



Newsletter
of the Society for
Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies

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May 1, 1974

THE SOCIETY FOR SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE HISTORICAL STUDIES was founded in April 1969 to promote research in the fields of Spanish and Portuguese History. Members of the Executive Committee are Professors Morgan R. Broadhead (Austin, Texas), Gabriel Jackson (University of California, San Diego), Clara E. Lida (Wesleyan University), Stanley Payne (University of Wisconsin), David Ringrose (Rutgers University), Susan Schneider (University of Massachusetts at Boston), and Joan Ullman (University of Washington).

SOCIETY FOR SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE HISTORICAL STUDIES: ELECTIONS

The ballot included with this number of the NEWSLETTER solicits your participation in our regular elections to the Executive and Nominating Committees of the Society, and asks for ratification of a proposed change in the dues schedule. Members are encouraged to indicate their choices on the enclosed form and return it as specified to Richard HERR by May 31, 1974.

SSPHS NEWSLETTER: EDITOR'S NOTICE

Increased postal costs and the increasing bulk of recent NEWSLETTERS have forced us to abandon our patronage of first class domestic mail and of air printed matter foreign rates. Unfortunately, our present third class mailings are, in the eyes and hands of the Postal Service, neither forwardable nor returnable. It is imperative then that, if you wish to continue receiving the NEWSLETTER, you keep the General Secretary or the Editor informed of your current address.

Please take note also that, beginning with the next number of the NEWSLETTER, Joan ULLMAN (Department of History, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98105) will become Editor.

MINUTES OF THE 1974 MEETING

The Annual Business Meeting of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies was called to order on Sunday, March 24, 1974, at

3:00 p.m. in the International Center at the University of California, San Diego by the General Secretary, David Ringrose.

I. The Secretary submitted the recommendations of the Executive Committee regarding the operation of the NEWSLETTER to the effect that:

- A. Joan Connelly Ullman, currently a member of the Executive Committee, be ratified as Editor of the NEWSLETTER under the terms spelled out in her budgetary and editorial recommendations to the General Secretary.
- B. That the dues schedule be modified slightly in order that estimated revenues provide a modest surplus over anticipated expenditures. Cost estimates for next year's NEWSLETTER amount to about \$1,700. Current income from dues is about \$1,475, to which may be added an anticipated subsidy from the University of Washington of \$200. We have begun a program to 1) bring the dues paying membership up to date in its payments, and 2) to recruit more institutional and library memberships. Even twenty of the latter will bring in an additional \$200 at the current dues rate. To avoid the possibility of being "caught short," the following scale was recommended:

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| Student and Associate Members - - - - - | \$ 5.00 |
| Assistant Professors, Instructors and Foreign Members - - - - - | \$10.00 |
| Associate and Full Professors - - - - - | \$12.00 |
| Institutions - - - - - | \$15.00 |

At current membership levels, and assuming 15-20 new Institutional Memberships, we could anticipate an annual income of c. \$2,100, thus covering the NEWSLETTER and incidental expenses, and providing a modest surplus.

Professor Ullman's nomination as Editor was approved without dissent.

The dues modification proposal will be submitted to the entire membership with the annual ballot.

II. Elections for new members of the Executive Committee: Nominations from the Nominating Committee were completed by early March, but were delayed by the need to have the list ratified by this year's Chairperson of the Nominating Committee, Stanley Stein, who is in Seville. Ballots will be distributed in the post-Conference NEWSLETTER.

III. SSPHS PRIZE: The Society's Prize for the best pre-doctoral essay submitted to the Awards Committee has been awarded to

David Smith, a graduate student at The University of Texas at Austin, for his article entitled "Old Christian Merchants and the Foundation of the Brazil Company, 1649," which has already been accepted for publication by the Hispanic American Historical Review. Mr. Smith will receive \$200 from the Society and letters will be sent to his department and to the H.A.H.R.

- IV. The General Secretary requested that members begin immediately to send in suggestions for next year's program, whether for papers, panels, or guest speakers. Suggestions should be directed to the General Secretary for forwarding to the Program Committee, which will be named as soon as the ballots are tabulated.

The General Secretary offered some recommendations for the next meeting, including:

1. One or more sessions dealing with modern Spain and Portugal (19th-20th centuries) but not necessarily segregating the two countries.
2. A colloquium on the uses of literary and/or cultural materials for historical purposes.
3. A guest speaker in the Portuguese field.

- V. Memberships: As of February 1, 1974 162 persons had paid dues since January 1, 1973:

113 regular members
12 institutions
4 double memberships
33 student and associate members

By the time of the Conference the total was between 170 and 175. As of February 1, there were 44 members who had paid dues in the calendar year 1972, but not since January 1, 1973. A number of even more delinquent members have been identified and have been dropped from the mailing lists.

- VI. Financial Statement: Based on the activity of our checking account:

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|---|--------------------|
| Assets as of January 1, 1973 | \$ 1,614.28 |
| Deposits to December 31, 1973 | 1,028.00 |
| Total | <u>\$ 2,642.28</u> |
| Expenditures, primarily NEWSLETTER | 635.70 |
| Balance at close of year | <u>\$ 2,006.58</u> |
| In addition, \$280 in dues were received during 1973, but inadvertently were not deposited until 1974 | <u>280.00</u> |
| Actual balance at start of 1974 | \$ 2,286.58 |

- VII. 1975 Meeting: The Executive Committee recommended acceptance of a proposal from Michael Weisser that the Conference be held in recently completed facilities available at the City College of New York. The direct costs for which we must seek subsidies for those facilities are estimated at \$500-\$600. The location is at 137th Street and Convent Avenue in Manhattan. Convenient hotel space is available at \$13.00 per person per night. The membership in attendance voted to endorse this recommendation.
- VIII. Future Prizes: Based on the experience of our first prize competition, and the recommendations of the Awards Committee, the Executive Committee recommended that prizes be made entirely honorary, and that they be awarded only once every two years. Following discussion from the floor, it was moved, seconded, and carried that the granting of such prizes be suspended indefinitely. The consensus seemed to be that the prize money might be better applied to NEWSLETTER expenses, especially in view of the facts that only six entries were received in two years, and that all but one of them had already been accepted for publication. Additionally, it was felt that a non-monetary prize would arouse even less interest.
- IX. Additional Business: Professor Jackson raised the problem of getting strong candidates to apply for Fulbright Grants, and also that of helping serious Hispanists in obtaining such grants. It is not clear just how much can be done, but both Professor Jackson and Professor Ringrose have been on Fulbright screening committees and would be willing to advise applicants as to how to make effective presentations. If any other members of the Society have similar experience and inclinations, please notify the Editor of the NEWSLETTER.

The meeting then adjourned.

CONFERENCE REPORT - GUEST SPEAKERS

(Editor's note: Each of the four guest speakers at the La Jolla Conference was invited to submit a synopsis of his remarks for publication in the NEWSLETTER. At time of publication only the synopses which follow had been received.)

WORK IN PROGRESS

THE CONDE-DUQUE DE OLIVARES

by

J. H. ELLIOTT

Professor J. H. ELLIOTT gave an informal talk on his projected political biography of the Conde-Duque de Olivares. After discussing the problems

created by the destruction of the Olivares archive, and the general question of the viability of a political biography as a method of approaching the history of 17th-century Spain, he gave his impressions of Olivares as a man and a minister. He emphasized in particular the Conde-Duque's exalted sense of the majesty of kingship, and traced the development of the relationship between the minister and the king. He also discussed the Conde-Duque's adherence to the traditional forms of government, based on the consulta system, but showed how he attempted to renovate this form by the use of outsiders--men drawn from the group which surrounded him in Seville, "newmen" like José González, and Portuguese Jews, like Manuel Lopez Pereyra. This dedicated team of Olivares' adherents found itself confronted by solid opposition, within the Cortes of Castile and the conciliar structure itself, and also among the poderosos of the cities. It was this opposition which prompted the Conde-Duque to secure the services of men of letters, who would seek to influence public opinion on behalf of the regime and its program.

Professor Elliott described this program as one based on the concepts of reforma at home, and of reputación in the field of foreign policy. He suggested that Olivares was a "peace with honor" man in his approach to the war in the Netherlands, and that in general his foreign policy was characterized by considerable restraint. This was intensified after the years 1627-29 which, given the combination of monetary problems in Castile and serious setbacks in the area of foreign policy, appear in retrospect to represent a major turning point in the history of 17th century Spain. But Professor Elliott preferred, in place of the traditional concept of inevitable decline, that of a diminishing margin of possibilities, whereby Olivares became dependent for success on an increasing number of contingencies, which in the event proved unfavourable. 1640 marked the failure of Spain's first modernizing ruler, an activist whose best epitaph was coined by himself: "Es menester morir haciendo."

