



Society for Spanish & Portuguese Historical Studies

VOLUME III, NUMBERS 8-9, MAY 1977

Newsletter

NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, SSPHS
NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO
March 31 - April 1, 1978

The Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies will hold its Ninth Annual Conference at the Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois, from March 31 to April 1, 1978.

The program chairman is Professor Ellen G. Friedman, Department of History, University of Kentucky. Professor Daniel Headrick, Roosevelt University, will be in charge of local arrangements for the conference.

Financial considerations may not make it possible to invite a foreign speaker, as has been the custom. However, members are invited to send suggestions about possible guest speakers in the event that it does become possible to secure funding for this purpose.

Portuguese scholars particularly are urged to plan a session for this conference.

In view of the very positive response to the three workshops held at this year's conference, an effort will be made to expand this type of offering. Proposals for workshops as well as individual papers, complete sessions, roundtables, or any other type of presentation should be sent to Professor Friedman, program chairman, Department of History, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky by October 15, 1977. A short abstract of the session or paper should accompany the proposal.

NEW EDITOR OF THE SSPHS NEWSLETTER:
HELEN NADER, INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Beginning in the autumn of 1977, Helen Nader of Indiana University will serve as editor of the NEWSLETTER. Her research field is Renaissance and Early Modern Spain, and her particular concern is a study of noble finances in Castile during the 14th and 15th centuries with the emphasis on the relationships between noble landlord and tenant.

The executive committee of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, the nominating committee, and the outgoing editor of the NEWSLETTER extend our best wishes to Professor Nader as she takes on her new duties. They also wish to acknowledge and express appreciation for the support which Indiana University has offered to the NEWSLETTER.

CONTENTS

News	233
Archive	245
Articles	247
Conference Proceedings	256
Current Research	282
Dissertations	291

Society for Spanish & Portuguese Historical Studies

Founded in April 1969 to promote research in the fields of Spanish and Portuguese history

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Michael Weisser (term ends April 1978)

EDITORS: Joan Connelly Ullman (term ends May 1977)

Helen Nader (term ends May 1978)

Newsletter

Editorial Assistant: Joan B. Manzer (appointment ends May 1977)

All correspondence should be addressed to The Editor, NEWSLETTER, Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, Helen Nader, Department of History, Ballantine Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401

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 1977-78

Term expires April 1979:

Charles J. Jago
McMaster University, Ontario

Daniel Headrick
Roosevelt University, Chicago

Renato Barahona
University of Illinois, Chicago

Term expires April 1978:

Gabriel Tortella
University of Pittsburgh

PORTUGUESE SLOT (to April 1978)

Joyce F. Riegelhaupt
Sarah Lawrence College

Editor of the NEWSLETTER, member *ex officio*, Executive Committee:

Helen Nader

Indiana University

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, Executive Secretary, SSPHS, Department of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY, SSPHS

The secretary opened the 8th Annual Conference business meeting at the University of Kentucky by noting that membership in the Society had reached an all-time high of more than 240 individuals plus 40 institutions. The SSPHS has grown in numbers of graduate student members, indicating a continued interest in the field.

In a review of the Society's activities during the academic year 1976-77, the secretary commented on the success of the AHA session in Washington which sponsored a talk by Gabriel Jackson and was attended by more than 70 persons. The American Historical Association has invited the SSPHS to participate in a similar fashion in the annual meeting at Dallas in December 1977. To that end, the secretary invites all members of the Society to submit the names of graduate students who might form a panel to discuss their dissertation topics. The secretary will try to file this list with the AHA Program Committee as late as possible in order to allow time for SSPHS members to send in the names.

A motion on the annual conference by Prof. William Irwin, Bowie State College, Maryland, was unanimously adopted as follows:

"The SSPHS shall hold an annual conference during March or April of each year, at a location to be chosen by the Executive Committee and, if possible, ratified at an annual meeting of the Society. The Society shall make every effort to choose the location of the meeting two years in advance. If no satisfactory location can be found, the annual business meeting of the Society may decide to cancel the annual meeting of the next year."

The Society will hold an annual conference but invite a foreign guest only on a bi-annual basis, allowing more flexibility in terms of program and meeting plans as well as cutting costs.

Chicago was announced as the site of the Ninth Annual Conference in 1977, with local arrangements by Daniel Headrick of Roosevelt University, Chicago. The 10th Annual Conference will be held at the Library of Congress in 1979.

The secretary reported that several candidates had submitted proposals for Professor Ullman's position as editor of the NEWSLETTER, on which the nominating committee would decide as soon as possible. (See news item, front page.) The new editor will begin her term in autumn 1977, following publication of the postconference issue.

Appreciation was expressed to Ellen Friedman and the University of Kentucky as hosts of the 1977 conference. Prof. Friedman later reported the conference had attracted 69 registrants from out of town, as well as a number of persons from the Lexington area.

Official election returns were then read by Professor Clara Lida, chairman of the nominating committee (see below), after which the meeting was adjourned.

*Michael Weisser, University of South Carolina at Columbia
Executive Secretary, SSPHS*

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE, SSPHS
February 1, 1977

Chairwoman: *Clara E. Lida*, SUNY-Stony Brook
John Elliott, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton University
Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, New York Univ.

In preparation for the election of officers of the SSPHS for the academic year 1977-78, the nominating committee invites all interested members to submit to Clara E. Lida, chairwoman, a complete curriculum vitae for consideration by the committee as candidates for the next elections. The committee draws particular attention to the Portuguese Slot, which becomes vacant this year and must be filled for a two-year term. All curriculum vitae must be received by Prof. Lida by October 15.

(continued next page)

Results of Election of Officers

The committee received a total of 62 ballots. The officers elected are: general secretary, two members of the executive council, and one member of the nominating committee.

General secretary: (two-year term expires April 1978)
Michael R. Weisser (elected) 33
 University of South Carolina
 Ellen G. Friedman 28
 University of Kentucky
 Abstentions 1

Executive committee: (two-year term expires April 1978)
Charles J. Jago (elected) 34
 McMaster University, Ontario
Daniel Headrick (elected) 34
 Roosevelt University
 Renato Barahona 32
 University of Illinois (Chicago)
 Marvin Lunenfeld 15
 State University College-Fredonia

Abstentions 5
 Canceled 4

Nominating committee: (three-year term expires April 1979)
Helen Nader (elected) 32
 Indiana University
 Temma Kaplan 27
 University of California-LA
 Canceled 1
 Write-in: Stanley Payne 1
 Gabriel Jackson 1

Since the general secretary was a nominee for re-election, the nominating committee asked Prof. Joan C. Ullman to verify the counting of the ballots.

Information on Travel Grants (see opposite)

Under the *Cooperative Research Grant* program, full details of the research project, of the corresponding responsibilities of the principal investigator in the United States and of his center, and that of the Principal Investigator and his center in Spain must be submitted with the application. The first deadline was March 31; the second June 30, 1977.

The announcement of *Travel Grants* reads as follows: "Travel Grants are to be used for short-term visits to the United States or Spain for the purpose of planning cooperative cultural, educational, and research activities in [see list next page]; to be supported within the general program of aid to investigative cooperation between Spain and the United States. . . . After a Spanish and an American investigator have been in preliminary contact about the suitability of establishing research collaboration between their respective centers but *before* they have drawn up a final proposal, one of them may apply for a travel grant for the purpose of going to the other country and preparing the final proposal with his colleague for a cooperative research grant. . . . Applications may be submitted (to the Office in Spain; see address next page) at any time after the publication of this announcement . . . and will be evaluated during the first half of March, June, September, and December."

**FOUR IMPORTANT NOTICES
 FOR SSPHS MEMBERS**

Notice #1: All members interested in becoming candidates for office in the SSPHS must submit a complete curriculum vitae to the Chairman of the Nominating Committee, Clara E. Lida, Department of History, SUNY-Stony Brook, NY 11790, by *October 15, 1977.*

Notice #2: All individuals interested in presenting a paper, or in organizing a session, for the 9th Annual Conference of the SSPHS to be held March 31-April 1, 1978, at the Newberry Library in Chicago must submit their proposal to Professor Ellen G. Friedman, Department of History, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY 40506, by *October 15, 1977.*

Notice #3: Membership dues for the academic year 1977-1978 are now due. A dues form is enclosed.

Notice #4: All news and material for the Autumn issue of the NEWSLETTER (Vol. IV, no. 1) should be sent directly to the new editor, PROFESSOR HELEN NADER, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, BALLANTINE HALL, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401.

ANNOUNCEMENT
1977-1978 POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS FOR RESEARCH IN SPAIN
Deadline: June 1, 1977

Under the Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation between Spain and the United States of America, funds are available for *ten* postdoctoral fellowships for research in Spain during the academic year 1977-78. The Joint U.S.-Spanish Committee for Educational and Cultural Affairs, which has been established to administer scholarly exchanges under the agreement, has asked the Council for International Exchange of Scholars to receive applications for the fellowships.

Applications will be accepted in any of the following fields:

ARTS	HUMANITIES	MASS COMMUNICATIONS
EDUCATION	LAW	SOCIAL SCIENCES

Eligibility:

- U.S. citizenship
- Ph.D. or equivalent
- Sufficient competence in oral and written Spanish for proposed research

Award period: • Six to ten months during the academic year September 1977-June 1978

Award terms:

- Economy class air travel for grantee
- A stipend in pesetas equivalent to approximately \$800 per month
- Health and accident insurance for grantee

Note: Grantees may receive sabbatical leave pay, but may not hold other grants during the award period.

Application forms: Write to Ms. Gladys Semeryan, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Suite 300, Eleven Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036 Telephone: (202) 833-4983

**GRANTS ANNOUNCED UNDER U.S.-SPANISH TREATY:
SCHOLARS MUST MAKE APPLICATION NOW**

Scholars are now eligible to make application for postdoctoral research in Spain under the cultural funding provisions of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the United States and Spain signed January 1976.

The funding is to be distributed among five different cultural programs: Institutional Grants, Research Grants, Cooperative Research Grants and Travel Grants, and Postdoctoral Fellowships. Because the primary purpose is to support scholars and research facilities in Spain, the American scholar is eligible for the last three programs only, with the travel grants used only in conjunction with the preparation of a cooperative research project.

The announcement on Postdoctoral Fellowships is shown above. Please note that the deadline is June 1, 1977.

All interested in submitting applications must contact one of the two administrative offices: for the U.S. it is the Council for the International Exchange of Scholars (see address in announcement above); the Spanish government office is The Secretariat of the Advisory Commission on Scientific and Technical Research, Calle Serrano 118, Madrid -6. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State might also supply additional information.

The schedule of research to be funded is very comprehensive, with research projects in the humanities, arts, psychology, anthropology and social sciences, political science, law, economics, education, and mass communications. One of the two categories which do *not* seem to apply to American scholars is that of *Institutional Grants* which will be used to provide institutions in Spain with materials purchased in, and originating in, the United States (such as books, teaching laboratory, and audiovisual materials). The second category provides for *Research Grants* to Spanish centers for research in any one of the fields noted.

CONFERENCES SCHEDULED IN 1977

DOWLING'S MEDITERRANEAN III CONFERENCE INVITES PAPERS FOR AUGUST '77: TURIN, ITALY

Mediterranean III is scheduled for Turin, Italy, August 30 and 31 and September 1, 1977. The theme is "Recent Researches on Mediterranean History, Sociology, Economics, and Anthropology." Papers of SSPHS members are invited. Please send title and brief resumé to Norman Holub, Mediterranean III Director, Dowling College, Oakdale, L.I., New York 11769.

PANEL: "MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS: TRANSITIONS" AT AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING, SEPTEMBER 1977

Guiseppe Di Palma, professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley, has organized a panel on "Mediterranean Politics: Transitions," for the ASPA annual meeting in Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 1977. The panel is sponsored jointly by the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, by the Conference Group on Italian Politics, and by the Modern Greek Studies Association. The exact day of the panel has not yet been set.

The format of the panel is as follows:

"Greece: Transitions," *Nikiforos Diamandouros*, Orange County Community College
"Italy: Transitions," *Guiseppe Di Palma*, UC, Berkeley

"Spain: Transitions," *Juan Linz*, Yale University

"Portugal: Transitions," *Philippe Schmitter*, University of Chicago

"The Electorates at the Reinstatement of Democracy," *Giacomo Sani*, Ohio State Univ.
Discussant, *Ken Organski*, University of Michigan

ISSA SCHEDULES 1977 CONFERENCE ON SPAIN AND PORTUGAL FOR LATE 1977

The ISSA (Iberian Social Studies Association) of England has postponed until the autumn of 1977 its 9th Annual Conference on "Spain, Portugal and the European Economic Community," which will be held at the University of Keele, Staffordshire.

Originally scheduled for July 1-3, 1977, the conference has been postponed until autumn to give participants time to study and analyze the results of the June 15 elections in Spain. All those interested in the forthcoming conference, or in further information about ISSA and about its journal, *Iberian Studies*, should write directly to the General Secretary of ISSA, Professor John Naylor, Department of Geography, University of Keele, Staffordshire, ST 5 5 BG, England.

Professor Naylor extends an invitation to all those who presented papers at the SSPHS 8th Annual Conference which are of a social science content to submit the paper for publication in *Iberian Studies*.

SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF DISCOVERIES SETS ANNUAL CONFERENCE FOR OCTOBER

The Society for the History of Discoveries will hold its next annual meeting at the University of Arizona in Tucson on October 27, 28, and 29, 1977. No special theme for the meeting has been set. Those interested in participating in the meeting should write directly to Prof. Ursula Lamb, Department of History, The University of Arizona, Tucson 85721.

Formed in 1960 for the purpose of stimulating interest in teaching, research, and publishing in the history of geographical exploration, the society extends a cordial invitation to all those interested in becoming members. Among its present membership are not only people from many academic disciplines but nonaffiliated scholars and laymen with an interest in the history of geographical discoveries. The society's interests include such related subjects as the history of cartography, navigation, and colonial expansion.

