



Society for Spanish & Portuguese Historical Studies

VOLUME III: NUMBER 3

MAY 1975

SSPHS ANNUAL CONFERENCE: SPRING 1976

The Seventh Annual Conference of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies will be held in the spring of 1976 at The Johns Hopkins University. Richard Kagan, of The Johns Hopkins University, will be program chairman. All SSPHS members who wish to propose programs for the conference, or to participate in a program, should write directly to Richard Kagan, History Department, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland 21218. Further details about the conference, including the exact date, will appear in the autumn issue of the NEWSLETTER.

In 1976 The Johns Hopkins University will be celebrating its centennial anniversary, and for the occasion it has invited distinguished scholars in various fields to the campus. The Department of History will have as its guest Fernand Braudel, who will give one of his public lectures at the Annual SSPHS Conference. Professor Braudel is the author (*inter alia*) of *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen de Philippe II*, 2 vols. (1949; revised in the English edition, 1972-73). A professor at the Collège de France from 1949 to 1972, Professor Braudel was first director of l'École pratique des Hautes Études from 1937; then Directeur du Centre de Recherches historiques from 1948. From 1956 he was the Président de la VI^e Section (Sciences économiques et sociales) de l'École pratique des Hautes Études).

ELECTIONS OF SSPHS OFFICERS, 1975-76

Enclosed with this issue of the NEWSLETTER is a ballot for the elections of SSPHS officers for the academic year, 1975-76. The slate has been prepared by the Nominating Committee: Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, Richard Herr, and John H. Elliott.

Members of the SSPHS are asked to return their marked ballots by *October 1* to Professor Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, Department of History, New York University, Washington Square, New York, N.Y. 10003.

(Ballot on page 47)

newsletter

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To promote research in the fields of Spanish and Portuguese history

GENERAL SECRETARY: Michael Weisser

EDITOR: Joan Connelly Ullman

NEWSLETTER

Editorial Assistant: Joan B. Manzer

All correspondence should be addressed to The Editor, NEWSLETTER, Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, Department of History, Smith Hall DP-20, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98195.

The NEWSLETTER is published three times each year and is distributed to members of the Society.

The editor welcomes news about research in progress, recent publications, archival notes, bibliographic essays, short reviews of recent foreign language publications, personal honors; and news of professional meetings of interest to Iberian scholars.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1974-75

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MEMBERSHIP DUES

Students and associate (nonacademic) members	- - -	\$ 5.00
Assistant professors, instructors, and foreign faculty	- - - - -	\$10.00
Associate and full professors	- - - - -	\$12.00
Institutions	- - - - -	\$15.00

All information concerning membership and other Society matters should be addressed to Michael Weisser, General Secretary, SSPHS, Department of History, CCNY, New York, N.Y. 10031

The MEMBERSHIP LIST will be published in the Spring issue. Any member desiring a copy before that time should send a *stamped and self-addressed* envelope.

INGRESO DE DOMINGUEZ ORTIZ
EN LA REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA

El día 28 de abril 1974 ingresó Antonio Domínguez Ortíz en la Real Academia de la Historia, al cabo del año para la elección de la medalla tres, que antes fuera de Antonio García Bellido, y mucho más atras, de Miguel Asín Palacios. Presidió la sesión Jesús Pabón.

El discurso de Domínguez Ortíz, titulado "El Regimen Señorial y el reformismo borbónico," ha sido publicado en una separata (1974).

El discurso de contestación estuvo a cargo de Antonio Rumeu de Armas quien ofreció un resumen de los trabajos de Domínguez Ortíz. Los dividió en tres grupos: los estudios socioeconómicos, las obras de síntesis, y los de tema sevillano.

En el primer grupo se destacan cuatro obras fundamentales: *La Sociedad española del siglo XVIII* (1955); *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV* (1960); la *Sociedad Española del siglo XVII* (4 tomos):

Vol. 1, "El Estamento nobiliario," 1963; Vol. 2, "El Estamento eclesiástico," 1970; parte de estos dos tomos ha sido reeditado con el título, *Las Clases privilegiadas en el antiguo régimen español* (1973); "Los Conversos de origen judío después de la expulsión," Vol. 3 de *Estudios de Historia Social de España* (1955), el cual ha sido reeditado tras una laboriosa tarea de puesta al día con el título de *Los Judeoconversos en España y América* (1971).

El segundo grupo, de obras de síntesis, incluye la colaboración prestada a la *Historia social y económica de España y América*, editado por Jaime Vicens Vives (1959); *Crisis y decadencia de la España de los Austria* (1968); *The Golden Age of Spain, 1516-1659* (1971), Vol. 4 of the *History of Spain*, edited by John Parry and Hugh Thomas; el tomo III de la *Historia de España*, editado por Miguel Artola, Ediciones Alfaguara (Alianza Editorial) titulado *El Antiguo Regimen: Los Reyes Católicos y los Austrias* (1973).

El tercer grupo, de tema sevillano, incluye *Orto y ocaso de Sevilla: Estudio sobre la prosperidad y decadencia de la ciudad durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (1946; nueva edición, 1974), y *Alteraciones andaluzas* (1973).

News

BASQUE/ENGLISH DICTIONARY PROJECT

The Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada (Reno) has received a substantial grant to prepare a Basque/English dictionary. Funds have come both from the National Endowment for the Humanities (\$34,465) and from the Hilliard Committee for the Humanities of the University of Nevada (\$14,000). The one-year project, to begin in September 1975, will be directed by Luis Michelena of the University of Salamanca.

Internationally recognized for his work on the Basque language, Professor Michelena has been engaged for some years on a thorough revision of the *Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés* of Resurrección María de Azkue, first published in 1905, which has served as the standard reference work for the Basque language. The new dictionary will not, however, be a mere translation of the Azkue *Diccionario* into English, but a thoroughly revised edition which will eliminate many errors and will incorporate both the neologisms that have emerged in the Basque language in the 20th century, and new terms developed by the Basques of the American West.

Luis Michelena is a member of the Spanish Royal Academy, the Linguistic Society of Paris and of the United States, and a member of the Academy of the Basque Language (Euskaitzaindia).

B A L L O T

SSPHS Executive Committee

Executive Committee:

(position vacated by Gabriel Jackson)
DANIEL R. HEADRICK, Tuskegee Institute
(or)
GABRIEL TORTELLA, University of Pittsburgh

Executive Committee:

Editor of the NEWSLETTER (*ex officio*)
JOAN CONNELLY ULLMAN, University of
Washington

Nominating Committee:

(position vacated by Richard Herr)
TEMMA KAPLAN, University of California
at Los Angeles
(or)
CLARA LIDA, SUNY - Stony Brook

THE ACADEMY OF AMERICAN RESEARCH
HISTORIANS ON MEDIEVAL SPAIN

AARHMS Program at the Conference on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo), Spring 1975

Chairman: Joseph F. O'Callaghan, Fordham University

Participants:

James Powers, Holy Cross College, "Municipal Exemption from Military Service in 12th-Century Castile and Aragon"

Meldon Preusser, Douglas County Schools (Castle Rock, Colorado), "Innovations of the Reconquista: Alfonso VIII's Success"

Teofilo Ruiz, Brooklyn College, "The Impact of the Conquest of Seville on Castilian Society, 1248-1350"

Plans for Future Programs

James Powers is arranging a panel on medieval Spanish history for the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, in December 1975. Write directly to him for further information: Department of History, College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Richard Kinkade of the Department of Romance Languages, Emory University, and Bernard F. Reilly of Villanova University are planning an interdisciplinary panel on the 13th-century *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas, Bishop of Tuy (d. ca. 1249). The panel is to be presented at the spring 1976 Conference on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University. For further information write directly to: Bernard F. Reilly, Acting Secretary, AARHMS, Department of History, Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania 19085, or to Richard Kinkade, Department of Romance Languages, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322.

Activities of the AARHMS

A draft of a constitution for the AARHMS has been circulated among members for comments. The Acting Secretary of the AARHMS will collate the comments (due April 10, 1975) for consideration in the preparation of the final draft of the constitution.

The business meeting of the AARHMS, held on December 28, 1974, in conjunction with the meeting of the AHA in Chicago, discussed the formation of regional circles. One group has already been formed in New England: in November 1974 it met at Amherst in conjunction with the New England Medieval Conference. Other suggested centers for such

groups were New Orleans, Los Angeles, St. Louis, and Seattle. The Academy encourages any interested member to take the initiative in organizing such a circle. The Acting Secretary asks that he be kept informed so that he might offer all possible assistance. For further information on the AARHMS, write directly to Bernard Reilly (see address above).

SECOND INTERNATIONAL SEPHARDIC SYMPOSIUM:

"THE REDISCOVERY OF THE HISPANO-JUDAIC PAST"

The second international Sephardic Symposium was held at the University of California, San Diego, under the sponsorship of the Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies (CILAS) April 25-27, 1975. The first symposium was held in Madrid in 1964.

Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi of Harvard delivered the keynote address on "Spanish Jewry and the Royal Alliance." The format of the symposium was discussion on the topics of the papers presented by participating scholars:

Albert Sicroff, Queens College, "On Understanding Américo Castro's Rediscovery of the Hispano-Judaic Past"

Rina Benmayor, Stanford University, "Judeo-Spanish Ballads Collected in 1972-73"

Samuel Armistead, University of Pennsylvania, "Balkan Elements in the Traditional Poetry of Sephardic Jews"

Issachar Ben-Ami, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, "The Specific Character of Wedding Ceremonies of the Jewish Sephardic Community of Morocco"

Israel Katz, Columbia University, "Hispano-Judaic Musical Traditions: A Survey of Contemporary Research"

Stephen Gilman, Harvard University, "A Generation of 'Conversos'"

At the last moment Benzion Netanyahu of Cornell University, who was to present a paper, "On the Royal Privilege Which Served as Legal Foundation for the Statute against the Conversos in 1449," was unable to appear.

In the course of the symposium there was some discussion of publishing the papers, and of holding a third conference on the Sephardim. For further information concerning this Sephardic Symposium, write directly to: CILAS, UC San Diego, La Jolla, California 92037.

COLLOQUIUM OF CATALAN HISTORIANS
IN BARCELONA, May 3-4, 1974

Historians from Catalonia and Southern France gathered to discuss their findings and methodologies and to designate critical areas for future research in a colloquium held in Barcelona May 3-4, 1974, under the aegis of the Centro de Estudios Históricos Internacionales of the University of Barcelona.

