orient inflexibly as an enemy,

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45 Landry, T (2012) Exchange in and beyond the *Cartas Marruecas* of Jose Cadalso, *MLN*, vol 127, Number 2, Hispanic Issue, pp. 248-264, p. 252

46 Gledinning, N (1962) p. 125

47 Bethencourt, F. (2014) *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press

48 Muthu, S. (2003) *Enlightenment against Empire*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press and Muthu, S. (2014) *Empire and Modern Political Thought*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

49 Aravamudan, S. (2012) *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel*. Chicago London: The University of Chicago Press

those of the eighteenth century confronted the Orient's peculiarities with some detachment and with some attempt at dealing directly with Oriental source material, perhaps because such a technique helped a European to know himself better"<sup>50</sup>. As we will see, this is exactly what Cadalso does, not just with the Oriental *Other*, but with his many *Others*, as he creates an incoherent image of Spain, full of tensions and ambiguities.

### The Spanish Military in the Eighteenth Century

The burgeoning middle classes who arose timidly in Spain over the Eighteenth century found in the army the possibility of social mobility<sup>51</sup>. Their notions of *patria* and their understandings of the other might then be understood in line with their class, but also with their political influence the military had traditionally had in society, as the legacy of the Reconquista as a military venture still loomed large in the public imagination. José Cepeda Gómez has analysed the changing perceptions of the societal role of soldiers throughout the century by looking at how foreign, and particularly French, events shaped the Spanish understanding of their role. Following the War of Succession between 1704 and 1705, the government felt a need to create a stronger bond between soldiers and state to ensure any future attempts at an invasion of Spain would be easier to tackle<sup>52</sup>. Soldiers were then given more of a role as administrators of the state, which of course put them in a privileged position with room to abuse their power, and as a Castillo has pointed out, this was not uncommon<sup>53</sup>. Indeed, Gómez claims that what united the soldiers and their common identity was hatred towards the *pueblo*, which was often perceived as lazy and easily corrupted<sup>54</sup>. Those foreign values which were thrown upon Spain by fellow Europeans were then externalised by the army, which considered itself the defender of the *patria*, the legacy of Spanish greatness, rather than the *pueblo*.

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50 Said, E. (2003) *Orientalism*, London, Penguin p. 117

51 Andújar Castillo, F. (2004) El Seminario de Nobles de Madrid en el siglo XVIII. Un estudio social, *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, Anejos, III, pp. 201-225, p. 222

52 Gomez, C. (1995) Servir al Rey y Servir a la Nación: Ilustrados, liberales y el deber militar, *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea*, vol. 16, pp. 139-156, p. 141

53 Andujar Castillo, F (2013) Guerra, Venalidad y Asientos de Soldados en el Siglo XVIII, *Estudios de Historia Moderna*, 35, pp. 235-269, p. 235

54 Gomez, C. (1995) p. 148

The dominance of the military power was extensive. Andujar Castillo has suggested that there was a group of the military who also participated in the intellectual debates of the royal societies and the salons so typical of the Eighteenth century<sup>55</sup>. The rise of Manuel Godoy, a junior soldier who made his way into royal circles through his urbanity and was eventually picked by Carlos III to be his right hand man, surprised everyone, and proved a military show of strength. Outside of Madrid, according to Giménez Lopez, the military power was even more salient and dominated regions, such as Alicante<sup>56</sup>. Other studies also support the presence of a large part of the nobility in the administrative section of the army, spurred, as Demerson has suggested, by their sense of patriotism and civic values<sup>57</sup>. As Manuel de Aguirre, a fellow soldier and intellectual of Cadalso's pointed out there was a great degree of performativity in one's participation in the army, as one's presence among its ranks could show a great deal of valour<sup>58</sup>. Indeed, this professionalization of the army into a job - rather than a source of inner motivation - was a source of concern for the enlightened philosopher and military Manuel de Aguirre. It should be honour and respect, rather than money that the military was to aim for<sup>59</sup>.

In this respect, Aguirre clashed with Cadalso, who believed that the problem with Spain was its obsession with values of honour which were no longer of use to society and prevented the acknowledgment of technological improvements in Europe. People's love for the past for its own sake undermined technological progress and sociability. However, this doesn't mean Cadalso favoured the Enlightenment blindly, as he stated: "What is the use of this Enlightenment, this fake gold that shines over Europe and blinds the gullible? I firmly believe it serves only to confuse the respective order established for the good of each nation"<sup>60</sup>. In both Aguirre and Cadalso we then see the tension of new values with old, largely associated with foreign and national accordingly; of increasing levels of wealth around Europe and the effects this had on

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55 Andujar Castillo, F. (1990) *Militares e Ilustración: El Pensamiento Militar de Manuel de Aguirre*, *Chronica Nova*, 18, pp. 37-49, p. 41

56 Giménez López, E. (1988) *Los Corregidores de Alicante: Perfil Sociológico y Político de una Élite Militar*, *Revista de Historia Moderna*. N. 6-7, pp. 67-85, p. 68

57 Andujar Castillo, F. (1990) p. 42

58 Ibid p. 45

59 Andujar Castillo, F. (1990) p. 44

60 Cadalso, J., González, J. & Carretero, A. (2011) p. 47

one's attachment to one's nation. How can we understand Cadalso's defence of the "respective order established for the good of each nation" with his mockery of the nobility?

In many ways, Cadalso did not really respect the status quo of his country. There is in fact a deep irony in the fact that Cadalso, however, did not join the army at a young age for this purpose. As he recounts in his diary, he became a soldier out of a desire to frustrate his father<sup>61</sup>. Bosma has shown that this wasn't particularly uncommon, and that many, such as the French poet Arthur Rimbaud, saw the army as an accessible means to have their own Grand Tour<sup>62</sup>. In this way, Tabia sees in Cadalso an attitude towards the nobility best explained by the status of a dandy. While his family was considered of noble descent, Cadalso's father still had to research his family ancestry in order for his son to gain access to the Royal Seminary of Nobles in Madrid<sup>63</sup>. Seemingly bored with the *ennui* of military life, he sought inclusion in among the nobles, but also found it a source of inspiration for his satires, according to Tobío Sala<sup>64</sup>. The Hispanist Russell Sebold has been no kinder to Cadalso, suggesting that his most famous work, *Cartas Marruecas* is in fact a "spontaneous and contradictory confession of a patriot who has failed in his attempt to serve his country as an Enlightenment critic"<sup>65</sup>. Cadalso's early record certainly points towards a kind of sense of need to address the shortcomings of the aristocracy. His first work caused him banishment from Madrid as he wrote a Calendar which aimed to expose the private affairs of many aristocrats through satire.

However, we wish to argue that this division between aristocrat and plebeian was formulated within a wider dilemma for Cadalso, reconciling his patriotism with his awareness of foreign customs, and his education in the French *moeurs*. To understand his patriotism we must address this aspect of his writings which has not received enough attention. This lens also provides us with a way of understanding his perception of the army and the nobles. In fact in his *Defensa de*

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61 Cadalso J., Glendinning, N. (1979) Ibid

62 Bosma, U. (2007) Sailing through Suez from the South: The Emergence of an Indies-Dutch Migration Circuit, 1815-1940, *IMR*, vol. 41, number 2, pp. 511-536, p. 520

63 Tobío Sala, A. (2012) El Tema de la Nobleza en las Cartas Marruecas de José de Cadalso, *LEA - Lingue e letteratura d'Oriente e d'Occidente*, vol. 1, n. 1pp. 341-360, p. 346

64 Ibid p. 347

65 Sebold, R.P., Cadalso, J. (2000), *Cartas marruecas & Noches Lúgubres*, Madrid, Cátedra, p. 58

*la Nación* and in *Cartas Marruecas*, Cadalso aims to reply to Montesquieu on his own French terms, with his assumptions about the Spaniard, hoping to correct the view of the *Other*.

Patria, Climatic Theories, Trade and Conquest in *Defensa de la Nacion*

Cadalso wrote his *Defensa de la Nacion* as a brief response to Montesquieu's comments on Spain in his *Lettres Persanes*. To analyse Cadalso's response we need to understand Montesquieu's accusations on Spain, which he had levied in both the *Lettres Persanes* and his *Spirit of the Laws*, both of them works Cadalso was clearly influenced by.

As Jan Goldstein has shown, the Eighteenth century saw the creation of psychology and economics as sciences throughout the century<sup>66</sup>, and both came together in ideas of labour motivation. These were rather popular in the period, as Mandeville suggested that "the only thing then that can render the labouring Man industrious, is a moderate quantity of Money; for as too little will, according as his Temper is, either dispirit or make him Desperate, so too much will make him insolent and Lazy"<sup>67</sup>. Montesquieu's attitude was similarly harsh, but added a climatic dimension to his logic. Emanuel Rota has argued that Montesquieu's projected the mercantilist psychology of labour into a geographical scale, thereby positing the south as lazy *contra* the north as industrious. Rota sees Europe as divided in terms of surpluses, as northern Europeans are objectively wealthier but subjectively poorer since they have more wants. However nature has endowed them industriousness, in order to compensate for this fault. Southern Europeans instead are born into the luxury that is fertile land and thus are not too concerned about being poorer, since their natural laziness means they require less<sup>68</sup>. This imbalance was the cause of their natural slavery. Because Southerners didn't appreciate the benefits of labour, they were happy to give away their freedom, since they can "dispense with their riches, they can easily dispense with their liberty"<sup>69</sup>.

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66 Goldstein, J. (2005) *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850*. Cambridge, MA London, England: Harvard University Press. p. 40

67 Mandeville, B. & F.B. Kaye (1988) *The Fable of the Bees or Private Vices, Public Benefits*, 2 vols. With a Commentary Critical, Historical, and Explanatory by F.B. Kaye, Indianapolis: Liberty Fund. Vol. 1, p 147

68 Montesquieu., Cohler, A., Miller, B. & Stone, H. (1989) *The Spirit of the Laws*. Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 240

69 Ibid p. 371

In this way, Montesquieu's claim against the Spaniards was based on a larger climatic understanding of the world. In this way, the world could be judged according to where its lands were based, and the weather they enjoyed. While Cadalso is addressing the claims made in the *Persian Letters*, he consistently references to the *Spirit of the Laws*, and its own assumptions, published over three decades before Cadalso first tried to publish his *Cartas Marruecas*. Cadalso's response tries to reverse Montesquieu's logic, as many Southerners did reply to French rhetorical attacks<sup>70</sup>, by turning the assumptions of climatic theories on labour. Initially, Cadalso begins suggesting rather weakly: "Montesquieu is not aware of the work needed to bring some money from the Indies. He, who works the mines, purifies the metal, he who works it, who trades it, who brings it to Spain, all work diligently"<sup>71</sup>.

This might seem meaningless to us today, but coming from Cadalso it is rather radical since even if work was hailed by reformists in the Eighteenth century, a clear line was demarcated between honourable work and work based on manual skill, which was generally repudiated, as Callahan has explained<sup>72</sup>. More importantly, it is significant that Cadalso points not to the weak state of the industry in Spain, but to that in the Americas –as a symbol of the labour ethic of the Spanish and the Spanish Americans.

Perhaps the more interesting extract is that which aims to address the issue of nobility and soldiers, as while Montesquieu accuses the nobles of acquiring their reputation by "sitting on a chair", Cadalso replies pithily that "war has been the cradle of the Spanish nobility"<sup>73</sup>. To support this claim, Cadalso begins by copying the structure of Montesquieu's description of France in his *Spirit of the Laws*, only to adopt it and modify it to support Spain. Cadalso presents a mixture of military accomplishments as evidence of Spain's greatness, which is telling of his view of a nation's greatness as one that is ready for conflict. He describes constant battles of the Aragon Kingdom with the French and the Italian, the conquest of half the world by a handful of explorers and several victorious campaigns:

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70 See Cases Martínez, V. "España", *Encyclopedia Metódica Dispuesta por Orden de Materias. Geografía moderna*, Vol. II. Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1792; traducción de Juan Arribas y Soria y Julián de Velasco, pp. 79-106

71 Cadalso, J. (2002) *Defensa de la Nación Española contra la Carta Persianna LXXVIII de Montesquieu*, 1ª ed. Toulouse, France- Iberie Recherche, Université de Toulouse, Note 10

72 See Callahan, W. J., (1972) *Honour, Commerce and Industry in Eighteenth-Century Spain*, Boston, Baker Library

73 Cadalso, J. (2002) Note 12

“Spain is surrounded on all sides by sea. This happy situation makes it abundant in all it can want, satisfying not just its needs but its desire for luxury...this natural abundance make it [here Cadalso departs from Montesquieu] the dignified object of the Phoenicians...then came the Romans, and the citizens of Sagunto suffered against them...this heroic tenacity which led to their total destruction acquired the Spaniards a glorious character in the concept of the Romans, and these formed an ambitious project of completing the conquests of a land which produced soldiers just as brave and loyal allies. So useful were the Spain’s possessions to Carthage that from herein did they draw their most brilliant recruits which terrorised Rome...it would take the great Scipio to offer as a volunteer to rally the young nobles...what the Romans did in Spain is well known to the public. She (Spain) gave Rome immortal emperors, wise philosophers and poets”<sup>74</sup>.

Spain then grew out of conquest after conquest until the Romans arrived, when Spain gave the Romans great thinkers and leaders. Following this first chapter of Spanish history, Cadalso goes on to describe the war and conflict that followed and concludes by highlighting how upon the arrival of the first Bourbon, Philip V of Spain, the very land which foreigners had feared and disdained was now decayed and unused. This state then aroused a sense of shame and embarrassment in French visitors, who in turn misinformed Montesquieu’s account of Spain<sup>75</sup>. But it is worth considering Cadalso’s great degree of awareness of how this came to be:

“The lands were so ruined that they were the object of insult from all the other nations and of the hatred of all who had previously praised her and had feared her power. The complete decadence of science, arts, military, commerce, agriculture and population had broken her, while at the same time the other European nations edified their nations over our ruins, some of which were growing in splendour, others simply leaving their condition of barbarity. All these nations had more news about America and Africa than they did of Spain because no books came from her but those written by the French, who write about all kinds of topics, nor did anything but French ideas emerge, since they travel everywhere. It was our misfortune that they couldn’t be our panegyrists. All of those who crossed the Pyrenees with Philip V with their own business affairs, saw the Spanish as enemies, and were not accepted into our homes or our societies. This meant they saw their passage as a kind of purgatory, and they desired to return to their nation, which was at that time reaching such splendour and perfection that it seemed like a heaven compared to our poor peninsula, depopulated, bloodied and unhappy ¿What news could come

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74 Cadalso, J. (2002) note 3

75 Ibid

of Spain? (...) This is where the present understanding comes from. This is why some of the most important foreign thinkers speak about Spain with such ignorance”<sup>76</sup>.