The society has undertaken a publications program which includes *Terrae Incognitae*, an annual collection of research papers and book reviews, as well as a monograph series, *Studies in the History of Discovery*, which is being published jointly with the Newberry Library of Chicago. The titles in this series which would be of interest to Hispanists are:

Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-century Com-

(Conferences 1977)

merce and Navigation, by T. Bentley Duncan (1972), \$12.50

A Navigator's Universe: The Libro de Cosmographia of 1538, by Pedro de Medina, Ursula Lamb, editor (1972), \$18.50

The Discovery of South America: The Andalusian Voyages, by André Vigneras (1976), \$10

In addition, the society publishes an annual newsletter which reports activities of members and general news of the organization. Meetings are held annually to read and discuss papers; a very pleasant tradition has developed of meeting in a library or museum. The 1976 annual meeting was held at the Mills Hyatt House in Charleston, South Carolina, November 3-6, under the sponsorship of The Citadel, The Military College of South Carolina. Papers of particular interest to SSPHS members include: "The Geography of Natural Hazard: The History of the Cartography of the Florida Keys," by Peter R. Jutro, Cornell University; "The Oldest Portolan Chart in the New World," James E. Kelley, Jr., Melrose Park, Pa.; "Spanish Experiments in Lithographic Cartography; Mr. Ristow is Right," by Ursula Lamb, University of Arizona.

For further information about the Society for the History of Discoveries and inquiries about membership (which includes a subscription to *Terrae Incognitae*), interested persons should write directly to Ralph E. Ehrenberg, Secretary, Society for the History of Discoveries, 9219 Bells Mill Road, Potomac, Maryland 20854.

NEW DIRECTOR, ACADEMY OF HISTORY, MADRID: DIEGO ANGULO IÑIGUEZ

Diego Angulo Iñiguez, an historian of art, has been elected Director of the Spanish Academy of History in Madrid. Angulo is a professor of the History of Art in the University of Madrid, a former director of the Prado Museum, and a member of the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando.

Born in Valverde del Camino (Huelva) in 1902, he studied Philosophy and Letters at the University of Seville, and in Madrid where he received his doctorate. He obtained the chair of the History of Art in Granada in 1925. Since 1940 he has held the chair of the History of Modern Art in the University of Alcalá de Henares in

WALTER STARKIE, 1894-1977

Walter Fitzwilliam Starkie, author, scholar, and an expert on the popular culture and folklore of Spain, died in Madrid in November 1976. He had spent the greater part of his life in Spain, arriving first in 1923 to study gypsy culture. For over a year he lived with the gypsies and toured the country as he studied their culture. The gypsies remained a lifelong interest, shared with the 19th-century Englishman George Borrow (Starkie edited a volume of Borrow's *Single Works* in 1961).

From 1925 to 1936 he lived continuously in Madrid where he formed close friendships with many of the writers active during those years: Jacinto Benavente (about whom he wrote a biography in 1924); Ramón de Valle Inclán; the Machado brothers, Antonio and Manuel; Azorin (José Martínez Ruíz); and Vicente Blasco Ibañez.

In 1940 the British Council selected Walter Starkie to found the British Institute in Madrid, and he remained its director for the next 15 years.

Walter Starkie brought together the many strands of his varied career, all of them centered on Spain, with his autobiography, *Scholars and Gypsies* (1963). He was the author of *The Road to Santiago, Pilgrims of St. James* (1957); *Grand Inquisitor: Being an Account of Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros and His Times* (1940); *Spanish Raggle-Taggle: Adventures with a Fiddle in North Spain* (1934). He translated *The Spaniards in Their History* by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1966), and a volume of *Eight Spanish Plays of the Golden Age* (1964).

Madrid. In accepting the position, Angulo stressed that his interests have been focused on research in the history of art.

Among his most important publications are: *Arquitectura mudéjar sevillana de los siglos XIII, XIV, y XV* (1932) *Bautista Antonelli. Las Fortificaciones Americanas del siglo XVI* (1942) *Historia del arte* (1953) *Historia del arte hispano-americano*, 2 vols. (1945; rev. 1955).

ACADEMY OF AMERICAN RESEARCH HISTORIANS ON MEDIEVAL SPAIN: ACTIVITIES REPORT

The Academy of American Research Historians on Medieval Spain (AARHMS) has been officially recognized as an Affiliated Society of the American Historical Association. Mack Thompson, executive director of the AHA, notified the Academy of this recognition in a letter August 9, 1976. Although this came too late to list the AARHMS special session at the AHA annual meeting in December 1976 in Washington, D.C., it will enable all future sessions held at the AHA meetings to be included in the official program.

New Officers Elected

The officers of the AARHMS, elected in the spring and summer of 1976, are Robert I. Burns, UCLA, president; Bernard F. Reilly, Villanova University, secretary-treasurer. The new editor of their *Newsletter* is Benjamin F. Taggie, Department of History, Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858 (Prof. Taggie will be at Harvard this summer as an NEH Fellow, and *his address until August 1* will be 6 Thayer Pond Drive, North Oxford, Mass. 01537).

In a very gracious letter to AARHMS members by the new president, Professor Burns, addressed to "the Academicians," he urged fulfillment of the goals first set forth in 1973: "to emulate those relatively unstructured and open academies of the early Renaissance--'circles of friends' bound by common professional enthusiasms, rather than the centralized and impersonal societies familiar to us all."

Program at AHA Meeting

The program for the AARHMS session of Wednesday, December 29, 1976, during the AHA meeting, was as follows:

Title of session: *Spain and the Mediterranean*

Panel: *Clara Estow*, chairperson, University of Massachusetts, Harbor campus

Commentator: *James F. Powers*, College of the Holy Cross

Papers: "The Foundation of the Confraternity of Tarragona by Archbishop Oleger Bonestruga, 1126-1129" by *Lawrence J. McCrank*, University of Maryland

"La Merced: From Confraternity to Order,

1218-1235" by *James W. Brodman*, University of Arkansas

"*María de Padilla: A Fourteenth-century Prototype of the Medieval Royal Mistress*," by *Benjamin F. Taggie*, Central Michigan University

Papers at the 12th Conference

The program for the 12th Conference on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 6, 1977, from 3 to 5 p.m., is as follows:

Title of session: *Medieval Spain*
Zaida Giraldo, chairperson, Institute for Research in History, New York

Papers: "The Vilest and Most Despicable Thing Which Can Exist among Men: A Glance at Slavery in Late Medieval Spain," by *J. R. Webster*, Erindale College, University of Toronto

"The Clerical Role in Alfonso VIII's *Reconquista*," by *Meldon J. Preusser*, Douglas County Schools, Castle Rock, Colorado

"The State of Aragon, North of the Pyrenees under Peter the 'Catholic'" by *Robert J. Kovarik*, Chicago State University

For further information about the AARHMS and its activities, write directly to Professor Bernard Reilly, Department of History, Villanova University, Villanova, PA 19085.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BASQUE STUDIES PROGRAM: UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

The Basque Studies Program has published a distinguished and varied list of works dealing with Basque language and culture. Volumes V and VI of the projected eight-volume bibliography, edited by Jon Bilbao, have appeared (*Eusko-Bibliographia*, published in San Sebastián by Editorial Auñamendi, 1970).

Available from the University of Nevada Press in Reno are the following four volumes: *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*, by William Douglass and Jon Bilbao; *Basque Nationalism*, by Stanley G. Payne; *In a Hundred Graves: A Basque Portrait*, by Robert Laxalt; and *A Book of the Basques*, a new printing of the book of Rodney Gallop first published in England in 1930.

REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE GROUP ON MODERN PORTUGAL

In the aftermath of the 1974 coup in Lisbon, the International Conference Group on Modern Portugal (ICGMP) has increased its membership, both that of individuals and of institutions, and has expanded geographically; it has members now in Portugal, Brazil and Angola, in Britain, Germany and France, as well as Israel, Australia, and Mozambique. Douglas Wheeler, of the Department of History at the University of New Hampshire, general factotum of the ICGMP, receives several letters a week of inquiry.

Expands Publications

In response to this interest, the ICGMP has begun to expand its publications. The *Portuguese Studies Newsletter*, first produced in 1976, will become a regular annual publication. Moreover, the ICGMP will publish each year one or more special *Essays on Portuguese Studies*. Varying in length from 20 to 50 pages, the essays will be mailed to each ICGMP member, while interested persons will be able to purchase single copies from the ICGMP office at the University of New Hampshire. Essay Number 1, set for Spring 1977, will be a bibliographical article by David Zubatsky, a librarian at Washington University, St. Louis, on the research resources in the United States for the study of Portugal's former colonies in Africa.

Bibliography A Project

Still another ICGMP project is the preparation of a comprehensive bibliography, a project which was discussed during the 1976 Conference on Portugal. Thomas Bruneau, Department of Political Science, McGill University, Montreal 101, Quebec, Canada, is coordinating the preparation of a bibliography both of books and of serial citations, for Portugal and for Portuguese-speaking African states. All interested are encouraged to write directly to Professor Bruneau.

Portuguese Africa Collection

Portuguese Studies at the University of New Hampshire has been enhanced by the acquisition in 1977 of a major collection of serials, books, and pamphlets on Portuguese Africa (mainly Angola) in the 20th century,

from the private library of French writer René Pélissier. Collaborating in this acquisition was the African Studies Library of Boston University. The University of New Hampshire has also purchased a current subscription to the weekly, *Expresso*, and, a microfilm copy of the Lisbon daily, *Diário de Notícias*, 1938-1973.

Financial Aid to Conferences

The ICGMP has also given some financial support to conferences, for example to the Conference on Portugal held in April 1976 at the University of Toronto, which was organized by two ICGMP members, David Raby and Harry Makler. It is now considering the possibility of a conference to be held in Portugal, in 1978 or 1979, and has prepared for submission to research foundations a request for funding.

Study Tour Planned for Summer

During the summer of 1977, leaving Boston on June 15, Professor Wheeler will lead a study tour to Portugal, including tours to places such as Estoril and Sintra, as well as lectures on history and art. For further details on this program, or on the charter flight, write directly to Professor Douglas L. Wheeler, Department of History, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH 03824; tel. AC 603, 868-9633.

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUY ON THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR: MONTREAL, MARCH 23-26, 1977

Under the aegis of the Centre de Hispanic Studies of the University of Montreal, Canada, literary scholars and historians gathered to participate in an International Colloquy on the Spanish Civil War. Starting from an extremely varied background, of differing ideologies and disciplines, they were asked to analyze anew this war which remains a subject for passionate debate.

Aiding in the organization of this colloquy were the Council of Arts of Canada, the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Spanish Embassy in Ottawa, and the French-Canadian Association for the Advancement of Science. Serving on the Organizing Committee were Maryse Bertrand

de Muñoz and Claude Morin, respectively Hispanist and historian, of the University of Montreal; Francisco Jarque of the University of Ottawa, a Hispanist; and Ignacio Soldevila, a linguist, from Laval University.

The keynote speaker was Pierre Broué, whose topic was "La guerre civile d'Espagne, dernière évolution ouvrière et paysanne de l'entre-deux guerres."

On the first day of the colloquy, March 24, Gabriel Jackson discussed Spanish Anarchists and Socialists, 1900 to 1936; Juan Martínez Alier analyzed the *latifundista* problem as an antecedent for the Civil War; Ramón Salas Larrazáhal considered the effect of the casualties on the Spanish population; Diego Sevilla Andrés traced the origins and development of the *caudillaje franquista*. Herbert Southworth compared the three fascist movements of the 20th century. The day concluded with a roundtable discussion of the Civil War and Quebec.

On March 25, the second day, Robert Thornberry delivered a paper on the Malraux-Trotsky polemic. But most of the following papers on this day and the next dealt with literature. Pierre Dussauge, on *l'engagement* of American writers in the Spanish Civil War; Carlos Rojas, on "the beginning of the Civil War and the end of Unamuno." One session was devoted entirely to a discussion of the impact of the Civil War on Spanish literature. Maryse Bertrand traced the evolution of novels dealing with the War; José Luis Ponce de León spoke on "Del Recuerdo a la investigación: el futuro de la novela de la guerra civil"; Alfredo Hermenegildo concluded with an essay on Rafael Alberti and the "destrucción de Numancia."

**DEADLINE
FOR NEWSLETTER**

All items which are intended for publication in the AUTUMN ISSUE of the SSPHS NEWSLETTER must reach Helen Nader, Editor, Department of History, Ballantine Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47401, by OCTOBER 15, 1977.

On March 26, the concluding day of the conference, Ignacio Soldevila spoke about the repercussions of the war on the evolution of contemporary Spanish language; Jerónimo González Martín on the anonymous *romancero* during the war; José Luis Vila San Juan spoke about the assassination of Garcia Lorca as an event and as a *bandera*. The colloquy concluded with talks by two creative writers from that period: Salvador García de Pruneda on "Razones por qué escribo novelas" and Ramón Sender, who offered some reflections on his novels on the Civil War.

**SPANISH EMBASSY SPONSORS LECTURE SERIES
ON MODERN SPANISH HISTORY IN PARIS**

A series of lectures on modern Spanish History has been organized by the Cultural Attaché of the Spanish Embassy in Paris. Scheduled to give lectures in the near future are Guy Hermet, Jordi Nadal, and Picoche. Beginning the series last fall was Antonio Dominguez Ortiz with a lecture on "Spain in 1800: Balance Sheet (*bilan*) of a Century." Miguel Artola Gallego gave the second lecture, "The Bourgeois Revolution, 1808-1874." He was followed by Gonzalo Anes, who spoke on "Structural Reform and the Obstacles to Industrialization, 1808-1874."

**EIGHTH COLLOQUY ON SPANISH HISTORY:
UNIVERSITY OF PAU, MARCH 1977**

The 8th Annual Colloquy of the Seminar of Studies on the History of Spain in the 19th and 20th Centuries was held from March 18-20, 1977, under the sponsorship of the Centre de Recherches Hispaniques of the University of Pau. These colloquies, which have played so vital a role in the field of Spanish social historiography in recent years, have been organized and directed by Manuel Tuñon de Lara from the beginning.

With the theme *Crisis of the Spanish State, 1898 to 1936*, participants met in such specialized sessions as: political parties during the II Republic; Catalonia; Church and States; intellectuals after 1926; the economy; literature and the crisis; "les signes de la crise organique vers 1917-20." In addition were concise reports on Euzkadi, Galicia, law and the Republic, the Catalan labor movement, and *sub-littérature*.

**HISTORY OF ANDALUSIA:
FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
December 14-19, 1976**

Eighty-eight specialists on Andalusian history from over the world met for the First International Congress. Among those who participated were Jean Sermet, Stanley Paine, Edward Malefakis, Juan J. Linz, Manuel Tuñón de Lara, Hilda Grassotti, Bernard Vicent, and others. The subject matter ranged broadly, with a session on "Medieval Andalusia: Islamic and Christian," a paper by Bartolomé Bennassar on "Daily Life in Andújar during the 17th Century," a study of "The Economic Results in Andalusia of the Expulsion of the Moors" by Earl J. Hamilton, and a study of the Enlightenment and the crisis of the Old Regime in Andalusia. There has been wide interest in the proceedings of this congress as Spaniards seek in the past the roots and even the solutions for the depressed economy of Andalusia, which remains a problem today.