Three panels were held (see program below) and a general discussion of the current status of historiography on the Catalan countries was led by Jordi Estivill of the Universitat de Perpinyà, where a center for documentation on the Civil War (FIEHS) has been installed.

Program

Ponències i debat

El Moviment Obrer: Problemes de Metodologia

Casimir Martí, "Fonts de mitjans del segle XIX per la història del moviment obrer"

Francis Denel, "Les Archives des Pyrénées-Orientales"

Francesc Bonamusa, "Informació de fonts del segle XX"

Debat. Moderador, Albert Balcells

El Nacionalisme Català

Josep Termes, "Problemes d'interpretació"

Isidre Molas, "Els estatuts d'autonomia"

Manuel Gerpe, "El Proyecto de Estatuto de autonomía de Cataluña de 1.931"

Debat. Moderador, Alfons Cucó

Transformacions Agràries i Industrialització

Emili Giralt, "Principals problemes de la història agrària"

Miquel Izard i Rafael Aracil, "El procés industrialitzador"

Debat. Moderador, Rafael Pujol

The following, extracted from the opening remarks of Casimir Martí, is reprinted in order to give some indication of the research activities of Catalan historians and the role of the Fundació Jaume Bofill.

For further information on the Fundació, write directly to the Director, Jordi Porta i Ribalta, Rambla del Prat, 21,^{1er} Barcelona- 12.

**DEADLINE
FOR NEWSLETTER**

All items which are intended for publication in the AUTUMN ISSUE of the SSPHS NEWSLETTER must reach Joan C. Ullman, Editor, Department of History, Smith Hall DP-20, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98195, by NOVEMBER 15, 1975.

Presentació per Casimir Martí:

Els antecedents són senzills. Tots els qui van tenir possibilitat d'assistir al col·loqui sobre la guerra civil que fa alguns anys va organitzar Mr. Watson a Montserrat van agrair la iniciativa. Van poder portar a terme un intercanvi interessant, que no funciona entre nosaltres d'una manera organitzada. La necessitat d'obrir canals de comunicació ha continuat coberta per cadascú de nosaltres mitjançant esforços privats, i sempre precaris. Bastants dels aquí presents havíem manifestat en una forma o altra l'oportunitat d'organitzar un encontre com el present.

. . . La iniciativa que ens ha reunit aquí es va anar concretant en ocasió d'algunes reunions que va convocar la Fundació Jaume Bofill dins l'àmbit de la seva competència: va consultar alguns dels aquí presents sobre les prioritats en la subvenció de treballs d'investigació històrica. En aquestes reunions, una altra vegada es va parlar d'estructurar un col·loqui com aquest. La Fundació va oferir els serveis de secretaria.

. . . El criteri que va presidir la selecció dels assistents va ser doble: procurar que els convocats no passessin de la trentena, per tal de poder actuar sempre en sessions generals. . . i triar exclusivament assistents que portessin a terme treballs d'investigació.

. . .

Des del primer moment, donat que un arxiu de documentació sobre la guerra civil espanyola (FIEHS) està instal·lat a Perpinyà, i gràcies a la iniciativa de Jordi Estivill, hi haver la preocupació que en aquest col·loqui fos possible d'establir relació amb els investigadors de la Catalunya francesa. D'aquí ve la presència entre nosaltres

Alfícia Marcet, Joan Meyer, Jordi Estivill i Jordi Planes, Francis Denel, Joan Borrell, Robert Blanch, Andreu Valent.

La intenció bàsica, mantiguda i reafirmada tot al llarg del procés organitzatiu, ha estat la de facilitar l'intercanvi.

El quart tema del programa, "Estat de la historiografia sobre els països catalans," ha estat anunciat d'una forma general. En el curs del col.loqui, veurem si resulta possible i convenient de fer un balanç de la situació, de projectar el futur pròxim en el camp de la historiografia sobre els països Catalans. De tota manera convindrà que, en un moment o altre del nostre col.loqui, en Jordi Estivill de la Universitat de Perpinyà, ens presti el projecte de col.loqui interdisciplinar que té en cartera.

**NEW ADDRESS FOR THE CENTRE INTERNATIONAL
DE RECHERCHES SUR L'ANARCHISME (CIRA)
(SWITZERLAND)**

On January 15, 1975, CIRA (formerly located in Lausanne) opened at its new location: 15, rue Necker, CH 1201, Geneva. Every effort will be made to have the library hours as flexible as before, including hours on week-

ends and in the evenings. Foreign scholars who want to use the library's collection of books, newspapers, and pamphlets on anarchism should write to the Centre in advance in order to make mutually convenient arrangements.

CIRA publishes a *Bulletin*, with extensive bibliography on current research on anarchism. For further information, write directly to the Editor, Marie-Christine Mikhailov, CIRA, 15, rue Necker, CH 1201, Geneva.

**SPAIN RATIFIES THE
UNIVERSAL COPYRIGHT CONVENTION**

By decree the Spanish State in early 1975 ratified the Universal Convention on Copyright, an agreement signed in Paris in July 1971. This convention ensures copyright protection on all literary, scientific, and artistic works.

Specifically, Article 2 says that all published works by the subjects of any member State, and all works published for the first time in the territory of a member State, shall enjoy in the States of all signatory members to the Convention such protection as each of those States concedes to the works of its subjects published for the first time in its territory.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL SSPHS CONFERENCE

Sixth Annual Conference: April 11 - 12, 1975

Place: The auditorium of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York
22 West 42nd Street, New York City

Sponsors: The Department of History, The City College of CUNY
The Ibero-American Institute, New York University

PROGRAM

Friday, April 11, 1975

MINORITIES AND SOCIAL OUTCASTS IN SPAIN

Chairperson: Michael Weisser, City College of CUNY

Panel: Ruth Pike, Hunter College, CUNY
"Crime and Criminals in 16th-Century Castile"; Carla Rahn Phillips, University of Minnesota, "The Morisco Expulsion from Castile: Notes for Further Study"; Paul Hauben, University of the Pacific (Stockton, Cal.), "The Enlightenment and Minorities: Two Spanish Examples"

Comment: Albert Loomie, S.J., Fordham University

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL TODAY

Spain. Documentary film, *El Zapatero*

Jerome Mintz, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University, who produced the film, commented

Barbara Probst Solomon, "Comments on the Current Political Panorama of Spain"

Portugal. Comment on the current situation by Kenneth Maxwell, Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton, N.J.)

GENERAL ELECTIONS UNDER THE SECOND REPUBLIC IN SPAIN: A REGIONAL ANALYSIS

Chairperson: Juan Linz, Yale University

Panel: The 1933 Elections--"A Regional Analysis of the 1933 Cortes Elections," William J. Irwin, Bowie State College (Bowie, Md.); The 1936 Elections--Juan Linz and Jesus M. De Miguel, Yale University

Comment: "Reification and Bourgeois Scholarship," Barry B. Seldes, Rider College

BANQUET

Guest Speaker: Jean Vilar, Sorbonne (Paris)

"¿Aumento o declinación? Una cultura áurea frente a la congoja económica"

Saturday, April 12, 1975

SPAIN, THE ARMY, AND THE POLITICIANS IN THE 1920s

Chairperson: Joan Connelly Ullman, University of Washington

Panel: Carolyn Boyd, University of Texas, "The Army and the Breakdown of Parliamentary Government in Spain, 1917-1923"; Shannon Fleming (Denver), "Primo de Rivera and Abd-el-Krim: The Struggle in Spanish Morocco, 1923-1927"

Comment: Daniel R. Headrick, Tuskegee Institute

SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS AND RESEARCH IN IBERIA: A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

Chairpersons: Juan Linz and Ramiro Cibrian, Yale University

Discussants: Jesus M. De Miguel, Benjamin Oltra, and Carlos Alba, Yale University

ROYAL AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SPAIN

Chairperson: Erika Spivakovsky (Connecticut)

Panel: Teofilo F. Ruiz, Brooklyn College of the City University, "Burgos: Urban Oligarchy and Royal Power, 1248-1350"; William David Phillips, Jr., Department of History, San Diego State University, "State Service in 15th-Century Castile: Additional Evidence and Interpretation"

A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA (1504-1575) ON THE OCCASION OF THE 400TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DEATH

J. B. Owens, Idaho State University (Pocatello) "The Nature of Absolute Royal Power as Perceived by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Pedro Nuñez de Avendaño: To Commemorate the 400th Anniversary of Mendoza's Death"

Erika Spivakovsky (Westport, Connecticut) "A Call to Action for New Studies on Mendoza: A Summary of Publications during the Last Four Years and Suggestions for Future Research"

PRÉCIS OF THE PAPERS

EDITOR'S NOTE: *All participants were asked to submit a précis of their presentation for publication in the Spring issue of the NEWSLETTER. In those cases where the précis of all participating members in a given panel had not been received by the time of publication, the Editor decided to hold the material and to publish the complete proceedings of a panel in the Autumn issue.*

The Winter issue of the NEWSLETTER (Vol. III, No. 2) reported that the guest speaker would be Vitorino Magalhães-Godinho, the Portuguese historian, and that two additional Portuguese scholars would be participating in the sessions. But on February 22, as the final program went to press, the General Secretary of the SSPHS was informed that all three guests would be forced to withdraw from the meeting and to remain in Portugal because of the political crisis created by the national elections on April 25, 1975.

MINORITIES AND SOCIAL OUTCASTS IN SPAIN

Crime and Criminals in 16th-Century Castile

Ruth Pike, Hunter College, CUNY

In the 16th century, crime and vagrancy were increasing in Spain as elsewhere in Western Europe. In Castile, Seville was reputed to be the city in which crime and corruption flourished to the greatest extent. This paper, based on documents from the Simancas Archives, investigates the type of crime committed and the kind of person who was a criminal in Seville. The records indicate that the predisposition to violence in 16th-century Seville was fostered by three principal factors: the crowded conditions of urban life, the ineffectiveness of the forces of order, and the general practice of bearing arms. Crimes of bloodshed were common among all elements of society, but at the lower levels, contrary to what is often alleged, the propensity for violence was greatest among craftsmen. They were involved in more cases of homicide and assault than any other segment of the population. Petty theft, on the other hand, was almost exclusively confined to domestics, menials, vagrants, and the unemployed. Law enforcement officials were too few in numbers and too corrupt to accomplish their professed objectives. As for the laws, the penal system with its dual concept of fines or corporal punishments set up a double standard. In practice, fines were reserved for the titled and wealthy; bodily punishments were assigned to the poor. The existence of a biased judicial system together with an ineffective law enforcement are essential elements in an understanding of crime in the 16th century. More important is the relationship between crime and the socioeconomic system within which it occurred. Crime in 16th-century Seville, as in other Castilian towns, must be viewed within the context of the urban environment, and the social and economic conditions of the period.