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AN INTERPRETATION OF SPANISH FASCISM

by

Herbert R. Southworth

Herbert R. Southworth, Regents' Professor at University of California at San Diego, author of El mito de la cruzada de Franco, Antifascismo, and other works on the Spanish Civil War, spoke on Sunday morning on: "An Interpretation of Spanish Fascism." Professor Southworth first attempted to define fascism, not as one of the great social ideas of our century, but as an ephemeral program, limited in time and space: in time to the period dating from the Russian Revolution of 1917 to the decolonization struggles, and in space to Western and Central Europe. The speaker considered fascism to be for Italy and Germany what the New Deal was for the United States during the early Roosevelt years: a social and economic program by which the capitalist structure could be

saved and the revolutionary potential of the masses channelled into a formula of class collaboration, ending, in the Fascist program, eventually in an adventure of imperialist expansion. An outline of the Spanish fascist (Falangist) program, as deduced by the speaker from Falangist texts, was then presented. This program was justified by extracts from basic Falangist writings, and then the program was applied to a chronology of Spanish history from 1931 to 1946, to show how the political and economic conjuncture was never favorable for a conquest of the State by the Spanish fascists. The speaker argued that for fascism to prosper, the Right must be fearful of the Left, and must also have lost faith in the efficacy of the traditional political parties which normally defend the interests of the Right; this situation developed in Spain only after the 1936 elections, when the Left was in power and the leaders of the Falange imprisoned. The Falangist movement was organized only during the Civil War, but each day of civil war rendered impossible that unity which must precede a campaign of imperial conquest. The Rightist elements (landowners, military, church, finance capital, etc.) won the Civil War, by destroying their enemies, not by persuading them into an adventure of class collaboration. Franco had no need for the Falange program when the war was won, but kept the repressive structure as a method of class control. Spain could not enter the Second World War because the country was disunited and in economic ruin. Franco offered to enter the war at the side of the Axis, if economic aid were granted and imperial conquests admitted. Spain's aid was never considered worth the price. When the Americans and English landed in North Africa, on 8 November 1942, on lands which the Falange thought to be part of the future Falangist Empire, and Spain accepted the fait accompli, the Spanish fascist dream was ended. The Falangist structure, conceived to form the Spaniards into a united Phalanx to conquer a new Empire, was left to repress the Spanish people, the only people in Europe who rejected fascism at the polls and then fought for three years against it.

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THE ARBITRISTAS: AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL
AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

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The movement for the reform of the Spanish monarchy in the seventeenth century has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention in recent years. One component of this attention is that interest has been focused on the more notable reformers; men such as Pedro Fernandez Navarrete, Sancho de Moncada, Miguel Caja de Leruela and others have been the subject of some monographic works and have figured prominently in other more general studies. Yet, in spite of this interest, a great deal of confusion exists about these reformers, not only in terms of the biographic details of their lives (which are slight), but in terms of the nature and significance of their thought and, indeed, of how these men may be classified and described.

The reformers of the early seventeenth century have been known, since their own times, under two different descriptions. They have been characterized as political economists, and they have also been called arbitristas. The expression "political economist" is, in this context, relatively easy to define: one who is concerned with directing governmental policies to promote the wealth of the government and community as a whole. The word arbitrista is some somewhat more difficult to define satisfactorily. Literally, arbitrista was the term applied to a man who proposed schemes or projects (arbitrios); the expression, "the arbitristas," has been used to describe those men, in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain, "who devised expedients and drew up schemes, whether sound or unsound, for the restoration of the royal finances and of the Castilian economy."¹

The word arbitrista, however, also carries certain negative connotations and, throughout most of its history, has been a term of disparagement. The word was in use in the early seventeenth century,² but the men whom we call arbitristas would not have so described themselves. An historiographical survey of the arbitristas, of how the men have been viewed and the term has been used, will reveal the various interpretations and connotations which complicate the study, not only of the reformers themselves, but of the reform movement as a whole.

That the men whom we classify as arbitristas did not regard themselves as such is clear from their writings. Pedro Fernandez

Navarrete spoke contemptuously of "the pernicious fancies of the arbitristas."³ Miguel Caja de Leruela, another man usually seen as an arbitrista, also disparaged "the sophistries of the arbitristas."⁴ A third example of this usage is by Jacinto de Alcazar de Arriaza who introduced his writings by explicitly stating that his plans were not arbitrios and that he was not an arbitrista.⁵ These examples, from the 1620's, 1630's and 1640's respectively, indicate the opprobrium attached to the word arbitrista.

A clearer picture of why the arbitristas were viewed with scorn can be drawn from some of the literature of the early seventeenth century in which the reformers were the subject of much ridicule and satire. Quevedo changed their name to "baritristes" and wrote that "the Antichrist must be an arbitrista."⁶ Cervantes, however, provides the clearest insight into how the arbitristas were viewed by their own society.

Cervantes ridiculed the arbitristas in both his Novelas Ejemplares and in Don Quijote. In the novela Coloquio de los perros, there is an account of the conversation, in a pauper's hospital, between an alchemist, a poet, a mathematician, and an arbitrista.⁷ The poet tells of his poem which was twenty years in composition and written using nouns alone, verbs of any form being excluded. He recounts his great difficulty in finding a suitable patron. The alchemist then speaks of his search for the Philosopher's Stone which will enable him to extract silver and gold from common stone. The mathematician speaks of his attempt to square the circle and, finally, the arbitrista speaks:

I, gentlemen, am an arbitrista, and have given, on various occasions, to His Majesty, many different arbitrios, all of which would benefit him and not harm the kingdom.⁸

While the arbitrista's previous plans had wound up in the garbage, he was now going to submit a new plan which would release the king from all of his debts and obligations. After much prodding from the others, he agrees to reveal his project. His arbitrio is for the king to order all his vassals to fast on bread and water one day each month and to pay to the king whatever money would have been spent on food. In this way, according to the calculations of the arbitrista, in twenty years, the king would be free of all his debts. Upon finishing his scheme, everyone laughs at him and his idea and even he has to smile at his own foolishness. The story concludes with the narrator reflecting that most people like these four end their days in a hospital for paupers.

In Don Quijote there is also a satire on arbitristas.⁹ The curate and the barber decide to test Don Quijote's sanity, to see if he has recovered from his delusion that he is a knight-errant.

They inform him that the Turk is threatening all of Christendom and that the King is preparing his defense. Don Quijote replies that he has advice for the king. The barber inquires what this advice is, adding that many of the arbitrios proposed to kings are impertinent, impossible, nonsensical, or harmful to the king and his realm. Don Quijote's response is that his scheme is neither impossible nor absurd, but is "the easiest, justest, the readiest and the most expeditious" that any arbitrista has ever conceived.¹⁰ After encouragement from the curate and the barber, the plan is reluctantly revealed. The King is to command an assemblage of all the knights-errant who are roaming through Spain. Among them there surely would be at least one who could single-handedly overthrow the Turk. The incident ends with all despairing that Don Quijote is still quite mad.

In both Don Quijote and in the Coloquio, Cervantes presents, in Bataillon's words, "a fantasy which . . . is played on the boundaries of the real and the invented, the reasonable and the arbitrary."¹¹ The arbitristas, to Cervantes and to the seventeenth century, are very foolish men; in the Coloquio, the only one of the four at whom all the others laugh is the arbitrista. In Cervantes' view, the arbitristas are unaware of the complexities of the problems they are trying to solve, such as the king's indebtedness; they are dreamers unable to confront the reality of the problems besetting society.

Moreover, and this was to be an important point in future views of the arbitristas, each one had one favorite arbitrio that, by itself, would constitute a panacea for the problems of Spain. Don Quijote's foolishness, in the passage just discussed, lies partially in arguing that a complex problem (the defense of Christendom) could be solved by a single easy, just expeditious action (the convening of the knights-errant). In the Coloquio, the arbitrista argued that another complex problem (the king's indebtedness) could be solved by a simple action (mandatory fasting). In both cases, the proposals were ridiculed, partially because they were absurd (there are no knights-errant, people would not fast), but they were also ridiculed because they were argued and put forth to the exclusion of other less dramatic proposals. Each proposal, in the popular view of the arbitristas, was unico, i.e., special and more efficacious than any other arbitrio.¹² The arbitristas, then, were to be ridiculed for their foolish insistence on an absurd unico arbitrio. Consequently, the reformers of the early seventeenth century explicitly and vehemently denied that they were arbitristas.