**LULLIAN PHILOSOPHY:
SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
October 1976**

The second International Congress on Lullian Philosophy, held in Mallorca, opened with a speech by Miguel Cruz Hernández, catedrático at the University of Salamanca and Director General of People's Culture in the Ministry of Information and Tourism. The Congress was organized to commemorate the VII centennial of the Miramar Foundation where Ramón Llull (or Raimundo Lulio, 1235-1315) taught Arabic to seven monks preparing for missionary work among Muslims. Among those attending the Congress were Professors Bouamrane of the University of Algiers; Linares, University of Grenoble; Peranau of the School of Theology of Barcelona; Lohr of the University of Freiburg; Dufourco, University of Paris.

**SEMINAR IN ALICANTE:
SOCIOPOLITICAL ANALYSIS OF
CONTEMPORARY SPAIN 1939-76
October 6-10, 1976**

The Cultural Section of the *Caja de Ahorros* of Alicante and Murcia inaugurated their activities for the academic year 1976-77 with a seminar on the Franco Regime, *The Sociopolitical Analysis of Contemporary Spain, 1939-76*. The seminar was directed by Professor Manuel Ramirez of the University of Saragossa, and coordinated by two professors from the *Facultad de Letras* in Alicante, M. Oliver and E. Giménez. The lecture series was as follows:

Bustelo (University of Santiago de Compostela), *Las etapas económicas*
 Cascajo (University of Salamanca), *La concepción de derechos y libertades*
 Ferrando Badia (University of Valladolid), *Ante la Reforma constitucional*
 Montero Gibert (University of Saragossa), *Las Fuerzas políticas del Régimen*
 Murillo, F. (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), *El cambio social*
 Portero Molina (University of Saragossa), *La ideología sustentadora*
 Ramírez, Manuel (University of Saragossa), *Problemática de la naturaleza del regimen*
 Santamaría (Universidad Complutense, Madrid), *La opinion política*
 de Vega, Pedro (Universidad de Salamanca), *El cambio político*

**SEMINAR IN MALAGA:
METHODOLOGY IN HISTORY
Sept. 27-October 2, 1976**

The status of teaching and research in history was the focus of a week-long seminar organized by the Institute of Educational Sciences of the University of Malaga. A specialist began each day's session with a lecture, followed by a colloquy and round-table discussion in the afternoon. The lectures were as follows:

García de Cortazar, Jose A., *Los nuevos métodos de investigación histórica*
 Lacomba, Juan Antonio, *Consideraciones generales sobre la investigación de la historia en el Bachillerato*
 Llorens, Montserrat, *Didáctica de la Historia en el Bachillerato*
 Jover Zamora, Jose Maria, *Estado actual de la Investigación sobre la historia contemporánea de España*
 Tuñón de Lara, Manuel, *Metodología técnicas de la historia social*
 Valdeón, Julio, *Problemática de la Historia en el Bachillerato*

HISPANIC STUDIES:
INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM IN
HUNGARY, Autumn 1976

Ninety delegates from 16 countries in Europe, North and South America attended the First International Symposium of Hispanic Studies held at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. Mathias Horanyi, chairman of the organizing committee, opened the symposium. Noël Salomón led the first session, speaking on Rubén Darío's "Azul," followed by Robert Fernández Retamar, whose talk was "Against the Black Legend." This is to be the first of many symposia devoted both to literature and to history.

MEDIEVAL CANON LAW:
FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
Mid-1976

Two hundred delegates concerned themselves with Iberian topics at this mid-1976 Congress on Medieval Canon Law at Pontifical University, Salamanca. Among the topics discussed were: The Spanish Canons; the Codifying Technique of San Raimundo de Peñafort; Medieval Canon Law and the Spanish Reconquest; economic themes of the Spanish Cathedral Chapters; local law of the Spanish Church; Medieval Canon Law and the Discovery of America. General discussions concerned sexuality in the Middle Ages, as well as litigation in regard to marriage--themes of interest today because of their repercussions on modern society. The proceedings of this congress will be published by the Institute of Medieval Canon Law in Berkeley, in the series, *Monumenta Juris Canonici*.

CONGRESO CELEBRADO EN SANTA
MARÍA DE LA RABIDA, HUELVA,
ESPAÑA: En Celebración del
Bicentenario de los Estados
Unidos

El Congreso de Historia de los Estados Unidos, organizado en celebración del bicentenario de los Estados Unidos, se reunió en la Universidad Hispanoamericana Santa María de la Rábida, Huelva, los días 5 a 9 julio de 1976. Fue inaugurado por el Subsecretario de Educación y Ciencia. Los organizadores tienen proyectada la publicación de un *acta* del congreso.

Entre los trabajos presentados, los apuntados a continuación serán de especial interés para los historiadores de España:

- Demetrio Ramos Pérez (Valladolid), *La Revolución Norteamericana como fenómeno de la crisis del despotismo ilustrado*
- José Antonio Armillas (Zaragoza), *Nuevas consideraciones sobre la deuda de guerra de los Estados Unidos para con España*
- María Remedios Contreras Miguel (Madrid), *Fondos relativos a los Estados Unidos en la Real Academia de la Historia*
- Mario Rodríguez (University of Southern California), *La presencia de la Revolución norteamericana en el mundo hispánico*
- Rafael Sánchez Montero (Sevilla), *La contribución española a la independencia de los Estados Unidos en la Historiografía norteamericana*
- Rafael Olaechea Albistur (Zaragoza), *El conde de Aranda ante la independencia de los Estados Unidos*
- José Antonio Ferrer Benimelli (Zaragoza), *América en el pensamiento político de Aranda*
- José Manuel Cuenca Toribio (Córdoba), *La "democracia en América" de Tocqueville y su influencia en el moderantismo español*
- Manuel Lucena Salmoral (Murcia), *El comercio de los Estados Unidos con España e Hispanoamérica a comienzo de la presidencia de Madison*

EL CENTRE D'ESTUDIS D'HISTÒRIA CONTEMPORÀNIA

Calle Numancia, 101

Barcelona- 14, Spain. Tel. 230-42-03

El Centre d'Estudis d'Història Contemporània, a private research institute was founded in June 1966 by Josep Maria Figueras Bassols who continues to serve as its president. Although the broad objective of the *Centre* is the collection of materials on the history of Spain from 1873 to the present, the focus has been on the period since the Second Republic and specifically, on the social and political history of Catalonia. In 1977, eleven years after its founding, the *Centre* boasts a library with more than 14,000 books and pamphlets, a newspaper and journal collection (*hemeroteca*) of some 1,000 titles, as well as a specialized archive that includes not only documents but "fugitive" materials such as leaflets and posters. The *Centre* intends to be not simply an excellent depository but a research institute, and to this end provides support services and even some limited financing for the publication both of monographs and of research aides such as bibliographies.

The *Centre* was created in response to a compelling need to establish in Spain an institute for social historians before the material was scattered or sold abroad where it would be difficult for Spanish historians to work. This was dramatized by the sale of the valuable Civil War collection of Herbert Southworth to the University of California at San Diego. Figueras, learning too late of the availability of the Southworth collection, determined to prevent any such situation in the future. He founded the *Centre* in Barcelona as a depository for materials which he sought not only in Spain but in Toulouse and Paris in France, in Mexico City, and in London.

From the outset, some few scholars were allowed to use the collection but it was not until 1974, when the *Centre* moved to its present location on Calle Numancia, that it began to function in an orderly way. First the collection had to be cataloged in scholarly fashion by a team composed of two historians, Isidre Molas and Josep Termes, in collaboration with the *Centre* librarian, Maria Capdevila; working daily for four months, they devised a classification system that could meet highly specialized research needs. It has been so successful that it has now been adopted by other libraries.

One of the collections now sought by the *Centre* is the correspondence of the Spanish Republican Ambassador in Paris,¹ which will clarify much of the activity of the Non-Intervention Committee as well as many aspects of the relations between the French and Spanish Republican governments during the Civil War.

In addition to its bibliographic activities, the *Centre* has sponsored a series of lectures by specialists such as Herbert Southworth ("The Myth of Guernica") and Angel Viñas ("Spanish Gold and the Civil War"). Future lectures by Jordi Arquer, an old-time labor militant, and Gabriel Jackson are being planned.

The *Centre* has initiated its publication series with a bibliography of the works by Juan Peiró Belis, long-time militant in the CNT and Minister of Industry in the Largo Caballero government of November 1936.² A bibliography of Federica Montseny's publications is now underway, under the direction of Pere Gabriel. Maria Capdevila and Ferran Gallego are preparing an index for the *Centre's* collection of the second series of the famous Anarchist journal, *Revista Blanca* (published in Barcelona, 1923-35). Joaium Molas is directing a survey of the press in Barcelona

(El Centre d'Estudis d'Històrica Contemporània continued)

during the Civil War, which is being prepared by Esther Centelles and Maria Campillo; the Centre has, for example, a complete collection for the years 1936-39 of *Diario de Barcelona*, *La Vanguardia*, and *Solidaridad Obrera*. Under the direction of Termes, Maria Dolors Capdevila and Roser Masgrau are preparing a monograph on the socialist journal, *Justicia Social*. *Organ de la Federació Catalana del P.S.O.E., 1910-1916*. Other projects underway include a study of Catalan literature during the Civil War under the direction of Joaquim Molas; a study of the publications of Prat de la Riba by Enric Jardí; and a volume honoring Francesc Cambó i Batlle on the centenary of his birth.

N O T E S

1. It is not made clear whether this is the correspondence of Juan F. de Cardenas y Rodriguez de Rivas, the apparently pronationalist ambassador who resigned on July 23, 1936, or of Fernando de los Rios, who succeeded him.
2. *Joan Peiró. Escrits, 1917-1939*. Tria i introduccio de Pere Gabriel. Col.lecció Estudis i Documents, 26. Barcelona: Edicions 62, S.A. pp. 628.

STUDIES OF RURAL LIFE IN EARLY MODERN CASTILE:

HISTORY AND THE OTHER DISCIPLINES

By David E. Vassberg
Pan American University, Edinburg, Texas

PRÉCIS: Historians of rural Castile in the early modern period have long been frustrated by the dearth of studies based on archival research. Professor Vassberg suggests in the following article that this may be due to "professional tunnel vision." Historians should look beyond publications in their own field to those of Spanish geographers in particular, as well as to studies in general by lawyers, agronomists, literary critics, sociologists, folklorists, and ethnologists.

For years those of us who are interested in the rural history of early modern Castile have felt frustrated by the dearth of studies on the subject. Surveys of the period¹ have tended with irritating monotony to rely almost exclusively upon three monographs: *The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273-1836* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), by Julius Klein; *El problema cerealista en España durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos (1474-1516)*, (Madrid, 1941) by Eduardo Ibarra y Rodríguez; and *El problema de la tierra en la España de los siglos XVI-XVII* (Madrid, 1941) by Carmelo Viñas y Mey. Although Klein's work is an impressive historical-juridical study of the importance of the Mesta's *Alcalde Entregador*, it tells little about the raising of sheep, and almost nothing about arable agriculture. The other two books, based chiefly on laws and printed sources, are valuable as a broad introduction to some of the problems of the era, but they suffer the faults of pioneer studies; their chief merit lies not in the answers they provide, but in the questions they raise.

We historians have tried to make the best of the situation, attempting to understand what happened in rural areas by fabricating some sort of theory around Hamilton's "price revolution,"² the *tasa del trigo*,³ the depredation of Mesta flocks on cultivated fields,⁴ the *censos* and the growth of *latifundia*,⁵ or general economic and demographic trends. But this left us vastly ignorant of what life and work in rural Castile were really like. For example, what were the landholding patterns?⁶ What crops were grown, and how? What was the relationship between arable agriculture and animal husbandry? What forms of fallowing or crop rotation were used? What were the tools of production? How did the expansion and contraction of export markets affect growers? What was the most common type and size of productive unit? What regional differences existed? How profitable was agriculture, and what was the lifestyle of those engaged in it?

We could find adequate answers for none of these questions (and there are many others) in the available historical literature. We tended to conclude, therefore, that almost no work had been done in the area. True, there was some interesting work dealing with rural history, based on new work in archives.⁷ Noël Salomon's *La campagne de Nouvelle Castille a la fin du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1964) gave a broad picture of rural life in New Castile;⁸ it is based on the *Relaciones topográficas* (replies to a questionnaire sent out by Philip II to the pueblos of Castile, 1575-1580, and preserved in the Escorial). Bartolomé Bennassar's *Valladolid au siècle d'or: Une ville de Castille et sa campagne au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1967) showed the interrelationship between one city and its countryside;⁹ and Alain Huetz de Lemp

did a fine regional study of vineyards and wine production in *Vignobles et vins du Nordouest de l'Espagne*, 2 vols. (Bordeaux, 1967). Additionally, French scholars published a number of interesting journal articles, some not readily accessible to most North American historians. *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* (Paris) included a good sampling of the work of rural-oriented scholars,¹⁰ and some more or less inaccessible journals included more.¹¹ Because many of these fine scholars, and others, were continuing to work on agricultural history and related subjects, there was hope that we would one day have a number of studies on varied aspects of early modern rural Spain.

But in the meantime, we deplored the general lack of interest in the subject, and lamented, along with Braudel, that the history of landholdings did "not appear to awaken the interest of the erudite;"¹² with Elliott, that the subject of Spanish land-ownership was "almost untouched;"¹³ with Lynch, that there were "few modern works on the agrarian history of Spain;"¹⁴ and with Domínguez Ortiz, that "the vast rural world [had] not yet received the attention it deserved."¹⁵

Thus when I went to Spain recently to continue my research on rural 16th-century Castile (excluding the Atlantic provinces and the Kingdom of Aragon), I expected that virtually all of my work would have to be archival, there being so little publication on the subject.¹⁶ But I was mistaken. While following some leads in publications I had not yet consulted, I discovered the existence of a considerable number of studies on rural early modern Spain. Far more research remains to be done, but these studies are excellent examples of the type of work that is possible and of what sources are available. Most of these studies, however, lie outside the discipline of history. And I suppose that that is precisely the reason for my previous ignorance of their existence. Granted that it is often difficult to find out what has been published, and to obtain works we know about, nevertheless it seems that I, and many of my colleagues, have been guilty of professional tunnel vision--of unnecessarily overlooking studies outside our own discipline. This oversight might have been avoided through a more careful reading of Emilio Giralt y Raventós, "Los estudios de historia agraria en España desde 1940 a 1961; orientaciones bibliográficas," *Índice histórico español*, V (1959), ix-lxxix. Giralt pointed out a number of important works, but most were in the regional section, rather than in the chronological section of his article, which probably explains why I missed them.