The Morisco Expulsion from Castile: Notes for Further Study

Carla Rahn Phillips, University of Minnesota

The expulsion from Spain of Moriscos between 1609 and 1614 has been the subject of much controversy. Earlier historiographers often blamed it for destroying the economy of *Valencia*, where Moriscos comprised over 20 percent of the population before the expulsion. More recent work places the expulsion in the context of general economic decline and lessens its importance as a cause of that decline.

In *Castile*, where Moriscos constituted only a small fraction of the total population, the effects of the expulsion have usually been discounted. But the situation in Castile was far different from that in *Valencia*, where the Moriscos had been employed largely as servile agricultural laborers. The Castilian Moriscos tended to be urban residents employed in a variety

(Proceedings continued)

of craft and service occupations. Moreover, after the failure of the second Alpujarras uprising (1568-70), perhaps 50,000 Moriscos from Granada were relocated in Castile. Thus Moriscos became an even more important numerical and economic segment of many urban centers in Castile. In Ciudad Real, for example, on the eve of their expulsion from Spain, Moriscos made up 25 percent of the city's population, most of them relocated Granadines. With their removal, Ciudad Real's economy was devastated.

In other cities and towns as well, the effects of the 1570 relocation in Castile of Moriscos from Granada and of the 1609-14 expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain should be re-examined by historians interested in the decay of Castile in the later Hapsburg period.

The Enlightenment and Minorities: Two Spanish Examples

Paul J. Hauben, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California

During the course of the 18th-century Enlightenment, increasing attention was accorded the position of minorities in western and central Europe, particularly the position of the Jews. More and more thinkers revived, on one hand, the notion that such groups could and should be made more productive for society as a whole, mainly through giving them greater vocational and civic rights and opportunities. At the same time, there was also a belief that given such treatment, such communities would assimilate the basic values of the larger society, if not ultimately become Christian. Similar currents were developing from within the Jewish communities themselves, as leaders like Moses Mendelssohn suggested ways for Jews to join in Gentile society while maintaining, however, a Jewish core. In the 1780s several toleration edicts were issued by reforming or enlightened kings, and shortly afterward some enlightened Jews did indeed join Christendom.

During these decades, the writings of the *philosophes* began to influence Spain where, for centuries, there had developed a unique problem concerning *conversos*, the descendants of Jews converted, largely by force, to Catholicism. In midcentury, Benito Gerónimo Feyjoo y Montenegro, precursor of the Spanish Enlightenment, called attention to the sterile results of Spanish anti-Semitism on grounds chiefly philosophical. By the decades of the 1770s and the 1780s, the regime of Charles III was issuing edicts of toleration and concessions of rights to various outcasts in Spanish society. Most notable were the rights granted to the *Chuetas* of Mallorca, the most consistently segregated, mistreated *converso* community in the country. The ineffectuality of the execution of these edicts together with the stubborn persistence of prejudice inspired a tract by Manuel de Lardizábal in 1786, *Apología por los "Agótes" de Navarra y los "Chuetas" de Mallorca, con una breve digresión a los "vaqueros" de Asturias*. Lardizábal called for more action and for greater understanding of such groups. His main argument stemmed from utility: past and present biases had only helped to undermine Spain's economic and national vitality and progress.

In Spain, at least until our own century, such attempts to impose toleration from above have all failed. This is in contrast with the record of improvement (until the Holocaust) of the Jewish position through efforts from below. This example suggests certain problems which today face newer, underdeveloped lands in terms of modernization versus tradition.

Comment

Albert Loomie, S.J., Fordham University

These papers show fresh perspectives on the treatment of minorities in Spain in three different periods of time, with three different types of evidence, and different methods used to interpret them. From these different points of view, we have insights into urban history through a survey of the disorders in a major city, Seville, of the economic decline of a small Castilian city, Ciudad Real, and into some of the tensions in Palma de Mallorca. The following

(Proceedings continued)

comments are meant to clarify some of the important ideas which were discovered, as well as to point out some areas where the panel might still help us.

Comments for Professor Pike:

This is a picture of crime in Seville about the year 1573 based on contemporary narratives and law codes, and especially on a unique series of dossiers surviving in the papers of the Consejo de Castilla at Simancas. By a close reading of these depositions, certain trends emerge: homicides in the crowded city are more frequent among skilled workers (20 out of 30 cases listed). Theft was almost exclusively confined to "domestics, menials, vagrants and unemployed." As a general conclusion, Professor Pike noticed that "most crimes were committed by men between the ages of 18 and 35," and crimes such as theft (if reported at all) were found more prevalent in an 18 to 25-year age group. We are provided a rich sampling of variations of crimes of violence, with the suggestion that seduction of women was more prevalent than abduction and rape. Particular stress was given to the failure to apprehend and therefore punish the large number of thieves and pickpockets both amateur and professional. In her commentary on this situation, Professor Pike felt that the laws were inconsistently enforced; that the apprehension of criminals was very erratic, responsible officials too few and clearly corrupt; that some penalties, such as banishment, did not serve as a deterrent; and finally, that crowded conditions assisted violence and crime. This detailed picture of one city in one year in the 16th century is of value. Such studies are still difficult to make because of the state of documentation that survives.

For purposes of discussion it is important to identify precisely the background of this important dossier on Seville from the "Diversos de Castilla." The only other work that I have seen, in which the two *legajos* are mentioned, is Ian Thompson's article, "A Map of Crime in 16th-Century Spain," *Economic History Review*, Vol. 21 (1968). Here (p. 245, n.1) he explains that in 1573 the *corregidores* of Castile were asked to submit an account of all criminals in gaols awaiting transport. The various responses, although incomplete, were said to be in these *legajos*. The question that arises is: are these dossiers selected for this purpose, that is, transportation to the galleys? If so, then the younger age groups described here reflect the response to a specific inquiry by the Crown, namely, what manpower is available to fill the shortages in the Mediterranean fleet. My query is do the bundles reflect Seville as a city, or the Crown's interest in suitable galley material? Thompson based his report on samplings of 6,400 men in service in the galleys for the years 1586 and 1589. His figures reveal that Cádiz was possibly more lawless than Seville, that the areas of the extreme south and the extreme north of Spain were more unstable (which conforms to Pike's conclusions), and that cities were more prone to crime than the countryside which was more law abiding. New Castile seems to have had more agricultural employment and less crime than Old Castile which reflected a decline in production and population.

Secondly, it is possible that common and justified criticisms of 20th-century justice are being transferred to a review of the legal system of 1572. Incompetence and venality can hardly be the sole causes for the situation in Seville.

1. The legal process had evolved under *late medieval* conditions in Castile. Is the 16th-century issue of rapid population, its mobility and its density given due allowance?
2. The relationship of poverty to crime is well established, but relief for the poor can vary from parish (or district) to parish in Seville. (Benassar points this out in comparing Medina del Campo with Valladolid.) Is, then, the legal system adequate for one part of Seville and not another?
3. The prevailing contemporary view of the monarchy under Philip II is that he was far more concerned with law enforcement (Elliott and Domínguez Ortíz mention this) than the later Hapsburgs. Is it to be argued now that the sequel under Philip III and IV was even worse?

Comments for Professor Phillips:

This is a striking challenge to the conclusion of Henri Lapeyre's study of the Morisco expulsion, namely: that its effects upon Castile were not noticeably severe. Professor Phillips has even included for comparative purposes the important study of James Casey on Valencia's

agriculture in the early 17th century. Casey pointed out that for a variety of reasons a reduced labor force began to solve the effects of the expulsion; accordingly, Valencia, a more prominent area than Castile, did not suffer as much as originally believed.

The theme of her revision is that in the example of Ciudad Real, located in the southern sector of New Castile midway between Cordoba and Toledo, the historian can clearly see the impact of the expulsion. From this city a large percentage (21%) of all of the Castilian Moriscos was removed; furthermore this represented 25 percent of that town's entire population. Professor Phillips has noted also that the city's leadership deliberately passed over the primary cause of its decline, the loss of the Moriscos, in a petition to the Crown for relief; instead, as a cure, it pointed to the need for tax relief, or exemptions, and protection for a cloth industry from Portuguese competition, and to less extravagance on the part of the "magistrates." As a consequence, she advises reinstatement of the expulsion of the Moriscos as a prime factor in at least regional decline in New Castile in the early 17th century.

Her point is well made, although it may be asked whether Lapeyre's statement might still hold for Castile in general as distinct from certain specific regions, such as Ciudad Real or Toledo. But the interesting and important points she makes need in themselves to be strengthened. For example, the picture of Ciudad Real before the expulsion does not answer all necessary inquiries. First, the population of the city was suddenly increased in 1570 out of all proportion by the arrival of 2,500 Grenadine Moriscos. How easily can the small city absorb such a population into its work force? Allowing for the fact that not all of them could or would be employed, can the local economy *constantly* absorb them? For the next three decades was the local labor *opportunity* sufficient? The issue is vital since if the general pattern of agriculture and light industry is already showing contraction and loss and possibly migration southward to Seville, is then the expulsion (tragic in itself) as great an influence on a region's decline? The statistics she provided on a loss in population seem to suggest that more than simply one sector of the city was losing population. Was there drought? Was there disease?

A second point is the request of the city leadership for some means to attract settlers, as well as a rebuke to the luxury of some magistrates. This brings in the question of the loss of credit and absence of capital in the city. Were the greater landlords also in debt? The protection from competing cloth implies a slack market or the absence of purchasing power. This introduces the issue with which I began: did the *relocation* of the Moriscos of Granada alter the economy of Ciudad Real to such a degree that the rest of the economic pattern cannot be analyzed? Is there another city in new Castile, with a small Moorish population, which is also in decline? The discussion should center on how typical Ciudad Real really is for Castile as a whole.