Here Cadalso breaks down the foreign understanding of Spain to one based on the perception of the travellers, and the kind of travellers who were the natural and long-lasting enemies of Spain<sup>77</sup>. His description of Spain as a kind of purgatory to French heaven is powerful, and his awareness of the role of French travels in the construction of Spain’s identity as poor and unwelcoming is intuitively intelligent. What is fascinating is that Cadalso almost seems to be distinguishing between the behaviour and the identity of a nation; Spain is currently in ruins, but that does not mean it is by default a nation in ruin. In order to defend this, Cadalso will portray Spain from the point of view of an educated foreign traveller in his *Cartas Marruecas*, the figure of the Oriental *Other*, who will help Cadalso summon a stronger patriotic response to Montesquieu’s claims by looking out into the source of wonder and disaster for Early Modern Spain: America. It would take a Moor and the Americas for Cadalso to create a distinct notion of Spain’s identity. But before we go on to see how Cadalso resolves this tension, let us turn to the important insights of the historiography on travellers’ perception of Spain.

#### Travellers Accounts of Eighteenth Century Spain: Did the Land reflect the Myths?

Most perceptions of Spain were already coloured by the hugely influential Black Legend, which built on the Spanish treatment of the Dutch during their revolt in the Sixteenth century, and was used by the French and the English to interpret the Spanish invasion of the Americas with the same views of cruelty. As Gabriel Paquette has argued: “Spain was regarded suspiciously by European observers as an aspirant to universal monarchy, a barbarous destroyer of America’s indigenous peoples and, to borrow Gibbon’s characterization, a nation marked by ‘gloomy pride, rapacious avarice and unrelenting cruelty’ ”<sup>78</sup>. Did this reflect in the works of travellers?

Jean-Paul Duviols has explored the reception of the Spanish colonial regime by French *philosophes* of the Enlightenment and his conclusions are similar to those of Cadalso, in that he argues that ultimately the hostility between Spain and France in the Enlightenment was a product of ignorance, one “fed by prejudice. It is therefore unsurprising that the aspects of this

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76 Cadalso, J. (2002) *Notas Preliminares*

77 Elliott, J. H. (2014) p. 80

78 Paquette, G. (2007) *Enlightened Narratives and Imperial Rivalry in Bourbon Spain: The Case of Almodóvar’s “Historia Política de los Establecimientos Ultramarinos de las Naciones Europeas” (1784-1790)* *The Eighteenth Century* Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 61-80, p. 65



vision...were often caricatures”<sup>79</sup>. However, ignorance can be profitable, after all Batten has found that travel accounts trailed behind only the novel as the best-selling genre in late Eighteenth century England<sup>80</sup>.

Mónica Bolufer has conducted perhaps one of the most insightful studies into the subject, where she has argued that travellers were cultural interpreters<sup>81</sup>. Bolufer concludes that above all Spain was a periphery within the constructed identity of Europe: not only was it outside the realm of the Grand Tours, which generally focused on France and particularly Italy, but it was also a vaguely defined cultural periphery: “Some territories, because of their peripheral position in relation to what was perceived, at any given time, as the cultural, economic or political centre of Europe, were defined as borderland, halfway between what was, and what was not, European, and therefore “civilized”. As recent studies have shown, for instance, Eastern Europe, particularly Russia, was conceived as an area of cultural transition between the European world and Asia (...) at the same time, the Balkans took shape in the European imagination as a liminal territory, too familiar to be assigned to the legendary ‘Orient’, yet too strange to be fully integrated”<sup>82</sup>

Whether Bolufer is projecting into the past a coherent European identity that is anachronistic is simply beyond the scope of this discussion, what we can know is that certain shared values of Enlightenment *moeurs* shaped writers’ understandings of civilization, as did the belief that European states had “national characters”, a view forcefully defended by Montesquieu and Herder. Within this context, some travellers did appeal to nuance: “Others, such as Edward Clarke, warned their compatriots about the danger of taking novelistic descriptions too literally”<sup>83</sup>. There were even cases that went further and tried to drop their bias altogether. John Talbot Dillon, a mid-century traveller and an avid student of Spanish literature, was the exception to the rule of prejudice, portraying the Inquisition not as a religious, but as a political

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79 Maison des Pays Ibériques & ICI (1988) *La América española en la época de las Luces*. Madrid, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica/Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, p.351

80 Batten, Charles L. (1978) *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press. P 121

81 Bolufer, M. (2009) *Between Two Shores: Travellers As Cultural Mediators. The Journey to Spain in the Eighteenth Century*, *Acta Histriae*, 17, pp. 83-102

82 Bolufer, M. (2009) p.85

83 Ibid p. 92

entity that was harmful to its citizens<sup>84</sup>. To what extent then were these accounts, with the exception of Dillon's, simple popular propaganda? More importantly, to what extent were the views on Spain appeals to pre-existent popular beliefs?

Marino has suggested that "there was already brewing in Europe in the mid-1700s a nascent sentiment of nationalism. In Dillon's England this was accompanied by disdain for absolutist governments that would discourage nationalistic tendencies, and a new importance placed on individual experience"<sup>85</sup>. As he attempts to fight the *othering* of Spain by other European nations, what Cadalso truly despises is the propagandist element of these travellers and thinkers, as he wonders whether this movement of the Enlightenment is a ruse or a system of beliefs worth defending.

#### *Orientalism and Patriotism in Europe*

Cadalso's *Cartas Marruecas* is an unstructured epistolary novel that sees Nuño, a Spanish soldier and intellectual, often taken to be Cadalso's voice, to guide Gazel, a middle aged wealthy Moor who has in turn been educated by a wise old man, called Ben-Beley. We suggest, in line with José Miguel Caso that all three characters express Cadalso's views<sup>86</sup>. Through their interaction, all three characters explore the nature of Europe, its customs and its ambiguities. Gledinning has suggested this form of literature has its origins in seventeenth century travel accounts<sup>87</sup>. What we find is that Cadalso's own take on the Oriental novel of the Enlightenment is rather different to those written by his contemporaries.

Two works are often grouped together with Cadalso's own: *Goldsmiths' The Citizen of the World*, and, more obviously, Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*. Goldsmith's employs the figure of a wise Chinese man to address issues in English society he believes should be revised, whereas Montesquieu used it to satirise French society. The three are similar in that, as Said argued, even when they considered the Oriental, "such widening horizons had Europe firmly in the privileged centre, as main observer (or mainly observed, as in Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*). For even as

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84 Marino, N.F. (2014) John Talbot Dillon and His Letters on the Origin of Spanish Poetry: A Reconsideration, *Dieciocho* 37:2, pp. 188-210, p. 188

85 Ibid p. 198

86 Cadalso, J. González, J. & Carretero, A. (2011) *Cartas Marruecas*, Madrid: Espasa Libros p. 15

87 Gledinning, N. (1962) p.117

Europe moved itself outwards, its sense of cultural strength was fortified”<sup>88</sup>. However, Cadalso’s work then differs radically in its sense of urgency; while it mocks Spanish society and urges change there is an underlying seriousness, a clear need to develop certain parameters that can allow Spaniards to re-evaluate their sense of patriotism. Cadalso’s use of the other then is used in a way that neither Montesquieu nor Goldsmith follow; Cadalso aims to create sense of patriotism through the eyes of the *Other*.

The Oriental is described by Gazel as a land of despotism, where all the citizens are mere plebeians in the eyes of the emperor<sup>89</sup>. However, in the context of the European gaze, Cadalso makes Gazel out to be a wealthy, educated, impartial spectator. In Letter XI, Cadalso introduces Gazel to his *tertulia*, and when he asks that he be allowed in he argues: “This is a *noble* Moor, a quality which in itself should suffice for you to allow that he come in. He is also honest and honourable, a sufficient reason for me to esteem him”<sup>90</sup> [italics added]. In fact in the same letter, we see that the Oriental here takes on the values of the neutral traveller-intellectual of the Eighteenth century, as Gazel begins to defend how the *tertulias* are beneficial towards promoting sociability in men, and Nuño abruptly replies: “All things are both good and bad...this liberty in society, which bewitches you, is like a rose that has its thorns very close to the bud. Without wanting too much rigor, I equally fail to see the benefits of modern liberty”<sup>91</sup>.

This is a constant tension for Cadalso; reconciling the virtues associated with the European republic of letters and its cosmopolitanism with its evils, one of them being the loss of patriotism<sup>92</sup>. The opening letters of the work deal with the loss of the spirit of the nation at the expense of a new class of men: The bourgeoisie. These men, throughout Europe, feel more attached to transnational values than to their own nations. Of course the irony is that Nuño’s very acceptance of the Moor is defined along those very lines, as we saw earlier. And this is not an isolated feature; Cadalso repeats it again in a much studied interaction. In Letter XLII, Nuño decides to contact Gazel’s master, Ben-Beley, and opens his letter with:

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88 Said, E. (2003) 117

89 Cadalso, J. González, J. & Carretero, A. (2011) p. 53

90 Ibid p. 72

91 Ibid p. 74

92 Gledinning, N. (1972) p. 122

“In light of Gazel’s thoughts about you, I know that you are a dignified man who lives in Africa, and I am sure that from what you have heard from him about me, I also am a dignified man in Europe. I doubt we need another reason to develop a good image of each other. We esteem each other without knowing each other; however little we talk to each other, we will no doubt be friends”<sup>93</sup>. This tolerance then can be explained by relying on values of wealth, education and dignity that were paragons of the Enlightenment. Furthermore, in doing so, Cadalso does something that is almost Spinozist in thought, as he goes as far as to suggest at the end of the letter:

“The Supreme Being, who we call God and you call Alá, is he who made Africa, Europe, Asia and America. Let him protect you, blessings to you, to all Americans, Asians, Africans and Europeans”<sup>94</sup>

Nuño’s willingness to accept that the God and Alá are *the same*, to not enforce his own beliefs on his friend can be seen as an implicit need of cross-culturalism, but in the context of Spain, with an Inquisition who banished authors like Jovellanos and Olavide merely for translating French works, Cadalso is here doing something very radical in suspending his firm Catholicism and simply accepting that the supreme being can take many forms. This is revealing because it shows that Cadalso’s appreciation for his nation and his sense of patriotism is not overly reliant on religion. What then did he associate with patriotic sentiments?

Cadalso feels comfortable differentiating around continents, what we find is that he also feels equally comfortable differentiating across European nations. As we will see, Cadalso accepts certain tropes and clichés about European nations, but one struggles to find those about Spain that define it as categorically as others do for foreign nations. Cadalso’s best definition of Spain comes from a two-step process: First from fragmenting it and looking at each region individually and second, from focusing on its military exploits.

#### The meaning of Spain in the Cartas Marruecas

In Letter III, Cadalso reinforces our view that Spain was still understood as a body politic, while the Americas were a source of silver, and a harmful one at that. When describing the reign of Philip II, he says: “He died and left behind a people broken by wars, effeminate due to the gold and silver of the Americas, depopulating because of the population needs of a new world,

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93 Cadalso, J. González, J. & Carretero, A. (2011) p. 124

94 Ibid p. 125

unhappy with so many misfortunes and ready for rest (...) by the death of Charles II Spain was no more than a skeleton of a giant"<sup>95</sup>

In the Letter XVI, Gazel explains he has found a manuscript of his friend Nuño. The manuscript is titled the *Heroic History of Spain*. Gazel includes the prologue in his letter, which explains how in the ancient world great men prospered and inspired everybody else. Nuño admits that this idea is hyperbole, but laments that in his day the opposite is the case, and here we find Cadalso's first source of motivation of patriotism:

"Modern nations lack monuments of their great men. If they are motivated by the jealousy of the role they played compared to their own....they should try to outdo them; the efficacy of that desire would be enough to match their merit".

In line with Montesquieu, who saw the English parliamentary model as the most desirable political system, Cadalso goes on to imitate Montesquieu's approval of England, only to then suggest:

"The other [European] nations are ingrate towards the memory of those who have adorned and defended them. This is one of the sources of universal negligence...there is no more patriotism, because there is no more *patria*" [italics added]. This is one of Cadalso's most revealing statements. Furthermore, we find with his description of other European countries is that they can be assigned certain tropes, or stereotypes that can help understand the fading *patria*.

In the case of Spain, Cadalso is a lot more ambiguous, he aims to seek a historical definition for Spain's greatness by drawing on Montesquieu's ideas about the spirit of the nation. The matter is explicitly addressed by Gazel, who wonders whether the difference between Spain and other European nations lies in the fact that it lacks a character of its own<sup>96</sup>. The response does not come easily. Cadalso repeatedly makes statements such as "there is a proverb around here that says: The German begs by singing, the French by crying and the Spaniard by reprimanding"<sup>97</sup>, But as it becomes clear in Letter LXXIV, the nation's backbone in Cadalso's view is no more than a chapter in history, and one that is largely forgotten by many. This of course implicitly makes Cadalso fall unto his own criticism about the Spaniards' adoration of the past. To an extent, even though Cadalso is weary of the Enlightenment, he still contrasts Spain's obsession with old with

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95 Cadalso, J. González, J. & Carretero, A. (2011) p. 44

96 Cadalso, J. González, J. & Carretero, A. (2011) p.58

97 Ibid p. 117

the Enlightenment, whereby Spain represents the inefficient, insular shameful past of Europe and the Enlightenment appears as the bright future. Cadalso's departure from the Montesquieu and the teleology of the Enlightenment however comes when he suggests that commerce will not in fact help all societies. Echoing Herder suggested, every nation has its own rules and must therefore follow a political and social model that is best suited to it<sup>98</sup>.

What then, is for Cadalso the source of inspiration for the patria that is Spain? As Nuño tries to refute the idea that Spaniards are all bad, he turns to the regions. Through the voice of Gazel, we learn that each region is great in its own way: those from Cantabria were the first sailors of Europe, those from Asturias are proud of their heritage, and are aware of the fact that it was their people who led the "reconquering of Spain and the expulsion of our grandparents", the Galician make good soldiers because of their docility, the Castilians are loyal, those from Extremadura are deemed great patriots, the Andalusians are said to have produced some of the greatest Romans<sup>99</sup>. What is most interesting is that Cadalso presents us with a rather striking conclusion, as he suggests that these nations fought each other constantly and viciously, and while the enmity has mostly worn off and harms during times of peace, it in fact comes in handy during combat, because of their "mutual desire to emulate and assist one another"<sup>100</sup>.

Instead of inferring a regionalist and ahistorical conclusion from this, we should instead notice Cadalso's emphasis on the idea that Spain's greatness comes out during times of war, when conflict threatens it. Cadalso's patriotic recipe begins to surface, as we see his militaristic approach to history begins to take shape<sup>101</sup>. In Letter III we are told about the history of the nation, in a rewriting of that we saw in the *Defensa de España*, Cadalso shifts certain aspects of the story. The most telling part is Cadalso's explanation of where things go astray, having explained that Fernando and Isabel managed to create Spain's proudest age, Gazel remarks that

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98 Ibid

99 Ibid p. 94

100 Ibid

101 The regionalist dimension of these debates is simply beyond the scope of research of this paper, and its analysis and it does not feature heavily in either of the thinkers we consider. There have been studies on the ideological differences between regional Royal Economic societies, see Astigarraga, J. (2009) "Sociedades económicas y comercio privilegiado. La Sociedad Bascongada, la Compañía de Caracas y la vertiente marítima de la Ilustración vasca", *Itsas Memoria. Revista de Estudios Marítimos del País Vasco*, 6, pp. 669-688

failing to have a child, the kingdom went to the house of Austria, “which spent the treasures, talents and blood of Spaniards in things alien to Spain”.