What scholarly studies have been published, then, on rural Castile in the early modern period? Here I will include not only the most important of those cited by Giralt, but will add those that he missed as well as studies published in the interim.

Geographers have published the largest and most important group of monographs. This came as a surprise to me, for I had never thought of geographers as being interested in socioeconomic history. Perhaps the reason Spanish geographers have done so much work in the area is that they found it virtually unworked by historians, who preferred to concentrate on political topics. As long ago as 1915 Abelardo Merino Alvarez called upon Spanish geographers to correct the state of "complete neglect" of the historical geography of the Iberian peninsula.¹⁷ He defined historical geography broadly to include political, economic, social, religious, juridical, and demographic elements.¹⁸ Merino went on to follow his own advice, producing two additional works of interest to geo-historians and historical geographers.¹⁹

The decades 1930 and 1940 constitute a hiatus in the publication in Spain of works on historical geography, due perhaps to the political situation. But from 1950 on, important articles based upon archival research on early modern rural Spain have been published by *Estudios Geográficos* (of el Instituto Juan Sebastián Elcano, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas). Giralt describes *Estudios Geográficos* as "the only journal in this country truly indispensable for the study of agrarian history."²⁰ Of special importance are three studies by Fernando Jiménez de Gregorio. The first, "La población en la Jara toledana," took most of its 16th-century information from the *Relaciones*; it was published in three parts

(Vassberg Article continued)

(*EG*, XI, no. 39 [mayo, 1950]; XII, no. 44 [agosto, 1951]; XIII, no. 48 [agosto, 1952]). The second is "La población en la zona suroccidental de los montes de Toledo" (*EG*, XXV, no. 94 [febrero 1964], XXVI, no. 98 [febrero 1965], XXVII, no. 104 [mayo 1966]). It is based primarily both on the *Relaciones* and on manuscript sources in the Archivo Municipal of Toledo, and is very important for the study of 16th-century agriculture. The third article is "La población en el señorío de Valdepusa, Toledo" (*EG*, XXXII, no. 122 [febrero, 1971]).²¹

In addition to the articles by Jiménez de Gregorio, *Estudios Geográficos* has published a highly useful study by Jesús García Fernández, which describes the relationship between demographic trends and the extent of cultivation: "Horche, Guadalajara: estudio de estructura agraria" (*EG*, XIV, no. 51 [mayo, 1953]). Francisco Quirós relied heavily upon manuscript sources from the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid for his article, "Sobre geografía agraria del Campo de Calatrava y Valle de Alcudia" (*EG*, XXVI, no. 99 [mayo, 1965]). Josefina Gómez Mendoza used the *Expedientes de Hacienda* from the Archivo General de Simancas for her study, "Las ventas de baldíos y comunales en el siglo XVI. Estudio de su proceso en Guadalajara" (*EG*, XXVIII, no. 109 [noviembre 1967]). However, while Gómez Mendoza's article is useful for an understanding of the impact of the *baldío* sales on Guadalajara's rural economy, it is based on incomplete information.²² Among other articles published in *Estudios Geográficos* which are of value for historians of early modern rural Castile is Gregorio Núñez Noguerol, "La población y las formas de aprovechamiento de la Alpujarra oriental" (*EG*, XXX, no. 115 [mayo, 1969]); and Francisco Ortega Alba, "Evolución de la utilización del suelo en el Subbético de Córdoba" (*EG*, XXXIV, nos. 132-133 [agosto-noviembre 1973]). In addition, *Estudios Geográficos* has also published translations of important articles appearing in journals outside of Spain.²³

Geographers have also published a number of regional studies which contain valuable sections on historical development. For example, Gregorio Planchuelo Portalés, *Estudio del Alto Guadiana y de la Altiplanicie del Campo de Montiel* (Madrid, 1954); Antonio Higuera Arnal, *El Alto Guadalquivir. Estudio Geográfico* (Zaragoza, 1961); Justo Corchón García, *El Campo de Arañuelo (Estudio geográfico de una comarca extremeña)* (Madrid, 1963); José Ortega Valcárcel, *La Bureba. Estudio geográfico* (Valladolid, 1966); Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Granada, la tierra y sus Hombres* (Granada, 1971); Antonio Gil Olcina, *El Campo de Lorca. Estudio de geografía agraria* (Valencia, 1971); Francisco Villegas Molina, *El Valle de Lecrín. Estudio geográfico* (Granada, 1972); and the useful catalog by Manuel Corchado Soriano, *Avance de un estudio geográfico-histórico del Campo de Montiel* (Madrid, 1971).

Also interesting are Jesús García Fernández, *Aspectos del paisaje agrario de Castilla la Vieja* (Valladolid, 1963); the same scholar's "Los sistemas de cultivo de Castilla la Vieja," in *Aportación española al XX Congreso Geográfico Internacional* (Madrid, 1964); José-Luis Martín Galindo, *Artículos geográficos sobre la provincia de León* (Valladolid, s.a.); Francisco Rodríguez Martínez, "Aspectos socioeconómicos de la repoblación de Almería por los Reyes Católicos," *Cuadernos geográficos de la Universidad de Granada*, no. 2 (1972); and Victoriano Guarnido Olmedo, "El repartimiento de Huétor-Tájar y su evolución posterior," *Cuadernos geográficos de la Universidad de Granada*, no. 2 (1972).

Law is still another discipline to which historians can turn for information about rural developments. Giralt listed several articles in *Anuario de la historia del derecho español* (Madrid). The classic work of Antonio Moreno Calderón, *Historia jurídica del cultivo y de la industria ganadera en España* (Madrid, 1912), is useful, but despite its title is primarily about cattle. A far broader, and infinitely more valuable work is Alejandro Nieto, *Ordenación de pastos, hierbas y rastrojeras*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1959); unfortunately it is rather hard to find. The same scholar has also published *Bienes comunales* (Madrid, 1964). For Granada, there is the study by José Oriol Catena, "La repoblación del Reyno de Granada después de la expulsión de los moriscos," *Boletín de la Universidad de Granada*, VII (1935), VIII (1936), IX (1937). A search through legal journals and other publications (which one day I suppose I shall have to do) would probably reveal that Spanish jurists have produced far more of interest to rural historians.

Literature can also contribute toward our understanding of rural history. It should be profoundly embarrassing to historians that Noël Salomon, a Hispanist with an interest in Golden Age drama, was forced to write his *La campagne* (mentioned above) because he could find no satisfactory study of rural history of 16th- and 17th-century Spain.²⁴ It was only after having completed his historical study that Salomon could go on to write his *Recherches sur le thème paysan dans la "comedia" au temps de Lope de Vega* (Bordeaux, 1965). Others who have exploited Golden Age Spanish literature as a source are Ricardo del Arco y Garay, *La sociedad española en las obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1941); the same author's *La sociedad española en las obras de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1951); and Angel Valbuena Prat, *La vida española en la Edad de Oro, según sus fuentes literarias* (Barcelona, 1943). Also relying heavily on literary sources are the more general works: Ludwig Pfandl, *Cultura y costumbres del pueblo español en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Barcelona, 1929); and Marcelin Deforneaux, *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*, first published in 1964, and translated into English by Newton Branch (London, 1970).²⁵

One might think that agronomists would be interested in agricultural history, but to judge by their scanty production, they are not. An older study showing some promise was Benito Ventué y Peralta, *Estudio sobre el cambio y mejoramiento del cultivo en la Vega y demás territorio de la provincia de Granada* (Granada, 1885), but it does not appear to have generated much interest among agronomists, at least not in the form of other studies. Recent publication in the discipline includes the superficial *Introducción a la historia de la agricultura española* by Gabriel García-Badell y Abadía (Madrid, 1963) and the useful bibliographical tool by José Muñoz Pérez and Juan Benito Arranz, *Guía bibliográfica para una geografía agraria de España* (Madrid, 1961).²⁶

In contrast, historians can profit from the work of those sociologists, folklorists, and ethnologists who have showed an interest in rural history. Of limited historical value but nonetheless provocative is Luis de Hoyos Sáinz's article, "Sociología agrícola tradicional: Avance folklórico etnográfico," *Revista internacional de sociología* (Madrid), V, no. 19 (julio-septiembre 1947). Of greater interest are Roberto y Barbara Aitken, "El arado castellano: estudio preliminar," *Anales del Museo del Pueblo Español* (Madrid), I, nos. 1-2 (1935); and three fine articles by Julio Caro Baroja in *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares* (Madrid): "Los arados españoles, sus tipos y repartición (aportaciones críticas y bibliografías)," *RDTP*, V (1949); "Disertación sobre los molinos de viento," *RDTP*, VIII (1952); and "Norias, azudas, aceñas," *RDTP*, X (1954).

NOTES

1. One need only inspect the bibliographies of the surveys published during the last dozen years to see my point.
2. Earl J. Hamilton, "The Decline of Spain," *Economic History Review*, 1st ser., VIII, no. 2 (May 1938); and *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934).
3. Chiefly from Ibarra y Rodríguez, *Problema cerealista*.
4. Klein himself was conservative in assessing the impact of Mesta herds on cultivated fields. See *Mesta*, pp. 336-42. But many historians have been carried away by the pathos of the theoretical possibility that the Mesta destroyed rural Castile. This obsession with the Mesta has also been noted by Jean-Paul Le Flem, "Cáceres, Plasencia y Trujillo en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI," trans. Claude Le Flem, *Cuadernos de Historia de España* (Buenos Aires) (1967), p. 249.
5. Usually from Viñas y Mey, *Problema de la Tierra*, pp. 321-79.

6. Some older works on landholding were available, but they seem quite outdated. For example: Francisco de Cárdenas, *Ensayo de historia de la propiedad territorial en España*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1873); and Joaquín Costa y Martínez, *Colectivismo agrario en España: Doctrinas y hechos* (Madrid, 1898).
7. *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*. For example: Alain Huetz de Lempis, "Le vignoble de la 'Tierra de Medina' aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Annales*, XIV, no. 4 (juillet-septembre 1959); Alain Huetz de Lempis, "Les terroirs en Vieille Castille et León," *Annales*, XVII, no. 2 (mars-avril 1962); Jesús García Fernández, "Champs ouverts et champs clôturés en Vieille Castille," *Annales*, XX, no. 4 (juillet-septembre 1965); José Gentil da Silva, "Villages castillans et types de production au XVI siècle," *Annales*, XVIII, no. 4 (juillet-août 1963). The last was later amplified and published as *En Espagne. Développement économique, subsistance, déclin* (Paris, 1965), available in Spanish as *Desarrollo económico, subsistencia y decadencia en España*, trans. Valentina Fernández Vargas (Madrid, 1967).
8. Now available in Spanish translation as *La vida rural castellana en tiempos de Felipe II*, trans. Francesc Espinet Burunat (Barcelona, 1973). The *Relaciones* (answers to questionnaires sent by Philip II in 1575-1580) were also used by José Gentil da Silva for his two works listed above in note 7.
9. Also of interest to rural historians is Bennassar's *Recherches sur les grandes épidémies dans le nord de l'Espagne a la fin du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1969).
10. For example, by Pierre Ponsot we have "Les paysages agraires de l'Andalousie occidentale au debut du XVIe siècle d'après l'*Itinerario* de Hernando Colón," (written in collaboration with Michel Drain), *Mélanges*, II (1966). Michel Terrasse has written "La région de Madrid d'après les «Relaciones topográficas» (Peuplement, voies de communication)," *Mélanges*, IV (1968); and Jean-Pierre Molénat has made a valuable contribution in "Tolède et ses finages au temps des Rois Catholiques: Contribution à l'histoire sociale et économique de la cité avant la révolte des Comunidades," *Mélanges*, VIII (1972).
11. Jean-Paul Le Flem, for example, has "Las cuentas de la Mesta (1510-1709), in *Moneda y Crédito* (Madrid), no. 121 (junio 1972). A. Humbert has "L'Openfield dans le bassin de Grenade," *Revue Méditerranée*, Nouvelle Série, I, no. 3 (1970). And Pierre Ponsot's "En Andalousie occidentale: Les fluctuations de la production du blé sous l'Ancien Régime," *Etudes rurales* (Paris), no. 34 (1969), shows what can be done with tithe records. I have noted another article by Le Flem above, in note 4.
12. Fernand Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II*, 2 vols., trans. Mario Monteforte Toledo and Wenceslao Roces (Mexico, 1953), II, 201. (First published in French in 1949; 2nd rev. ed., 1966.)
13. From J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York, 1964), p. 391.
14. John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, Vol. I: *Empire and Absolutism, 1516-1598* (London, 1964), III, note 23.
15. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *El Antiguo Régimen: los Reyes Católicos y los Austrias*, Vol. III of *Historia de España Alfaguara*, dir. Miguel Artola (Madrid, 1974), 451.
16. I expressed this feeling in my article "The Tierras Baldías: Community Property and Public Lands in Sixteenth Century Castile," *Agricultural History*, XLVIII, no. 3 (July 1974).
17. To be sure, the neglect was not literally complete, as Merino Alvarez himself admitted. For example, ten years earlier Antonio Blázquez had read to the Real Sociedad Geográfica

- his *La Mancha en tiempo de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1905), which was based on the *Relaciones*. Blázquez had also published *Geografía de España en el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1909).
18. *Geografía histórica del territorio de la actual provincia de Murcia desde la Reconquista por D. Jaime I de Aragón hasta la época presente* (Madrid, 1915), pp. 1-4. This is a fine although somewhat outdated study.
 19. *La sociedad abulense durante el siglo XVI; la nobleza* (Madrid, 1926); and *Apuntes sobre la bibliografía de los siglos XVI y XVII referentes a la geografía histórica del Reino de Murcia* (Madrid, 1932).
 20. Giralt, in "Estudios," *IHE* (1959), xxix.
 21. Fernando Jiménez de Gregorio has subsequently published two major studies on the agrarian history of Toledo: *Diccionario de los pueblos de la provincia de Toledo hasta finalizar el siglo XVIII. Población, sociedad, economía, historia*, 2 vols. (Toledo, 1962-66); and "Las ordenanzas de Navalpino, lugar de los Montes de Toledo en el siglo XVI," in *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*, II (Barcelona, 1967), 246-65.
 22. It should be complemented by David E. Vassberg, "The Sale of Tierras Baldías in Sixteenth-Century Castile," *Journal of Modern History*, XLVII, no. 4 (December 1975).
 23. For example, Hellmuth Hopfner, "La evolución de los bosques en Castilla la Vieja," *EG*, XV, no. 56 (agosto 1954), a translation by M. de Terán of an article first published in *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* (Hamburg); and Alain Huetz de Lempis, "El viñedo de la 'Tierra de Medina' en los siglos XVII y XVIII," translated by Jesús García Fernández, *EG*, XX, no. 74 (febrero 1959).
 24. See *La campagne*, p. 9.
 25. First published as *La vie quotidienne en Espagne au Siècle d'Or* (Paris, 1964).
 26. Unfortunately, the usefulness of this work for historians is not readily apparent, due to its organization. Most of the listings dealing with early modern rural history are not under the appropriate chronological heading (which is reserved for general works), but rather under geographical headings as regional studies.