Comments on Professor Hauben's paper:

Here we received a polished and nuanced explanation (with excellent footnotes which the audience unfortunately did not have) of two neglected publications of the Spanish Enlightenment which are used to explore the limitations of official reform. Professor Hauben has been careful to point out that the Spanish experience was not unique in Europe in the 18th century; "blind spots" and shortcomings are to be found by scholars in the official policies of other kingdoms where social reforms did not travel the full length of the road toward social justice for blacks, neglected minorities, Jews, and most notably, the slave question. There were, he reminds us, two Spanish writers who argued on grounds of both humanity and reason that it was to the advantage of the state to change this neglect. The first in time and greater in reputation was an essay by the Benedictine humanist Feyj6o which took the form of a letter to an imaginary Jewish correspondent living in Bayonne, France. The strength of this essay is its sharp rebuke to the *vulgo*, the ignorant and shallow-minded of any class of society for its credulous belief in malicious legends against Jews. The sincerity of Feyj6o's interest and sympathy toward the richness of the Judaic heritage was impressive, yet portions of the essay were lame and clumsy in their justification of past mistakes. The second example was the appeal of Manuel de Lardizabal, published in 1786, which reopened the dormant issue of

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equal status for the *chuetas* of Majorca by demanding their rightful place in the guilds, and possibly, therefore, in the labor market of the city. Significantly, their case was actually incorporated into the proceedings of the Junta de Estado of Floridablanca.

Although the paper's special excellence was its close attention to contemporary social insensitivity towards minorities, the evidence does not lead to a conclusion of sufficient clarity. Professor Hauben began by asking in effect for a reappraisal of the value of the Spanish Enlightenment, yet it is not enough to say that the populace decided to obey but not to "execute" what had been ordered by the king. The first question is what was the quality of the leadership which permitted this? Did it inspire urgency for change? What are its priorities? Secondly, what is the general impact of the Enlightenment on an artisan class? Obviously he has shown that it is slight, among the citizens of Palma. Yet are there not economic or social privileges enjoyed by the guildsmen of Majorca which the latter feel are threatened by the reform? Is it possible that there are specialization of crafts and traditional divisions of work which seemed endangered? It was significant that *caballeros* favored *chuetas*, yet guildsmen did not, hence the latter's deafness to orders, and their conservatism. In other words, the Enlightenment was a luxury to those who felt threatened.¹

Lastly, I am sure that the recent work of Natalie Davis² on urban religious riots during the 16th-century French civil wars has at least a literary relevance to the anti-Jewish legend of the *vulgo* which Feyjóo attacked. Davis is concerned with facts about violence, Feyjóo is destroying a myth. Still there are clear similarities here. Do these accounts constitute a source for the folk legends of Spain, with a change of characters?

¹Edmund S. Morgan, "The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607-1618," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (June, 1971), 609.

²Natalie Zemon Davis, "Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth Century France," *Past and Present*, No. 59 (May, 1973), 51-91.

SPAIN TODAY

Documentary Film, "El Zapatero"

Produced by Jerome R. Mintz, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University

Film Title: *The Shoemaker (El Zapatero)*
Film Gauge: 16mm b/w
Running Time: 34 minutes
Credits: Filmmaker, Jerome R. Mintz
Distributor: Indiana University
Name of person submitting film: Jerome R. Mintz

This film concerns the effect of the rural exodus in Spain on the life of an Andalusian shoemaker. Changing social and economic circumstances have disrupted the shoemaker's family life by causing his children to leave home to seek work in a tourist town. This film focuses on the shoemaker's life during a period of transition and change. The first half of the film portrays the shoemaker's work and his character. He has suffered years of hardship, but he is deeply attached to his network of family and friends. He has always assumed that he would spend his last years in his native village. The departure of his children forces the shoemaker into an unexpected dilemma. On the one hand his financial position in the village improves, but on the other, his desire and even more than that of his wife to live with their children soon make it necessary to leave. He must close his shop and leave the village in which he has lived and worked all his life. When he arrives in his new setting, he searches for work and attempts to adapt himself to his isolation in a new environment. The shoemaker's departure from his village and his reactions to his new existence are the major themes of the second half of the film.

Comments on the Current Political Panorama of Spain

Barbara Probst Solomon, New York City

Any analysis of the current situation in Spain should stress *modernity*--that is, the concept that mobility, the rapid growth of cities, and the changes from an agricultural society to an industrialized society have upset all preconceived ideas about what political labels and movements mean in Spanish politics. In the late 1960s, models for modernity were sought abroad; in the 1970s they are sought within the special Spanish situation.

In this context, events in Portugal assume a special importance. The differences between Spain and Portugal, however, are more significant than their similarities. Prior to the April coup, Portuguese and Spaniards have known little about one another, a situation they have tried to remedy in the past year by establishing direct contacts. Spain and Portugal have had different problems. The opposition movement in Spain has had an advantage, particularly with respect to anti-regime politics. As a result of rapid industrialization and of other factors, the opposition (which includes worker movements) has been able to do a great deal of spade work in preparation for a change of regime. In Portugal, where the revolution came so suddenly, the opposition has been forced to do this work *after* the revolution. In Spain, during the six years since the Burgos trials, opposition groups have gotten to know one another, the political trials also serving to bring them close to one another. Lawyers have begun to apply modern techniques in their political trials; for example, they have gotten used to the foreign press. But in Portugal the opposition groups had suddenly to get to know one another and to work together.

[Ms. Solomon also commented on the structure of the modern Spanish armed forces; and discussed the changing role of women in modern Spain. She concluded with a description of the present political trials within Spain and the current status of the Alfonso Sastre case.]

Editor's Note: Barbara Probst Solomon is a novelist and essayist whose articles on modern Spanish and Portuguese politics have appeared in *The New York Review of Books*, *The New York Times*, and *The New Republic*. She is the author of *Arriving Where We Started* (1972), a personal political memoir of the post-World War II period in Paris during the late 1940s, and of the first opposition literary generation to come out of Franco Spain.

In October 1975 Quadrangle Press will publish her translation and adaptation of *Operation Ogro: The Assassination of Carrero Blanco*. Publication of this book in Paris by Ruedo Ibérico in September 1974 (coinciding with a bomb explosion in Madrid) led to the arrest of a group of Madrid intellectuals, including that of the playwright, Alfonso Sastre.

SPAIN, THE ARMY, AND THE POLITICIANS IN THE 1920s

The Army and the Breakdown of Parliamentary Government in Spain, 1917-23

Carolyn P. Boyd, University of Texas at Austin

On September 13, 1923, General Miguel Primo de Rivera led a *pronunciamento* that destroyed the parliamentary regime established in 1875. This coup has generally been interpreted as a conspiracy between king and army to prevent a parliamentary inquiry into the Anual disaster of 1921. In fact, however, Primo's coup was primarily a defensive response by an institution whose traditional privileges seemed threatened. Since the rebellion of the Juntas de Defensa in June 1917, military power had seriously compromised the sovereignty of civilian government in Spain. When the Liberal coalition government of 1923 attempted a novel display of independence, the army intervened to protect its interests, thus institutionalizing the political power it had disputed and shared with civilian government during the preceding seven years.

Between 1917 and 1923, the army was in the enviable position of dictating policy without having to bear responsibility for it. Ironically, the army owed its political leverage to

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the oligarchy it removed from power in 1923. Because of Spain's relatively retarded economic and social development, liberal parliamentary government lacked the backing of a national consensus; the oligarchy that ruled Spain between 1875 and 1923 did so increasingly by means of force. In return for its loyalty, the politicians guaranteed the army a healthy share of the budget, an outlet for its grievances, and protection from military reforms that might endanger the careers of thousands of middle-class officers.

In practice, this solution proved untenable. Lack of reform impaired military efficiency, yet the regime required a professional performance from the army in social conflicts and the Moroccan war--the two areas in which official policy was most at odds with popular opinion. Increasingly isolated from the nation, the ruling elites lacked the strength either to insist on military reform or to modify government policy in order to acquire public support, for changes in social or colonial policy were vetoed by the army, whose interests and "honor" were at stake. Governments thus found themselves forced to accept responsibility for policies imposed on them by the military, which owed its very real power to the original intransigence of the politicians in the face of economic and social change. The crisis following the Anual disaster finally convinced the dynastic politicians that the only way to save the regime was to render it more responsive to the evolving political and social structure of the nation by liberating it from military tutelage, but by 1923 it was too late. Their interests and power threatened, the officer corps rallied behind Primo, whose regenerationist rhetoric could not totally disguise the class and caste interests that united his military clientele.

Primo de Rivera and Abd-el-Krim: The Struggle in Spanish Morocco, 1923-27

Shannon Fleming, Denver

The Moroccan question, which had troubled Spain since 1909 and more acutely since the Anual disaster of July 1921, helped precipitate General Miguel Primo de Rivera's *coup d'état* in September 1923 and constituted one of the most urgent problems that his regime faced. For despite Primo de Rivera's pledge to bring a "quick, dignified, and sensible solution" to the question, the agony of Morocco remained. The dictator himself would have preferred to abandon the Protectorate altogether but stiff resistance from a significant group of Spanish Army officers (the *africanistas*) prevented this course of action. Furthermore, in mid-1924 the Riffi leader, Abd-el-Krim, pushed his rebellion out of the Central Riff and again threatened an Anual-type rout at the Djebalan city of Xauen. Caught between the obduracy of the *africanistas* and the dangers of a second debacle, Primo de Rivera "semi-abandoned" the Protectorate by withdrawing Spanish forces from the rugged hinterland to the densely populated areas around Tetuán-Ceuta, Larache, and Melilla.

The retreat of November-December 1924, although applauded by most Spaniards, did not really provide a solution to the on-going colonial problem: Primo de Rivera still faced both a tenacious enemy and acute restlessness within the commissioned ranks of the African Army. A way out of this dilemma, however, was furnished by Abd-el-Krim himself when in April 1925 he ordered his troops into the French Protectorate. Aided by French Moroccan forces under General Henri Pétain, Primo de Rivera in September 1925 commanded an amphibious landing at Alhucemas Bay, the very heart of Abd-el-Krim's empire, and succeeded in routing the rebels. A series of subsequent clashes in the Central Riff led to Abd-el-Krim's surrender on May 27, 1926, and to the eventual pacification of the Spanish Protectorate in July 1927.

Despite these successes, Primo de Rivera was still skeptical of Spain's commitment to the Protectorate. He doubted whether Spain had the economic capability to sustain such an expensive venture and after 1926 he limited the colonial budget and reduced European forces in the Protectorate. Pressure from the *africanistas*, however, prevented any reconsideration of the Zone's abandonment. Primo de Rivera needed their support to keep himself in power. Thus despite his consistent desire to cut drastically Spain's commitment to the Protectorate, the "honor of the Army"--or at least an important portion of it--demanded that the country remain a colonial power in North Africa.

COMMENT: Daniel R. Headrick, Tuskegee Institute

These two excellent papers brought into sharp focus the weaknesses of Spanish political and military institutions in the early twentieth century. These weaknesses had several symptoms: excessive concern for status rather than for goals in the Spanish *clase media*; a conservatism of inertia rather than conviction; and a lack of resolute leaders capable of dealing with Spain's problems.