The ensuing kingdom of Felipe II is accused of having made the people effeminate with the gold and silver of the Americas<sup>102</sup>. In spite of the constant militaristic rhetoric of Cadalso, he is still able to allow for some ambiguity, as he suggests that the outcome of this history has meant: “the continuation of holding weapons in their hands has led them to look at commerce and industry with disdain(...)and for the same reason the source of pride in nobles is born, ...and that the acquisition of channels from the Indias distract many from cultivating the mechanical arts and improving the size of the population”<sup>103</sup>. The military spirit of the Spaniards then, is blamed rather extensively, but the blame also falls on the foreign monarchical influence, a classic strategy of nationalistic thinking according to Junco<sup>104</sup>. In order to reconcile these ideas, we suggest finding a balanced interpretation of Cadalso’s patriotism, one that seeks to instil in the people a sense of patriotism like those of soldiers without blinding them to the general European improvements of tolerance can bring to their life. We find that in the role of Spain’s conquest of the empire Cadalso finds the example worthy of emulation for Eighteenth century Spain to emerge from its ashes.

#### Building Patriotism with the Other: A Nation and its Conquest

Let us recall Cadalso’s first idea about how to motivate patriotism: “Modern nations lack monuments of their great men. If they are motivated by the jealousy of the role they played compared to their own....they should try to outdo them; the efficacy of that desire would be enough to match their merit”<sup>105</sup>. Here his faith is firmly set on the *pueblo* to drive the country forward, in line with Junco’s assessment with late Eighteenth century narrative of patriotism<sup>106</sup>.

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102 Population decrease reflected a sign of unhappiness and lack of wellbeing in the eighteenth century, as argued by Nancy L. Green in Green, N.L. (2005) *The Politics of Exit: Reversing the Immigration Paradigm*, *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 77, No. 2, pp. 263-289

103 Op. cit. 45

104 Junco, J.A., Boyd, C., Baker, E., de la Fuente Monge, G. (2012) p. 210

105 Ibid, p. 79

106 Junco, J.A., Boyd, C., Baker, E., de la Fuente Monge, G. (2012) p. 201

But who are these great men that we must emulate? The example that stands out the most is that of Hernan Cortés, who Cadalso passionately defends. After all, as Gazel considers the differences between views of Spain within the country, that emphasise how it is religious and heroic, and the voices from abroad, that emphasise greed, tyranny and perfidy, how is one to reconcile both?

In Letter XI Nuño replies with arguably the most convincing retort to the hypocrisy of foreign nations, and clearly breaking away with a large fraction of the Enlightenment that analysed freedom while neglecting to address the evils of slavery<sup>107</sup>: “Those very people who voice the cruelty of the Spaniards in America are precisely the same which go to the African coasts, buy rational animals of both sexes(...)sell them in public markets (...) make their money and take back to their humane countries, only to then use it to print books full of elegant insults and eloquent injuries towards Hernán Cortés”<sup>108</sup>. Cadalso was of course speaking of the French. Instead, Cadalso suggests that Gazel learn of the achievements of the great Hernan Cortés. It is worth considering the extract at length:

Cadalso begins by listing the achievements of Cortés, which he suggests are: First, accepting the task of sending a bunch of soldiers to conquer a country that is unknown, in which he sees nothing but a great desire to give one’s life for one’s country. Secondly, Cortés arrives in the Island of Cozumel, near Mexico, “horrible because of the human sacrifices with human blood, (which were frequent therein), he places his troops there and manages to undermine those idols, whose cult was so cruel towards humanity, assuaging the natives. Here I discover the character of a hero”<sup>109</sup>. In this case, the conquest is not defended for the sake of civilisation, like Francisco de Vitoria once did, but rather for humanity, adopting Enlightenment values to defend arguably the most anti-Enlightenment endeavour: Conquest.

Nuño then lists the third feature on his list: Cortés recovers a Spaniard among the savages, who shows him the intelligence of the languages spoken in those lands, and the first sign of the successful chain of events that led him to survive and succeed in his enterprise, led “by what us Christians call providence”<sup>110</sup>. Notice then that Cadalso shows a degree of appreciation towards

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107 Ibid

108 Ibid p. 63

109 Ibid

110 Ibid



the intelligence of the Amerindian, and in fact sees in the power of *their* word the beginning of Cortés' success. As Adorno has argued, the power of the Spanish empire was synonymous with the written word of god<sup>111</sup>; Cortés use of language follows the conqueror's tradition, but appreciates the value of the native language itself. Furthermore, Cadalso's scepticism in saying "what us Christians call providence" shows that in this case religion is used to highlight the meaning of Cortés' achievements, rather than to assert the greatness of the Catholic faith itself. There is more certainty then in Cortés' patriotism than in the Catholic tradition he holds so dear.

The next clause highlights how Cortés continues his travels, only to encounter a fight in Tabasco, against "brave Indians". Again, here we begin to see Cadalso's respect for the Indians, not only do they possess a language; they also demonstrate bravery in battle. This positive take on Amerindians was far more common in Eighteenth century Spain that is usually imagined, as Thomas Neal has shown that in Jovellanos' play *El Delincuente Honrado*, the Amerindian appears as a virtuous individual who should be a reference to Spaniards gone astray, and Zuñiga has shown that Amerindians were commonly hailed for their societal order and courage<sup>112</sup>. Nonetheless, in this case it is used to highlight Cortés' greatness, since only by creating an enemy worth beating can his heroism be constructed. Furthermore, Cadalso makes a point of highlighting how this battle was not won because of Spanish superior weaponry, after all the number of Amerindians far outnumbered Spaniards. It was the valiant spirit of the soldiers in question that drove them to victory.

For his next point, Cadalso turns to highlight the greatness of Cortés by highlighting his very human side, as he suggests: "A noble Indian...serves him as a second interpreter, and is of great use to the expedition: truly the first woman who has not undermined an army, and a notable example of the usefulness of the other sex, so long as its natural subtlety is directed towards great and loyal ends"<sup>113</sup>. There are two aspects of great interest here, one is the emphasis on the *nobility* of the Indian, which further undermines the barbarian aspect of the other and brings it closer to our own. Secondly, her status as the *Other* allows for the gender divide that was so

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111 Gergerson, L. & Juster, S. (2013) p. 20

112 Neal, T. (2013) Reimagining Criollos and Indianos in Spanish Literature: Jovellanos' *El Delincuente Honrado* and the Literary Circle of Pablo de Olavide, *Dieciocho*, 36.2, pp. 311-327 and Zuñiga, J.P (2002) *Espagnols d'Outre-Mer: Émigration, Métissage et Production Sociale à Santiago du chili, au XVII siècle*, Paris, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Recherches d'histoire et de sciences sociales, 93, HEC books, p. 170

113 Op. cit. p. 64

strong in the Eighteenth century Spain is somewhat broken, because values of honour are in this case seen as the product of utility, rather than femininity<sup>114</sup>.

Cortés then goes on to meet the ambassadors of the emperor Motezuma, with whom he has conferences that can be a model for statesman “not only American, but European”. Aware of the greatness of the empire of Motezuma, Cortés “with a magnanimity never before heard” declares that he and his soldiers are inferior to that nature “and do not transcend that of the human”<sup>115</sup>. It is worth noting that Todorov, in his research on the accounts of Columbus and Cortés, found that their understanding of Indians was informed by stories of Livy and later Christian stories, whereby they envisioned the Americas as a literal paradise, with its citizens being angels<sup>116</sup>, and Nuño seems enchanted by this idea. This extract also reveals the key to understanding the role of soldiers – and of Cadalso himself as we will see later- to defend their patria: “To humiliate oneself in front of those who one is conquering (when it is advisable to invoke fear in them) demands for a heart more than human”<sup>117</sup>. Again, the divinity of Cortés’ values and mission is highlighted, but not out of adoration for the heavens, but rather to show that the mission of patriotism as colonisation transcends human understanding itself; it is part of a theological order. In this way, Ronald Briggs has highlighted that Spanish American writers of loyalist sympathies often portrayed the Americas as the space for a perfected “Spanishness”<sup>118</sup>.

Following Cortés travels, upon his engagement with the next problematic tribe, the Taxclacted Amerindians are then described as a warring republic, full of strategists as great as those in Ancient Greece and Rome, but “in spite of this, to diminish the glory of Cortés, it is said that they were barbarians”<sup>119</sup>. This is the most blatant example of Spanish glory being built by civilising

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114 Sarasúa, C. (1997) The role of the State in Shaping Women's and Men's entrance into the Labour Market: Spain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. *Continuity and Change*, 12, pp 347-371, p. 348

115 Ibid pp. 64-65

116 Todorov, T. (1992) *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, London, Harper Perennial p. 98

117 Op. cit. 65

118 Briggs, R. (2010) *Tropes of Enlightenment in the Age of Bolivar: Simon Rodriguez and the American Essay at Revolution*, Vanderbilt, Vanderbilt University Press, p. 35

119 Op. cit. p. 66

the other, giving its civilisation a degree of greatness that parallels that of the greatest civilisations in the European tradition to inflate the accomplishment of the victory. This is generally associated with the construction of Creole identities such as that of Francisco Javier Clavijero, who was one of the first Novo-Hispanic historians and conceptualised the Mexican past in terms that resembled those of Europeans when describing the Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome<sup>120</sup>. However it is interesting to see how it is also used to construct the Spanish identity itself.

Cadalso goes on to inform us that, following a rebellion, Cortés imprisons emperor Motezuma himself, who then pledges allegiance to Carlos V. Yet Cortés is soon faced with another insurrection in Mexico, and because of their sheer size, they make the “Spaniards close their eyes to humanity” because they must protect their own lives against the “multitude of beasts (for the Indians had *become* so)” [italics added]. War then leads to inhumanity on both sides equally, without any degree of difference between the Indians and the Spaniards, as Indians are not considered *inherently* warmongering, but rather as possessed by the spirit of war.

Cadalso concludes this section by posing an incredible dilemma on European colonisation. Cadalso draws on a dichotomy between heroism, colonisation and glory on the one hand and the cold hearted commerce of slavery: “I admit that many were killed in cold blood, but in return for this *impartiality* which I profess, those who call us barbarians should think about how those who buy Africans are *hostages* to this trade [italics added]”<sup>121</sup>. The radical nature of this statement cannot be ignored. Not only is Cadalso defending the value of impartiality, as he did earlier in the conversation between Nuño and Ben-Beley, he is also highlighting how these nations are *dependent* financially and politically on the slave trade. If Olavide hinted that the Capuchins took the Spanish like they were barbarians, Cadalso is going further and suggesting the slave trade makes the other nations into barbarians.

Cadalso pushes his challenge further: “Believe me, Gazel, believe me when I say that left to choose between dying among the ruins of my patria among my magistrates, family, friends and citizens [note that Tamar Herzog has highlighted how these terms applied on both sides of the Atlantic without much difference<sup>122</sup>] or to be taken with my family on a boat trapped in a ship...

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120 Sebastini, S (2011) Las Escrituras de la Historia del Nuevo Mundo: Clavijero y Robertson en el contexto de la Ilustración, *Historia y Grafía*, n. 37, pp. 203-236, p. 219

121 Cadalso, J., González, J. & Carretero, A. (2011) p. 68

122 Herzog, T. (2003) *Defining Nations*, New Haven, Yale University Press, p. 15

to be sold in a public market in America, only to be employed in the harshest jobs till I die...I would not hesitate in making the choice between the death of the former. To this you must add that, having for years ceased the killing of Indians, the slave trade continues, as it looks like it will never end, it would be very wrong in the eyes of any *impartial man* for the trades of human flesh to go on about this chapter of our history”<sup>123</sup>. [Italics added]

Cadalso’s appeal to the impartial man is an appeal to the Enlightenment’s spirit of toleration. Insofar as we can take Cortés to represent the greatness of Spain, the complete patriotism of a man ready to sacrifice himself for his nation, full of humanity and valour in ways that are questionably reconcilable, the greatness of Spain for Cadalso can be rebuilt by weaving together elements of toleration, impartiality and common humanity.

This also reveals what patriotism is for Cadalso; far from class envy, Cadalso wants a people that can be courageous, impartial and ultimately - projecting his soldier’s patriotism - to sacrifice one’s life for the future of one’s patria. This becomes more apparent when we notice one of the final letters of the book. In Letter LXXXIV, Ben-Beley and Gazel take up their conversation on the emulation of heroes and the desire for glory. Ben-Beley asks Gazel to please hide the letter he previously sent rejecting the pursuit of glory through patriotism. Unlike Feijoo, Ben-Beley finally accepts the virtues that this carries: “Even if it [posthumous glory] is one of the greatest follies of mankind, it is necessary to let it govern along with many others...it could be a great source of relief to think that the future generations will console the underappreciated man of merit”<sup>124</sup>.

Gazel’s response is revealing: Not enough people care about the future of their country, instead they care only about modern judgements and modern trends; they believe the individual, not the nation, is at the centre of the universe: “The truth is, as my friend Nuño says, there are too many people in Spain who...see as vain, transitory and frivolous all of the world’s glories, and there is an excessive number of people who see their last day on earth as the last day of the existence of this world”<sup>125</sup>.

There are two ways of seeing Cadalso’s radical patriotism: we can see it as outdated, ignorant of the radical individualism on which the Enlightenment was built. Or, as we suggest, we can see it as a radically modern view, aware of the limitations of the Enlightenment and the deepest irony of the age, as the century was simultaneously defined by the idea of liberty and the trading of

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123 Op. Cit. p. 68

124 Ibid p. 204

125 Cadalso, J., González, J. & Carretero, A. (2011) p. 205

slaves. In this context, Spain's humanitarian evils in the pursuit of conquest make it more European, by questioning the seemingly perfect European virtues. If we accept this interpretation, we can also see an incredible awareness of the tribunal of posterity during the age of the Enlightenment, as outlined by Reinhardt Koselleck<sup>126</sup>. Tolerance among European nations, pushed by the desire for emulation that energises the Spanish regions during conflict, Spain is without a question European, and arguably, more humane than countries that perpetuate the slave trade. In this way, the components of the greatness of Spain in line with Fuchs' interpretation; Cadalso's ideal *patria* is built on the great virtues of conquest, the very defining act of Spain, for better or worse, in the Early Modern Period. For Cadalso, the spirit of Cortés had to *reconquer* Spain the way it had once conquered the Americas, fairly and impartially.

### European Legends of Columbus and Cortés: The Enlightenment Commercialisation of Brutality

It is worth considering just how Cadalso's views of colonisation and particularly Columbus and Cortés matched those of his fellow European intellectuals, beyond Montesquieu's own.