THE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT OF THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION OF
THE VALB (Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade)

(Editor's Comment: In response to a request from the Historical Commission of the VALB, made at the suggestion of Professor Braasch Watson of M.I.T., the editor has used material supplied by R. B. (Pete) Smith to write the following summary of the current activities and historical projects of the VALB. The objective is to call to the attention of those concerned with contemporary Spain the importance of a group whose history has not yet been completely explored, a history that will gain greater depth from the new perspective of the 1970s. Specifically, the Historical Commission of the VALB invites scholars to participate in the collection of data and to utilize the data in new studies.)

* * * * *

Since 1973 the American volunteers have once again played a public role in Spanish-American relations, in part a natural response to changing conditions in Spain and to the approach of the 40th Anniversary of the International Brigade's participation in the Spanish Civil War, in part a response to a formal program adopted by the National Council of the VALB under Steve Nelson's leadership.

Of special interest to members of the SSPHS is the Historical Commission, reorganized in November 1975, which seeks both to gather new material and to inventory that which already exists in private or institutional collections. This project is being coordinated with Victor Berch who has organized the collection at Brandeis University.

A Brief Background of the VALB

Historians concerned with the entire history of the VALB will also need to study this latest phase of activism in the 1970s, coming as it does after a long period of apparent dormancy. It is another chapter in the history of this remarkable group of men (ca. 3,500-3,000) who went to Spain to fight in the Civil War as part of the XVth Brigade of the International Brigades, who enlisted in the armed forces during World War II, and who then tried to play a collective, public role in the postwar period. But in 1953 their activities were cut short by the suit filed by the United States Attorney General in 1953, requiring the VALB to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board under the provisions of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. Not until 1965--more than a decade later--did the U.S. Supreme Court finally vacate the Attorney General's order. By then the impact of the McCarran Act had had its effect: "Vets" had dropped out of public life; many had died. Of the estimated 350 survivors in the 1970s, all were at least sixty years of age.

Recent Activities of the VALB

Against this background, the VALB activities from 1972 on are all the more remarkable. The VALB lent its support to the cause of the "Carabanchel Ten" (or *Sumario 1001*, as it was called in Spain)--the case of the ten leaders of the illegal *Comisiones Obreras* arrested on June 24, 1972, and charged with illicit assembly. The VALB sought support for the Spanish labor leaders from such American unions as the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and the United Auto Workers, of leaders such as Henry Foner, president of the Fur, Leather & Machine Workers Union, as well as that of lawyers such as Ramsey Clark. It helped to send a delegation to Spain to witness the trial in December 1973, and then another delegation in February 1974, at which time a higher court reduced the sentences of some of the leaders. When the

(Oral History Project of the VALB, continued)

sentences for the *Comisiones Obreras* were further reduced in the autumn of 1974, the VALB helped to launch a campaign to defend the SEAT-12.

Between 1974 and 1975, the "Committee for the Carabanchel-10" was reorganized as the "United States Committee for a Democratic Spain." The VALB collaborated in this effort to intervene in the negotiation of a United States-Spanish cooperation treaty, the first formal treaty signed by the two countries. VALB members were active in the organization of the Forum on the Franco Regime, held on June 10, 1975, under the auspices of the Fund for National Priorities, and in the subsequent Colloquy, organized on January 22, 1976, which was designed to inform congressmen of the implications of the treaty with Spain (see SSPHS NEWSLETTER, Vol. III, no. 4, p. 93, and no. 5, p. 124). As part of the effort to arouse American interest in the treaty with Spain, Abe Osheroff--a Veteran-- made a film, *Dreams and Nightmares*, which was shown widely during 1975 and 1976. Despite the VALB's efforts to oppose it, the Spanish-American treaty, however, was signed into law on January 24, 1976, as the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

In addition to these attempts to influence present-day policy toward Spain, the VALB also participated in a number of ceremonies intended to commemorate its action in Spain and to honor those who had acknowledged the American volunteers' contribution. The VALB initiated a memorial meeting to honor Alvarez del Vayo, the last Foreign Minister of the Republic, who died on May 7, 1975; the memorial, held in November 1975 and attended by more than a thousand persons, led to the formation of the U.S. Committee for a Democratic Spain. In December 1975 a VALB delegation went to Rome to attend the 80th birthday celebration of Dolores Ibarruri, Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Spain (1942-60), now President of the Central Committee. A delegation of 68 "Vets," together with a hundred wives, widows, and supporters attended the 40th anniversary celebration of the International Brigades, held in Florence, Italy, October 8 to 10, 1976. Some 1,000 veterans from approximately twenty countries were present to hear Luigi Longo, Commissar-General of the Brigades, and Vittorio Vidali, Inspector-General, as well as poet Rafael Alberti and the widow of General Juan Modesto. In the United States, the VALB held its own memorial banquets, one in San Francisco on February 6, 1977, and another in New York City on February 20, 1977. The VALB has participated in other Civil War memorials, such as the one organized at the University of Chicago, May 3-10, 1976 (SSPHS NEWSLETTER, Vol. III, no. 7, pp. 197-98), and at Bethune University in Canada where the veterans of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion have also organized a series of commemorative events.

This renewed activism has inevitably sparked controversy within the organization, apparently (to judge by their own accounts) less because of the events related to Spain than because of the support for causes not directly related to Spain, a subject for discussion at the National Conference held February 19-21, 1977. New officers were elected: Steve Nelson was re-elected Commander, Milton Wolff, Adjutant Commander, and Hy Wallach, Corresponding Secretary.

During the National Conference, the Council also reviewed the plans of the Historical Commission for 1977-78. One concern, which led to this project, was to give all due recognition to the American role (which may have been slighted) in the International Brigades.

Contributions Invited for Oral History Project

Members of the VALB are seriously interested in gaining an accurate account of, and a scholarly perspective on, the role in the VALB of the Communist party of the U.S.A., as well as the contributions of the many non-Communists who enlisted and served with distinction. They also want to encourage and aid in further scholarly research into the role of the

(Oral History Project of the VALB, continued)

U.S.S.R. and of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War.

These are major considerations which scholars have already debated in part. But the Historical Commission of the VALB is now suggesting to scholars that veterans, relatives or friends, are still alive whose testimony could bring new light to these and other developments. It invites scholars and institutions to join in the development, and implementation, of an Oral History Project. A preliminary questionnaire has already been prepared and distributed.

The immediate need is to collect all available materials and to inventory collections that already exist, in private hands as well as in institutions. One specific task is to compile an accurate, complete list of all volunteers, of those who died (between 1,500 and 1,600, according to VALB estimates) and those who returned. The Commission has already acquired an impressive poster collection, some of which will be shown in a special exhibit. It has also collected considerable film footage.

Scholars interested in helping in this project, or in learning more about the existing collection, are invited to write directly to: R. B. (Pete) Smith, Historical Commission, VALB, 148 East 30th Street, New York, NY 10016, tel. (252) 685-2277.

Conference Proceedings

EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE - March 25 - 27, 1977
University of Kentucky, Lexington

Friday, March 25

ADDRESS: Charles Gibson, University of Michigan
A 16TH-CENTURY CASTILIAN FOOD CRISIS:
CAUSES AND IMPLICATIONS

CONFERENCIA: Miguel Artola, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
ASPECTOS SOCIALES DE LA REVOLUCION LIBERAL

SPANISH POLITICS IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY
In the Chair: Raymond F. Betts, University of Kentucky

Papers: "*El Rey Intruso*": *The Accession of Amadeo of Savoy*, by Glenn T. Harper, University of Southern Mississippi

From Consensus to Polarization: 1898 Conservative Regenerationism and Restoration Party Politics, by Thomas H. Baker, Princeton University

Comments: Daniel R. Headrick, Roosevelt University; Earl R. Beck, The Florida State University

THE CROWN OF ARAGON IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

In the Chair: Robert I. Burns, S.J., UCLA
Papers: *Foreign Policy Considerations of the Crown of Aragon at the Beginning of the Great Schism*, by Z. I. Giraldo, Institute for Research in History, NYC

The Salt Crusade, by Carl J. Post, University of Kentucky

Comment: Jill Webster, University of Toronto

Saturday, March 26

THE TURBULENT BORDER: SPAIN'S NORTH AFRICAN FRONTIER AT THE TURN OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Papers: *The Ottomans in the Atlantic: An Invasion without Consequences*, by Andrew C. Hess, Temple University

Moriscos and Corsairs: An Intensified Anti-Spanish Offensive, by Ellen G. Friedman, University of Kentucky

Comment: John F. Guilmartin, U.S. Air Force

Workshops:

THE DYNAMICS OF RURAL CHANGE IN EARLY MODERN IBERIA

Moderator: David E. Vassberg, Pan American University

SEX AND STATUS: A WORKSHOP ON WOMEN IN PRE-MODERN IBERIAN HISTORY

Profitable Fields of Investigation in Early Medieval Women's History - Heath Dillard, University of Virginia

Queens in the High Medieval Age--Clara Estow, University of Massachusetts-Boston

Isabella I and Royal Women in the Early Modern Period--Marvin Lunenfeld, SUNY-Fredonia

(Editor's note: No report on this workshop was received.)

SOME ASPECTS OF SPAIN'S EUROPEAN DOMINANCE UNDER PHILIP II

Moderator: J. H. Elliott, Institute for Advanced Study

Panelists: *Philip II's French Policy and Its Consequences*, by De Lamar Jensen, Brigham Young University (Note: no précis received)

Policy toward the Netherlands, by David Lagomarsino, Dartmouth College

The Appointment of Alba to the Army of Portugal, by William S. Maltby, University of Missouri-St. Louis

The Duke of Medina Sidonia and His Role as a Foreign and Maritime Policy Advisor to Philip II, by Peter O. Pierson, University of Santa Clara

Philip II, Three Holy Roman Emperors, and a Special Conflict over Sovereignty in Italy, by Erika Spivakovsky

WORKERS AT HOME AND ABROAD IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the Chair: Clara E. Lida, SUNY-Stony
Brook

Papers: *Oppression and Remittances: Spanish
Workers in Western Europe*, by Peter de
Garmo, Boston College
Spanish "Workers' Commissions," by William
Watson, Massachusetts Institute of Tech-
nology
*Solutions to Dislocation in the Case of
Portugal: Emigration vs. Mobilization,*
by Elizabeth Leeds, Massachusetts Inst.
of Technology

Sunday, March 27

ADDRESS: Jacques Lafaye, Institute d'Etudes
Hispaniques, Paris
SANTIAGO Y MARIA, NUEVO ENFOQUE DE UN
TOPICO (no précis)

TWENTIETH-CENTURY FOREIGN RELATIONS:
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Panelists: *Franco-Spanish Relations on
Morocco, 1901-02*, by Vicente R. Pilapil,
California State University, Los Angeles

*United States Relations with Spain's
Second Republic, 1931-36*, by James Cor-
tada, International Business Machines

*United States Relations with the
Azores in the 20th Century*, by Edward
W. Chester, The University of Texas
at Arlington

*The Luso-Spanish Treaty of Friendship
and Nonaggression of March 1939*, by
Charles R. Halstead, Washington College

PRECIS OF THE PAPERS

Friday, March 25

ADDRESS: Charles Gibson, University of Michigan

A 16TH-CENTURY CASTILIAN FOOD CRISIS: CAUSES AND IMPLICATIONS

The grain shortage of 1506-07 in Castile was attended by drought, disease, high prices, and a variety of additional problems. Seville and its area were supplied by substantial wheat importations in late 1506, but inland cities continued to suffer into 1508, when abundant harvests provided relief everywhere. The shortage was a typical one with respect to increases in market prices, confinement to particular areas, local differentiations, and development over time. Although the series of droughts that brought about the crisis can be readily documented, historians have tended to prefer other explanations. Thus Pierre Chaunu relates the problem to the 10-year and 100-year price cycles and to the importation of bullion from America. Luis Suárez Fernández sees the climax of the crisis in 1502 and postulates the favored position of the sheepherders and the policies of wheat export as causes. Jaime Vicens Vives denies a climatic causation and relates the crisis to livestock protection, absenteeism, aristocratic power, and other socioeconomic phenomena.

In our efforts to explain the event, we begin by rejecting the superstitions of the 16th century. With some qualifications, we may accept aristocratic power as a contributing cause, for it is evident that peasants' grain supplies might be encumbered prior to harvest and that in other ways the producers of grain were limited by restraints placed upon them. Interested parties did seek to manipulate supplies and markets. There is evidence of hoarding, profiteering, bribery, and other illegal or semilegal operations, particularly with reference to the royal attempt to impose a ceiling price. But the other supposed causes, such as the importation of specie from America, are at best hypothetical and unproven. Modern social science tends to prefer series, cycles, and long-term changes and to demote single happenings such as the crisis of 1506-07. All three authors cited above ascribe uncritically to the single-event causes or supposed causes postulated for the longer trend.

Drought appears as a major cause, particularly with reference to the years of abundant rainfall in the late 15th century. But with reference to the 20th century, the cause may be identified as the absence of a technology, economy, and social organization capable of adjusting to drought. Or to put the matter the other way, the cause is the *presence* of a technology, economy, and social organization incapable of adjusting to drought. Thus the three historians, implicitly or explicitly, are arguing for particular interpretations of society. Since the absence of a deterrent may be introduced as cause, we have the further temptation to include among the causes *Castile's failure to import more grain*, after the manner of Aragon.

CONFERENCIA: Miguel Artola, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

ASPECTOS SOCIALES DE LA REVOLUCION LIBERAL

La revolución liberal en cuanto fenómeno político que puso fin a la monarquía absoluta, estableciendo en su lugar un régimen constitucional, es un tema clásico en la historiografía de todos los países, aunque esto no implique que no vayan a producirse nuevas interpretaciones, existe, sin embargo un generalizado consensus en cuanto al significado y consecuencia de los acontecimientos revolucionarios en este campo.