These connotations of the word arbitrista have persisted into the present, and, until quite recently, men such as Pedro Fernandez Navarrete or Sancho de Moncada have been "arbitristas" only to their critics; to their admirers, they have been seen as "economists." Thus, while "arbitrista" was a derogatory term in the eighteenth century,¹³ the reformers of the early seventeenth century were popular and admired. The writings of Pedro Fernandez Navarrete, Sancho

de Moncada, and Miguel Caja de Leruela were reprinted in the 1700's¹⁴ and the writings of many other reformers were inserted or paraphrased in such works as the Conde de Campomanes' Apéndice a la educación popular and Juan Sempere y Guarinos' Biblioteca Española Económica-Política.¹⁵

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, in itself a period of economic reform, saw a number of reformers who looked back to the reformers of the early seventeenth century as kindred spirits. Their views were quoted to support those proposals which the eighteenth-century reformers were advocating.¹⁶ Juan Sempere y Guarinos, for example, argued that the study of the reformers of the early seventeenth century was of great importance:

Homer and Virgil are much more celebrated and read than Plato and Aristotle. And among us, almost all know and applaud Cervantes, and almost none [know and applaud] Moncada, Navarrete, Mata, and Alvarez Osorio. . . . Why should we not pay tribute and give recognition to zealous Spaniards who taught us political economy, which is the important science of the causes of the greatness and decadence of nations, and of the prosperity and poverty of our monarchy? ¹⁷

While the exact influence of the reformers of the seventeenth century upon those of the eighteenth has yet to be analyzed, ¹⁸ it is clear that the former were regarded as economists, not as arbitristas.¹⁹ "Arbitrista" was still a term of denigration. In the late nineteenth century, the term arbitrista became even more negative in connotation, and reformers such as Navarrete and Moncada began to be associated with--and, at least by implication, regarded as--arbitristas.

Manuel Colmeiro y Penido, an economist and historian in the second half of the nineteenth century, wrote a number of books on the history of economic thought in Spain. Through his writings, he has had a strong influence on the historical image of the arbitristas. To Colmeiro, who was involved in the nineteenth century dispute over free trade versus protectionism,²⁰ the great error of Spanish policy in the seventeenth century had been its insistence on protectionism and its bullionist attempt to amass gold and silver.²¹ The arbitristas, who in Colmeiro's view contributed to and participated in this policy, were at the very best misguided and rather dangerous fools. At the worst, they were the symbol and perhaps the cause of Spain's decline.²²

In his Biblioteca de las economistas españoles,²³ a listing of Spanish economists from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, Colmeiro dismissed writer after writer of the seventeenth century with the curt phrase "vulgar and impertinent arbitrista."²⁴ In Colmeiro's usage, arbitrista became a veritable insult; writing

contemptuously of a minister of Carlos IV, Colmeiro said "the fertile imagination of the author makes him appear in our eyes as more than a minister, . . . [as] a veritable arbitrista."²⁵

Colmeiro concluded his magnum opus, the Historia de la economía política, with a chapter on the arbitristas.²⁶ In this chapter, he distinguished three kinds of arbitristas: those who were honorable men of good faith who gave dangerous counsel to the king, those flatterers who promised miracles, and, last and most dangerous, those cheats who were outright crooks and frauds. "Arbitrismo," the mania for proposing arbitrios, had come to Spain from Italy and Flanders, and was peculiar neither to Spain nor to the seventeenth century. Thomas More, Fourier, Owen, Saint-Simon, "and those other writers belonging to the socialist or communist sects" were arbitristas as well. Colmeiro concluded his discussion of arbitristas, and his history of economic thought in Spain, by praising his own generation for avoiding and resisting "the mania of arbitrios."

Colmeiro's objections to arbitrismo were based, to a large extent, on his personal views. An ardent advocate of free trade, he criticized what he saw as the insistence of the reformers on protectionism and bullionism. A student, moreover, of the science of political economy (as he would have described it), he objected to the unscientific and amateurish approach of these idle dreamers.

In contrast to the arbitristas, Colmeiro praised the políticos, men who "censured the vanity of ending in one easy blow and by one easy plan all the illnesses of Spain."²⁷ The políticos were, presumably, realistic in their perception and scientific in their approach to problems. In this contest, the examples Colmeiro gave of políticos were all from the eighteenth century. While Colmeiro was not explicit as to the exact category within which reformers such as Moncada and Navarrete would belong, it seems likely that they were to be considered arbitristas; those of the highest and best category (misguided men of honor and good faith), but arbitristas nevertheless.²⁸ One of Colmeiro's contributions to the historiography of the arbitristas in the twentieth century has been the practice of referring to some of them--presumably the better writers--as políticos.²⁹

Even more important as a contribution has been Colmeiro's effort to give an established and standard meaning to the word arbitrista. The major reference works on Spanish history still define arbitrista in terms that Colmeiro could have written³⁰ and many historians have followed Colmeiro in describing (and dismissing) the arbitristas as contrivers of fantastic schemes.³¹ As a consequence, some historians, particularly those who have found something of value in the reformers of the early seventeenth century, have chosen to avoid the word arbitrista because of its derogatory connotations.³²

The main trend of twentieth century historiography has been to reassess the reformers of the early seventeenth century in a more

favorable light. In the course of this development, the distinction between politicos and arbitristas--between men such as Navarrete on the one hand and men such as Leruela on the other--has been blurred. Moreover, the word arbitrista has lost, at least partially, its negative qualities.³³

This reassessment is the result of the extensive utilization of the reformers by modern scholarship. One such use has been for historians to rely upon their specific proposals (arbitrios) in order to discuss the history of economic thought in seventeenth century Spain. There has been quite a bit of scholarly controversy over the extent to which Spanish economic thought, including that of the reformers, was mercantilist. Throughout the nineteenth century, the thought of the seventeenth was viewed as mercantilist, or at least tending towards mercantilism. In Colmeiro's formulation, both the practice and the doctrine was strongly protectionist, with a great emphasis upon the amassing of bullion and the prohibiting of foreign merchandise.³⁴

In the twentieth century, this traditional view has been both contested and reaffirmed. Attention has been centered on those thinkers who exhibited antimercantilist tendencies³⁵ and attention has also been focused, primarily by Earl J. Hamilton,³⁶ on those writers who were precursors of the mercantilism of the eighteenth century. The assertion that Spanish thought was primarily or predominantly mercantilist in the seventeenth century has been hotly contested, and a good deal of the controversy has been centered around what is meant by mercantilism. Some have argued that Spanish thought in this period was not mercantilist because it was not bullionist; it did not identify richness with bullion.³⁷ Others have argued that Spanish thought in this period was not mercantilist because Spain, at this time, had no coherent national economic policy.³⁸

Recently, an attempt has been made to distinguish five differing attitudes towards regulation and to place the various writers of the period 1500-1700 in one or another of these categories.³⁹ As might be expected, some individual reformers, such as Navarrete, are to be found in more than one category. This particular attempt has been criticized by Pierre Vilar as not giving sufficient attention to the historical changes which the period 1500-1700 underwent. Such attention to historical context would, Vilar suggests, resolve the contradictions and give a better analysis of the texts.⁴⁰

While the controversy over the extent to which Spanish thought in the seventeenth century was mercantilist may never be resolved,⁴¹ one byproduct of this controversy has been to focus scholarly attention upon the specific proposals of the reformers of the early seventeenth century. The reformers have also been utilized by modern historical scholarship in quite a different way. This approach relies less on what they actually proposed and more on their observations as to the contemporary situation in Spain. In this approach, for example,

Sancho de Moncada's argument that foreign imports be excluded from Spain would be used, not to support the existence of protectionist thought, but rather to substantiate and support the view that foreigners possessed a significant and undermining influence upon the Spanish economy.

A good example of this type of reliance upon the reformers of the early seventeenth century is to be found in the classic article by Earl J. Hamilton, "The Decline of Spain."⁴² Hamilton's thesis is that the failure of industry in Spain was the result of wages remaining on the same level as prices; Spain, therefore, was deprived of the stimulus to industrial growth which a lag between wages and prices provides. In the course of his argument, Hamilton uses the observations of Moncada, Navarrete, and other reformers to demonstrate the existence of

most of the evils leading Spain to ruin: primogeniture, mortmain, vagabondage, deforestation, redundancy of ecclesiastics, contempt for manual labor and arts, indiscriminate alms, monetary chaos, and oppressive taxation.⁴³

While Hamilton's thesis has been subjected to searching criticism,⁴⁴ the existence of the "evils" to which the reformers gave testimony is not in dispute. Whether they "led Spain to ruin" and, even more important, how they did so are significant issues indeed.

The economic interpretation of seventeenth century Spanish history whether in support of or in reaction to Hamilton, is certainly the most popular approach to the problem at present. Most of the historians adapting this approach have, like Hamilton, relied upon the observations of the reformers to indicate the existence of those economic and social factors which were so crucial to the development of Spain.⁴⁵

Recently, a tendency has arisen which places greater emphasis on those non-economic factors which contributed to the history of Spain and which views economic factors in the context of the institutional and intellectual history of the seventeenth century. Some of these interpretations have accordingly utilized the reformers as a source of comments and observations on the institutional and intellectual situation in Spain.