Jean-Paul Duviols has found that while France exalted commercial enterprises, it heavily condemned brutal domination. In what Duviols sees as an equivocation, or a logical slip, it was assumed that because of the brutal origins, the colonial system could not be justifiable or in any way efficient<sup>127</sup>. And yet in the same way that Cadalso admired the values he saw in Cortés –fairness and humility- the European intellectuals all saw in Cortés and Columbus the unbridled desire for exploration, synonymous of the culture of sensibility and travel that developed over the century throughout Europe. In his brilliant work titled *Translations, Histories and Enlightenment: William Robertson in Germany. 1760-1795*, László Kontler briefly explores the linguistic familiarity of the terms commerce and conquest. After showing that the term adventure had not only chivalrous and defiant connotations, but was tightly related to companies dedicated to exploration. This ambiguity served the narrative of progress greatly, or as Kontler puts it: "In the *History of America*, Robertson's purpose is eminently served by the ambiguity of language, which allows for a permeability of the boundary between the moral psychology of two social types that were to play a paramount role in Europe's global expansion,

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126 See Koselleck, R. (2004) *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (trans. Keith Tribe) New York: Columbia University Press

127 Duviols, J.P. (1986) El Régimen Colonial Español visto por los Franceses de la Ilustración, *La América Española en la Época de las Luces: Tradición, Innovación, Representaciones, Coloquio Franco-Español*, Maison des Pays Ibériques, Burdeos, Madrid, Cultura Hispánica, pp. 350-363, p. 351

showing the merchant and the conquistador to be distant relatives”<sup>128</sup>. This conceptual porousness allowed Robertson to portray Columbus as an intellectual science-minded explorer: “Christopher Columbus still represented the ideal type: in him, “the modesty and diffidence of true genius was united with the ardent enthusiasm of a projector”; his “active mind” was applied to the sciences that gave a new and thorough underpinning to navigation”<sup>129</sup>. This porousness was so powerful that it allowed thinker like Buffon, who condemned Spanish imperialism, to suggest his country, and the Eighteenth century as a whole, was missing a Columbus<sup>130</sup>.

In fact, Cortés and Columbus formed part of a second current of literature of the Early Modern period, known as Neo-Latin literature. This genre spans from the early Renaissance to the Romantic period, and for our purposes it is just worth considering the way it dealt with discoveries and invention: Hans Helander argues that with the debate of the New World, this genre believed the Ancients had finally been toppled by the Moderns: “In his epos *De navigatione Christophori Columbi* (1581), Lorenzo Gambara says that Columbus was superior to Hercules and even to Dionysus, because not only had he found his way to India, he had also Christened the natives in the countries he discovered (...) Explorations and discoveries soon added force to what was to become “the *topos* of the superiority of Moderns over Ancients”<sup>131</sup>.

Science, commerce and conquest then became entangled with the pursuit of progress through the figure of Columbus. Buffon and Cadalso both seemed to think that a great man was missing in their respective countries. Certainly Spain’s state of affairs necessitated a great deal of change, particularly Andalusia, a region for which Cadalso had to reach back to Roman times in order to find something worthy of praise. But what would a man who tried to emulate Columbus look like? Would he be an outsider, reaching the shores of France or Spain to help with the national problems they faced and promote a way forward?

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128 Kontler, L. (2014). *Translations, histories, enlightenments : William Robertson in Germany, 1760-1795*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 128

129 *ibid* p. 129

130 Henry Pageaux, D. (1986) Colón y el Problema del Descubrimiento de América en la Francia de las Luces (1986) *La América Española en la Época de las Luces: Tradición, Innovación, Representaciones*, Coloquio Franco-Español, Maison des Pays Ibériques, Burdeos, Madrid, *Cultura Hispánica* pp. 363-371, p. 365

131 Helander, H. (2001) Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects, *Symbolae Osloenses: Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies*, vol. 76, issue 1, pp. 5-102, p.15

Of course no man can live up to a myth, but one can certainly draw on the tropes of a myth and the culture that produces him and self-fashion oneself in a way that can advance his interests. Our following section then proceeds to analyse how two men who benefitted from the information they acquired from their travels. As Adler has suggested “travel lends itself to dramatic play with the boundaries of selfhood, and the character ideals of the performers and their audiences are as various as the performances”<sup>132</sup>.

Thus when it came to populating a deserted land in the south of Spain, not too far from one of Cadalso’s destinations, Charles III would employ two men to fulfil the task of attracting workers and of settling them. But this mission was nothing short of a strategic colonisation of land, the very land which had been taken during the Reconquista, since it covered a significant part of the area that saw the route between Cadiz and Madrid, which carried the silver from the Americas, constantly attacked by thieves, since the authorities and the populations were simply too removed from these roads to do anything about it. While the administration in the Americas had developed sophisticated forms of government, the situation in the peninsula remained with the nobles of each region, as pointed out by Cadalso, feeling little need to address the problems of the state. It would then take a Creole, who came from an education that was far more liberal than that which could be acquired in Spain, and a German scallywag -with a good education but little respect for it- to implement a colonisation at the heart of one of Spain’s economic route, in a ailing, depopulating territory. Their case is one that shows us that for all of the state’s centralisation, this did not mean the state was wiser than it had once been. Before we analyse the outcome of the project that would determine their fates, let us first see who these individuals were.

### **The Creole Columbus and the German Cortés: The Colonisation of Sierra Morena**

#### **Pablo de Olavide: An introduction**

The main biographies of Olavide focus very little on his creole identity. Instead, the main biographer of Olavide, Marcelin Defourneaux, focused on framing his identity along European lines, arguing that Olavide was closer to the French philosophes than he was to the Spanish in his book *Pablo de Olavide o el Afrancesado*<sup>133</sup>. Luis Perdices Blas, on the other hand, accepts this dichotomy as a relevant and fruitful one, but argues instead that Olavide was influenced in his

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132 Adler, J. (1989) Travel as Performed Art, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 94, No. 6, pp. 1366-1391, p. 1385

133 Defourneaux, M. & Camaró, M. (1990) *Pablo de Olavide : el Afrancesado*. Sevilla: Padilla Libros.

economic plans and politics of his Spanish contemporaries<sup>134</sup> as he was by the rest of European thinkers<sup>135</sup>. Whatever his intellectual ideals, during the mid-Eighteenth century the Minister for the Indies increased the presence of Spanish soldiers in the administration of the Americas, whereas creoles were rarely assigned political roles in Spain<sup>136</sup>. Throughout our analysis, we will try to understand what identities he tried to project, and which ones were assigned to him.

Recent historiography has tended to downplay the identity-based division between Europeans and creoles in the conflicts that led up to the wars of independence<sup>137</sup>. Instead, it has been suggested that the issue was more closely related to a power struggle around resources. Gil Amate has explored how the Spanish monarchy repeatedly reformed the structures of power in Peru as part of an administration that aimed to span too broad a region, including Colombia, Argentina and Peru. The administration was ill equipped to deal with such a broad and diverse set of territories. The political structures were altered first in 1717 and then in 1739, and the creoles repeatedly protested about the inadequacy of this arrangement throughout the rest of the century, to no avail<sup>138</sup>. That they were not seen as a body politic by Spain had these profound implications. Further evidence that the problem was vocalised by the creoles as a lack of understanding and concern for the region by the monarchy can be found in Cornejo Quesnada's study -which analyses how reforms during the middle of the century ordered by Carlos III prompted a series of propaganda and revolts in Peru- because the reforms were seen as an affront on the interests of the creoles and the Amerindians<sup>139</sup>. This tension ignited by the

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134 Blas does not mention the *arbitristas*, who Olavide will reference, as we will see.

135 Blas, L. (1992) *Pablo de Olavide (1725-1803) El Ilustrado*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense p. 40

136 Guillamón Álvarez, J. (1994) *Actas del V Congreso Histórico sobre Nuevas Poblaciones, Nuevas Poblaciones de España y América*, Sevilla p. 31

137 Tomás Pérez Vejo (2010) « Criollos contra peninsulares: la bella leyenda », *Amérique Latine Histoire et Mémoire. Les Cahiers ALHIM*, 19, pp. 33-47

138 Gil Almate, *De Españoles a Americanos: Variantes del criollismo en el siglo XVIII*, *Arrabal*, N.1, 1998, pp. 23-38, p. 30

139 Quesada, C. *Los Pasquines en el Perú (siglos XVIII y XIX) Correspondencias & Análisis*, n. 2. Año 2012, Universidad de San Martín de Porres, pp. 188-199



Crown's reforms provides a good background to our understanding of Olavide's early socioeconomic impression of the Americas.

Olavide's educational achievements are striking. Taught by the Jesuits, in an environment that Elliott has highlighted was certainly warmer to the philosophical radicalism of France than the peninsula<sup>140</sup>, Olavide demonstrated an acute intelligence, enrolling at the University of Saint Marc at the age of fifteen and becoming a professor in the very same institution after two years<sup>141</sup>. That his family influences had a role to play in this meteoric academic rise is accepted by most of the historiography<sup>142</sup>, but it is worth considering that this was not at all uncommon during the period, on either side of the Atlantic.

Olavide was then appointed as a lawyer of the courts, or Oidor de Lima, in 1741, a juridical role that was meant to assist judges and vice-chancellors in their decision making, but in fact involved an ambivalent degree of juridical and administrative responsibilities over the future capital of Perú<sup>143</sup>. This role allowed Olavide to emulate his father and enter the business world and they eventually mastered a peculiar trade. Fraud at the time was rife, and in 1746 a great earthquake shattered much of Lima. As Olavide's father struggled financially, father and son engineered a plan that saw Olavide's father register as deceased and leaving the country, thereby avoiding his creditors and leaving his son his entire fortune, free of taxation and, hopefully, free of debt. After his father disappeared, the creditors denounced Olavide, who subsequently had to travel to Madrid and defend himself in front of the Counsel of the Indies to clear his name<sup>144</sup>. On his way, Olavide unrepentantly stopped in Curaçao- an area the Spanish monarch had ruled to be out of bounds in the commercial realm – and conducted illicit trades<sup>145</sup>. After finally arriving in Cádiz, Olavide was imprisoned on this last charge, while the other ones remained under review. For two years, Olavide remained imprisoned as his charges were

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140 Elliott, J.H. (2006) p. 205

141 Defourneaux, M. & Camaró, M. (1990) p. 20

142 Ibid 21

143 Brunke, José (1990) Los Oidores en la sociedad limeña, notas para su estudio (Siglo XVII) *Temas Americanistas*, número 7, pp. 21-35, p. 23

144 Defourneaux, M. & Camaró, M. (1990) p. 31

145 Ibid p. 30

examined. Eventually, it was found that to reveal Olavide's fraud and fronting the costs of bringing in some of the witnesses from across the Atlantic was not worth the authorities' trouble, and more importantly, might uncover some greater issues of corruption the monarchy aimed to keep silent<sup>146</sup>. Only Marchena Fernández sees in the imprisonment a degree of discrimination<sup>147</sup>. Defourneaux instead sees this as the definite break for Olavide from his South American identity, unable and unwilling to return and have to face the creditors<sup>148</sup>.

Olavide's self-fashioning as a wealthy man in Spain was unoriginal. In 1754, he was moved to a village outside of Madrid, where he met and married a wealthy widow. This was a source of mockery in his homeland, further distancing him from his fellow neighbours and friends<sup>149</sup>. Thanks to his wife's money, Olavide resumed his business ventures, this time by doing a Grand Tour of his own around Europe, meeting many philosophes in France and Italy. He was also able to move in the relevant intellectual circles of Madrid, where he met Pedro de Campomanes, who would eventually become the main economic advisor to the King.

In 1766 the lack of economic management leads to the Revolt of Esquillache. To deal with both the discontented and the poor the government set up the Hospice of San Ferdinand and Madrid. Olavide's observations on the subject of how the poor were treated abroad, which he had frequently mentioned to his companions, convinced Campomanes and gave Olavide the reins of the Hospice of Madrid<sup>150</sup>. After writing extensive economic treatises on the need to expand freedom of commerce throughout the country, Olavide was assigned the job of taking care of the Hospice of Seville, and of penning a plan for the setting up of a university in the same city. It was in 1769 when he was put in charge of penning a report about the possibility of sending six thousand Germans to Puerto Rico, as a form of strategic colonisation. It was in this report that Olavide was most clear about his thoughts on the Americas.

#### Olavide on Populating the Americas

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146 Ibid p. 31

147 Marchena Fernández, J. (2001) *El Tiempo Ilustrado de Pablo de Olavide : Vida, Obra y Sueños de un Americano en la España del S. XVIII*, Alfar, p. 24

148 Defourneaux, M. & Camaró, M. (1990) 31

149 Ibid p. 34

150 Blas, L. (2003) Pablo de Olavide (1725-1803) A Través de sus Escritos, *Cuadernos Dieciochistas*, 4, pp. 13-30, p 16

Before deciding on whether to send workers to the Americas, King's counsel asked for the advice of Pablo de Olavide, because of his knowledge of the affairs of the Americas. In the set of manuscripts bound together as plans for the colonising mission, known as the *Fuero de Población*, is a note, possibly written by Miguel de Murquiz, the head of finance of the King's Counsel<sup>151</sup>.

The note goes on to explain that the French tried something similar on a smaller scale to no avail: "The French company formed in the year 1718 for the population and the commerce of New Orleans took some German families in order to create the establishments on the shores of the Mississippi river; and (...)the French court (...)has [not] been able to maintain this project because of the great cost it carried, and they abandoned it in view of the small progress made by the workers, reduced today as they are to small numbers, since many have moved to the English territories on the other side of the river".

"There is no more solid evidence of the difficulty of forming *Pueblos* in America with families taken for that purpose from Europe than in the case of the French, who, while sustaining an abundance of people and navigation, have possessed this area in New Orleans without much use, throughout the century, where they have tried several times to populate this area without much success... One cannot form a people in the Indies without a competent foot in Indian naturals from the country, which have always constituted the cement of the great cities, villas and places".

It is unclear whether this warning reached the King's hands, or whether this was what led the counsel to seek the advice of a creole who had been active in Spanish affairs. What is clear is that Olavide's reply opposes the note's logic directly: The less involvement with the customs and knowledge of the locals, whether Indians or whites, the better the process of population will be. In any case, Olavide's reply has traditionally been understood through an interpretation of one of the original finders of the letters, Alcazar Molina, who in a text in 1932, typed up Olavide's response, but as an interpretation, rather than a faithful word by word translation. Some of Olavide's emphasis is therefore lost on those interpretations that use Alcazar's otherwise

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151 The note, titled *Note about the spending that the ministry of finance has had in each of the five Indian Jaicaltecan provinces, formed by his Majesty in the kingdom of the new Vizcaya, in the vicinity of Pannaes and the Villa of Saltillo, as in Monte Rey, new Kingdom of Leon, with the warning that with each new village it was composed of fifty families and were established in 1727, without seeing any special increment*. The note has been neglected by most of the historiography on the topic, but it suggests some degree of awareness by the Council of the problematic ambitions of the mission, alongside an awareness of similar examples conducted by fellow European powers.

seminal text, the remaining part of which is an in depth study of the intricacies of the colonies in Sierra Morena<sup>152</sup>.