El estado de los *aspectos sociales* de la revolución liberal, que tampoco constituyan una novedad historiográfica, se encuentra mucho menos avanzado. La atención de los especialistas, sin abandonar el terreno político, está girando de modo sensible al campo social. En lo que respecta a España, y no cabe afirmar que sea un caso excepcional, el planteamiento inicial, de evidente inspiración marxista, llevó a postular un cambio económico--revolución industrial--como causa del fenómeno político--revolución liberal. Este tema de investigación desembocó en un callejón sin salida como consecuencia de dos postulados erróneos: el ya citado y el que se deriva de suponer no existe más burguesía que la industrial o mercantil. El resultado, patente en multitud de escritos, es la sorpresa mal disimulada de muchos historiadores ante un país que sin mas burguesía que un corto número de comerciantes gaditanos y artesanos barceloneses había realizado sin embargo la revolución liberal, a no ser que optasen, como hicieron algunos, por retrasar la revolución liberal a 1868.

El postulado inicial (revolución industrial = revolución liberal) es en todos los países europeos falso a todas luces. La revolución liberal se realizó siempre y en todas partes dentro de sociedades con una economía agraria y como respuesta a las demandas de una burguesía en la que ocupa un importante papel un sector rural hasta mal conocido y menos valorado. Para verificarlo basta con examinar, aunque sea someramente la organización social del Antiguo Régimen aun cuando prolonguemos su existencia hasta el comienzo de la década de los cuarenta del pasado siglo.

La sociedad del Antiguo Régimen obtiene de la agricultura la mayor parte de la renta nacional* y es la distribución del excedente agrícola la que aporta la parte substancial de los ingresos de la mayoría de la población.

Para comprender el mecanismo de producción y distribución de los excedentes agrícolas es preciso separar en el proceso de producción dos aspectos perfectamente discernibles: la propiedad de la tierra y la asignación de las fuerzas productivas.

La propiedad de la tierra es siempre y en todas partes el resultado de una decisión política que define un cierto derecho de propiedad--individual o colectiva--a nivel local o estatal. La tierra en cuanto medio de producción no producido por el trabajo del hombre, solo puede ser apropiado en virtud de decisiones políticas que la sociedad acepta cualquiera que sea su contenido y sin que necesariamente una forma excluya a las demás. En la España del Antiguo Régimen junto a la tierra de propiedad individual existen otras pertenecientes a los pueblos e incluso hay un dominio público aunque formalmente se imputa a la corona.

La distribución territorial de la propiedad según el Catastro de Ensenada atribuye a la Iglesia un 15% del territorio y el análisis de los rendimientos permite descubrir que, sin excepción corresponde a las mejores tierras-huertas--y que en cambio apenas si posee montes o dehesas. La propiedad laica, independientemente de la condición social de sus titulares se distribuye entre grandes y pequeños patrimonios. La línea divisoria se fija en el nivel que permita el mantenimiento de una familia con la aplicación de su trabajo.

Los grandes propietarios que frecuentemente tienen su patrimonio repartido en multitud de fincas, se limitan sin excepción a comportarse como rentistas viviendo del alquiler de sus tierras que realizan mediante contrata de arrendamiento por un corto número de años en la mayor parte de la Península, o en virtud de contratos de larga duración (*foros*) o perpetuos (*asentamientos* o *censos enfiteúuticos*--en Cataluña). En ningún caso los hemos encontrado

* A este respecto me remito a un libro sobre el tema, de próxima publicación, realizado por un grupo de trabajo de mi Departamento.

(Proceedings continued)

como explotadores directos de su patrimonio y bajo fórmulas contractuales diferentes, viven sin excepción de las rentas que les proporcione la cesión temporal o perpetua de sus tierras. De acuerdo con la importancia de aquellas acostumbran fijar el lugar de su residencia en el propio lugar, la capital provincial o en la corte.

Los pequeños propietarios explotan directamente sus tierras aplicando a ello el trabajo de toda la familia, en la que en ocasiones se incluye algún criado permanente que se aloja en la casa, y aparece integrado en la familia. Forman lo que en la terminología de la época se denomina *labradores*, apelativo que nunca se da a los propietarios, aunque tampoco les pertenezca en exclusiva.

En realidad la clase social a la que con mas precisión conviene el término es a la clase de los arrendatarios de tierras, que además contratan trabajo la jornal en la plaza del lugar para poder en explotación un terrazgo que no es de su propiedad. Para poder ejercer estas funciones se requiere posean un cierto capital en forma de animales de tiro, aperos, sirvientes, almacenes y dinero para poder anticipar los gastos del cultivo, en especial los jornales que han de ser pagados, como su nombre indica al término de la jornada. Cuando uno de estos empresarios contraía gran número de fincas, en ocasiones latifundias con cientos de hectáreas, nos encontramos ante el personaje mas representativo de la burguesía rural, un individuo al que se atribuye *mucha labor* lo cual no significaba originariamente propiedad sino explotación.

El *labrador*, dado el absentismo habitual del propietario rentista constituye junto con el administrador de este la clase dominante del lugar y desempeña de forma practicamente exclusiva, el gobierno del lugar. Frecuentemente asume el arrendamiento de los impuestos eclesiásticos (*los diezmo*) lo que le permite controlar buena parte de la producción y busca en su comercialización el medio de realizar ganancias que en ocasiones son de importancia. Recuerdese a este respecto el personaje literario del *labrador acomodado y honrado* que en tantas ocasiones aparece en los textos del Siglo de Oro.

Estos *labradores* y no los propietarios que explotan directamente sus tierras, son los que dan trabajo a la masa de *jornaleros*, alrededor del 50% de la población rural, que constituye el tercer vértice del triangulo de la sociedad del Antiguo Régimen.

Esta organización es causa del estancamiento económico, porque quien dispone de rentas importantes, los propietarios, no encuentra modo de aplicarlas, al no ser explotador directo de la tierra, en tanto los que cumplen esta condición no pueden invertir porque no tienen la seguridad de que podrán seguir disfrutando las fincas que mejoren, y saben positivamente que cualquier mejora no hará sino despertar el apetito del propietario que aprovechará para elevar la renta. El desarrollo económico y la justicia social aconsejan favorecer a los *labradores* a promover a los *jornaleros* y limitar las rentas de los propietarios.

El Antiguo Régimen trató de realizar todos estos objetivos mediante la libre comercialización de los granos (1765) en la ilusoria esperanza de que la subida de los precios beneficiaría a los *labradores*, cuando lo que provocó fue la movilización de los propietarios. Cuando esta política fracasó se pensó en la tasa y congelación de las rentas pero la formula resultaba demasiado radical socialmente y de dudosa eficacia economicamente.

La revolución liberal por su parte resolvió el problema de una forma ecléctica, aunque claramente beneficiosa para el *labrador*. Si en beneficio de los propietarios afirmó la libertad de rentas y la limitación temporal de los contratos, fue a cambio de facilitar el acceso de los *labradores* a la propiedad, e incluso de los *jornaleros*. A corto plazo la desamortización eclesiástica y civil permitieron el acceso a la propiedad de buen número de burgueses rurales y urbanos, en tanto las leyes desvinculadoras al liberalizar la propiedad nobiliaria aseguraban a medio y largo plazo una oferta de tierra suficiente a satisfacer la

demanda que pudiera existir. Los repartos de algunas cortas parcelas a soldados licenciados o a los jornaleros, aunque no sirvieron para nada, mejoraron algo la imagen social de la revolución.

La eliminación del régimen señorial y la de los regidores perpetuos en favor de un ayuntamiento electivo consolidó a la burguesía local como clase dominante, situación que habría de vincularla a la revolución, como sucedió. Todo ello sin olvidar que otra burguesía también jugó su papel en el proceso, aunque por mas conocido no creo necesario recordar aqui.

SPANISH POLITICS IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

'El Rey Intruso': The Accession of Amadeo of Savoy

Glenn T. Harper, University of Southern Mississippi

In October 1868, following the flight of Isabel II, a revolutionary government, dominated by General Juan Prim and his Progressive party, assumed control of Spain. Prim proclaimed his determination to maintain the Spanish monarchy and began immediately a search for a successor to the Bourbons. Frustrated in his hope of obtaining a Portuguese prince--either King Luis or the former King-consort Fernando--he turned to Italy, only to be rebuffed in his offer of the throne to Amadeo, second son of Victor Emanuel, and then in his reluctant bid for the young Duke of Genoa. Finally, in desperation, he entered into negotiations with Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, only to have that candidacy collapse in the face of the Franco-Prussian War.

In a futile effort to prevent the outbreak of hostilities and increasingly fearful of the Italian repercussions of a triumph by either Carlists, Alfonsists or Republicans in Madrid, Victor Emanuel and his government agreed to reconsider the Amadeo candidacy. In October 1870, yielding to his father and the Florence cabinet, Amadeo agreed to accept the Spanish throne. After securing the approval of the great powers, Prim presented the candidacy to the Constituent Cortes, and the Italian prince was duly chosen as king of Spain.

On December 30 Amadeo reached Cartagena, only to learn that Prim, the man he had expected to guide his reign, lay dying in Madrid. Despite widespread hostility and threats of assassination and revolution, Amadeo was proclaimed king on January 2, 1871.

COMMENT: *Daniel R. Headrick, Roosevelt University*

Glenn Harper's paper retells a familiar story in a thorough and well-documented manner, based on research in the Spanish, British, and German archives. While it is complete as a narrative of the search for a king in 1868-70, it fails to place these events in perspective. The strange reluctance of the princes of Europe to become king of Spain is explained in purely diplomatic terms, without looking beyond the formal rationalizations, and without reference to the attack upon the very principle of monarchical legitimacy which the new Spanish regime represented, or to the political risks of an elective monarchy in an unstable country, or to the consciousness of the execution of Maximilian in Mexico only a few months before. Similarly, one searches in vain for explanations of Spanish politics: for reasons *why* Prim wanted a King; the Montpensier-Liberal Union connection; the candidacy of Espartero; and the effect of the search on the political situation (on Carlists and Republicans in particular). In sum, this paper displays all the virtues and drawbacks of diplomatic history severed from its sociopolitical roots.

(Proceedings continued)

From Consensus to Polarization: 1898, Conservative Regenerationism and Restoration Party Politics

Thomas H. Baker, Jr., Princeton University

This paper re-examines the "regenerationist" programs of the Conservative party in the post-war decade after 1898 and attempts to suggest a new interpretation of the breakdown of the Restoration monarchy.

Like kindred renovationist movements elsewhere in Europe, "regenerationism" in Spain after its defeat in the War of 1898 was a call espoused by many diverse political groups and interests. Regenerationist platforms appeared in the journals and manifestos of the groups ranging from the Carlists on the right to the socialists on the left.

The apoliticism of regenerationist rhetoric has obscured the profound political, ideological, and social content of these various programs. Only when the underlying objective of each regenerationist program is clarified will its exact nature and significance be understood. This becomes especially important in the case of *Conservative regenerationism*, formulated and partially enacted by the governments of Francisco Silvela and Antonio Maura, which dominated the politics of the postwar decade and had a serious impact upon the political system erected by Cánovas and Práxedes Sagasta.

Though it is generally understood that calls for the "regeneration" of Spain began to appear in the years preceding the Spanish-American War, the extent to which Conservative regenerationism was a response to prewar, domestic developments has gone unappreciated. Defeat in war only added a new sense of urgency to a project of conservative modernization advanced by elite groups alarmed by the socioeconomic change and political unrest which had appeared in the period of the *fiebre de oro* and subsequent depression.

After the disintegration of the Conservative party in 1897, it was replaced by the new Conservative Union. This was not the same party as that created and dominated by Cánovas, but rather represented the capture and reorganization of that party by its former right wing. The Union was dominated by aristocratic and court circles around Silvela, by clericalist elements led by Alejandro Pidal, by Antonio Maria Cardenal Cascajares, and by the "Christian General," Camilo Polavieja, as well as by intransigent industrial elites under the shipping magnate, the Marquis of Comillas. To this formidable group shortly was added Antonio Maura, a right-wing Liberal whose programs and strategies strikingly paralleled those of Silvela.

The origins and objectives of this new, insurgent conservatism have often been misinterpreted. Usually seen as "reformers" who wished to create a genuine and free electoral system, Conservative regenerationists had two primary objects: to refashion the political system in such a way as to shore up what they perceived as their declining position in the face of urbanization and reviving oppositionism, and to attenuate if not roll back the liberalization and secularization of the regime carried out by the Liberals during the *parlamento largo* of 1885-90. Granted, these changes were small relative to the rapid modernization occurring elsewhere in Europe, but the importance of subjective elite anxiety and perceptions must not be underestimated.

The "regeneration" of Spain, or, as Maura put it, the "revolution from above," thus represented a concerted attack on the consensual politics which had guided relations between the two parties under Cánovas and Sagasta. The stability of the regime in its early days had rested largely upon the pragmatic compromise that Cánovas had made with the forces of the September Revolution and the First Republic. Between 1899-1909, this arrangement was shattered by Conservative projects for a corporative suffrage, educational "reforms" conceived by Pidal, the Anti-Terrorist law, and other measures. Ideologically opposed to this move to

the right, and attempting to co-opt the rising strength of republican and working-class movements, the Liberal party evolved toward increasingly progressive positions, including democratic reform of the upper house, separation of Church and state, and similar reforms. By the Tragic Week, the two dynastic parties had broken the consensus at the heart of the *turno pacífico*.

Recent studies of the collapse of the Restoration have tended to emphasize such factors as intraparty personal rivalries and factionalism, the role of the king, the impact of contingent pressures, such as the Moroccan wars, and the failure to integrate the left into the system. Yet, social scientists have shown that political stability depends greatly upon the cohesion of ruling elite groups as well. In Spain, under the impact of Conservative regenerationism, this elite cohesion broke down shortly after 1898--before the disasters in Morocco, and before the great social struggles between 1909-17. Such elite cleavage also suggests a more compelling reason than mere factionalism for the chronic instability of Restoration governments after 1912. Most importantly, this "internal" disintegration of the regime raises serious questions about its potential to evolve into a genuine parliamentary democracy.

COMMENT: *Earl R. Beck, The Florida State University*

Although Mr. Baker's very interesting paper gives evidence of considerable research and careful thought, I remain unconvinced of the validity of his principal theses, even though they are, by the way, very close to those of Raymond Carr in his *Spain, 1808-1939*. If I understand them correctly, they are two in number:

1. That the regenerationist movements of Francisco Silvela and Antonio Maura were retrograde in character, taking their party back beyond a Cánovist consensus to a more reactionary position; and
2. That these movements, as a consequence, drove the Liberals to the left, intensifying political cleavages and destroying the balance of forces established by Cánovas.