J. H. Elliott, in a number of books and articles,⁴⁶ has emphasized the institutional components of the decline of Spain, i.e., the constitutional and structural problems facing Spain in the seventeenth century. He has outlined the history of the attempt, under pressure of war, to impose the centralized political and economic system of Castile upon the decentralized federal monarchy, particularly upon the non-Castilian provinces of Portugal and Aragon. In narrat-

ing this attempt to spread the burden of empire on all the provinces of the monarchy, Elliott relies to a great extent on the analyses and suggestions of the reformers. The program of Olivares for the reform of the entire monarchy is viewed as part of the general reform program which many were advocating.⁴⁷ The reformers are quoted as witnesses for the case advanced by numerous Castilians that they were carrying an unreasonable share of the cost of monarchy.⁴⁸

Another example of a contemporary historian using the observations of the reformers to support his interpretation of the seventeenth century can be found in Hugh Trevor-Roper's controversial "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century."⁴⁹ While his concern is to provide an explanation of developments throughout Europe as a whole, he does explicitly discuss the history of Spain. In his view, the primary reason for the catastrophe which Spain underwent in the 1640's was the failure of the government to reform itself. Spain did make such an attempt at reform, in the 1620's, but failed, primarily because it sacrificed reform to war. The reformers are used to prove the existence of the reaction against the character and cost of the State and of a demand for emancipation from the burden of centralization. In his terminology, they are part of the growing reaction of the Country against the Court.⁵⁰ He refers, therefore, to "the absolute divorce between Crown and arbitristas that was so obvious in Spain."⁵¹

Thus, the observations of the reformers on their own times have been used to provide insight into the problems of Spain in the seventeenth century. They have been used to show the existence of those intellectual, political, social, and economic factors which help explain the history of Spain in the early modern period. Their acuteness as observers has been testified to by many modern historians.⁵²

The reformers, then, have been utilized by many twentieth century historians, who have drawn either upon their actual proposals or their observations. The discovery that they were either proponents or opponents of a reputable economic doctrine such as mercantilism has been complemented by the discovery that they were perceptive observers of their own society.

One result of this renewed attention and appreciation has been a change in the connotations attached to the word arbitrista. As the men themselves have risen in the estimation of historians,⁵³ so too have the connotations of the word used to describe them. Thus, perhaps the greatest of modern Spanish historians, Jaime Vicens Vives, felt comfortable in speaking of their "noble propositions."⁵⁴ The degree to which the word has lost its derogatory connotations is also revealed in the statement by Pierre Vilar that many Spaniards from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries (including Colmeiro) "have always rendered . . . homage to . . . arbitristas of the Siglo

de Oro."⁵⁵ From being an insult in the usage of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the word arbitrista in the twentieth has, at least for some, become a compliment. Hugh Trevor-Roper has gratuitously flattered the reformers of the Spanish Enlightenment by calling them arbitristas.⁵⁶

Scholars today primarily view the reformers of the early seventeenth century as economic writers concerned with the problems and solutions to these problems which were relevant to their own times. This approach has two possible components: it can stress specific proposals or contemporary observations. The former have been used for study of the history of economic thought, the latter for that of Spanish conditions. Insofar as the reformers have been the subject of analysis and definition, the unity that historians have found among them has come from external conditions and criteria. To the questions of who the arbitristas were or what they had in common, historians have answered by citing an adherence to a body of economic thought and method (e.g., mercantilism) or by citing a response to certain social phenomena and conditions (e.g., taxation, war).

The reformers, then, have always been approached by the historian with preconceptions; they have been viewed to see how they fit into a body of intellectual thought or how their ideas reflect the prevailing conditions in Spain. The reformers have, until quite recently, rarely been the subject of scholarly attention by and for themselves.⁵⁷ While they have been used to explain wider and more general phenomena, little attention has been given to explaining them.

Recent scholarship has attempted to do precisely that, to understand and explain the reformers. A critical edition of one of the most important reformers, Francisco Martinez de Mata, has recently appeared.⁵⁸ The intellectual and socio-economic framework within which the reformers operated has been analyzed in two recent American doctoral dissertations⁵⁹ and a massive study of "arbitrismo" is expected soon from M. Jean Vilar.⁶⁰ The results of this interest in the reformers should be of use to all Spanish historians for, as Vilar's recent paper on "Don Quijote Arbitrista" indicates,⁶¹ a sophisticated analysis of the arbitristas can provide important insights not only into the reform movement, but into the general history of Spain in the early seventeenth century.

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FOOTNOTES

1. J. H. Elliott, The Revolt of the Catalans: A Study in the Decline of Spain, 1598-1640 (Cambridge, 1963), p. 572. This book provides the best general description of the reform movement available today. For specific information about the reformers, we must still rely on the work of Colmeiro cited in n. 23, below.
2. While the earliest usage of the precise term "arbitrista" that I have been able to verify was by Cervantes in his Novelas Ejemplares which were composed around 1603 (see below, n. 7), on at least two occasions, the Cortes de Castilla meeting from 1588-1590 recommended to the king that those proposing arbitrios be expelled from Court, Actas de las Cortes de Castilla (Madrid, 1886), XI, 153-56, 515-17.
3. Conservación de Monarquías (Madrid, 1947), p. 532.
4. Restauración de la abundancia de España (Madrid, 1713), p. 60.
5. Medios políticos para el remedio único y universal de España (Madrid, 1646), p. 1.
6. Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Los sueños, ch. xvii ("Clásicos Castellanos" ed., p. 125). See also his El Buscón, ch. viii ("Clásicos Castellanos" ed., p. 93). Another indication of popular ridicule of the arbitristas is in Luis Vélez de Guevara, El Diablo Cojuelo, tranco iii ("Clásicos Castellanos" ed., p. 80).
7. "Clásicos Castellanos" ed., pp. 329-36.
8. Ibid., p. 334.
9. Part II, ch. i.
10. Cervantes does not use the precise word arbitrista here, rather he uses arbitrante which meant the same. In the Coloquio (p. 336), the arbitrista was also referred to as the arbitrante.
11. Marcel Bataillon, Erasmo y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo xvi (2nd Spanish ed.; Mexico City, 1966), p. 801.
12. For the usage of único in the early seventeenth century, see the comments by Miguel Herrero García in his edition of Juan de Salazar, Política Española (Madrid, 1945), p. 130, n. 1.
13. An anonymous author of the 1740's wrote: "There are Sirens in the sea of politics, and they do not frequent the palaces and courts only. With pleasing language and fraudulent plans, they

- live in order to dream and dream in order to live. . . . Sirens are the arbitristas who, with artificial sweetness and no more law than their own interest, conceal their wicked hearts and, while offering good, help only themselves at the cost of another's evil." Cited by Manuel Colmeiro, Biblioteca de los economistas españoles de los siglos xvi, xvii y xviii (Madrid, 1954), p. 25.
14. Navarrete was reprinted in 1792 and 1805, Moncada in 1746, and Leruela in 1713 and 1732 (all in Madrid).
 15. Pedro Rodriguez, Conde de Campomanes, Apéndice a la educación popular (4 vols.; Madrid, 1775-77). Juan Sempere y Guarinos, Biblioteca Española Económica-Política (4 vols.; Madrid, 1801-21).
 16. See, for example, the letter of Jovellanos to Campomanes (August 6, 1777) on the desirability of establishing public banks in which both Moncada and Navarrete are cited with approval. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Obras publicadas e inéditas ("Biblioteca de Autores Españoles," Vol. L; Madrid, 1859), pp. 130-43.
 17. Biblioteca, II, clxxxvi-vii.
 18. Neither Richard Herr, The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain (Princeton, 1958) nor Jean Sarrailh, L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du xviii^e siècle (Paris, 1964) discuss the influence of the seventeenth-century reformers. R. J. Shafer does mention Campomanes' reprinting of them, but feels it of little significance, The Economic Societies in the Spanish World, 1763-1821 (Syracuse, 1958) p. 12, n. 51. The orthodox view of the antecedents of the eighteenth-century reform movement is to minimize the importance of the seventeenth-century reformers and to emphasize the borrowing of ideas and institutions from Western Europe. There are, however, some indications that the influence of seventeenth-century reformers or at least one reformer, Gerónimo de Uztáriz, was substantial: see Earl J. Hamilton, "The Mercantilism of Gerónimo de Uztáriz: A reexamination," Economics, Sociology and the Modern World (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp. 223, 229, n. 79, and Andres V. Castillo, "Spanish Mercantilism: Gerónimo de Uztáriz--Economist: (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 1930). Gonzalo Anes has discussed the reception of one of the reformers of the 1640's, Martínez de Mata, in the eighteenth century in the introduction to his edition of Martínez de Mata (Madrid, 1971), pp. 82-93 (see below, n. 58) and Bataillon has suggested that some of the ideas of Navarrete were resurrected by Cristobal Perez de Herrera, Pícaros y picaresca: La Pícaro Justina (Madrid, 1969), pp. 26-7. Hugh Trevor-Roper has stated, but not argued, that "the new spirit of the late eighteenth century is the old spirit of the early seventeenth century" and has stressed the native character of the reform movement, "The Spanish Enlightenment, "

Historical Essays (New York, 1957), p. 269. A detailed analysis of how the reformers of the eighteenth-century viewed those of the seventeenth could prove quite valuable. I understand that Mr. Thomas Niehaus of Grinnell College is now working on a dissertation that might produce such an analysis.