In essence, Olavide uses this opportunity to attempt to expand commercial points of safety throughout the empire, and to an extent, to criticise the situation of the black population, and the effect their status has on white people, regardless of their nationality<sup>153</sup>. However, at the start, the thinker displays an interesting ambiguity between the idea of a people and a population:

What Alcazar Molina interpreted as “the prosperity of America depends on its Population”<sup>154</sup> in fact reads “the business of populating the Americas is the single most important one for this Monarchy, as its prosperity depends on the population and the commerce thereof. But its countries are so diverse, it is necessary to distinguish between them”. This presumes the Americas are the most important economic factor for the Monarchy itself, not just for the Americas; it is telling how aware Olavide is of the impact the Empire has on the Spanish Imperial and home economy.

In relation to population and identity formation, Olavide explains that: “this is already formed in some countries, but it is always advisable to increase it; in others, it is already formed, but it is necessary to promote it, and to allow for resources for those areas completely deserted, because they are important points for navigation, and it would therefore be convenient to populate them so that foreigners do not take hold of them and engage in contraband, thereby undermining our own commerce”

The first interesting point about Olavide’s take on the Americas is about positioning the individuals in strategic points for commerce and trade, about taking up space in key parts of the chessboard of the Atlantic trade. This kind of strategic population was not just present in the Americas. Herzog has noted that in the Eighteenth century, the Spanish court devised plans to revive the province of Extremadura, which bordered with Portugal as a form of delimiting and securing the border<sup>155</sup>. Interestingly, as we will see, when the plans are changed and the colony is set to take place in Sierra Morena, this will also be an effort to protect the route where much

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152 Alcázar Molina, C. (1930) *Las Colonias Alemanas de Sierra Morena: Notas y documentos para su historia*, Madrid, Universidad de Murcia

153 Olavide (ca. 1767) *Carta a su majestad sobre el envío de seis mil Alemanes a Puerto Rico*, AHN, Inquisición, leg. 3645, Unnumbered

154 Ibid op cit. p. 107

silver was carried between Cadiz and Madrid, and which was rife with crime, theft and contraband.

Regardless, Olavide is aware that the populations are not merely a group of people without a set of rules and norms; in fact Olavide goes on to suggest that where these norms are already in place, it might be extraordinarily difficult to change them:

“In those countries where the people are already formed, and in those where there is already a government, a colony of German workers will never succeed because all that are in America are black, slaves who work for their owners; and where there are Indians, they make them work in mines, since they are lazy and not adept to work in the fields.”

Taken in isolation, it would appear Olavide is seemingly accepting this is an *a priori* normal state of affairs in the Americas, with little criticism involved. His comment on the Indians is interesting, and suggests the creole identity is sufficiently removed from that of the Indians himself for him to make that statement. However, Olavide goes on to suggest that affairs need not be this way:

“In this way, in the Indies nobody works but Blacks. These are slaves who work with the greatest misery, and exposed to the will or caprice of their owners, *they are seen* as an inferior species, beaten and hated by all the whites. It is astounding how much the dignity heightens around being white in those dominions based on little else than one’s colour; they acquire a degree of distinction which means they want nothing to do with any particularly laborious work, nor that in the fields, nor any mechanical work”<sup>156</sup>

Olavide goes on to explain he fears that the Germans will be employed in this way, thereby undermining the entire purpose of the enterprise: to make these Germans work hard in the

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155 Herzog, T. (2015) *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press p. 141

156 The issue of slavery in Eighteenth century Spain is a problematic one that has not been the subject of any major study and is therefore beyond the scope of this paper. Much more could be made of Olavide’s thoughts on slavery, since this paper could really be understood as a thinly veiled critique of the Spanish granting away the rights to a trade that produced huge profits. This historiographical neglect might be due to the fact that Spain signed away the right to trade black slaves to the Britain in the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, who assigned the job to the South Sea company. This somewhat tarnishes Cadalso’s powerful argument against other European nations, as he will, wilfully or not, neglect to mention that it is likely the slave trade was conducted under the supervision of Viceroy in the Americas.

fields. Instead, Olavide suggests that what really matters in these countries is to increase the number of black people:

“What is important for these countries is that (...) for the sake of working the fields and therefore cultivate commerce and mercantile navigation, is to multiply the amount of Blacks. All the benefits that come from their introduction are further benefits of their useful population and their natural wealth”.

Olavide however, then goes on to explain how the population of the land itself is necessary; on the trip from Perú to Europe, he suggest that the only stopping point is the Portuguese island of Catalina, which is small, miserable and almost deserted. Instead, Olavide suggests that spots that could be appropriate for stopping points such as the Tierra del Fuego and the Strait of Magellan, between modern day Chile and Argentina, are of good climate and could be habitable, and it would be advisable to populate them before the English do.

These lands, Olavide suggests, are the ones that should be populated by the Germans, as they are devoid of customs that privilege the whites over other races. Furthermore, it is important that Spaniards join them, and are the dominant group, because “a colony made up of foreigners could not be considered a Spanish colony”. Olavide believes that the customs are inherent to a people, and if these people are ready to give themselves up to another power, there is nothing stopping them from jumping ship again when it is convenient; a degree of patriotism, or allegiance to the King, is needed: “They will always maintain their customs. It would be a mere congregation of peoples who would only think of themselves, without love or fidelity towards the King. A venal society, ready to hand itself over to the first who seduced it with the best offer, is one that we could not expect a vigorous defence from in case of invasion”.

In fact, Olavide suggests the best way to achieve assimilation into Spanish culture is to encourage the Germans to marry the Spanish and to deter marriages between the Germans themselves. The fact that Olavide focuses on population rites, rather than education or other forms of socialisation, shows Olavide is thinking about the long term implications of these colonies, rather than particularly enlightened values and the importance of education.

#### Early Lands of Opportunity: Demystifying Sierra Morena

It is unclear just what made the King’s Council change their mind over sending the Germans to the Americas, only to send them to Sierra Morena. Perhaps it was the fact that the region had long been depopulated. Alcazar Molina sees in the correspondence between the Spanish Ambassador in The Hague and the King’s Council the seed of the idea for increasing

colonisation, as the ambassador, Marquis del Puerto, marvelled at the forty thousand Hungarians and Germans who had travelled to Nova Scotia to settle there<sup>157</sup>.

The problem here lies around whether we should assess this colonisation as a product of the Enlightenment, or as the outcome of centuries of depopulation in Andalusia and strategic territorial needs. Deforneaux prefers the utopian vision: "The colonization of Sierra Leona would not have merited the interest of historians were it simply a late example of the idea of repopulating deserted and devastated regions, patiently pursued by the Spanish sovereigns from the early times of the Reconquista. Said Colonisation aims to be something entirely different, as we can see: it is an attempt at applying, over a limited terrain, the enlightened program of the government, set on modernizing Spain, at the risk of clashing with the most lodged traditions"<sup>158</sup>. However, this interpretation seems unlikely when we consider the timing as evidenced by the documents in the *Fuero*: It was on the very day of the expulsion of the Jesuits, April 2nd, 1767, that the Council made the decision to introduce 6,000 foreign settlers, mostly German or Flemish.

The region of Andalusia had been a headache for the Crown since the XIII century, and Eduardo Gutiérrez Julián sees parallels in the Eighteenth century plan with that of Felipe II: "In general, [the scheme for the colonisation] incorporated the vast Spanish experience with medieval repopulation from the XI century with some geographically close examples (...) and the colonisation of the Americas. Out of all these processes, one of the most influential was without a doubt that of the Kingdom of Granada by Felipe II in the last third of the XVI century, which it bears certain similarities to in terms of juridical and administrative implementation"<sup>159</sup>. In 1750, the political economist Juan de Santacilia, suggested the Marquis of Ensenada, Minister of Finance, War, the Navy and the Indies at the time, to establish a colony of foreign Catholics in Argentina, which would protect it strategically, but also diminish the population of other nations<sup>160</sup>.

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157 Ibid p. 8

158 Defourneaux, M. & Camaró, M. (1990) p. 133

159 Gutiérrez Julián (eds) & Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes Dirección General de Ordenación del Territorio (1993). *La Carolina : evolución del modelo territorial de la colonización*. Sevilla: Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, Dirección General de Ordenación del Territorio. p. 17

160 Guillamón Álvarez, J. (1994) p.42

But perhaps the most damning aspect of the lack of idealism involved in this plan is when we understand the migration dynamics involved in this colonisation, and in particular, the involvement of a human trafficker, Thürriegel, who we now turn to in an effort to better understand the development of the initiative behind the colonisation of Sierra Morena.

### Tricking Labourers into Purgatory: Cross-Cultural Trust in Thürriegel's Plans for German Migration

Why bring German labourers to the South of Spain to repopulate land? The latest research on Eighteenth century migratory movements from the ill-defined territory that would become Germany argues that the cause of the “push” factors involved harvest failures, declining economic opportunity and growing population pressure<sup>161</sup>. In an interesting twist on the slippery debate of the boundaries between free and unfree labour, Fertig argues that upon looking at the sources, it becomes clear that rarely were people concerned about the degree of free will in their decision making, rather it was the prospect of self-improvement- both economically and individually- that was paramount, if slightly curtailed by a religious moderation<sup>162</sup>. This supports a widely used explanation for migration which focuses on “push and pull” factors: the situation at home can push a worker away, and he can be pulled to a certain territory by the appeal of employment. As institutionalist as this model is, assigning little agency to the migrant, it certainly remains a prevalent model to explain migration dynamics, particularly at the scale that it took place in Early Modern Germany. But how could one convince German migrants to go to the land that Cadalso had described as a kind of French purgatory?

William O'Reilly's upcoming book on Eighteenth century human trafficking supports an alternative and refreshing view on migration dynamics, one which suggests that human traffickers were much more responsible for the “pull” than has previously been acknowledged: “It was more often directed by traffickers towards a specific territory because of the financial reward they would accrue and it was done so through their command of a niche market in information. By selling labour bonds – a *ceel* in Dutch – these traffickers sold on more than a person's labour; they sold their soul, or *ziel*. Contemporaries considered that these labour-bond sellers became 18th-century soul sellers, the beginning of the modern trafficker (...) They had to

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161 Häberlein, M. (2009) German Communities in Eighteenth Century Europe and North America, in Matjaz, K, Harres, M. *European Migrants, Diasporas and Indigenous Ethnic Minorities*, Pisa : Plus-Pisa University Press, pp. 19-35, p. 21

162 Fertig, G. (1999) Eighteenth Century Transatlantic Migration and Early German Anti-Immigration Ideology, in Lucassen, J. & Lucassen, L. *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern New York: P. Lang p. 285



convince would-be migrants of the benefits of migration, to the point of underhand deception (...) one definition of trafficking is the sourcing and supply of information leading to migration. In this regard, this is a story across time”<sup>163</sup>. In the migration to Sierra Morena, it was certainly the human trafficker Johan Kaspar von Thürriegel who crafted the “pull” element, and deceived the migrants by promising them a smooth sailing to Spain and general wellbeing upon arrival. Paid on commission, Thürriegel would unflinchingly put his interests above the mission repeatedly, something of a trend in these men who engaged in the selling of souls, as O’Reilly suggests<sup>164</sup>. Thürriegel would portray Spain as a paradisiac land, much like Columbus had once described the Americas.

Johan Kaspar von Thürriegel was born in Josersdorf, today’s Baviera, and after receiving a Jesuit education eventually took up a job as a juridical scribe. Thürriegel then jumped into a military career during the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748), where his courage was widely praised<sup>165</sup>. However, his allegiances followed his curiosity, as he enrolled in the French army shortly after, where he served a spy, and helped with the French takeover of the island of Menorca.<sup>166</sup> As he moved to Prussia to conduct another spy mission, he was promptly imprisoned. Upon becoming free again he tried to offer Frederik II of Prussia the recruitment of an army, which he turned down<sup>167</sup>. After failing to recruit armies over time, he turned to civil

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163 See the summary of the presentation of William O’Reilly’s book “*Sellers of Souls*”: *Colonist Agents and German Emigration to Pennsylvania and Transylvania, 1683-1780*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (Forthcoming) in the following link <http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/soul-seller-the-man-who-moved-people#sthash.ER4OjG5T.dpuf>

164 O’Reilly, W. (2004) *Competition for Colonists: Europe and Her Colonies in the Eighteenth century*, unpub. paper, Center for History and Economics, University of Cambridge, pp. 1- 29, p. 11 and Fenske, H. (1980) *International Migration: Germany in the Eighteenth Century*, *Central European History*, vol. 13, issue 4, pp. 332-347, p. 338

165 Suarez Gallego, J. (2002) *Cuenta General de la Contrata para la introducción de seis mil colonos alemanes y flamencos en Sierra Morena presentada por el asentista bávaro Johann Kaspar Von Thürriegel*, *Cronista Oficial de Guarromán y Consejero de Número del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, p.3

166 Hamer Flores, A. (2010) *Las Últimas Voluntades de Johann Kaspar von Thürriegel (1722-1800), Coronel Bávaro al servicio de Carlos III*, *Ambitos, Asociación de Estudios de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, num. 23, pp. 113-119, p. 114

167 Suarez Gallego, J. (2002) p. 4

recruitment, and it was only then that he ultimately had some success after meeting the Spanish ambassador to Vienna, who recommended that Charles III listen to his plans. After being rejected by Charles III, Thürriegel changed his tactics. If he could make his travels appear like a form of Grand Tour, he might be able to present himself as a noble man, rather than an avid pamphleteer. In this sense, much has been written about the Grand Tour and how it was seen as an exploration of sensibility, and Thürriegel drew on this logic to appear like something he was not<sup>168</sup>. By working his travels into a narrative that emphasised his knowledge and sensibility, Thürriegel made his way into the elite by claiming to be a descendant of Charles VII, the Holy Roman Emperor and Prince of Bavaria, and arguing his wife was a Baroness, for good measure<sup>169</sup>. It was only at this stage that the Monarch and his economic council approved the settlement of six thousand Germans in Sierra Morena.

The irony is that while much of the literature on the Enlightenment sees the genesis of the colonisation of Sierra Morena as a utopian attempt at creating a new state, energising the land and increasing consumption and for the sake of “national happiness”, not only was this practice not new, but it built on its military practices of recruitment of foreign soldiers to justify bringing in foreign labourers; it was truly a *raison d'état* logic<sup>170</sup>.