Ms. Boyd's paper contains sweeping generalizations and daring hypotheses. I agree with her contention that the events of June 1917 represent "a major shift in civil-military relations" and that the years 1917-23 saw the culmination of the decay of civilian parliamentary government, caused by the selfishness and obstructionism of the oligarchy. I do not agree, however, that the "gentlemen's agreement" between the military and civilian politicians in the years 1875 to 1900 was due to "benign neglect and good pay for officers." Rather it was the result of a generation of politicians and generals (Cánovas, Sagasta, López Domínguez, Martínez Campos, Weyler) who had experienced the revolutionary events of 1868-74 and wished to avoid their repetition. The study of generations needs to be introduced into the analysis of the events of 1917-23 as well. Army factionalism at the junior officer level, always present, broke out in 1917-23 because of the confusion of goals and the lack of clear leadership from the ranking generals. Thus these years were not an age of "de facto military dictatorship" but a breakdown of discipline within the army and the consequent meddling of *juntero* officers in politics. And Primo's *pronunciamento* of September 1923 was not just the institutionalization of an existing situation as "de facto military dictatorship became dictatorship *de jure*," in Ms. Boyd's words. Rather, it was a real *coup d'état* in which the government, now under Primo, regained its authority and replaced the meddling of junior officers with a real military dictatorship.

Mr. Fleming's paper is tightly constructed, well-documented, and exciting to read. The points he makes and the story he tells are convincing. Yet some questions still remain unanswered. If most Spaniards, including Primo de Rivera, the *juntero* officers, most recruits, and the lower and middle classes in general, were *abandonistas* in 1923-24, why did Primo not pull out of Morocco, as Prim had done in Mexico sixty years before? Was it a sense of honor? Or fear of the *africanistas*? Mr. Fleming's paper is ambiguous about the power of the *africanistas* to influence government policy: they "did not command much of a following in civilian Spain," yet Primo was much hurt by their insults. The question concerning Spain's persistence in Morocco is not clearly answered by military politics and personalities alone. Economic considerations need to be brought in. What influence did the existence of iron mines in the Rif play? What foreign powers and commercial enterprises had an interest in the Spanish conquest of the Rif? What was the role of the "handful of politicians and businessmen and the king" mentioned by Ms. Boyd?

ROYAL AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SPAIN

Burgos: Urban Oligarchy and Royal Power, 1248-1350

Teofilo F. Ruiz, Brooklyn College

A myth has lingered on for too long in Spanish historiography. It is the legend of democratic and independent municipalities during the High Middle Ages. If we look at Burgos during the period, the evidence shows that the city was neither independent nor democratic. Beginning with the charters of tax exemption to the nonnoble knights of Burgos (*caballeros villanos*) in 1255 and 1256--I believe as the result of the conquest of Seville in 1248--a series of changes began to take place in the institutional structure of the city. These changes were directly related to the rise of the *caballeros villanos* within Burgos.

Socially, they joined in brotherhoods (*cofradías*) in 1285 and 1338 which excluded all the inhabitants of the city who did not own a horse fit for warfare and weapons. Economically, after 1255, the nonnoble knights of Burgos replaced the cathedral chapter of the city as the

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main economic force in the area. Through their control of foreign trade, with its income-producing possibilities, they became the most important factor in the acquisition of land and real estate in and around the city. Politically, by 1322 the nonnoble knights of Burgos had obtained a complete monopoly of all the municipal offices.

Their rise to prominence was paralleled by an increased royal interference in the affairs and institutional structure of the city. Among these attempts of the Crown to control the *concejo* of Burgos, three ought to be mentioned here: the institution of the *Jurado* in 1285; the naming of royal officials to reside within the city walls and to hear appeals from the city *alcaldes*; and the imposition of the *Regimiento* in 1345. Royal intervention was in most cases welcomed by the ruling oligarchy as a means of protecting their interests from the threats of the petty bourgeoisie within the city and the nobility in the surrounding countryside.

By 1345 the king had established a close working relationship with the *caballeros villanos* of Burgos. Through this alliance, the city was now directly governed by the Crown, and its local oligarchy was protected from the unrest of the lower classes by the power of the king.

State Service in 15th-Century Castile: Additional Evidence and Interpretations

William David Phillips, Jr., San Diego State University

Through an examination of the sections *Quitaciones de Corte* and *Casa y Sitios Reales* in the Archivo General de Simancas, Professor Phillips was able to determine several patterns of employment of royal officials during the 15th century in Castile. In a paper delivered at the Fifth Annual Conference of the SSPHS (1974) he examined the employment of minorities (women, foreigners, Jews, and Moriscos) and the participation of *letrados* and nobles. In this paper he investigated family preferment, continuity in office, and multiple office-holding.

Family preferment operated on several levels: simple influence, the granting of minor royal posts to the offspring of important officials and influential nobles, and the entrance of entire families into royal service.

Continuity of personnel despite changes of rulers was present throughout the century. Of the officials of Enrique IV, 19.4 percent were carry-overs from the reign of Juan II, while 5 percent of Fernando and Isabel's were former officials of Enrique IV.

Multiple office-holding could be found in all three reigns. Officials who held two offices tended to be minor officials, while those with three or more offices tended to occupy the more important posts. It was difficult to document progressive advancement of officials because of the vagueness of the documents which did not always make it possible to tell whether multiple offices were held concurrently or in sequence. Of the relatively few cases of advancement, educational status seems not to have been a variable.

Family preferment, continuity in office, and multiple office-holding were constant features during the century, and there was no discernible pattern of significant change over the three reigns.

A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA (1504-1575)
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 400TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DEATH

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Royal Power:

A Commentary on the Papers of William D. Phillips and J. B. Owens

Erika Spivakovsky, Former Fellow of the Radcliffe Institute

The themes of these papers, devoted to various aspects and epochs of Castilian royal power as it developed from the 13th to the 16th century, seemed particularly relevant to a session in memory of Mendoza who in his service and advice to his royal masters always guided himself by historical precedents. Therefore I would like to touch for a moment on Mendoza's own experience and attitudes to illustrate the points made in these two papers.

Mendoza's own experience as an illustration of Professor Phillips' three patterns of royal employment procedures, namely: family preferment, continuity in office, and multiple office-holding

The Mendoza family, as well or better than any other family, proves the truth of Professor Phillips' description of office-holding. But it might perhaps be added that in most cases these offices by no means descended automatically from father to son, or from uncle to nephew. Parents as well as other relatives and friends had to exert themselves to the utmost in order to obtain the exact position for the person they wanted to hold that position. Just as the second Count of Tendilla wrote perhaps hundreds of petitions to King Ferdinand, as well as imploring letters to the King's councillors in order to place various of his sons, so other people must have acted similarly in order to obtain such positions for members of their families.

Although the Mendoza brothers continued to hold their various positions under Charles V, they needed the unwavering patronage of the Emperor's advisers to achieve those appointments in the first place; secondly, to maintain themselves in their positions; and thirdly, to secure promotions. The chief patron of the Mendoza brothers was for a long time Francisco de los Cobos (mentioned by Professor Phillips); after his death, the Granvelles served as patrons. Incidentally, after the death of Cobos, Don Diego de Mendoza went to a great deal of trouble to persuade the Emperor, through his own efforts and through that of others, to allow the son of Cobos to succeed to the dignity of the office his father had held as Adelantado of Cazorla.

Mendoza's attitude toward absolutism, and to the practical limits to Charles V's theory of absolute power

While Mendoza was all in favor of the exercise of unlimited power by his own sovereign, he did not grant an analogous power to the popes although they were, and still are, absolute monarchs of their Church (and in the 16th century were secular monarchs as well). During the conclave held after the death of Paul III, for example, Mendoza advised the Emperor to make all candidates for the papacy state their policy in writing so that, once elected, the new pope could be deposed if he did not fulfill his stated policies--or, if you will, if he did not live up to his campaign pledges! With his historic-juridic sense of looking for precedents, Mendoza said that something similar had been done before the elections of Julius II and Clement VII (Vázquez and Seldon Rose, *Algunas Cartas* [Yale, 1935], p. 135). However, in this case, the Emperor did not follow the suggestion of his ambassador.

But with respect to the power of the Emperor, Mendoza advises him that "in conformity with the law" his master had the right to exact from the Spanish Church voluntary contributions for war preparations, thus circumventing the "medios fructos" allowed by the Pope, "y se ha hecho otras vezes en Castilla" (*ibid.*, p. 244).

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Naturally the Emperor, as subsequently his son Philip, was very much in favor of exacting those so-called voluntary contributions. The following is an example of how this was actually effected. In May of 1557 the new King of Spain, Philip II, was engaged in a war on two fronts (against France and against the Pope). He sent Ruy Gómez, Count of Mélito, to Spain to enlist the aid of his father, the Emperor (in retirement at Yuste), in getting money from the magnates of Spain, that is, from the archbishops in their rich dioceses. Charles V obliged, writing letters to many individuals. Particularly curious is his epistle to the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, Fernando de Valdés, Archbishop of Seville, who had played deaf to the King's appeal.

"Muy reverendo in Cristo padre, arzobispo de Sevilla, inquisidor general en estos reynos contra la heretica pravedad y apostasia, y del nuestro consejo--

Entendido havemos que habiendooos hablado la serenissima princesa mi hija de parte del rey, con intervencion del conde de Melito, en virtud de la comision y cartas que trujo, para que en esta coyuntura que tante necesidad tiene de ser socorrido, por los muchos y grandes gastos que se le ofrecen con la guerra, e importar tanto a su reputacion, toviesedes por bien de hacerlo por vuestra parte con la suma que os ha pedido, la cual no solamente diz *que no habeis cumplido, pero que os habeis escusado, dando poco esperanza de hacerlo*. De que no poco nos habemos maravillado, *siendo hechura y tan antiguo criado nuestro*, y haviendo tantos años *que gozais de los frutos de esta dignidad*: en que holgara que ovierades mostrado con obra de voluntad que haveis significado siempre tener a las cosas de mi servicio. Por todo lo cual me ha parecido rogaros y encargaros mucho que, pues beis cuan justo es lo que el rey mi hijo pide, y lo que en esta coyuntura le importa, tengais por bien de socorrerle con la cantidad que de su parte se os ha pedido (*que yo se que queriendo lo podreis hacer*), o con la mayor que os fuere posible, pues en ella no habeis de aventurar nada, y se os dara seguridad para que seais satisfecho; porque, demas de que cumplireis con lo que deveis y sois obligado, me hareis en ello, y en que lo hagais con brevedad, particular placer y servicio, porque, *de otra manera ni el rey dejaria de mandallo proveer con demostracion ni yo de aconsejarselo*.