19. See, for example, Campomanes, Apéndice, I, x-xi.
20. For Colmeiro's views, see Andres Villacieros y Ramos, "Manuel Colmeiro y Penido," Ensayo de Bio-Bibliografía de hacendistas y economistas españoles, ed., Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Sevilla. (Seville, 1910), pp. 111-15, and E. Castelot, "Spanish School of Political Economy," Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy, ed. Henry Higgs (London, 1926), III, 451.
21. Another example of this view can be found in Antonio Canovas del Castillo, Historia de la decadencia de España (2nd ed.; Madrid, 1910), pp. 5-55. A discussion of this interpretation is Vicente Palacio Atard, Derrota, agotamiento, decadencia en la España del siglo xvii (Madrid, 1949), pp. 161-77.
22. "It is known that in Spain the plague of arbitristas began in the middle of the sixteenth-century, grew and acquired its full strength in the seventeenth-century, and visibly declined in the eighteenth-century, so that it lasted about two hundred years, which is to say, the same time as the period of weakness and feebleness of our monarchy." Historia de la economía política en España (Madrid, 1863), II, 586. This work was recently reprinted by Taurus at Madrid in 1962.
23. The work was first published in 1880 and has been reprinted several times. All references are to the edition of 1954, which is a reprint of the third edition of 1910 (all in Madrid).
24. Ibid., pp. 98, 150. For similar comments, see ibid., pp. 60, 71, 79.
25. Ibid., p. 151.
26. Ch. xc, II, 585-90.
27. Ibid., II, 588.
28. He did refer to Navarrete and Moncada as escritores políticos, (ibid., II, 44) but he probably did not mean to classify them as opponents of the arbitristas. Many of the criticisms he had of those he viewed as arbitristas (e.g., Leruela)-- their amateurishness, their too-facile solutions, their protectionist bias--he also had of Moncada, who had won "unmerited fame." Biblioteca de las economistas, p. 110. Moreover, in his "Discurso . . . [sobre los políticos y arbitristas de los siglos xvi y xvii]" of 1857, he drew no distinctions in his treatments

of Moncada, Navarrete, and Leruela, Discursos leídos en las sesiones públicas que . . . ha celebrado desde 1852 la real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1858), pp. 402-25.

29. "One class of writers may be dismissed summarily, namely the . . . arbitristas But the more serious writers or políticos deserve to be noticed." Castelot, "Spanish School," p. 450; this article was written for the first edition of 1899. A good example of this distinction is by Henri Berindoague: "les arbitristes s'opposent aux políticos, comme les guerisseurs aux medecins." Le mercantilisme en Espagne (Paris, 1929), p. 119. A recent article by Charles Wilson refers to Moncada and Navarrete as "políticos," "Trade, Society, and the State," in The Cambridge Economic History of Europe (Cambridge, 1967), IV, 494. It should be noted that Colmeiro's contemporary, Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, did not differentiate between economistas and arbitristas, "Inventario bibliografía," La ciencia española (3rd ed.; Madrid, 1888), III, 214-20, and that another contemporary, Cánovas del Castillo, though adopting Colmeiro's basic outlook on the arbitristas, criticized his distinction between arbitristas and políticos, Problemas contemporáneos (Madrid, 1884), I, 311-12. See also, Federica Rahola y Tremols, Economistas españoles de los siglos xvi y xvii (Barcelona, n.d. [1885], pp. 16-18.
30. Compare the article on "arbitrista" in the latest edition of the Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada with Colmeiro, Historia de la economía, II, 588-92. Fabian Estape Rodriguez quotes Colmeiro's judgments approvingly in his article on "Arbitrismo" in the Diccionario de Historia de España (Madrid, 1952), I, 256-57. The second edition (Madrid, 1968) retains his article, I, 314-15.
31. See, for examples, R. Trevor-Davies, The Golden Century of Spain, 1501-1621 (New York, 1965), pp. 267-68 (first published in 1937), Jaime Carrera Pujal, Historia de la economía española (Barcelona, 1943), I, 387-8, José Luis Sureda Carrion, La hacienda castellana y los economistas del siglo xvii (Madrid, 1949), pp. 52-3. Antonio Dominguez Ortiz has said that the fundamental goal of all the arbitristas was "obtener grandes cantidades sin que nadie tuviese que pagarlas." Política y hacienda de Felipe IV (Madrid, 1960), p. 17. This view was echoed by John Lynch in Spain Under the Habsburgs, Vol. II: Spain and America, 1598-1700 (New York, 1969), p. 83.
32. A recent dissertation of the arbitristas called them political economists and avoided using the term "arbitrista" because the latter was "rather perjorative." H. G. Hambleton, "The Economic Decline of Spain in the Seventeenth Century: Contemporary Spanish Views" (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1964), p. 6. Earl

- J. Hamilton, in his various studies, never used the word arbitrista even though he thought highly of them. He did, however, in one article refer to them as "projectors," "Spanish Banking Schemes before 1700," Journal of Political Economy, XVIII (1949), 134, 151. The term "proyectistas" was used in the eighteenth century to refer to these men, e.g., Campomanes, Apéndice, I, xi.
33. These two consequences of the reassessment of the reformers and of the term "arbitrista" are not mutually exclusive. For example, Pedro Sainz Rodriguez speaks favorably of both Navarrete and of Leruela, yet still distinguishes between them and the arbitristas, Evolución de las ideas sobre la decadencia española (Madrid, 1962), pp. 70-71.
34. A good example of this view, following Colmeiro, is in Castelot, "Spanish School," pp. 450-51.
35. Raymond Bona, Essai sur le probleme mercantiliste en Espagne au xvii^e siècle (Bordeaux, 1911), pp. 161-93. Robert S. Smith, "Spanish Antimerchantism of the Seventeenth Century: Alberto Struzzi and Diego José Dormer," Journal of Political Economy, XLVIII (1940), 401-11.
36. "Spanish Mercantilism before 1700," Facts and Factors in Economic History, ed. A. H. Cole (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 214-39. For Navarrete as a mercantilist, see Hamilton's article on him in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York, 1937), III 185. For Moncada as a mercantilist, see Robert S. Smith's article in ibid., V, 590-91, and Lynch, Spain and America, p. 153.
37. Hamilton wrote that "the identification of money and wealth by Spanish mercantilists and statesmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could hardly be matched by any other nation," "Spanish Mercantilism," p. 229. This has been disputed by: Pierre Vilar, "Los primitivos españoles del pensamiento económico: 'cuantitavismo' y 'bullionismo'," in his Crecimiento y desarrollo (Barcelona, 1964), pp. 175-207; Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson, The School of Salamanca: Readings in Spanish Monetary Theory, 1544-1606 (Oxford, 1952), pp. 47-58; and Sureda Carrion, La hacienda castellana, pp. 55-56.
38. Hamilton wrote of the emergence of a "coherent, symmetrical and adoptive mercantile system in Spain." "Spanish Mercantilism," p. 215. On this point see Ramón Carande, Carlos V y sus banqueros, Vol. I: La vida económica en Castilla, 1516-56 (2nd ed.; Madrid, 1965), pp. 141, 500, and John C. Salyer, "La política económica de España en la época del mercantilismo," Anales de Economía, VIII (1948), 303-27.
39. José Larraz, La época del mercantilismo en castilla, 1500-1700