In fact, the Crown replicated the very structures that the reformers believed had led to the problem in the first place. Ferdinand VI had warned that transporting workers before setting up the infrastructure would be harmful to the state, an early warning of the state's perennial responsibility to absorb the risk factor of any private enterprise<sup>171</sup>. While Thürriegel would ultimately end up in prison because of his mismanagement of the enterprise, he was initially promised his own fixed post in the army and a set of entails; this kind of perennial employment was precisely what the reformers believed was undermining the principle of meritocracy they were trying to promote, and ultimately had tied the hands of the Crown since its foundation. And yet the Crown persevered with this approach, as F. Andújar Castillo has explained, the

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168 Green, N.L., (2002) *The Comparative Gaze: Travellers in France before the Era of Mass Tourism*, *French Historical Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3 pp. 423-440, p. 425

169 Hamer Flores, A. (2010) p. 114

170 Carmona Portillo, A. (2003) *Los Extranjeros en la Milicia Española: Análisis del Componente Foráneo en el Ejército de Guarnición en Ceuta durante el Siglo XVIII*, in García, M. & Cristóbal, P. *Los extranjeros en la España Moderna: Actas del I Coloquio Internacional, celebrado en Málaga del 28 al 30 de noviembre de 2002*. Málaga Spain: M.B. Villar, pp. 241-254

171 Alcázar Molina, C. (1930) p. 9

recruitment of soldiers had long been institutionalised, as offices dedicated to this mission had existed since the Seventeenth century<sup>172</sup>, and the granting of public or military posts as payment for the trading and settlement of people was a widely used practice by the Crown; such was the case that between 1762 to 1774, the entire financing of men required for the construction of the defensive system of the “Kingdom of Granada” was carried out in this way<sup>173</sup>. Among the soldiers employed to secure the protection of Granada was José de Cadalso<sup>174</sup>.

### Thürriegel's Propaganda

The text of propaganda that was disseminated in France and Germany was penned by Thürriegel and approved by Charles III. It began with the simple but effective theme that was used both by Montesquieu and Cadalso: The climatological influence on happiness.

“Everyone is aware that Spain has one of those happy climates in which heat and cold are simply not felt. The quality of its land makes its Kingdom the most fertile of Europe, surrounded by Seas which make for prodigious commerce”<sup>175</sup>. The first line is in fact very similar to Montesquieu’s description of France, as the perfect land of balance between the North and South. The second line would reinforce what most merchants knew in Germany, as Häberlein has found that in the second half of the Eighteenth century commercial relations between Germany and Spain flourished<sup>176</sup>, and it is likely that the German workers were aware of the *raison d’être* of these ties, and of the great benefits the German traders could accrue.

Thürriegel then engages in an opportunistic telling of the history of Spain, focusing on fluctuations of migration: “As the Romans conquered these vast states from the Carthaginians,

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172 Andújar Castillo (2003) La Privatización del Reclutamiento en el siglo XVIII: El Sistema de Asientos, *Studia Historica, Historia Moderna*, núm. 25, pp. 123-147, p. 136

173 Andújar Castillo (2002) Galones por Torres: La Financiación del Sistema Defensivo de la Costa del Reino de Granada, una operación venal del reinado de Carlos III, *Chronica Nova: Revista de Historia Moderna de la Universidad de Granada*, pp. 7-25, p. 9

174 Ibid p. 14

175 Thürriegel, J. (1767) *Avis au public : Bienfaits de sa Majesté Catholique en faveur des 6 miles colons Flamands et Allemands, du contrat de Mr. Jean Gaspard de Thürriegel pour leur introduction et établissement en Espagne*, Archivo Histórico Nacional, leg. 465, unnumbered. My own translation

176 Häberlein, M. (2009) p. 23

there were more than fifty million inhabitants, who always put their immense riches into their vast country, and found considerable profit in the exploration of the leftovers from the production of the land.

The Kingdom of Suevi, the Goths, the Alans, and the barbarians, subjugated these lands successively. The cruel wars and the conflicts left them depopulated. The expulsion of the barbarians and the conquest of the New World have exacted the depopulation that now afflicts the nation.

Different offers were made to populate these areas as they were left to the King after the extinction of their inhabitants, but the Monarch's busyness has been a repeated obstacle to his attention to this project, as it demands a huge project for its fulfilment.

The Reigning King, equally occupied with the happiness and the growth of its peoples, backs up the zeal of his ministers and has included a Latin translation of the memory of the project for the convenience of his readers”

In this way, Thürriegel gives a sweeping account of Spanish history as one of a prosperous ancient land which gradually lost its people, and which will improve its condition through the repopulation of its lands. While grossly overestimating the number of citizens in Roman Spain, the fact that Thürriegel emphasises such a large number can be taken as a sign that he is equating Roman glory with a large population. This is not only in line with the tradition spotted by Fertig, but also of the specifically German Cameralist fear of state collapse due to population loss<sup>177</sup>.

Thürriegel then states: “How few rights will the Monarch spare, upon recognising his industrious, laborious, Roman Catholic people, who will profit from his liberality(...)There is no point fearing disastrous events, which have affected those attracted to the glacial or arid countries, who have experienced the incommodities of a long transport and misery. Spain is so fertile, and it offers not the incommodities of the sea, which everyone would want to avoid, and the journey is so brief hat it doesn't even merit any concern, especially taking into account the speed with which we go everywhere, only to then receive the property of abundant lands (...) and the exemption from taxes for ten years (which are modest anyway) as justified by the clauses in the contract”

“An equitable and good willed government will grant the wishes to those young people who wish to marry in the Catholic rites, those who wish to marry before they depart will be the

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177 O'Reilly, W. (2004) p. 11

masters, and will be since seen as a family, which will be accorded the entire good will accorded by his majesty”

This piece of propaganda, used as it was to recruit Germans would prove hugely successful. The push and pull between individual entrepreneurial initiatives and state supervision was a constant theme throughout Spanish history, as Elliott has argued: “The Cortes expedition (...) fitted into a general pattern of behaviour developed in the course of the Iberian Reconquista and transported in the wake of Columbus to the Caribbean. Traditionally, the Reconquista had relied on a combination of state sponsorship and private initiative, the balance between them being determined at any given moment by the relative strength of crown and local forces. The monarch would capitulate with a commander, who in turn would assume responsibility for financing and organising the military expedition under the conditions outlined in the agreement(...)none of this would have been foreign to Cortes, whose father and uncle took part in the final stages of the Granada campaign. Not surprisingly, he pursued his conquest of Mexico as if he were conducting a campaign against the Moors. He tended to refer to Mesoamerican temples as mosques, and in making his alliances with local Indian caciques, or when inducing Montezuma to accept Castilian overlordship, he resorted to strategies often used against the petty local rulers of Moorish Andalusia”<sup>178</sup>.

What is surprising then is the sheer persistence of this economic exchange, and the fact that the Crown displayed such a lenient attitude towards Thürriegel despite Spain’s extensive and well documented experience with this commercial enterprise. Because Thürriegel was paid on the basis of the number of labourers he could bring, and was eager to be paid as soon as possible –possibly aware of the frivolity of his plan- the labourers were sent to the reconquered land of Andalusia before their houses had been built. As José de Cadalso, only miles away from these events, thought about just how to demonstrate the Christian righteousness of Cortés related to Enlightenment values and proved that valour was a central tenet of the Spanish, Olavide found himself struggling with religious forces that were needed to establish peace among the discontented labourers, ultimately reduced to employing violence against the labourers, in an attempt to convert the Germans not to Catholicism, but into *Spanishness*. The very separation of those two concepts of course, would prove to be a problem, and would lead to Olavide’s downfall.

#### Olavide’s Economic Solutions to Spain’s Problems: Informe de la Ley Agraria

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178 Elliott, J.H. (2006) p. 20

To understand what Olavide thought was wrong with Spain we need to turn to a piece he penned only a couple of months before being assigned the task of establishing the colony of Sierra Morena. On March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1768 Olavide wrote a piece titled *Informe de la Ley Agraria y cálculo sobre ella*, on the project of the Agrarian Law, an attempt by the Bourbon administration to combat the poor state of the economy<sup>179</sup>. The main thinkers who were in charge of delineating the lines of this project were government reformers. In line with the *arbitristas* they argued for the avoidance of setting up new entails and limiting the duration of their inheritance, however they were heavily influenced by Enlightenment discourse<sup>180</sup>. They became known as Jansenists during an attempt by the conservative side of the Crown's circle to purge the government of them. They agreed on the need to install in what they perceived to be a deeply superstitious population the pride that came from a Lockean understanding of labour, property and self. In order to do this, Campomanes, Jovellanos and Olavide would all aim to curtail the power of the "useless hands" of the Church and the nobility, defending what have been called Smithian ideas of free market, but were in fact just attempts at opening up the clogged bloodstream of Spanish commerce by creating a middling class that would stimulate the economy<sup>181</sup>. It is perhaps no coincidence that the year Olavide published this piece, the Inquisition of Seville collected a report that suggested his friendships with certain French figures, and his frequent trips there made him a suspect<sup>182</sup>.

One particularly distinct feature of Olavide's thought that separates his from the main writings of the rest of the group, is his marked defence of the dignity of the poor, and the emphasis on the

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179 Olavide, P. (ca. 1768) *Informe sobre la Ley Agraria y cálculo sobre ella*, Unnumbered manuscript, Consejo Real de Castilla, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Sala Goya

180 The ideological influences on Olavide's thought are simply beyond the scope of this paper. The literature on the influence of physiocracy in Spain is a complex one, with some arguing that the Inquisition's ban on texts from France meant that physiocratic texts often came via Italy, and were modified by Italian thinkers on the way. Olavide's library in Seville is supposed to have benefitted from the intellectual contraband that came via Cádiz, and it is known that he was familiar with Hume as well as the French philosophes. In this text Olavide references Mirabeau and several *arbitristas*, including Diego Saavedra, Pedro Navarrete and Pedro de Peralta to support his argument. For more on this topic see Recio, L. & Atard, V. (2002). *Barroco e Ilustración en las bibliotecas privadas españolas del siglo XVIII: Discurso leído el día 17 de marzo de 2002 en la recepción pública de*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, p. 169, Blas, L. (2013) *El Desarrollo Intelectual de Jovellanos en la Sevilla de Olavide*, *Dieciocho*, 36.1, 51-78, p. 71

181 Herr, R. (1969) p. 53 and H. R. Polt, J. (1964) p. 3

182 Molina, A. (1930) p. 52

idea that vast inequality is not good for the state. Olavide argues that the current laws “set the stage for monopolies, fraud, are useless to the poor, and are only lend further weapons to the powerful to frighten those in need”. This could be attributed to Olavide’s Creole origins, since the historiography has long argued that in the early Eighteenth century, during Olavide’s formative years, as Bohórquez Morán has shown many creoles felt they had conquered over the administration of their own areas and the economic resources, but resented the remaining political and economic inequality with the Madrid administration<sup>183</sup>. Here we see a parallel with Simon Bolivar, a contemporary of Olavide, who suggested Amerindians were no more than consumers and producers of gold at the service of Spain’s greed<sup>184</sup>. This hints at Benedict Anderson’s argument that it was in fact Latin American nationalism that shaped the nature of those in Europe; in Bolivar’s and Olavide’s words we see an awareness of the main theme of the nineteenth century Liberalism; economic inequality. This further reinforces the ties between this Atlantic realm and Europe<sup>185</sup>. After all, in South America, the asymmetry in powers and responsibility had existed since Spain remained the body politic, and America remained a vast extension, reminiscent of the globe that Atlas was burdened with sustaining.

Olavide’s advice for Atlas ultimately comes down to emulation, as he displays his awareness of European practices. He refers to Andalusia as “one of the most fertile territories in Europe” and compares Spain’s situation with England’s own in the Seventeenth century, as the English moved away from cattle and focused on labouring the land: “This is the system used by all nations(...)we find ourselves today in the same situation as England(...)it is about time that we come to terms with reality: it is time for us to let experience speak, and to be awoken by the example of the other nations. If we want to grow our population and our riches, let us do what they do”<sup>186</sup>. Unlike Cadalso, Olavide did not think the change should come from the nation’s past, but from present practices that were being developed elsewhere in Europe.

However, Olavide, much like Cadalso, is not afraid to show that in humanity’s race to progress and civilisation, Spain is far behind the “learned nations England, France, Switzerland and Spain”

183 Bohórquez Morán, C.L. (2006) *Francisco de Miranda: Precursor de las Independencias de la América Latina*. Caracas: Gobierno Bolivariano de Venezuela, Ministerio de la Cultura p. 30

184 Lynch, J. (1983) Simon Bolivar and the Spanish Revolution, *History Today*, vol. 33, issue 7, pp. 00-00

185 Anderson, B. (2006) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London New York: Verso p. 11

186 Olavide, P. (ca. 1768)

Holland". At one point Olavide suggests that due to the lack of infrastructure and the poor condition of the roads: "whatever foreigner might know us for our lands and nothing else would think we are barbarians".

The importance of the traveller's gaze in defining one's identity as already emphasised by Cadalso here takes on a whole new dimension, as Olavide effectively renders Spain's land to be barbaric in the eyes of the foreigner.

Olavide criticises the fact that it ill equipped and uninformed priests and friars who are assigned the care of the land, something which –Olavide avidly suggests- the Cardinal of Seville has already complained about. Interestingly, to support this argument, Olavide chooses a series of successful examples in the Americas, particularly those implemented by Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Bishop of Puebla in Mexico and brief occupant of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, who in turn recommended following the agricultural practices of Portugal, and the third Mexican Synod. For Olavide, the New World could inform the Old.

Olavide further displays a great awareness of the main constraints faced by the Spanish state throughout history: "Had we in centuries past shared out these lands, they would have treated more equally. In those days favours and strength were everything, and would give preferential treatment to some after a country was conquered, when it was shared out between the seven or eight who helped it with arms. The priests and other ecclesiasts were paid for the orations that had helped conquer a country, and the preferred received the reserves, thereby leaving the people in poverty (...) heaven has reserved the immense responsibility of sharing out the land with greater equity for this century, which counts with an enlightened government"

Olavide's sycophantic reference to Charles III somewhat neutralises the virulent tone used against the Church. Olavide's solution is the development of further public works which "adorn the nation...foment the population and agriculture, they make my zeal and the love I feel for my patria grow". Were the foreign traders who have accumulated their wealth from Cadiz and Seville allowed to participate in Spain's economic activity further, some of the money they have made might just circulate back into the state's coffers.

Olavide then returns to the topic of Andalusia, arguing that he might be underestimating the extent of its deserted areas when he estimates two thirds of the land is empty, where he complains about how the lack of authorities entices thievery on the road from Cadiz to Madrid. This is something that Tamar Herzog has also noticed, arguing that "Eighteenth century monarchs sought to improve their knowledge of their territory(...)yet even in the late Eighteenth



century, even in Europe, some parts of their territories and huge tracts of their borders were fairly unknown, inaccessible and badly controlled<sup>187</sup>.

### The Context of the Colonisation of Sierra Morena

A fundamental problem with the enterprise of settling foreigners in a piece of land is that, while it may be empty, it doesn't mean it doesn't present a challenge to territorial and ideological authorities that surround it. Furthermore, considering the population problems faced by the Andalusian region, the question of why to choose to provide labour for foreigners rather than locals could understandably raise some anger among the neighbouring towns.