Underlying these theses are a number of somewhat debatable assumptions. Perhaps the most serious is that one can make sense out of Spanish politics! Although I say this in jest, there is much of sober truth in the comment. The political parties of the Restoration period were from start to finish uncertain combinations of disparate groups bound together far more by personal attachments than principles. My own research leads me to believe that the Cánovist "right of center consensus" to which Mr. Baker refers was much more tenuous than he believes. From the outset Cánovas was dependent upon the magic of Francisco Romero Robledo's manipulation of the elections for his majorities. His concessions to liberal sentiments were meager and niggardly. The degree of religious toleration was minimal, motivated more by foreign policy concerns than internal ones. Press censorship had ups and downs but never disappeared. Universal suffrage was discarded and not re-established until 1890 and even then the nature of the Senate guarded against any real danger. Conservative military leaders dominated and watched over the liberal ones. The *turno pacífico* came about through royal intervention, when the normal Liberal criticism of Cánovas reached a danger point--Cánovas' supposed planning of the changes is highly dubious. After the first *turno* in 1881 and the subsequent appearance of new Liberal groupings on the Left, Cánovas strengthened the Liberal Conservatives, of which he was the head, by incorporating Alejandro Pidal and his Catholic Union colleagues: as soon as Cánovas returned to office in 1884, he appointed Pidal Minister of Development. But even before 1884 many of Cánovas' ministers, including most of his Ministers of Development, had been strongly clericalist in attitude: the names of the Marqués de Orovio, the Conde de Toreno, Saturnino Calderón Collantes, and Martín de Herrera come to mind. The alliance of Silvela and Pidal after 1897 which Mr. Baker describes was, therefore, simply a continuation of trends already existing under Cánovas.

(Proceedings continued)

This leads me to a basic question with respect to Mr. Baker's paper. What were the real motives of the "Conservative Regeneration"? Was it primarily to bring about a democratization and liberalization of the existing regime? This would be, indeed, as Mr. Baker's paper amply demonstrates, contrary to Silvela's own principles as well as to those of his party. Silvela's career as well as his own initial statement of policy on January 7, 1899, suggest a very different program. The basic thrust was towards fiscal stability, administrative integrity, and decentralization. Silvela had always stood for a higher standard of public morality than existed in the Spain of his day. His formation of a government did portend and did result in less tightly managed elections than had previously taken place. But this had been true in the elections of 1879 which took place when he was Minister of the Interior, as well as in those of 1899. Republicans did gain, in Madrid as well as in Barcelona. But Silvela's party retained its majority--the system of managed elections was not completely shelved. The early period of Silvela's ministry centered upon budgetary reforms under Raimundo Fernández Villaverde, which stirred up a hornets' nest of controversy--basically of opposition to increased taxes more than to budgetary cuts. Although Silvela succeeded in getting Villaverde's budget approved, it cost him the support of an allied reformer, General Camilo Polavieja, who found the military cuts excessive. Polavieja in the Ministry of War and Durán y Bas in the Ministry of Grace and Justice had stood for reconciliation with Catalan regionalism. But the Villaverde budget effectively destroyed this trend. On the other hand, Silvela brought into his government Rafael Gasset, the director of *El Imparcial*, as Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Public Works and something was achieved in improving railroad connections, highways, experimental forms, etc. Silvela's government also saw laws passed early in 1900 looking to compensation of workers involved in industrial accidents and the labor of women and children.

The Silvela brothers, Manuel and Francisco, had always stood for a moderate clerical position. But with Romero Robledo, who had always taken a rather cynical and pragmatic attitude towards clerical questions, in opposition and Maura a dissident in Silvela's initial cabinet, Silvela would have to yield to Pidal's pressure to achieve any part of his program. But Mr. Baker is undoubtedly correct in his belief that both Silvela and Maura were concerned in this period about the erosion of the position of the Church and the dangers of anticlericalism. There was, indeed, considerable evidence of that danger. By the time Maura formed a government in December 1903, Romero Robledo was out of the scene and Maura could readopt his own electoral methods. Where the more idealistic Silvela had failed to achieve much of his intended program, Maura was considerably more successful, although sabotaged by personal shortcomings and foreign war.

Basically, I see both Silvela and Maura as well-intentioned individuals looking for moderate modernization within the existing system. I remain unconvinced that their governments looked backward rather than forward or that they broke with Cánovas' system. The Cánovas system had been based on very modest adjustments to "modern times." Silvela and Maura differed from Cánovas basically in their lack of a cynical approach to politics. The word "regeneration" and the term "revolution from above" signified more than they could reasonably achieve. Neither were willing to make the realistic compromises that might have aided their programs.

In retrospect I wonder whether Cánovas' insistence on a two-party system, leading to his campaign against the incipient Center party of the period 1876-79 and to his move to incorporate the *Moderados* into his Liberal Conservative grouping, did not set the seal of ultimate failure upon his system. Bismarck made effective use of a broader spectrum of parties to achieve his ends. Spain might well have achieved a broader consensus of support if it had had the possibility of a center grouping rather than the two-party system upon which Cánovas insisted. The breakup of his system came as the result of his own departure from the scene, the absence of truly charismatic successors, and changing social and economic circumstances. If Silvela and Maura contributed to this process, it was due less to malice or faulty policies than to political incompetence and misled idealism.

THE CROWN OF ARAGON IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Foreign Policy Considerations of the Crown of Aragon at the Beginning of the Great Schism

Z. I. Giraldo, *Institute for Research in History, New York City*

The question posed by the paper is why did Peter the Ceremonious choose to maintain his neutrality between the rival claimants to the papal throne throughout the remainder of his reign, from 1378 to 1387? The concentration is on foreign policy considerations, not on internal domestic factors which may or may not have influenced Peter in his "indifference."

The traditional answer to the question is that Peter was playing Clement against Urban in an attempt to secure the best possible support for his claims in Sicily and Sardinia. While it is true that the Sardinian campaign had been an overriding passion of Peter's for over twenty years, and that he was determined to press his claim to the throne of Sicily after the death of Frederick the Simple in 1375, these factors alone do not seem to account for his stand. This deduction is based on the fact that early on it became apparent that Clement was tractable in these matters while Urban remained obdurately opposed to the crown's claims in both Sicily and Sardinia.

Therefore an exploration of other foreign policy aspects raises the possibility that the Crown of Aragon had entered into a period of tension and outright hostility with France while beginning a new phase of "friendly" relations with England. Since Clement had to be considered an instrument of the French, Peter was placed in a difficult position *vis-à-vis* Clement. The paper is a preliminary exploration of the events occurring in the period 1378-1387 with a quick glance at the later period.

Comment: *Jill R. Webster, Erindale College, University of Toronto*

Z. I. Giraldo has approached the question of the Crown of Aragon's attitude to the Papal Schism from a diplomatic angle. She maintains that the neutrality of Peter IV between 1378 and 1387 was a deliberate policy, adopted in an attempt to avoid confrontation with England, France, or Portugal, while the Crown of Aragon was engaged in defending Sardinia and claiming Sicily on the death of Frederick. Professor Giraldo aims at studying the Chancellory registers for the period to see whether this hypothesis is borne out by extant royal documents. No doubt this is essential but it would also be worthwhile to check ecclesiastical documents, especially the appointment of bishops and other Church dignitaries. From the evidence available at present, I would hesitate to support or refute Professor Giraldo's argument. However, there is no doubt that Peter IV adopted an apparently equivocal attitude, which, if deliberate, might well lead to a re-assessment of his character, his approach to foreign affairs, and his reign as a whole. Professor Giraldo's future research on the subject could therefore have far-reaching consequences.

The Salt Crusade

Carl J. Post, University of Kentucky

This essay examines the posture of the Crown of Aragon toward Sardinia from the Treaty of Anagni (1295) through to the end of the reign of Peter IV (1336-87). It contends that the Crown of Aragon invaded Sardinia and clung to the southern part of it in order to exploit the salt works established by the Pisans at Cagliari. Sardinian salt was the principal motive for the strenuous efforts on the part of a beleaguered Crown of Aragon to sustain

(Proceedings continued)

itself on Sardinia. No real effort was made to expand the power of the House of Barcelona on the island beyond the limits of the *giudicata* of Cagliari for the better part of the 14th century. True hegemony over the island did not come to the Crown of Aragon until its victory at the Battle of Macomer in 1478. This was due to the fact that the initial conquest of part of Sardinia had achieved the main goal of the rulers of the Crown of Aragon: the seizure and subsequent exploitation of the salt works located at Cagliari.

Comment: *Jill R. Webster, Erindale College, University of Toronto*

Carl Post in studying the diplomatic and economic aspects of the conquest of Sardinia concludes that the Aragonese were primarily concerned with obtaining control of the supplies of salt--a commodity which became increasingly important as the Middle Ages drew to a close. Although I am somewhat hesitant to agree that this was the only factor motivating the salt crusade, his well-documented paper does present a viewpoint which hitherto has been somewhat underemphasized. The very full notes and bibliographical data he provides are especially valuable as they show the different approaches to the Aragonese conquest of Sardinia taken by Catalan and by Italian historians. I look forward to reading more about the Crown of Aragon's policies in the Mediterranean when Mr. Post's dissertation on "Bernard II Cabrera and the Expansion of the Crown of Aragon under Peter the Dagger" is published. In the meantime, "The Salt Crusade" provides an interesting introduction for nonspecialists to the economic problem between the Italian Communes and the expanding Crown of Aragon in the 14th century.

Saturday, March 26

THE TURBULENT BORDER: SPAIN'S NORTH AFRICAN FRONTIER AT THE TURN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Ottomans in the Atlantic: An Invasion without Consequences

Andrew C. Hess, Temple University

Few scholars are aware of the fact that Turko-Muslim corsairs based in North African ports raided as far westward as England, Ireland, and Iceland in the 17th century. Corsairing operations at such a distance from their bases clearly implied that these Turkish privateers had acquired the technology of the Atlantic sailing ship. That the most powerful opponent of Spain during the 16th century could attack Iberian shipping in the Atlantic Ocean boded ill for the Habsburg regime. Yet the Ottomans did not adopt the sailing ship until nearly a century later. This raises the question why an empire which had absorbed powder weapons in the 15th century ignored the advantages of the Atlantic sailing ship when it appeared on the North African frontier after 1580.

The answer to this question involves an analysis of a unique combination of political, tactical, economic, and institutional issues raised by the development of 16th-century Mediterranean warfare. Although the exact relation between various parts of this historical puzzle are not known, the outline of what happened is accessible: the late adoption of the heavily cannoned Atlantic sailing ship by the Ottomans represented a turning point in the military history of the Mediterranean world.

Moriscos and Corsairs: An Intensified Anti-Spanish Offensive

Ellen G. Friedman, University of Kentucky

From the early years of the 16th century, Spain's Mediterranean coasts and shipping had been plagued by the attacks of North African corsairs. Life along these coasts was made insecure not only by the actual raids themselves, but by the fear that they might occur. It was commonly thought that the Moriscos of the region were in collusion with the corsairs--a belief not entirely without foundation--and the expulsion of this "fifth column" from Spain in 1609-14 was viewed by many people as a way of reducing the threat of North African piracy on the Spanish coasts.

But the desired effect was not achieved, for in the 17th century corsair attacks on Spain's coasts and shipping expanded both quantitatively and geographically. A major element in the intensification of such assaults was the emigration of large numbers of Morisco expellees to North Africa, where many of them joined the corsair fleets and became a greater threat to Spain than when they had lived within its boundaries.

From the second decade of the 17th century there were two major developments in the pattern of anti-Spanish activity by the corsairs. One was a general increase over the previous 40 years in pirate attacks on the Spanish coasts; the second was a large-scale movement of North African corsairs into the Atlantic. Whereas in the 16th century their activities against Spain had been concentrated in the Mediterranean, in the 17th century North African piracy became a threat to Spain in the Atlantic as well. The activities of the corsairs included attacks on vessels from the Indies fleet as well as on the Atlantic coasts of Spain and Portugal. Although the Indies fleet was never seriously threatened, escort or dispatch boats were seized frequently and the fleet was generally more susceptible to attack. Along Spain's Atlantic coast, the effect on the fishing industry was particularly severe.

Various elements contributed to the movement into the Atlantic by the corsairs. Among these were the augmentation of corsair ranks by large numbers of English and Dutch pirates, who brought with them the technology of Atlantic navigation, and the decline of Ottoman influence in the Maghrib, freeing the Algerian corsairs from any restraints that the truce between Spain and the Porte may have imposed on them.

But the key factor in the extension of corsair activity against Spain into the Atlantic was the establishment on the Bou Regreg estuary, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, of two communities of exiled Moriscos who not only devoted themselves to piracy but also extended a warm welcome to the European renegades and to the Algerian corsairs, providing them with a safe Atlantic port where they could seek shelter, outfit their boats, find financing and men for their expeditions, and sell their booty. From early in the 17th century piracy was the most important source of wealth for this region, whose three separate states were referred to collectively by Europeans as Salé. Thus, the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, far from achieving its goal of reducing the threat of North African piracy, in fact served as a vehicle by which the expansion of piracy was achieved.

Comment: John F. Guilmartin, Jr., United States Air Force

The question of piracy and corsairing, on a national level the *guerre de course*, presents serious conceptual problems to the early modern historian. Plainly, commerce and coastal raiding in one form or another played a major role in the shaping of the World Economy with its attendant political and military institutional forms, yet relatively little has been done to explain how this was so. Naval historians, in particular, appear positively eager to leap directly from the Chioggian Wars of the 14th century to the Anglo/Dutch wars of the

(Proceedings continued)

late 17th, taking only a quick glance at Lepanto in passing and a brief pause for the defeat of the Invincible Armada. The ensuing age of seapower and mercantilism is viewed as a natural and more or less inevitable consequence of a presumed Northern European technological, intellectual, and--ultimately--economic superiority which emerged full blown towards the end of the 16th century. This view manifests itself all too often in a tendency to read the capabilities and operational characteristics of late 18th-century fleets back into the analysis of 16th- and 17th-century maritime conflict.

It is an uncomfortable fact that the posited Northern superiority was first manifested by Iberians and emerged only after protracted competition with older Mediterranean forms. Unsurprisingly--at least when viewed within the context which our panelists have chosen-- it was heavily shaped by the process of struggle from which it emerged. Piracy and corsairing, the employment of violence at sea for private economic gain under loose governmental control or none at all, were part and parcel of the struggle. This competitive process, the process by which the economic reality and the institutional forms of the emergent World Economy centered upon the maritime status of the North Atlantic developed, is the subject of both of our papers, a fact which gives them a significance beyond their geographic and temporal limits.