- (3rd ed.; Madrid, 1963), pp. 87-119. There is a convenient summary of this classification in English in Jaime Vicens Vives, An Economic History of Spain (Princeton, 1969), pp. 451-53.
40. Vilar, "Primitivos Españoles," p. 187.
41. "The student who tries to follow the history of the controversy about the basic aims and character of mercantilism must often feel that the jousting is over words rather than over historical realities, that it is more a matter of semantics than of historiography." Charles Wilson, "Mercantilism: Some Vicissitudes of an Idea," Economic History and the Historian: Collected Essays (New York, 1969), p. 72.
42. Originally published in the Economic History Review, 1st series, VIII (1938), 168-79. It has been translated into Spanish and is available with other essays by Hamilton in El florecimiento del capitalismo y otros ensayos de historia economica (Madrid, 1948). The article has recently been reprinted in Warren C. Scoville and J. Clayburn La Force (eds.), The Economic Development of Western Europe (Lexington, Mass., 1969), II, 150-62. All references are to this edition.
43. Ibid., p. 162
44. For summaries of this criticism and further bibliography, see Lynch, Spain under the Habsburgs, Vol. I: Empire and Absolutism, 1516-1598 (Oxford, 1964), p. 123, and J. H. Elliott, "The Decline of Spain," in Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660, ed. Trevor Aston (Garden City, New York, 1967), p. 190.
45. An excellent example is Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, La sociedad española en el siglo xvii (2 vols., Madrid, 1963-70).
46. In particular, in his Revolt of the Catalans.
47. See, for example, his "The Statecraft of Olivares," in The Diversity of History, ed. J. H. Elliott and H. G. Koenigsberger (London, 1970), pp. 132-34.
48. See, for examples, Revolt of the Catalans, p. 191 and Imperial Spain, 1469-1716 (London, 1963), p. 324. A similar approach is used by Sureda Carrion in Hacienda castellana, pp. 115-18.
49. Originally published in Past and Present, XVI (1959), the article was reprinted in Crisis in Europe, pp. 63-102. It was somewhat revised, particularly in its discussion of Spain, for inclusion in a collection of Trevor-Roper's essays, The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (New York, 1968), pp. 46-89. All citations refer to this edition. The applicability of Trevor-Roper's thesis for Spain has been analyzed by J. H. Elliott in Crisis in Europe,

- pp. 111-17 and by Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, "Los gastos de Corte en la España del siglo xvii," in his Crisis y decadencia de la España de los Austrias (Barcelona, 1969), pp. 73-96.
50. Crisis, p. 73.
 51. Ibid., p. 86.
 52. "History records few instances of either such able diagnosis of fatal social ills by a group of moral philosophers or of such utter disregard by statesmen of sound advice." Hamilton, "The Decline of Spain." p. 162; "Spanish Mercantilism," p. 237. "From Montesquieu to modern scholarship, has much more been said about specifics than that which the arbitristas wrote?" Vilar, "El tiempo de Quijote," Crecimiento y desarrollo, p. 439.
 53. Moncada provides a good example of this rehabilitation. In the 1880's Colmeiro wrote that he had gained "fama inmerecida" (above, n. 28). Today, one branch of the C. S. I. C. is entitled "El Instituto Sancho de Moncada."
 54. Manual de historia económica de España (4th ed.; Barcelona, 1965), p. 412. That confusion over the meaning of the word is still present is evident in another work by Vicens Vives in which he speaks of the Andalusian nobility as being "dadivosa, infatuada, arbitrista e incauta." Aproximación a la historia de España (4th ed.; Barcelona, 1966), p. 129.
 55. "Primitivos Españoles," p. 176.
 56. Crisis, p. 79.
 57. An example conspicuous in its singularity is Julian Zarco, "El Licenciado Miguel Caxa de Leruela y las causas de la decadencia de España," Religión y Cultura, XXVI (1934), 387-422, XXVII (1934), 44-85.
 58. Memoriales y Discursos de Francisco Martinez de Mata, ed. Gonzalo Anes (Madrid, 1971).
 59. Theodore G. Corbett, "The Elements of Reform in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain" (Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Southern California, 1970); Michael D. Gordon. "Morality and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Spain: The Arbitrista Pedro Fernandez Navarrete" (Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1972).
 60. "Les Espagnols du Siècle d'Or devant le decline: l'arbitrismo." M. Vilar prepared a D.E.S. thesis entitled "Arbitrios et arbitristas dans les lettres espagnoles sous les regnes de Philippe III et de Phillippe IV" (Paris, 1956). Other forthcoming studies include the work of Professor Niehaus (above, n. 18), an article by Gordon entitled "The Science of Politics in Seventeenth-

Century Spanish Thought" which will appear in Il Pensiero Politico this year, and a MS which Corbett is now preparing tentatively entitled "The Course of Reform from Ideal to Reality" A Study in the Social History of Ideas in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain."

61. "Don Quijote Arbitrista (Sobre la reforma en tiempos de Cervantes," Beitraege zur Romanischen Philologie (Sonderheft, 1967), pp. 124-36.

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THE RANCES PAPERS:
A CATALOGUE OF A SPANISH MINISTER'S
CORRESPONDENCE: 1867-1897

by

Michael J. Fergus

(Editor's note: The general description of the contents of the Rances Papers which follows was edited from the Introduction to Mr. Fergus' Catalogue. The more complete Catalogue was presented by the author as a Master's Thesis at Ohio University in 1973.)

This collection of the private papers of Manuel Rances y Villanueva (1824-1897), Marques de Casa la Iglesia, Spanish politician and diplomat, contains approximately eight hundred pieces including letters, diplomatic dispatches, telegrams, commercial tables, and extracts from various periodicals of the day. The bulk of the papers, perhaps three-quarters, is comprised of correspondence from the periods 1880-83 and 1891-92, when Rances was the Spanish Minister in London. Other correspondence between Rances and famous Spanish political, literary, and journalist figures covering the period 1867 to 1897 is also included. Two supplementary sections, one dealing with the expulsion of Sir Henry Bulwer, British Minister in Madrid in 1848 and the other concerning the relationship between Charles Grandolf Hornyold, Conde Gandolfi, and the Spanish throne, are included although the former does not concern Rances himself, but the Spanish Minister in London in 1848, and the latter scarcely involves him.

Rances' two most important correspondents in this collection are Antonio Aguilar y Correa, Marques de la Vega de Armijo, Spanish Minister of State in the period 1880-83, and Carlos O'Donnell y Abreu, Duque de Tetuán, Spanish Minister of State in 1891-92. The correspondence with Aguilar is dominated by economic policy. Both Aguilar and Rances were working very closely at this time with Juan Francisco Camacho, the Spanish Finance Minister. Camacho's correspondence in this collection ranks only behind that of Aguilar and O'Donnell in quantity. Rances'

correspondence with O'Donnell is mainly concerned with the question of Morocco and the desire of many European states to gain concessions there. Also included for the period 1882-83 is a fairly complete group of copies of the Revista de la Quincena, a hand written, private circular of the Spanish Ministry of State most likely authored by the Minister of State.

Considerably less material may be found in this collection dealing with activities between 1867 and 1897 but not falling in the 1880-83 and 1891-92 periods. There is, however, a valuable amount of material dealing with the 1870's. One will encounter many letters from this period between Rances and such important individuals as Cristino Martos, Spanish Minister of State; General Francisco Serrano, Duque de la Torre, Regent of Spain from 1869 to 1871; Fernando Calderón Collantes, Senator and cabinet member throughout the 1870's; Cánovas del Castillo, President of the Council of Ministers; Francisco de Cárdenas, noted journalist, statesman, and judicial reformer; Calderón Collantes, diplomat and politician; the Liberal leader, Sagasta; Pedro Salaverría, Finance Minister; and Manuel Silvela, Minister of State. Much of the correspondence from this period deals with the Second Carlist War.

The documents are arranged in a series of thirty-nine folders, averaging approximately twenty per folder. The first thirty-six folders are arranged chronologically from 1848 to 1897. Folders thirty-seven and thirty-eight, alphabetically arranged, consist of undated correspondence and miscellaneous undated material from the Spanish and British governments. Folder number thirty-nine contains a bound, printed set of documents from 1879 to 1890 concerning the relationship of Charles Hornyold, Conde Gandolfi, to the Spanish throne.

This group of documents, primarily diplomatic correspondence, should be especially important to the historian of nineteenth-century Spain. At present the Spanish Government does not publish excerpts of diplomatic correspondence from this period.¹ Furthermore, few manuscripts pertaining to Spanish Ministry of State activities in the late nineteenth-century exist in the United States.² Because of this scarcity of available material major emphasis must be placed upon this collection in forming an impression of Spanish foreign policy. Little research has been done in the field of Spanish foreign economic relations in the late 1880's or in Spanish policy toward Morocco in the critical 1890's period. These documents should help to clarify both questions. Although there has been a good deal of research into the Cuban crisis of the 1890's, the material contained herein should be helpful to those interested in such background to the crisis as the policies of the Ministry of State and the activities of the Cuban exiles in Britain. Research into Spanish imperialism will also be enhanced by these documents.

Included with the Rances Papers is a subsidiary collection which has neither been catalogued nor indexed in this guide. It consists of approximately seventy-five private letters of Guillermo Rances y

Esteban (1854 [?]), son of Manuel Rances y Villanueva. A journalist, Guillermo Rances y Esteban was editor of the Spanish periodicals La Epoca, La Libertad, and El Tiempo. As a Deputy to the Cortés in various legislatures he was a strong supporter of the dissident conservative Francisco Silvela. His correspondents include many famous Spanish political, literary, and journalistic figures.