The urban arrangement of the colonies mirrored that of the colonies in the Americas; a rectangular set of roads, with the space at the centre occupied by the three pillars of the state, the religious, political and economic buildings<sup>188</sup>. Many of the Germans who arrive are in fact old and have no experience in working the fields; many are from questionable walks of life, but regardless of their experience, all of them suffer from the heat of Andalusia and many have to be attended to in hospitals. The numbers are notoriously evasive because of the amount of people who tried to escape upon arrival. In 1768 the population was a scarce 2,130<sup>189</sup>. Neighbouring towns, directed by wealthy cattle owners, already offended by the initial apparent prioritisation of those foreigners attack and pillage the colonies<sup>190</sup>. The Crown sends an adviser, Pérez Valiente, to assess the situation, who remarks there is a greater need for authority and discipline, and he proposes a closer involvement of the Church<sup>191</sup>. In line with his advice, the Crown finances the transportation of a group of Capuchin priests, led by Fray Friburgo. The reasons behind the clash that will arise between Friburgo and Olavide are complex and will be assessed below. For now, we should simply consider that as the circumstances in the colonies fail to improve greatly, Fray Friburgo sidesteps the Spanish authorities, particularly the Crown, and begins a correspondence with the Spanish ambassador to Rome, close to the Inquisition, and the German

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187 Herzog, T (2015) p. 141

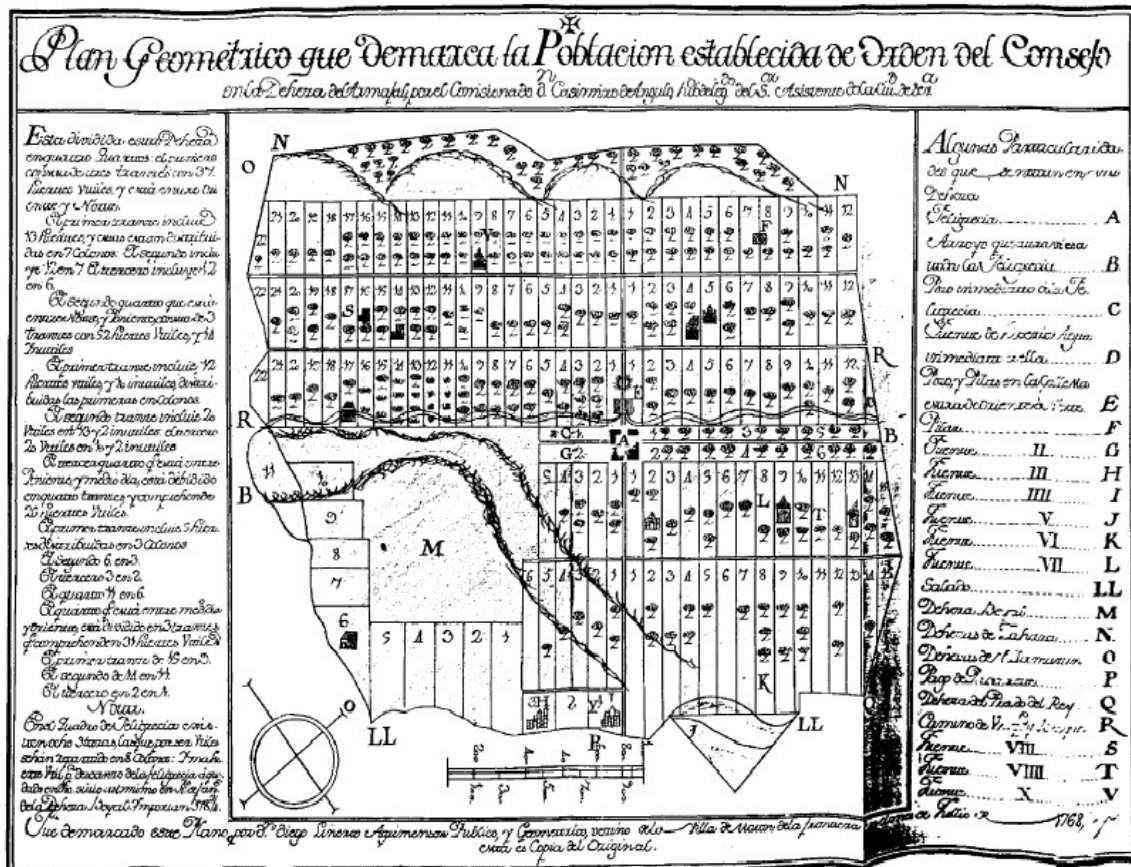
188 Latorra Garcia, J (2005) *La ilustración: en el centenario de la muerte de Pablo de Olavide*, Úbeda, Centro Asociado de la UNED "Andrés de Vandelvira", Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Jaén y Caja Rural de Jaén, p. 115

189 Molina, A (1930) p. 40

190 Latorra Garcia, J (2005) p. 28

191 Molina, A (1930) p. 30

ambassador to Spain and accuses Olavide of a mixture of cruelty towards the people and religious impiety, somewhat personifying the attacks made to Spain as part of the Black Legend<sup>192</sup>. What follows is Olavide's response.



A Civilised State: Olavide's Clash with the Capuchins in his Letter to the King's Council

192 Ibid p. 52. For the key components behind the Black Legend see Gergerson, L. & Juster, S. (2013) *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic*, Penn Press p. 46

Warned by his friends at the Council that Friburgo's accusations were mounting, Olavide was encouraged to write a reply, which he did on July 29<sup>th</sup> 1772. In this letter Olavide employs the regalist narrative to justify his actions, which allows him to portray the Capuchins as an obstacle to the development of a useful population, and ultimately posits the Capuchins as opposing the needs of the *patria*.

Olavide's first point is a powerful one: Time is a cherished commodity, and its value is determined not by the Church, but by the state. This was something that irked the Spanish reformers, making sure people lived the lives according to the clocks as set by the state, not according to the tolling of the bells. Campomanes had forcefully defended labour as a means of self-development that could keep fear and superstition at bay<sup>193</sup>, and had specifically defended removing the Catholic references to death, whether that be in sermons or in the presence of cemeteries at the heart of towns<sup>194</sup>.

Defourneaux finds Olavide's desire to *hispanise* the German population to be the source of conflict with the Capuchins, since it undercut their power and the very purpose of their presence there, and argues that the conflict in ideology between the "Smithian" reformers and the "Christian communist" ethic of the Franciscan has also been a source of interest<sup>195</sup>. However, the documents do not hint at either conflict, since matters on the ground were much more haphazard than clear cut ideological divisions would allow for. We will therefore limit the reach of our conclusions to what we can extract from this text<sup>196</sup>.

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193 López Egido, T. (1989) *Actitudes religiosas de los ilustrados*, in Ministerio de Cultura, vol. I, p. 234

194 López Egido, T. (1989) p.234

195 Defourneaux, M. & Camaró, M. (1990) p. 142

196 To some extent, the problem can also be understood through economic lenses: the Franciscan Capuchins constituted a very convoluted example of a sojourning middleman minority, which Edna Bonaich claimed, play the role of middleman between producer and consumer, employer and employee, owner and renter, elite and masses"; their "'future time orientation" clashes with that of settlers and "natives," "who generally wish to live more rounded lives since they do not aim to live elsewhere". Instead of adapting to the host society: "they have every reason to keep deeply alive the regional and broader ethnic tie, for these relationships will persist in the future towards which the sojourner points". There is much more to be said about the implications of associating religious communities with the concept of middleman minorities, but for the sake of our paper, the conclusion we can draw from this insight is that the even in the Eighteenth century, colonisation was hard to enact without friction between Church and state. See Bonaich, E (1973) *A Theory of Middleman Communities*,

Olavide begins his exculpatory defence by suggesting that the Capuchins opposed working on Sundays. This was an issue even at the beginning of the project, when the workers precipitated into the colonies and illnesses rapidly spread because of “aggravating natural conditions”. The truth is that the houses had not been built before Thürriegel, carried by his zeal, shipped off the workers. It was then up to the military and the workers to build their own houses, and churches, but Olavide’s name was too associated with the project to accept this early mistake. Olavide’s use of natural disasters- feigned or real- for public gain is uncanny. Olavide further portrays the Capuchins as fanatically opposed to labour, as he explains that amid this chaos the Capuchins not only failed to contribute to the commands made by the colonel, but in fact discouraged the workers from building these houses. One is tempted to compare this separation of powers with the discourse used by Spain during the expulsion of the Jesuits, but there was in fact none. Unlike Portugal, Charles III simply issued his vague thoughts on the matter as sufficient evidence and declared his reasons were not to be known by the public, forbidding any public debate on the topic on pain of death<sup>197</sup>. Olavide’s rhetorical move was instead far more impressive.

The opposition between the colonel as representative of the military-fiscal state and the Capuchins as a dated, archaic religious body in need of reform is a recurrent theme throughout the letter, although Olavide is frequently wise enough to separate the Capuchins from the Spanish religious authorities. This distinction comes in the following line in the form of a criticism of the Capuchins’s desire to avoid working during their own religious holidays, not just Spanish holidays. This is all the worse because those workers who are generally lazy “listen to this doctrine with gusto, as the sermon was filled with the most docile of workers”. Having separated the Germans from the Spanish Catholic church sufficiently, Olavide allows himself a thinly veiled Jansenist statement in the ensuing line, arguing for the value of experience rather than blind faith. Returning to his point about working on Sunday, he suggests it is “common practice in all Spanish provinces and all the bishops allow it, that the workers can reap their harvest even on a Sunday. Experience has exposed the risk the crops face; in a matter of a day one can lose the product of the sweat of his labour and his family’s wellbeing”.

Olavide’s main point then becomes the Capuchin’s capacity for disruption of the military-catholic state that he envisions for the colonies. Olavide tells the tale of a Spanish worker who died in the fields. The Capuchins refused to bury him because they did not consider him deserving, argues Olavide, since he had no friends or family. The colonel, whose name

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*American Sociological Review*, vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 583-594.

197 Vogel, C (2010) The Suppression of the Society of Jesus, 1758-1773, (EGO), *Institute of European History (IEG)*, Mainz, pp. 1-56, p. 23

Olavide never mentions, made the inspector open the cemetery and the Spaniard in question received the appropriate burial. Olavide asks who then has given the right to these Capuchins to publicly denigrate the fame of a worker who serves the King and executes the orders of his commander.

Olavide's effort to demonstrate the disruptive role of the Capuchins to the Monarch becomes evident when he follows up the previous extract by saying that the Capuchins encouraged desertion, further emphasizing the militaristic aspect of the project: "it is so unbelievable that the very Capuchins who have come here to serve the king act in such a way against him, that I wouldn't dare to insinuate such a thing had we not apprehended deserters with letters of these Capuchins aimed at fellow Capuchins in Germany." On the same bundle of the Inquisition's papers, there are several letters of the Capuchins writing to Germany and a particularly early example of one written to the French order of the Capuchins, written by the "General of the Capuchins", presumably Friburgo, is dated April 1<sup>st</sup> 1770.

And yet, despite all of these elegant rhetorical moves of Olavide's, his final master stroke is an attack of the old fashioned manner of colonization, the crucible of Spain; that which watched as merchant and priests haphazardly colonized the Americas: "You might wonder why these religious men who have come here out of obedience, who have found a better country, a climate sweeter than theirs, where they each enjoy a salary that far outweighs their needs (...) have such a strong conatus, so perseverant and insatiable to leave. I have also wondered many times and I cannot attribute it but to the fact that these priests want to see themselves as the Missionaries of Sierra Morena, thinking they were coming here to their missions and therefore expecting a despotic and absolute degree of authority which their fellows have in the missions of the Indies. This is certainly to blame for the early pretensions, when they asked to create labels to be placed on their homes and to be assigned a minister at their disposition as a means to punishing the workers, and other such evils in line with their despotism which I have outlined above."

Just as in most accounts separating the needs of the two regions, Olavide argued that Spain, unlike the Americas, did not need to be civilized<sup>198</sup>. Through this subtle play on alterity, Olavide implied the Spanish were considered barbarians by these Capuchins, having himself hinted, as we saw earlier, at the fact that travellers may well judge Spain from its infrastructure as barbaric. Positing their attitude as prejudiced, Olavide could portray his efforts to be in line with the state's own attempts to preserve Spanish civilisation. Portraying this conflict as one of civilizational and international differences was not uncommon. In fact, territorial, religious and international conflict often conflated on both sides of the Atlantic. As Herzog has argued, the

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198 Cardim, P., Herzog, T., Ruiz Ibañez, J.J. (2012) p. 148

conflict between Spain and Portugal over this period was heavily related to religious principles: “Rather than being “national” (avant la lettre) or purely territorial, the conflict between Spain and Portugal thus also involved rivalries between different religious orders. It provoked debates over whether conversion was more important than extending royal sovereignty and territory(...) Missionaries got involved in such discussions because their activity depended on royal permission but also because they hoped to recruit financial and military support to the conversion effort(...)in the process becoming not only conquerors and pacifiers but also councillors, diplomats, jurists, and military men”<sup>199</sup>

And yet the main point to take from Olavide’s comment allows us to turn to the most critical aspect of this paper, which we pointed to in our introduction and we can now recover: the conceptual space between conquest and colonisation was one of the most important ones of the history on both shores of the Early Modern Atlantic world: It was this space that the polemics of possession that were debated by Antonio Nebrija, Francisco de Vitoria and Bartolome de las Casas in the Sixteenth century tried to regulate<sup>200</sup>, it was the equivocation between the cruelty of conquest and the fairness of the subsequent colonist administration that allowed the Black Legend to ferment and grow to a point that the British and the French used it to win the ideological war of colonial justification over Spain. Critically, it was this space that Cadalso conflated with Spanish greatness, as he saw fairness in conquest and bravery as the mark of Spain’s greatness. Arguably, it was even the core weakness at the foundation of the Ferdinand’s administration, having signed away the power to truly administer their power at a regional level by repaying the local elites with too much control over the land.

### **Conclusion**

This paper has tried to address how movements of peoples and cross-culturalism defined national identities. We have traced the identity of one nation and its empire, and in that respect we can be faulted for methodological nationalism. However, that was precisely the point of our endeavour, to understand how a “Spanish American” and a Spanish soldier saw the Crown’s territories, both the peninsula and the Americas. Within that enterprise, we have attempted to question precisely all those approaches that have tended to see the nation as static, and as it is today, and we have assessed how Europeans and Spaniards understood the agricultural problems of the nation and the economic colander that was the Empire.