Carlos. 18 mayo 1557"

The exact nature of the mysterious threat of some sort of coercion or punishment remains unknown to us. Valdés, noted both for his austerity and for his avarice, had been assessed 150,000 ducats. But not until he received a second letter from the Emperor did he respond; he offered only 50,000 ducats and then only on loan. This is just one example to show that the absolute power of the Spanish monarch was in reality much less "absolute" than it would appear.

* M. Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint au monastère de Yuste*. Vol. 2 (Brussels, 1855), 186, 187. The italics, for emphasis, are those of Erika Spivakovsky.

A Call to Action for New Studies on Mendoza: A Summary of Publications During the Last Four Years and Suggestions for Future Research

New facts concerning the background and childhood of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza are being discovered through recent publications and current research on his father, the second Count of Tendilla and first Marquis of Mondéjar. José Cepeda Adán¹ and Emilio Meneses García² have published articles. Professor Helen Nader of Stanford University, through her current excellent research, has now made it possible to establish almost to the day the date of

¹"El Conde de Tendilla, primer Alcayde de la Alhambra," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* (Granada), Vol. 6 (1970), 21-50; "El gran Tendilla medieval y renacentista," *Cuadernos de Historia; Anexos de la Revista Hispania*, Vol. 1 (1967), 159-68.

²E. M. Garcia, ed., *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla*, Vol. 1, 1508-09. *Archivo Documental Español*, Real Academia de la Historia, tomo XXXI (Madrid, 1972). Vol. 2, 1510-13, is yet to appear.

Diego's birth: in mid-June of 1504,³ which corrects the formerly accepted date of 1503. Meneses García shows that Diego's mother was alive up to 1506, but that she died before 1508.⁴

A new Spanish edition of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada* (the first since 1948), with annotations and an introduction by Bernardo Blanco-González, has been published. In the handy format of *Clásicos Castalia*, with an extensive scholarly apparatus, this edition nevertheless suffers from an introduction full of errors concerning, for example, the chronological order of Mendoza and of his siblings; there are many errors of fact about his career, and even about his character. For instance, there is no documentary evidence to support Blanco González's views of Mendoza (who was only eleven years of age at the time of his father's death) as "the black sheep of the family" and as "a rebel against his father."⁵

The cover of a recent popular Spanish edition of the *Lazarillo de Tormes*⁶ shows below the now usual "Anónimo," a portrait of Mendoza, a good sign that Spaniards should again begin to associate Mendoza with this work. There is, however, a great contrast between the daily increasing popularity of *Lazarillo* (among other honors, "it" now boasts a bronze monument by the Roman bridge in Salamanca, and the story has been filmed) and the neglect of Mendoza, to whom not even a memorial plaque has ever been put up anywhere. This situation would be completely reversed if he were universally acknowledged as the author of *Lazarillo*. Letters of Mendoza, still unknown to us, might yet be found which would offer tangible proof of his authorship; all scholars working in Spanish archives might keep this in mind.

Another way to discover some truly convincing evidence about Mendoza's authorship would be an analysis of his style, with the help of a computer. The valuable analyses of the *Lazarillo* by Gustav Siebenmann⁷ and Salvador Aguado-Andreut should be used as the basis for such a study.⁸ The conclusions of Siebenmann and Aguado-Andreut regarding the peculiar figures of speech and other stylistic matters that appear in *Lazarillo* should be applied to the writings of Mendoza; a number of phrases from the *Lazarillo* used by those two scholars should be compared with similar phrases in the letters and poetry of Mendoza. Perhaps an expert in modern statistical techniques will be able to correlate the total language of *Lazarillo* with Mendoza's. In order to make doubly sure of the findings, he or she should adduce also the modes of expression used by several other contemporary writers, statesmen as well as poets.

There are various other areas in which Mendoza's mind and works deserve study. A scholar of the history of ideas might investigate his Latin paraphrasing of Aristotle's *De physico auditu*, a monograph (perhaps a holograph preserved in El Escorial (F - II - 6, folios 63-242). We do not yet know whether this paper is a new contribution or perhaps only an exercise. Still another field of interest, largely unexplored, is Mendoza's extensive knowledge of law. For a separate list of areas where more research is needed, see below.

³According to a copy of one of Tendilla's handwritten letters sent to me by Professor Nader.

⁴García, "Granada y el segundo conde de Tendilla a comienzos del siglo XVI," *Hispania* (Madrid), Vol. 32 (1972), 3. On the same page, Meneses García estimates Mendoza's birthday to be June 26, 1594.

⁵*Guerra de Granada*, ed. B. Blanco González, Editorial Castalia (Madrid, 1970), p. 16.

⁶J. Pérez del Hoyo, ed. (Madrid: Editorial Pueyo, 1970).

⁷Gustav Siebenmann, *Über Sprache und Stil im Lazarillo de Tormes*, Romanica Helvetica Series, No. 43 (Bern: A. Francke AG. Verlag, 1953).

⁸Salvador Aguado-Andreut, *Algunas observaciones sobre el Lazarillo de Tormes* (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1965).

(Proceedings continued)

Suggestions for Further Research on Diego Hurtado de Mendoza

IN SPAIN

Salamanca. The Biblioteca Universitaria holds the bulk of the correspondence of Cardinal Granvelle, much of it as yet unedited, which formerly was in the Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid. There may be unknown letters from Mendoza to Granvelle dated between 1553-57; if so, among other interesting information these might contain some allusion to the *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional holds more of the Granvelle correspondence: Cartas de 1535-63 (cajas 7904-16); Minutas de 1531-61 (cajas 7917-20). The *Biblioteca Nacional*, further, holds Manuscript No. 10459, Jj.86: the collection of letters by Don Diego to various persons published in the *Archivo de Investigaciones Históricas* by Foulché-Delbosc in 1911 (Vol. 2). One of the letters which Mendoza wrote to his nephew Don Francisco seems to me to allude directly to *Lazarillo*, namely, the one where he sends him the *nonada* that his nephew should show to "the Prince." The task is to find the originals from which this manuscript is only a copy. Foulché-Delbosc had edited this material (complete with all the inherent erroneous dating and other mistakes) without access to any original. The copyist responsible for this volume, who signs himself "Dn. M. M.," inserted a note in it, saying that he copied those 66 letters from the very originals as his auditor had assured him. Those originals are something yet to be discovered somewhere in Spain.

Archivo del Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, lately difficult to get at, and much of it yet unexplored, incorporates the Archivo of D. Francisco de Zabalburu. There one might find letters from Cristóbal de Mora to D. Juan de Zuñiga from the 1560s, probably with references to Don Diego and his circle of friends in the Madrid of that time.

IN ITALY

Naples. For more information on Mendoza's activities in Italy, as yet uninvestigated, are the archives of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese who must have made and received countless observations on Mendoza in the years from about 1545 until 1552.

Mantua and Milan. No one has yet touched the Gonzaga archives where Mendoza's correspondence with Don Ferrante would be, covering the years 1547 to 1552.

The *Vatican* probably has correspondence with and about Mendoza from the pontificates of Paul III and Julius III. It might be worthwhile to dig also into the pontificate of Clement VII for possible enlightenment as to how Don Diego "served" this pope when he was a young man.

Paris, London, Brussels, and Vienna may have undiscovered material on or by Mendoza.

The Nature of Absolute Royal Power as Perceived by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Pedro Nuñez de Avendaño: To Commemorate the 400th Anniversary of Mendoza's Death

J. B. Owens, Idaho State University, Pocatello

The purpose of this paper is to explain, at least in part, why certain 16th-century Castilian constitutional theorists moved beyond traditional ideas about royal power to postulate the monarch's ability to act unfettered by any restraints. Movement in the same direction occurred, of course, in 16th-century France, but there the change was clearly in response to the political situation which followed the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Castile experienced nothing like the French Wars of Religion. Moreover, because the changes in France in theory were a product of the 1540s and early 1550s, they were independent of developments in French theory. The political thought of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, whom we are commemorating with this session, will serve as a good example of the common Renaissance view of monarchy while the work of Pedro Nuñez de Avendaño, the proponent of one of the period's most extreme theories of unrestrained royal absolutism, will show the nature of the new views and

the historical events which brought about the change. Without a knowledge of this background, it is impossible to place the work of the great political theorists of Castile (Francisco Saurez or Juan de Mariana, for example), and still less that of its renowned legal scholars, in a proper context.

Mendoza outlined his views at some length to the Signoria of Venice in March, 1540. Although the sincerity of some of his statements may be questioned, given the political motives behind this communication to a foreign power by an ambassador, evidence exists in Mendoza's other works which indicates that the views expressed then on properly exercised monarchical power were substantially those of his ideal if not the working reality of his master's court. The Christian monarch, according to Mendoza, rules through reason and justice with an eye to maintaining his subjects' confidence in the value of his word and propriety of his actions. He does this because any attempt to rule through force, as does the barbarous Turkish sultan, would be both an act of tyranny and impossible. In order to ensure that justice and reason are the hallmarks of his rule, the proper monarch works through a bureaucracy of men with qualities which enable them to make just decisions. These ideal qualities are spelled out in a famous passage in Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada*. But to leave everything to a group of men, without some central direction, would result in the inability to make firm decisions, a problem which republics face and which eventually results in their destruction. Thus, the monarch must have the final say concerning what course of action will lead in difficult matters to the realization of the public good. His power is absolute within the constraints of reason and justice.

In the late middle ages, legal theorists, known as the *Postglossators*, worked out in some detail what this view of monarchical power really meant, and their views dominated most of 16th-century jurisprudence. All agreed that the monarch was responsible for upholding and defending the laws of his kingdom, thus providing security for the rights of his subjects. Moreover, a king must obey the laws himself as an example to his people and to hold their trust. But if the public good, which is to say his subjects' security, is somehow threatened, the monarch may, with just cause, exceed what Mendoza referred to as the "justicia ordinaria" and violate the kingdom's positive laws. He may do so because by divine and natural law he must maintain his kingdom in peace and order, and these sources of law are higher than any realm's statutes. In violating positive law, he is exercising a special absolute power, superior to that of ordinary power and held only by the monarch. He may even expropriate private property from his subjects which he could not do under his ordinary power. But as such property is held by right of natural law, he must provide compensation for expropriated goods. Thus, as his power to act in violation of positive law derives from divine and natural law, the ruler must act in accordance with such higher law.