FOOTNOTES

1. Available at the United States Library of Congress is a group of documents, Documentos diplomaticos presentados a las Cortés en la Legislatura de 1882 por el Ministerio de Estado, (Madrid: M. Ginesta, 1882), 270 pp. The monthly Boletín Oficial was not begun by the Ministry of State until after the period under discussion.
2. Two other groups of Ministry of State papers may be found in the United States. These are the records of the Spanish Consulate in Charleston, S. C., 1794-1898, and those of the Vice-Consulate in Savannah, Georgia, 1835-1935. Both are available at the Duke University Library. Other manuscript collections which may contribute to a greater understanding of the period are the papers of Juan Facundo Riaño y Montero, Spanish educator and politician, including papers of his son who was a diplomat, (New York: Hispanic Society of America); the Curry Papers, of a United States Envoy to Spain, (Duke Univ. Library), the Barringer Papers, of a United States Minister to Spain c. 1870, (Southern Historical Society Collection, Univ. of North Carolina), the Fairchild Papers, of a United States Minister to Spain in the 1870's, (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), and the reports of the Austrian Ministers in Madrid, 1815-1899, Ministerium de Aussern, Politiches Archiv, (Library of Congress). A large collection, the Escoto Papers, described as bearing upon the Spanish period in Cuban history, is available in the Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library.

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The Rances Papers were purchased by the Alden Library of Ohio University in 1972. They are presently housed with other archival materials and rare books in the Special Collections Division. For further information concerning the Rances Papers contact Mr. Richard Ryan, Director of Special Collections, Alden Library, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. 45701

HERBERT R. SOUTHWORTH COLLECTION

The Herbert Rutledge Southworth Collection, now in Special Collections

at the University of California, San Diego, is a collection of printed material on the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. It includes books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, and ephemera of all sorts dealing with the war and its consequences. As well it contains material on the Spanish Republic before 1936, and on the Franco regime, 1939 to date. There are more than ten thousand items in the Collection, making it the largest single body of such material known to scholars.

INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR COORDINATION OF PORTUGUESE STUDIES

An International Center for Coordination of Portuguese Studies, an informal association of scholars, has been established in Lisbon. The Center's chief purpose is to act as a clearinghouse of information in Portuguese Studies and to provide a means of liaison between Portuguese and non-Portuguese scholars with common research interests. The Center grew out of a recent colloquium in Lisbon, at which scholars from different countries were able to discuss their research in an informal atmosphere; it is hoped that similar informal colloquia can be held regularly in the future under the sponsorship of the Center and other interested groups. The Center will be based in the American Studies Center of the Higher Institute of Social Sciences and Overseas Policy of the Technical University of Lisbon. Historians who would like further information should write to: Henry H. Keith, International Center for Coordination of Portuguese Studies, Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Política Ultramarina, Rua da Junqueira, 86, Lisbon-3, Portugal.

CASA DE VELAZQUEZ: MELANGES

Professor François Chevalier of the Casa de Velazquez in Madrid has asked that we draw attention to the publications of the Casa, particularly Mélanges. The most recent number of that publication of which we have notice is Tome IX, which contained some twenty-four articles pertaining to various aspects of Spanish and Latin American history, and which was available from Editions E. de Boccard, 11, rue de Médicis, 75006 Paris, at a cost of 84 F. A sampling of the offerings in Tome IX follows: P. Guichard, "Un Seigneur musulman dans l'Espagne chrétienne: le 'RA'IS' de Crevillente (1243-1318)," J. P. Le Flem, "Miguel Caxa de Lleruela, défenseur de la Mesta?", G. Chastagnaret, "Contribution à l'étude de la Production et des Producteurs de houille des Asturies de 1861 à 1914," F. Chevalier, "Les origines d'un pôle de développement industriel. Pour un étude globale du cas de Medellin. Colombie," and X. Guerra, "De l'Espagne au Mexique: Le Milieu anarchiste et la Revolution Mexicaine 1910-1915."

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Notice has arrived of the publication of the proceedings of the Inter-

national Colloquium organized by the Institut d'Etudes Ibériques et Ibéro-Américaines de l'Université de Bordeaux III in February 1970 treating "El problema de la 'Burguesia' en el mundo hispanico del siglo XIX." Among the offerings included are: A. Derozier, "Le 'Semanario patriótico' et son idéologie de classe (1808-1812)," A. M. Bernal, "Formación y desarrollo de la burguesia agraria sevillana: caso concreto de Morón de la Frontera," J. Maurice, "Le thème des 'nuevos ricos' en Andalousie de la Restauration à la II^e République," M. Tuñon de Lara, "La Burguesia y la formación del bloque de poder oligárquico de la Restauración: 1875-1902," M. Ralle, "La notion de 'bourgeoisie' dans l'idéologie de la Première Internationale en Espagne," and J. Le Bouill, "Sur le concept de 'classe media' dans la pensée bourgeoise en Espagne au XIX^e siècle." The volume is available from Editions Biere, 18-22 rue du Peugeot, Bordeaux, at a cost of 40F.

- ABELLA, Rafael, La vida cotidiana durante la guerra civil. La Espana nacional (Barcelona: Planeta, 1973) 432 p.
- ARAZURI DIAZ, J. Joaquin, El municipio pamplonés en tiempos de Felipe II (Pamplona: Auto [Navas de Tolosa, 25] 1973) 160 p.
- BORREGO PLA, Maria del Carmen, Palenques de negros en Cartagena de Indias a fines del siglo XVII (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1973) 498 p.
- BRAVO MORATA, Maria del Carmen, La proclamación de la República (Madrid: Ed. Fenicia, 1973), 200 p.
- CASTRO, Americo, Sobre el nombre y el quién de los españoles (Madrid: Taurus, 1973) 406 p.
- COMIN COLOMER, Eduardo, El Quinto Regimiento de Milicias Populares (Madrid: San Martín, 1973) 332 p.
- ENRIQUEZ DE SALAMANCA, Cayetano, Alcalá de Henares y su Universidad Complutense (Alcalá de Henares: Escuela Nacional de administración, 1973) 320 p.
- FONTANA, José, Cambio económico y actitudes políticas en la España del siglo XIX (Esplugas de Llobregat: Ariel, 1973) 196 p.
- GALLEGO BLANCO, Enrique, Las relaciones entre la Iglesia y el Estado en la Edad Media (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1973) 200 p.
- GONZÁLEZ MUÑIZ, Miguel A., Problemas de la II República española (Madrid: Júcar, 1974) 290 p.
- HUMBLE, Richard, Napoleon's Peninsular Marshals (Oxford: Macdonald & J., 1973) 224 p.

- LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Angel, Andalucia en el siglo XV (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1973) 184 p.
- LIVERMORE, H. V., The Origins of Spain and Portugal. (1973) 438 p.
- MARTÍN MARTINEZ, Isidro, Eclesiásticos en organismos políticos españoles (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria, 1973) 58 p.
- PAZ FERNANDEZ, Manuel Alfredo, Diario de la campaña 1936-1939 (Pontevedra: Autor, Imp. Paredes, 1973) 378 p.
- PELET, Jean Jacques, The French Campaign in Portugal, 1810-1811, ed. and tr. by Donald D. Howard (Minnesota, 1973) 570 p.
- PITA MERCE, Rodrigo, Lérida judía (Lérida: Dalagro, 1973) 208 p.
- ROJAS, Carlos, Azaña (Novela) (Barcelona: Planeta, 1973) 344 p.
- ROMERO, Emilio, Cartas al Rey (Barcelona: Planeta, 1973) 372 p.
- SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Claudio, El drama de la formación de España y de los españoles. (Barcelona: E.D.H.A.S.A., 1973) 148 p.
- SECO SERRANO, Carlos, Cartas, comunicaciones y circulares de los Consejos y Comision Federal de la Región Española (1870-1874) (Barcelona: Universidad, 1973) 12 vols.

[List compiled by Juan García Durán, Rice University]

NEWS OF MEMBERS

John D. BERGAMINI (Modern European History, Rutgers University) has completed a book entitled The Spanish Bourbons, the History of a Tenacious Dynasty which will be published by Putnam's in the fall of 1974. Based almost entirely on secondary sources, the book concentrates on the personalities of Spanish royalty from 1665 to 1974 while attempting to treat the political-social background in a sophisticated manner. The book will include many pictures and a comprehensive genealogical table.

Georgette Magassy DORN (Historiography and Bibliography, Library of Congress) has edited The Archive of Hispanic Literature on Tape, A Descriptive Guide, compiled by Francisco Aguilera (Washington, Library of Congress, 1974). The work is distributed by the Government Printing Office (Hispanic Foundation Bibliographical Series, 14). The Archive contains the voice recordings of 234 Iberian and Latin American poets and prose writers reading their own works.

Additionally she reports that she is the author of Latin America, Spain, and Portugal: An Annotated Bibliography of Paperback Books, to be published by the Library of Congress in 1975. This will be the fourth edition of this work and will contain approximately 2,500 annotated entries of paperback books on the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America.