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199 Herzog, T. (2015) pp. 92-93

200 Gergerson, L. & Juster, S. (2013) pp. 19-36

### Integrating Movements of People into Early Modern Narratives of Rise and Decline

Narratives of rise and fall are incredibly powerful and should almost occupy their own place in their historiography. Further study should go into whether they are suitable in this day and age, when we are aware that military prowess might at once have counted more in determining the perception of a nation's success than its economic circumstances. This requires a marked separation between what was felt to be decline, and what we understand today as decline. Elliott hinted at this distinction when trying to explain the logic behind the Seventeenth century European and national perception –for a reference of South American views on this we would have to develop Cañizares-Esguerra's groundwork- of Spanish decline: “the lack of war victories implies decline over this period of internal stability and relative peace”<sup>201</sup>.

Adding the dimension of certain Eighteenth century understandings of people's movements into this rhetoric helps to sharpen our perception of how decline was perceived in the Eighteenth century, and may always unearth further economic evidence of cross-cultural interactions. Losing sizable parts of the population to other areas in Europe meant losing economic agents, and it sent an image of weakness to other nations. Spain, on the other hand, suffered from high levels of poverty and therefore had a high mortality rate; all these things were known in the Eighteenth century, and were seen as a source of Spain's weakness<sup>202</sup>. Labour migration then contrasts with the Grand Tours, so prevalent in the Eighteenth century. While recent scholarship has argued that the Grand Tours never really took off as a practice in Spain, this undermines the degree of travelling carried out by individuals such as Cadalso or Olavide<sup>203</sup>. Furthermore, it does not take into account Spain's historical circuits around most of Europe, as established by Philip II, which still played a role in the public imagination.

In any case, we can safely suggest that the Spanish internal movement of people was intricately tied with the need to revamp the nation's agricultural economy, often following radical political changes, such as the expulsion of the Jesuits, which implied a loss of educated citizens. In fact, many of the exiled Jesuits ended up taking refuge in Italy, where Campomanes, the main

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201 Elliott, J.H. (2006) p. 121

202 Israel, J. (2013) p. 375

203 Recio, M. (2012) *Viajeros Españoles en Pompeya (1748-1936): Ecos de un Descubrimiento*, Madrid: Polifemo

economic advisor to Charles III compensated them for penning nationalistic histories in order to improve the image Italians had of Spain at the time<sup>204</sup>.

And this brings us to a very important nuance of this paper, the importance of propaganda in the pursuit of labour migration in the Eighteenth century, which relied extensively on the promise of a better land and a more comfortable future. That Campomanes financed these Jesuits shows not just that he believed the image had to change, but that he believed that efforts *could be done* to change it. The perception of a nation could fluctuate across borders and groups of society. High culture has received a great deal of attention, and in a historiography that felt comfortable asserting that Spain was seen –rather than suggesting it was carefully portrayed- as barbaric by pointing to the writings of the French philosophes, some cracks begin to emerge in this interpretation the moment we analyse the ideas associated with Columbus and Cortés in France, and when we avoid high culture altogether, we can note the efficiency of Thürriegel's propaganda in attracting the uneducated labourers from Germany. Further, and more nuanced distinctions are required when making assertions about how foreign nations perceived Spain. Studying the ties and accounts of the travellers and migrants can help us present a more comprehensive picture, something that Herzog has also noted: “legal and intellectual history certainly bound different parts of Europe together, as did their “republic of letters”, but it is clear that intellectuals, jurists, administrators, settlers, soldiers and merchants were also engaged in such similar conversation”<sup>205</sup>.

Integrating further movements of people can help us better understand how different individuals perceived growth and decline, whether they drew on a nation's climate or its history, and how this affected the very policy making of the perceived nation in response. Herzog has tried to make a valiant attempt at showing how processes of differentiation of peoples were not all that different on both sides of the Atlantic: “By that time [Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries] whether openly admitted or silently suggested, the Americas became a metaphor that contemporaries used in order to understand European peasants(...)they were just as pagan, savage, and uncultured. Like Indians, or even worse, these Europeans lacked all social and political organisation. The Indies, these friars said, were everywhere, Europe included”<sup>206</sup>. As

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204 Astorgano Abajo, A. (2003) El Mecenazgo Literario de Campomanes y los Jesuitas Expuslos, in D. Mateos (ed.), *Campomanes doscientos años después. Congreso Internacional Campomanes (1723-1802)*, Oviedo, Instituto Feijoo de estudios del siglo XVIII, pp.269-311

205 Herzog, T. (2015) p. 259

206 Ibid p. 146



tantalising a conclusion as that is, if true, it somewhat undermines Herzog's better researched conclusion from her work on polycentric rule- which we analysed earlier- where Herzog suggested the division between Spain and the Americas was that the latter needed to be civilised<sup>207</sup>. Of course, one could argue her point remains when talking specifically about the *fronterizos*, but it then remains unclear whether this was just an idea of the Jesuits (the bulk of the sources Herzog uses to make this point) or a generalised one, across the Crown's administration, legal documents and the reformers, the latter of whom would have favoured a less religious set of labourers with little education<sup>208</sup>. As we saw, Cadalso favoured a different view himself, one that portrayed Mexican civilisations as capable, self-dependent and courageous. In turn, Olavide effectively used the portrayal of Spain as barbaric against the Capuchins. We then suggest instead the mutability and variability of the terms barbarism and civilisation as means of discerning national identities and differentiating across territorial spaces. Analysing the uses of terms such as these in discourses can help us carve out a greater understanding in Eighteenth century perceptions of emerging national identities and other ideas such as progress. This in turn affects the way we look at sweeping accounts of decline across an entire nation when perceived from outside. Critically, the fact that we mirror this epistemology by insisting on using these blunt-edged utensils of rise and decline should make us think twice about our own approach to history.

#### Centralised Folly: The Institutional Dimensions of Eighteenth century Spain

Our study of conquest and civilisation certainly frames Cadalso's dream form of patriotic behaviour within a broader Early Modern European discourse, one that feared the loss of martial values while it stared in wonder at what it coldly saw as scientific progress. Many similar discourses were developed in the Enlightenment, but can also be traced back to much earlier through the Neo-Latin literature. Olavide's plans for the Americas and for the agricultural reform of Spain both draw on European and American precedents, on the other hand, his organisation of Sierra Morena and his defence against the Capuchins is very much unrelated to Enlightenment values; the attachment to the Crown came from language, something that Francisco de Vitoria had established when setting the conceptual groundwork for colonisation, and Christianity should still play a central role in people's lives<sup>209</sup>.

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207 Cardim, P., Herzog, T., Ruiz Ibañez, J.J. (2012) p. 148

208 Mackay, R. (2006) "*Lazy, improvident people*": *Myth and Reality in the writing of Spanish history*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press p. 25

209 Gergerson, L. & Juster, S. (2013) p. 24

However, both Cadalso's and Olavide's lives point to a generalised fear of the Enlightenment and the disruption of the status quo. If Cadalso's work shows how instructive alterity can be in thinking about tolerance and defining one's identity, Olavide's fate ultimately shows how easily alterity can be used to conflate values and behaviours. Olavide's clash with the Capuchins was ultimately portrayed by the Inquisition as a conflict with the Catholic faith. The documents that remain as evidence of Olavide's sinful behaviour generally focus on his faulty management of Sierra Morena, often zone in on the cruel treatment of the priests and his questionable understanding of religion. Jonathan Israel has interpreted the Inquisition's attack on Olavide as a show of strength; one could add a show of strength of a dying institution. This is easy to conclude with hindsight and the historiographical construct of Enlightenment within reach, but one has to wonder what exactly led the Inquisition to chase down Olavide.

One possible interpretation, which applies to Cadalso, Olavide and Thürriegel, is the recurrent influence of their Jesuit education. In the case of our two main characters, we know that both received an education that would have been questionable in the peninsula, since as Elliott has suggested, the mid-century Jesuit teaching in the Americas was far more enlightened than that in Spain, and Cadalso's education at the College Louis le Grand certainly shaped what he defined as an early French disposition to life. Whether we can see this as a triangular power struggle, with the Inquisition, the Crown and the Jesuits on each side, with one side –the Jesuits- ultimately losing, is a question worth considering, but requires further research to answer.

However, this perceived influence of Jesuit thought might be a foil for the Inquisition, since it doesn't necessarily reflect many of the insights made by Olavide and Cadalso. In his thoughts on education, Olavide adamantly expressed a desire to purge Jesuit works, and Perdices Blas has understood this to be part of his regalistic interpretation of power, arguing "a regalist like Olavide cannot accept the Jesuits' theory that the legitimacy of power depends on the consent of its citizens"<sup>210</sup>. If we contrast this with Cadalso, his values as expressed in his portrayal of Cortés and his questioning of the value of the Enlightenment do seem to rely on an entrenched form of Catholicism that might oppose religious change.

Instead, there might be another aspect to this question that is worthy of greater consideration. After all, in losing the Jesuits, it was the reforming members of the Crown –the Jansenist movement- who lost power. This is reflected in Campomanes readiness to use the Jesuits in Italy, and points to a latent struggle at the heart of the Crown. This struggle is symptomatic of a greater illness at the heart of the state: The weakness of Charles III and his Council.

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210 Blas, L. (1992) p. 67

For all the talk of Eighteenth century state centralisation, and the rhetoric of progress that is lodged in certain historiographical assumptions, we have seen how the state was still very much a fallible entity. Proof of this is how easily Charles III was fooled by Thürriegel's ill-advised plans, which could well have led to an international conflict featuring Spain, Greece, Germany and France. The remarks of the German ambassador to Spain during the implementation of the plan for Sierra Morena suggested that the German labourers would return to Germany upon seeing exactly what Spain had to offer, and this is significant<sup>211</sup>. Elliott has shown that much of Spain's strategic thinking in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth century was based on the need to easily move across their dominions; this is the alleged reason behind the maintenance of a strong relationship with the eternal enemy, France, since Spain had to physically traverse France to reach the Netherlands and other areas<sup>212</sup>. The German ambassador's response thus shows the complete lack of economic and political credibility the Spanish crown faced in a European context, despite, as we showed in our background section, the praise the Bourbon reforms of imperial management received<sup>213</sup>. In the growing science of political economy, one which often divorced itself from its historical roots, the Spanish Crown, regardless of the debates around its past greatness, had little to show in terms of national happiness.

While the colonisation and population of the Americas drew on past practices, this did not mean that progress was inevitable. While many members of the Castilian nobility had long been hiding their loss of fortunes by putting up appearances, it does appear that Cadalso, Olavide and Thürriegel found it particularly easy to weave their way into the Crown's circles through wealth and their heritage. Faulty government management has nothing to do with the degree to which the Enlightenment spirit of change touched Spain, since faulty government implementation was not solely a Spanish problem. In fact, it was John Law's trickery in the form of the Mississippi Company that frightened France into the cautious economic practices such as Colbertism and physiocracy. In conclusion then, centralised power then did not mean wise rule, but it could lead the any reformer to desperation. As Albert Hirschman said of Adam Smith, it was not government that he despised, but its folly<sup>214</sup>.

#### Between Moors and Creoles: A Small Peninsula in the Atlantic World of the Enlightenment

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211 Ibid p. 368

212 Elliott, J.H. (2002) p. 80

213 Paquette, G. (2007) Enlightenment Narratives and Imperial Rivalry in Bourbon Spain: The Case of Almodovar's *Historia Política de los Establecimientos Ultramarinos de las Naciones Europeas (1784-1790)* *The Eighteenth Century*, vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 61-80, p. 62

The emphasis throughout this article has been to understand how the problems in the peninsula, as a territory, were perceived, but this could not have been done without Cadalso and Olavide's thoughts and insights on the Americas. By analysing the thinking of Cadalso and Olavide, we have seen the importance the imagery of the Atlantic played in the Early Modern European imagination. But both also serve to challenge our perceptions of Early Modern soldiers and creoles, and their respective falls from grace indicate the degree of difficulty involved in any institutional and social reform in the land where the Inquisition and public censorship stood strong. Our analysis has allowed us to trace the influence of Seventeenth century economic ideas on Spanish policy making to the seeds of Liberalism and its emphasis on inequality, and to contextualise the Enlightenment therein. We have analysed how Spain often understood the Americas as the land of gold and silver, and how contemporaries believed the mismanagement of these resources affected the peninsula. Territorially, we have seen how Spain had yet to finish colonising its peninsula in the Eighteenth century by establishing a greater asymmetry of powers with the Church and the nobility, and making these more accountable.

Ideologically, as national identities began to crystallise in the Eighteenth century, Spain was an imperial state stripped of any possibility to build on its historical imagery. Its Moorish past was seen as peripheral to that of Europe and civilisation and the Christian basis of the Reconquista was portrayed as barbaric. From the Sixteenth and Seventeenth to the Eighteenth century, France and England, - partly thanks to the language of the scientific revolution- portrayed the state increasingly as a body politic that had a personality, a psychology of its own, as determined by its *moeurs*, a concoction of the nation's climate, history and its cultural production over the Eighteenth century. Spain struggled to weave earlier ties the rest of Europe into a cogent identity. Barbara Fuchs has shown that England largely drew its Early Modern Atlantic identity from Spain, "England's own understanding of its place in the transatlantic world was fundamentally indebted to Spain, despite whatever confessional differences the Reformation may have introduced"<sup>215</sup>. Cañizares-Esguerra has similarly suggested England and Spain began with similar religious justifications of Conquest, both "deployed similar discourses to explain and justify conquest and colonisation, part of a long-standing Christian tradition of holy violence aimed at demonic enemies within and without"<sup>216</sup>. In spite of this, the Christian influence on the

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214 Hirschman, A (2013) *Passions and the Interests: Political arguments for capitalism before its triumph*. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press p. 104

215 Gergerson, L. & Juster, S. (2013) p. 59

216 Esguerra, J. (2006) p. 9

movements of people that were at the core of both Spanish conquests, those of the Moors and of the Conquistadores, was vilified by the English and the French. The discourse of progress allowed Eighteenth century intellectuals in France and England, among other European nations, to successfully disassociate their nation's identity from this legacy, although Marxist and post-modern analyses would later point the hypocrisy of their discourse.

In response, Spain was unable to conquer alterity and produce a symmetrical and coherent identity for itself; it would take the advent of Romanticism for the so called European gaze to reverse the features of Spain's decadence into a beacon of beauty, nature and nostalgia, even if the peninsula remained largely agricultural and underdeveloped until the early Twentieth century. Caught between the orientalist identity of the Moors and the flourishing nationalism of the departing Creoles, the Spanish struggled to populate and energise the land of the Reconquista and to regulate the colonies of the New World.

Nonetheless, these negative tropes about Spain were turned upside down by both Cadalso and Olavide, drawing on their understandings of alterity in order to try to help Spain economically and ideologically. Cadalso's *Gazel* allowed him to critically analyse Spain, defend values of toleration and pierce through one of the greatest illusions about the Enlightenment, even if his Spanish guide Nuño could not see past the dazzling glory of Cortés conquest and at times failed to account for the problems of colonisation. Olavide's thoughts on the Americas, Spain's needs and his rhetorical move against the Capuchins all show a great deal of awareness of how emulation across the Atlantic could provide both economic and ideological solutions to the negotiated space that stood between conquest and complete colonisation.

25,307 words

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