Avendaño changed the definitions of the monarch's ordinary and absolute powers. Looking at an unpublished manuscript brief from the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, we cannot only see how he did this, but also why. (Avendaño's important *De Exequendis Mandatis Regnum Hispaniae* [Alcalá de Henares, 1543; Madrid, 1593] is much too complex to be the subject of a short paper.) Essentially, Avendaño altered the nature of the king's ordinary power so that he could expropriate private property under its provisions as long as compensation was provided and then allowed that the ruler did not have to provide compensation if he acted by his absolute power. Thus, the monarch, if he willed and had just cause, could violate even the natural law from which he derived much of his own authority. This was as far as a Renaissance Christian theorist could go toward an unfettered monarch without legitimizing the tyranny of force imputed to the Ottoman sultan.

A practicing lawyer, Avendaño revised the traditional theory in this way to meet the needs of his clients. Although he was the chief counsel for the Mendoza Duke of Infantado, Avendaño was on loan to the Duke of Béjar when he wrote the brief (sometime between 1545 and 1548). As one of the kingdom's leading experts on the nature of royal power, he was to provide the major defense for the Duke of Béjar against the city of Toledo in the famous Belalcázar case, the importance of which Eloy Benito Ruano has underlined for us in his *Toledo en el Siglo XV*. By virtue of a grant from John II to his ancestor, Béjar held title

(Proceedings continued)

to a vast tract of territory which Toledo claimed by right of purchase from an earlier monarch. Under the terms of any earlier understanding of royal power to expropriate property, the grant was illegal. Thus, it was in defense of magnate landed property obtained through royal grants in the turbulent 15th century that Avendaño formulated his theory. Toledo's was not the only claim of this kind against the Duke of Béjar, and the Duke of Infantado himself may have had territory within his holdings which was similarly vulnerable.

Ironically, the most extreme of the *Postglossators'* statements in the late 14th and 15th centuries throughout Europe in defense of monarchical power were intended to bolster royal authority in the face of opposition from rebellious magnates. Yet in 16th-century Castile, it was the lawyers of these magnates' heirs who were advancing even more extreme theories of absolutism in defense of the very grants which were extorted from weak 15th-century kings. It should come as no surprise that the other great theorist of extreme absolutism, Gregorio López de Tovar, was even more closely connected to the case; López de Tovar is better known now than is Avendaño because so many scholars have used his 1551 edition of the *Siete Partidas*. As the chief attorney for the Duke of Béjar, López had the major responsibility for guiding the Belalcázar case in its trial before the Chancillería de Granada. One should not wonder then, given the new awareness of their kingdom's history, that later 16th-century Castilian political theorists reacted so violently to arguments for unrestrained royal power when such arguments were developed to defend aristocratic holdings obtained in the 15th century at the expense of justice, public order, and individual security. The consequences of such arbitrary royal action, as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza indicated, did nothing to further the public good.

SPANISH RECORDS IN THE PACIFIC COLLECTION
OF THE MICRONESIAN AREA RESEARCH CENTER (MARC),
UNIVERSITY OF GUAM

by Dale S. Miyagi and Felicia E. Plaza, M.M.B.

The Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC), University of Guam, has by far the largest archival collection in the world of reproduced official Spanish documents relating to Guam and Micronesia, covering the entire period of 230 years in which Spain ruled these islands. As such, it represents a major source for study of Spain's Pacific empire. Yet specialists in Spanish colonial history have known less about this conservation collection than do those of any other field.

Established in 1967, MARC serves primarily as a research and teaching center in Micronesia. Among its aims is the stimulation of research activities through the acquisition, organization, and dissemination of pertinent information concerning Guam and Micronesia as a whole. Since the Center's inception, its personnel has devoted sustained efforts to the establishment of a collection wherein all documents, findings, and publications pertaining to Guam and Micronesia can be centrally located so as to enhance the understanding and preservation of the Chamorro and Micronesian cultural heritage. The Center's Pacific Collection, presently consisting of approximately 10,000 catalogued volumes, and of thousands of other area-related items, has been described by knowledgeable persons in the Pacific basin as being one of the world's "largest and most complete collections of Micronesian documents." The Pacific Collection, which is housed in the Pacific Room of the Center, is a conservation collection; it is not a circulating collection.

Research conducted by MARC personnel at archives and libraries in Spain, Italy, Mexico, Philippines, and the United States has yielded a wealth of Spanish materials about Guam and Micronesia. Photocopies, microfilms, and typescripts of Spanish Micronesiana have been acquired. Essentially these materials constitute the official records of the Spanish administration of this area of the Pacific during the years 1668 to 1898. Other documents deal with the missionary activities of the several Catholic orders represented in this field, namely, the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Augustinian Recollects during the same period.

Since the start of the Spanish documents project, MARC has made available for use in the Pacific Room the following materials:

Spain

1. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Sevilla
 - (a) *Documentos Relativos á la Micronesia*. 79 vols. Unedited typescripts, microfilm.
 - (b) Plaza, Felicia E., M.M.B. "Indice de la Colección de Documentos Relativos á la Micronesia que posee el Archivo de Indias, Sevilla." Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, Agaña, 1973. Typescript.

2. Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Madrid

- (a) *Documentos Relativos á la Micronesia.* 62 vols. Photocopies.
- (b) Plaza, Felicia E., M.M.B. "Índice de la Colección de Documentos Relativos á la Micronesia que posee el Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid." Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, Agaña, 1974. Typescript.

3. Biblioteca Nacional (BN), Madrid

SECCIÓN DE MANUSCRITOS:

- (a) "Memorias históricas de D. Pedro Vitard." MSS 8345. 230 folios. Microfilm.

SECCIÓN DE HISPANOAMERICA:

- (a) *Relación escrita por uno de los Padres de la Misión Mariana, remitida á Mexico, desde la isla que llamaban antes de Goan y ahora se llama de San Juan.* 6 pages. n.d. Microfilm.
- (b) *Derrotero de las Islas Marianas.* Madrid: Dirección de Hidrografía, 1863. Microfilm.

DEPÓSITO GENERAL:

- (a) Garcia, Francisco. *Relación de la vida de el devotissimo hijo de Maria Santissima, y dichoso Martir Padre Luis de Medina, de la Compañia de Jesus, que murió por Christo en las Islas Marianas (llamadas antes de Los Ladrones) con otro Compañero seglar, llamado Hipólito de la Cruz.* Madrid, 1673. Microfilm.

4. Biblioteca de Palacio (BP), Madrid

- (a) Solorzano, Manuel. "Descripción de las Islas Marianas, 1685." MSS 2866. 30 folios. Microfilm.
- (b) "Representación de D. Franco de Cardenas Pacheco hecha á S.M. en el año de 1738, dando cuenta de haber descubierto el Puerto de Apra en las Islas Marianas." MSS 2843. 6 folios. Microfilm.

5. Museo Naval (MN), Madrid

- (a) "Plan del viaje del Coronel D. Antonio de Pineda hechos desde Cadiz por las costas de rutas Americanas y despues por las M.I. y P.I. donde murió." MSS 94. 7 folios. Microfilm.
- (b) "Derrotero de Guam á Rota y Tinian y su vuelta formado en 1790 por el Capitan Domingo Manuel Garrido, cabo del paquebot San Jose y de orden del Sr. Don José Arlegui y Leoz." MSS 175. 2 folios. Microfilm.
- (c) "Bases desde el 11 de feb. de 92 que se vió la isla de Seypan una de las M.I." MSS 294. 5 folios. Microfilm.
- (d) "Reflexiones políticas sobre las islas Filipinas y Marianas." MSS 311. 46 folios. Microfilm.
- (e) Villalobos, Francisco. "Descripción local militar y política de la isla de Guajan en las Marianas." MSS 459. 19 folios. Microfilm.
- (f) Malaspina, Alejandro. "Viaje científico y político á la America meridional, 1789." MSS 753. Microfilm.
- (g) Canga-Arguelles y Villelba, Felipe. "Islas Carolinas." MSS 779. 172 folios. Microfilm.

- (h) "Estado de las poblaciones, casas y habitantes de las Marianas hecho por el Gobierno Político y Militar José de Medinilla y Pineda, 1829." MSS 1662. Fol. 198. Microfilm.
 - (i) "Cartas de Emilio José Butron, Comandante del *Velasco*, 1885 (Yap)." MSS 2011. Microfilm.
 - (j) Tomas, Juan Antonio. "Retrato geográfico-histórico-apologetico de las Islas Filipinas, con un apendice de las islas Palaos ó Carolinas y de las Islas Marianas, 1789." MSS 2201. 13 folios. Microfilm.
6. Servicio Histórico Militar (SHM), Madrid
- Mapas y planos. 33 items on Guam and Micronesia, 1792-1890. Photocopies.
7. Archivo General Militar (AGM), Segovia
- Service records of Francisco Villalobos, Francisco Ramon Villalobos y Marin, Felipe de la Corte y Ruano Calderon, Luis Ibañez Garcia, Francisco Olive y Garcia, and Angel Pazos Vela-Hidalgo, Governors of the Marianas.
8. Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Aragon (AHPA). San Cugat del Vallés (Barcelona).
- (a) *Documentos Relativos á la Micronesia*. 7 vols. Photocopies.
 - (b) Plaza, Felicia E., M.M.B. "Indice de la Colección de Documentos Relativos á la Micronesia que posee el Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Aragon, San Cugat del Vallés (Barcelona)." Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, Agaña, 1974. Typescript.

Italy

1. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome
- (a) *Cartas Annuas*, 1665-1671. Microfilm.

Mexico

1. Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City
- (a) Royal Decrees issued by the reigning Spanish monarchs to the Viceroy of New Spain, 1967-1821.
 - (b) Letters or reports addressed to the reigning monarchs of Spain, 1670-1821.

Philippines

1. Philippine National Archives (PNA), Manila
- (a) *Marianas Collection of Documents, Spanish Colonial Period, 1718-1898*. Prepared for the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, by the Ateneo de Manila University, 1973. Microfilm; index included.

(continued)

United States

1. Library of Congress (LC), Washington, D.C.

(a) *The Records of the Spanish Colonial Government in the Mariana Islands, 1678-1899.* 30 vols. Photocopies.

(b) Plaza, Felicia E., M.M.B. "Table of Contents to *The Records of the Spanish Colonial Government in the Mariana Islands, 1678-1899.*" 2 vols. Typescript.

Further information concerning this collection can be obtained by writing directly to:
Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, P.O. Box EK, Agaña, Guam 96910.