Charles R. HALSTEAD (History, Washington College) reports that he has several articles going to press. One, dealing with the clever work of Colonel Juan Beigbeder in recruiting Moroccan soldiers for the Spanish Nationalists' army during the Civil War, has been accepted for publication by The Historian. The relevant research in Madrid, London, and Washington was supported by a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

Another article, about a 1941 episode in Spain's relations with the United States, will be published in 1974 in the Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali. This monograph is entitled "In the Fire of an Affront: the Dispute between Ramón Serrano Suñer and Alexander Weddell." A broader article focusing on Weddell appeared in the January 1974 issue of The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. The article is called "Diligent Diplomat: Alexander Weddell as American Ambassador to Spain, 1939-1942."

Paul J. HAUBEN (Early Modern Spain, University of the Pacific) has had accepted for publication in The Americas an article entitled "White Legend against Black: Nationalism and Enlightenment in a Spanish Context." The article is an assessment of Reflexiones imparciales sobre la humanidad de los españoles en las Indias contra los pretendidos Filósofos y Politicos. Para ilustrar las historias de MM. Raynal y Robertson by Juan Nuix de Perpiña (1740-83). He was a former Jesuit from Catalonia, writing in Italian exile, but vigorously defending Spain against the primarily Las Casas inspired Enlightenment attacks on the Spanish colonial record. For the article the author used the 1782 first Spanish edition (the original was Italian, 1780) in the John Carter Brown library, while enjoying summer support from the N.E.H. in 1970. The discussion notes the role of Charles III's reformers in using this ex-Jesuit's tract, suggesting the problems of enlightenment and nationalism, and it makes analogies with more recent debates in related areas, such as "ethnic genocide."

Another article, "The Enlightenment and Minorities: The Spanish Example," is presently under consideration. This second piece analyzes the 1786 treatise by Miguel Lardizabal y Uribe, Apología por los Agotes de Navarra y los Chuetas de Mallorca con una breve digresión a los Vaqueros de Asturias and Feijóo's earlier remarks on Judaism in the Cartas éruditás in the context of the Hertzberg thesis in his French Enlightenment and the Jews. Lardizabal's tract is on microfilm at the Brown University Library.

Norman HOLUB (History, Dowling College) will direct a Brazilian-American Mesa Redonda treating the Regency period. The symposium will

take place in Rio de Janeiro at the Arquivo Nacional from August 27-29, 1974. Further information may be obtained from Mr. Holub at Dowling College, Oakdale, Long Island, New York 11769.

Nicolás SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ (History, New York University) reports that he has completed a book, Jalones en la modernización de España, which will be published by Ariel, Barcelona, during the current year. The work includes studies on banking, the development of the domestic market, and the demographic transition in Spain.

Michael WEISSER (History, The City College of New York) has published an article entitled, "The Decline of Castile Revisited: The Case of Toledo," in the Journal of European Economic History, 6 (1974), pp. 73-103.

CURRENT RESEARCH INVENTORY

Charles R. HALSTEAD (History, Washington College) reports: My interest in Spanish diplomacy during the Second World War has temporarily moved down another avenue, toward Iberian relations. A manuscript, "Consistent and Total Peril from Every Side: the Luso-Spanish 'Protocol' of July 1940," will be published by Iberian Studies. In 1973 I received a summer grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation, enabling me to continue work in Lisbon and elsewhere on diplomatic relations between Spain and Portugal. I am consequently writing another article, about the Treaty of Friendship and Non-aggression signed by General Franco and Dr. Salazar in March 1939.

Guy HERMET (Political Science, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris) reports that he is undertaking a study of the political functions of Catholicism in contemporary Spain (1936-74). The study will lead to a Doctorat d'Etat at Paris University (Sorbonne), and is under the direction of Pierre Vilar. Completion is anticipated in 1977.

Robert A. MACDONALD (Spanish, University of Richmond): Edición y estudios de obras legales atribuidos a Alfonso X de Castilla. The texts being edited are those included in the collection of Opúsculos legales published in 1836 by the Royal Academy of History. The new edition, using modern methods and standards for textual editions, is based on a larger number of manuscripts. The studies include linguistic analysis, analysis of content, and conclusions regarding the relationship of various texts with other texts and codes as well as with each other. Work on the so-called Especulo is well under way, and the target date for publication is 1979. Publication of the second text in the series on which work has begun, the Fuero Real, is scheduled for 1982. The aim of the entire project is to produce results that contribute specifically to the lexicon of Old Spanish being assembled at the University of Wisconsin's Seminar of Medieval Spanish Studies, to a more accurate and extensive knowledge of Spanish law and legal his-

tory, and to the body of primary source material available for studies in medieval Spanish civilization.

Patricia MULVEY (Latin American History-Brazilian Studies, University of Texas of the Permian Basin) reports that she is finishing preparation of her dissertation entitled "The Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil: A History." The estimated date of completion is June 1974, and Harry Bernstein (C.U.N.Y.) has been the director. Archival investigations have been undertaken in the principal Portuguese and Brazilian archives.

Lynn H. NELSON (Medieval History, University of Kansas): Early Aragonese society and economy--a continuing interest, reflected in papers read, articles, and other material still in preparation. Concentration on the period prior to 1035, using material primarily drawn from cartularies. The evidence is on agriculture, rural organization, tenurial law, peasant rights, etc.

Foreign intervention in the Reconquista: Again a continuing interest, concentrated at present upon the "crusade of 1087," and the Gallegan revolt of the same year.

John J. TEPASKE (Spanish American Imperial History, Duke University): Analysis of the treasuries of Lima and Mexico for the period 1575-1820. The work involves reconstruction of the accounts of these two cajas and computer analysis of them in order to get an idea of the economic structure and patterns in the viceroalties of Peru and New Spain. The accounts for Lima have been compiled from research in the Archivo de Indias in Seville and the Archivo Nacional in Lima with the series now complete for the period 1575-1820. (Ten years are missing for this 245 year epoch.) For Mexico the series has been compiled for the period 1665-1820 with sixteen years missing. (Hopefully, research in Mexico City will fill in these gaps.) Research has been carried on under the auspices of a grant from the Duke Endowment and a Major Grant of the Duke University Research Council. The two series should be completed by September 1, 1975.

Michael WEISSER (History, The City College of New York) reports that he is completing a manuscript entitled, "The Peasants of the Montes, The Historical Antecedents of Rural Violence in Spain." The work attempts to analyze the origins of rural communes in Spain (Castile) and traces this development down to the outbreak of Anarchist movements in the Spanish countryside.

He is also continuing research on the social and economic history of Toledo, 1550-1650. The work is tentatively entitled, "El Greco's Toledo, The Crisis of Urban Life in Castile's Golden Age."

INVENTORY OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS

The following doctoral dissertations are currently in progress under

the direction of the professor whose name is indicated after that of the institution. The estimated date of completion is indicated in parentheses.

DUKE UNIVERSITY (John Tate LANNING)

S. Kelly AINSWORTH, "The Proyectistas of the Eighteenth Century and Their Effect on Colonial Reform." An investigation of the plans laid down for changes in Spain's overseas empire and the effect of these changes in the overseas kingdoms, based on the writings of the proyectistas themselves and quantitative data on colonial commercial activity and changes from the Archivo General de Indias.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY (J. N. HILLGARTH, Boston College)

John E. BOSWELL, "The Mudejars of the Crown of Aragon in the mid-fourteenth century." (Spring, 1975).

YALE UNIVERSITY (August B. HOLLINGSHEAD)

Jesús M. de MIGUEL, "Health in the Northern Mediterranean Region. A Comparative Analysis of the Organization of Medicine, and the Level and Distribution of Health Services in Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Yugoslavia; circa 1970." The project will try to analyze: (1) the national health organizations in the four countries; (2) the level of health of the population; and (3) the distribution of health services by regions, by rural-urban strata, and by social classes. The study has necessitated field work in Geneva (World Health Organization), Yugoslavia, Italy, Portugal, and Spain in 1973 and 1974. Research has been supported by the Foreign Area Fellowship Program, and the Fundacion Juan March. Juan LINZ and Jerome MYERS have assisted the director.

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GENERAL ANNOUNCEMENT

The NEWSLETTER of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies has been published four times each year, and is distributed to members of the Society. The Editor for the past two years has been Morgan R. BROADHEAD, who may be contacted c/o Department of History, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas 78712. Beginning with the next number, Joan ULLMAN will assume editorial responsibility. She may be contacted at the Department of History, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98105. Announcements of newsworthy nature (personal honours, research in progress, recent publications, etc.), queries, archival notes, bibliographic essays, and short reviews of recent foreign language publications are welcomed, and should be directed to the editor.

Correspondence concerning membership or the purposes and organization of the Society should be directed to the General Secretary. David R. RINGROSE, Department of History, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903, has been General Secretary for the past two years. At the conclusion of the annual election (ballots within), it is anticipated that Michael WEISSER, Department of History, City College, CUNY, New York, New York 10031, will succeed as General Secretary.