Current Research

The NEWSLETTER urges members to submit for publication reports on all aspects of their research on the history, sociology, anthropology, politics, and economics of Spain and Portugal. Members should use the form included with this NEWSLETTER to report all grants and fellowships, recent publications (books, monographs, and articles, published or accepted for publication), and research in progress. In order for the NEWSLETTER to serve as a bibliographical aide that is as *au courant* as possible, members are urged to be specific concerning details of published material.

For the convenience of members, this section (as well as the sections on DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, and CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY) will be subdivided into historical periods, following the general categories established by the *Índice Histórico Español*.

SPAIN

General Works

JUAN LINZ, Department of Sociology, Yale University

Published: "Early State-building and Late Peripheral Nationalisms against the State: The Case of Spain," pp. 32-116 in S. N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Building States and Nations: Analyses by Region*, Vol. 2 (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1973).

Catholic Monarchs

PAUL STEWART, Southern Connecticut State College, New Haven

Published: "The Santa Hermandad and the First Italian Campaign of Gonzalo de Córdoba, 1495-1498," *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring, 1975), 29-37.

Renaissance

J. B. OWENS, Department of History, Idaho State University, Pocatello

Research paper: "Diana at the Bar: Hunting, Aristocrats and the Law in Renaissance Castile," one of the featured papers to be presented at the Renaissance Society of America's Middle Atlantic Conference, to be held at Widener College, in Chester, Pennsylvania, on October 18, 1975.

Note: Further information on the session can be obtained from Dr. Craig R. Thompson, Schelling Professor of English Literature, Department of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna. 19174.

Modern Hapsburg

JOHN H. ELLIOTT, The Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, N.J.

Research in progress:

- (1) *The Count-Duke of Olivares*. A political biography, which I hope to complete in the next two to three years.

- (2) An edition of selected state papers and letters of the Conde-Duque de Olivares (with the cooperation of José Francisco del la Peña). We are still collecting and transcribing material. *Any suggestions about the location of the Olivares material, or for documents which potential users would like to see included in our edition, would be gratefully received.*
- (3) *The Palace of the Buen Retiro*. A joint study, with Professor Jonathan Brown, Acting Director of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York, which will concentrate on the first years of the Retiro, primarily from an iconographical standpoint. We hope to show how the design and décor of the palace reflected the ideas and aspirations of the Olivares régime. Work in progress, but still at an early stage.

SANDRA BERKE HARDING, Department of History, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa

Research in progress:

A study of the thought of the Franciscans, in the area around Salamanca, in the early 16th century.

Within the next year I plan to write a book based on my thesis. As mystics, the Franciscans helped prepare the way for the mystic revival of the Golden Age; as theologians, they elaborated a defense of Catholic orthodoxy, based on the tradition of the Church, which was adopted officially at the Council of Trent. At present I am trying to place the Franciscans in context. In a recently completed article, on Franciscan mysticism in the late middle ages (13th to 16th centuries), I gave an explanation for the various types of mysticism which appeared among the Franciscans of early 16th-century Castile. Now I plan to begin reading on the theology of this period, although the specific type of theological writing which would be of most help to me is not easy to locate.

Modern 19th Century

NICOLAS SANCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Department of History, New York University

Publicado: "A formação do mercado nacional: Espanha e Itália," *Dos Anais de História* (Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras de Assis), No. 5 (1973), pp. 55-84.

"Las regiones económicas de España en el siglo XIX: su determinación mediante el análisis factorial de los precios del trigo," *Revista de Occidente*, Vol. 134 (1974), 212-27.

De próxima aparición:

Los precios agrícolas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. Vol. 1: *Trigo y cebada*.

To be published by the Banco de España, Madrid. (This volume was completed during sabbatical leave, spent in France.)

19th Century

GLEN A. WAGGONER, Columbia University

Published: "The Black Hand Mystery: Rural Unrest and Social Violence in Southern Spain, 1881-1883," pp. 161-91 in Robert A. Bezucha, ed., *Modern European Social History* (Lexington, Mass., 1972).

20th Century

JAMES CORTADA, Fords, New Jersey

Published: With PHILIP V. CANNISTRARO, "Francisco Cambo and the Modernization of Spain: The Technocratic Possibilities of Fascism," *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (January 1975), 66-82.

20th Century/Dictatorship: Primo de Rivera

GERIE B. BLEDSOE, American Association of University Professors, Washington, D.C.

Research in preparation: Three manuscripts to be completed in the autumn of 1975:

- (1) The political philosophy of the Dictatorship, 1923-30
- (2) The organization of the *Patriotic Union* during the same period
- (3) Spanish foreign policy under the Old Regime and under the Dictatorship in the post-World War I period.

HENRY H. KEITH, International Center for the Coordination of Portuguese Studies, Lisbon

Research planned: The Primo de Rivera Regime in Spain

20th Century/Franco Regime

JOSE CAZORLA PEREZ, Seminario Derecho Político, Facultad de Derecho, Universidad de Granada

Estudios en progreso:

Estudio sociológico sobre el empresariado español

Proyecto nacional dividido en cinco zonas de estudio. Director de la zona sur: Dr. José Cazorla. Cuenta con la colaboración del equipo privado por el Departamento de Derecho Político de la Facultad de Derecho (Universidad de Granada), del que es titular el Dr. Cazorla.

Estudio sobre la "Evolución y futuro de la familia española"

Director: Dr. Cazorla. Colabora el equipo de la Facultad de Derecho, Universidad de Granada.

CHARLES R. HALSTEAD, Department of History, Washington College, Maryland

- Published:
- (1) "Un 'Africain' Méconnu: Le Colonel Juan Beigbeder," *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale*, No. 83 (July, 1971), pp. 31-60.
 - (2) "Diligent Diplomat: Alexander W. Weddell as American Ambassador to Spain, 1939-1942," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (January, 1974), 3-38.
 - (3) "A 'Somewhat Machiavellian' Face: Colonel Juan Beigbeder as High Commissioner in Spanish Morocco, 1937-1939," *The Historian*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (November, 1974), 46-66.
 - (4) "Consistent and Total Peril from Every Side: Portugal and its 1940 Protocol with Spain," *Iberian Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring, 1974).

To be published:

An article on Carlton Hayes, *Journal of Contemporary History*, July, 1975.

FREDERIC M. MESSICK, Social Sciences Librarian, Central Michigan University, Mr. Pleasant

Research in preparation:

A bibliography of published materials on the question of Spanish neutrality in World War II.

Expected completion date: Summer 1975

JUAN JOSÉ RUIZ-RICO LOPEZ LENDINEZ, Seminario Derecho Político, Facultad de Derecho, Universidad de Granada

De próxima aparición:

"Sistema eclesial y sistema político en España (1936-1971)," que será publicado en la *Revista Española de Opinión Pública*, en otoño 1975.

Este trabajo forma parte de una tesis doctoral ya leída: "Teoría de los sistemas generales en ciencia política: Sistema eclesial y sistema político en España (1936-1971)." Empleando el análisis sistémico de Easton, se estudian las relaciones entre la Iglesia católica y el Estado español, particularmente el papel político desempeñado por aquella.

PORTUGAL

Modern

HENRY H. KEITH, International Center for the Coordination of Portuguese Studies, Lisbon

Research in progress:

- (1) "America through Portuguese Eyes: The *Correio Brasiliense* and the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 1790-1822." This research began in July, 1974, in Rio de Janeiro, and was continued in Lisbon on a grant from the Fulbright Commission in Lisbon as a part of the bicentennial celebration of American Independence. There will be additional historical studies on emigration from the Azores to English America, on trade between Portugal and English America and, later, on the independent United States of America. It is expected that these studies will be published by the Portuguese Government (Ministry of Education and Culture) both in English and Portuguese.
- (2) Slavery in 19th-century Portuguese Africa (Angola, Moçambique, Cabo Verde, S. Tomé e Príncipe). How the institution operated and changed over time. Abolition and aftermath. Involuntary servitude in other forms.

Most of the research on this topic was carried out in the period 1969-71, on a grant from the Portuguese Government's Overseas Research Council.

- (3) The Evolution of Portuguese Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Research on this topic was conducted over the period 1972-74 on a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

ENOCH RESNICK, Department of History, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel

Research in progress:

General field of study--Hispano-Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian relations, 1815-34.

At the moment my research is concentrated on Luso-Brazilian relations from 1814 to 1834 when D. João VI returned to Portugal.

JOHN D. VINCENT-SMITH, The British Institute, Lisbon

Research in progress: Three (theoretically) separate "projects":

- (1) The Anglo-Portuguese alliance and its consequences for Portugal, 1918 to ca. 1939.
This is research in primary sources only, in London and in Lisbon; it is financed by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
- (2) *Modern Portugal*, from ca. 1880s to the present.
This is a book-length manuscript, commissioned by Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.
- (3) Portugal since April 25, 1974.

Research plans:

I shall be in Lisbon until the end of July and expect to return at the beginning of October.

Dissertations

RECENTLY COMPLETED OR IN PROGRESS

UNITED STATES

19th/20th Centuries

Princeton University

Director of Dissertation: Stanley J. Stein, Department of History

Doctoral Candidate:

DIANA VELEZ

"Regeneration and Pacification: The Role of Popular Education in Spain, 1898 to 1923"

To be completed June 1976

20th Century/Franco Regime

Boston University

Director of Dissertation: William R. Keylor, Department of History

Doctoral Candidate:

LOUIS STEIN

"The Spanish Republican Refugees in France, 1939-1953"

To be completed 1976

20th Century/II Republic

Columbia University

Director of Dissertation: Robert O. Paxton, Department of History

Doctoral Candidate:

WILLIAM J. IRWIN

"The CEDA in the 1933 Cortes Elections"

In the course of this study, the author has examined the ideology of the CEDA, concentrating on the official program adopted in March 1933 and on the campaign propaganda. To a lesser degree, the strategy and campaign propaganda of the other parties have also been examined. The results of the election are reported in great detail; names of the candidates and their individual vote totals have been given in most provinces. Spain has been broken down into electoral regions, and the reasons for the CEDA success have been examined.

To be completed April 1975

SPAIN

Universidad de Granada

Director de Tesis: José Cazorla Pérez, Seminario Derecho Político
Universidad de Granada

Candidato para el doctorado: MANUEL BONACHELA MESAS

"Asociaciones voluntarias en la España contemporánea. Asociaciones políticas"

Empleando las categorías de los aparatos ideológicos del Estado, se intenta estudiar el mundo de las asociaciones voluntarias, intentando extraer una teoría general, pero para ser aplicado a España en el momento actual.

Tesis se leerá: primavera 1975

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