The conceptual and analytical problems faced by both our authors--with considerable success --were formidable. The protracted, irregular war at sea between the Iberian Christian powers and their Muslim opponents was not a neat conflict with clear-cut geographic boundaries, sharply delineated in time in accordance with our modern expectations of naval warfare. It was, in fact and in a wide variety of ways, decidedly messy. Although our conflict had an important technological component, a point emphasized and expanded upon by Professor Hess, it cannot be analyzed in straightforward military terms by comparing numbers of combatant ships, their tactical capabilities, and the abilities of the opposing leadership strata. A protracted maritime war of economic attrition, the Muslim/Christian struggle in the Mediterranean and the eastern Atlantic had important social and cultural facets which were closely interwoven with its military prosecution. Even from a narrowly military point of view, the struggle within Spain and in the waters around the Iberian peninsula reveals a daunting complexity: Professor Friedman's repeated emphasis on Muslim guerrilla activity within Spain, a problem which the Spanish monarchy attempted to solve by means of the Morisco expulsions, drives the point home clearly. If not *the* most, guerrilla warfare is surely *among* the most complex, sophisticated, and difficult to understand forms of warfare, as recent historical experience richly attests.

What we are faced with, then, is an extended military struggle, partly naval, partly amphibious, and partly a festering guerrilla conflict on land, mostly beyond the bounds of formally declared war and invariably conducted with bitterness and ferocity. Significantly, the activities of the North African corsairs ultimately involved not only their primary Iberian enemies, but all those who used the eastern Atlantic for "peaceful" commerce in the manner pioneered by the Spanish and Portuguese. The ferocity of their attack almost suggests an unconscious realization that they were fighting not just a nation, a hostile religion, or a people, but the weight of an entire system of social and economic organization which was intrinsically incompatible with their culture and their values.

Professors Friedman and Hess have examined the struggle between the Spanish monarchy and the Muslims of the eastern Mediterranean and their Ottoman protectors from opposing views. Friedman asks, in sum, why the expulsion of the native Muslim population from Spanish coasts failed to produce a reduction of corsairing activity but, to the contrary, appears to have had the opposite effect. She demonstrates, using statistical data to good effect, that the final Morisco expulsions shortly preceded an upsurge in North African corsairing, accompanied by an extension of raiding activity from the Atlantic, and advances the thesis that the expelled Moriscos carried with them both the means and the motivation for prosecuting

the *guerre de course*. She also raises the crucial question of the reality of the Morisco threat as perceived by Spain: Was the Morisco threat a serious one and was the Spanish response to that threat effective? We shall have more to say about this further on.

Hess then picks up the trail. Given that the North African corsairs adopted--and intelligently adapted--the blue water naval technology of the North with considerable success, why were the results ultimately so meager? His answer is complex, but carefully crafted, weaving economic, social, and cultural strands together into a coherent whole. At the risk of doing violence to his ideas through oversimplification, I would summarize his argument as an assertion that the Ottomans and their clients were too successful for too long and, in the warm afterglow of accomplishment, culturally wedded themselves to a social organization which was incapable of supporting the economic demands of the new system of naval warfare and commerce. Bound to an artisanal system of cannon production, the Ottomans and their client states were unable to develop the work force of the fiscal underpinnings needed to support the mass production of heavy artillery. Capable of turning out cannon designed to fire hand-cut stone cannonballs (which were highly effective tactically and which, because of their internal ballistics, minimized the consumption of expensive bronze), they were incapable of mass producing guns of cast iron. Bound to the idea that artillery was a precious commodity to be closely guarded and employed with utmost care, they were unable, or unwilling, to see the need for mass employment--almost casual employment--of artillery in the northern style until it was too late. The handful of North African corsairs who did grasp the tactical potential of the broadside sailing warship and use it effectively were bound in place by their own culture and social values. Successful though they may have been, they were a curiosity to their parent culture rather than an instrument of opportunity or a strategic resource.

Reviewed in detail, Hess' and Friedman's hypotheses provide rich material for scholarly consideration. Treating their points chronologically, there is no doubt that the Muslim corsairs did, in fact, move out into the Atlantic from the second decade of the 17th century. On April 20, 1624, for instance, the monks of the monastery of Nuestra Señora de Oya, on the Galician coast near the Portuguese border, helped to repel an attack by five "Turkish" ships. The skilled assistance of an ex-soldier among the monks who--we are assured by the chronicler--sunk one of the pirates single-handed with a two-pounder cannon (Divine intervention is implied!) was instrumental in driving the raiders off. Depredations of Muslim corsairs on the coasts of Irenald and even further North are richly documented. But why so far North and why at that particular time?

Friedman's hypothesis, that the expansion of corsairing activity was a direct response to the final Morisco expulsion, is one of several which must be considered. Certainly, the Moriscos presented an internal security problem to the Spanish monarchy. Equally certainly, as Friedman suggests, this problem was aggravated by the cooperation, both actual and potential, of seaborne co-religionists from across the Straits of Gibraltar. Independent research suggests that this was, in fact, a matter of considerable concern to ordinary Spaniards and that the drain on the resources of the Spanish crown which defense against corsairing represented was of considerable official interest and concern. Examination of documents concerned with the cost of Spanish naval operations in the late 16th and early 17th centuries points to official preoccupation with heavy naval expenditures and with drastic efforts on the part of the naval bureaucratic structure to reduce them.

As both Friedman and Hess testify, the appearance of English and Dutch nautical technology along the North African coast in the form of materially improved hull forms and construction, better sail forms and rigging, and cheap, heavy cannon in profusion clearly played a crucial role. The release from service of numbers of freebooters as a result of the Ottoman/Hapsburg truce of 1580 and by the Spanish/Dutch 12-year truce starting in 1609 clearly played a role as well. The phenomenon of the released mercenary run amok had been noted for

(Proceedings continued)

centuries among the land forces of Europe and seems to have operated here in much the same way. Although the impact is difficult to assess, the effect of internal economic problems on the Muslim Barbary states undoubtedly played a significant role as well.

In the final analysis, however, the Spanish monarchy, burdened with the problem of a hostile minority population, chose to accept the short-term maritime consequences of expulsion over the possible long-term consequences of a protracted guerrilla war on home territory. It paid the price, a price which many contemporary Spaniards no doubt considered reasonable.

That the Hornacheros, and others like them, may have fostered anti-Spanish corsairing activity after their arrival in North Africa, either directly by personal participation or indirectly by providing the necessary economic infrastructure, is a viable hypothesis which bears further investigation. This hypothesis is materially strengthened by the conjuncture in chronology of Morisco settlement at Rabat-Salé and the upsurge in Atlantic corsairing--in large part, though by no means exclusively, from Rabat-Salé.

There is a final, independent hypothesis which bears mention: The steadily increasing volume of Spanish trade in the Atlantic through the middle 1500s and into the 1600s attracted corsairs as surely as honey attracts flies. The pickings, to put it bluntly, were slim in the early 16th century; they fattened considerably later on.

Arguably, the level of corsairing activity was, at least in part, a direct function of the volume of Spanish trade and the proximity of the corsairing bases involved. French depredations on the Indies trade were noted by Spanish authorities in the 1530s with English pirates making their appearance in the late 1560s and Algerians as early as 1577, even earlier than the Dutch, though apparently on an irregular basis. In the final analysis, however, and this is Hess' point, the North African corsairs operated effectively on the high seas of the North Atlantic, but to no effect. They adopted northern ship types and, in fact, even improved upon them; the North African chebeck became an accepted model for French and English dispatch boats in the late 1600s and early 1700s. They used northern artillery with considerable effect; but none of this affected the central Ottoman establishment. North African corsairing clearly produced men of exceptional ability and tactical skill, yet, unlike their 16th-century predecessors, they were not drawn into the upper reaches of the Ottoman hierarchy, but were left to rot on the vine.

Here, Hess' explanation is at its most persuasive: the Ottomans and their North African clients were confronted not so much by tactical and technical novelty--this they could handle--as by an entire galaxy of social and economic changes. A society which had optimized its organization to support manpower-intensive military on a cyclic basis--galley warfare--Ottoman society proved incapable of sustaining the level of capital accumulation and institutionalized transmission of technical knowledge needed to support the broadside sailing warship. To accept lightly manned sailing warships and mass-produced heavy artillery on a tactically and economically practical scale, the Ottomans would have had to reject the very social structure and cultural values which had made them what they were and which continued to sustain them on land for another century and a half.

There is biting irony in the fact that the Spanish, who were quick to recognize the military problem posed by Muslim manpower on their own shores and quick to adopt a rational, if Draconian, solution to the threat, were eventually overtaken by similar social and economic inflexibility.

WORKSHOPS

The Dynamics of Rural Change in Early Modern Iberia

Moderator: David E. Vassberg, Pan American University

Professor Vassberg led a discussion of some of the problems of dealing with rural studies, and of some of the major trends affecting the Habsburg period. The discussions revolved around the following:

The Problem of Rural History. Despite a number of useful contributions made by historians and by scholars in other disciplines, we are still lamentably ignorant of the rural world of Habsburg Spain. It is clear that the rural world was extremely complicated, because of both natural and human variables, but there is a crying need for more monographs on specific localities to form the basis for a synthesis of peninsular trends. Yet, certain generalizations can tentatively be made:

1. *Communalism.* The practice of communal property ownership was widespread and important. It involved both pasture and arable, and was an indispensable part of the socioeconomic structure of the day.
2. *Labradores.* There was a large number of prosperous independent peasants (*labradores*) who owned their own land, or who were tenant farmers, or who were taking advantage of the many opportunities to use public lands. Some historians believe that this class suffered a contraction during the 1500s, but that has not been proved, and far more work needs to be done on the question.
3. *Eroding Communalism.* Throughout the 16th century, a current of individualism eroded the ancient Castilian communal traditions. There was a continual tendency for public property ownership to be replaced by the institution of private property. Considerable local variation existed, but during the Habsburg period the public lands of Castile were continually encroached upon by the Crown, the nobility, and even by the very *labradores* who most benefited from their use.
4. *Expanding Cultivation.* The 16th century was generally a period of demographic growth. The population explosion strained the existing forms of agro-pastoral exploitation and made it necessary to expand the cultivated area to grow more grain. The expansion of arable land was made at the expense of the pastoral sector. The myth that the Mesta destroyed Spanish agriculture is simply not true.
5. *The Switch from Oxen to Mules.* Related to the expansion of arable, and to the general agricultural boom of the early 1500s was a technological revolution--the substitution of mules for the traditional oxen as the usual draft animals. The mule could do nearly twice the work of an ox, and allowed extensive cultivation into marginal lands. Unfortunately, the farming of many of these lands was ecologically unsound, and eventually contributed to the agricultural depression of the later Habsburg period.

(Proceedings continued)

SOME ASPECTS OF SPAIN'S EUROPEAN DOMINANCE UNDER PHILLIP II

Philip II and the Troubles of the Netherlands (1559-72)

David Lagomarsino, Dartmouth College

Contrary to historiographic stereotype, Philip II was flexible and moderate in his approach to the troubles of the Netherlands. Indeed, the remarkable feature of Philip's early reign was its general lack of aggressiveness. In favoring the Prince of Eboli's court party over the militant faction headed by the Duke of Alba, Philip was adopting a conciliatory approach toward the Netherlands troubles. Philip's removal of Cardinal Granvelle in 1564 in order to placate Eboli's allies among the Netherlands nobles, his numerous concessions to the nobles' private aspirations, his almost pathological inability to be firm even on matters of religion--all this reflects his propensity to be accommodating. In its intention, the decision to send Alba to the Netherlands with an army was both discriminating and moderate: Philip expected to follow within a few months to oversee personally the punishment of the fractious minority who he believed lay behind the troubles. A close examination of Philip's policy toward the troubles shows him to have been moderate, sensitive, and peaceably intentioned; he made certain concessions to the Netherlands dissidents, and (influenced as he was by an entrenched "liberal" court party) he seems to have been sorely tempted to make even greater ones. Unfortunately, good intentions were not enough; Philip's return to the Netherlands was essential to the success of his policy. Had Philip followed Alba to Brussels as planned, the situation would have been salvageable. But not only did distracting commitments (Moriscos, the succession crisis) force Philip to postpone his departure, but, by diverting the Monarchy's resources, they precipitated the imposition of unpopular taxes by Alba and polarized opposition to royal government. In default of the King's presence, the problem of the Netherlands had become considerably more complex by the 1570s; political "troubles" had become armed revolt.

The Appointment of Alba to the Army of Portugal

William S. Maltby, University of Missouri

This paper examines, in a very condensed form, the events leading up to the appointment of the Duke of Alba as commander of the army in February 1580. At the time of his appointment, Alba had been imprisoned for more than a year. A careful look at the reasons for this imprisonment and for the King's extreme reluctance to release him reveals that the accounts of these events by such traditional authorities as Cabrera de Córdoba and Marañón are misleading. The paper advances the hypothesis that, far from representing just another turn of the political wheel, the arrest of Alba, and subsequently of his enemy, Antonio Pérez, marked the end of the factions at Philip's court, and that the King opposed the appointment of Alba because he feared that it would revive them. In other words, Philip had come to realize that the factions no longer served a useful purpose and that he had, since 1573, developed an administrative nucleus of unaligned secretaries and courtiers that would enable him to govern without them. If Alba were given the Army of Portugal, it would greatly increase his patronage and prestige, thus ensuring a revival of activity by the one-time followers of Pérez and Eboli. It was for this reason that he resisted the pleas of his advisers until it became obvious that no other candidate was available, and then made it evident that though Alba had been released, he was not restored to favor.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia and His Role as a Foreign and Maritime Policy Adviser to Philip II

Peter O. Pierson, University of Santa Clara

Through the person of the seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia, ill-fated commander of the 1588 Armada, several issues--domestic, foreign and maritime--of concern to Philip II of Spain can be illuminated.

Domestically we have a grandee of immense power and influence: where are the limits between his authority and the Crown's? In 1583, the Crown took from him control of the Sanlúcar customs, yet left him with his *salinas* (it had taken these from others) and virtual monopoly of the Andalusian tunny fishery. In 1582, the Duke had declined the office of Governor General of Milan, to the Crown's embarrassment, and the matter of the Sanlúcar customs was likely in his mind, though he used his mother's illness--she had long run his estates--as his chief excuse.

Although the armada of 1588 represents his most spectacular service at sea, the Duke's interest in maritime affairs was constant from boyhood. He bid unsuccessfully in 1574 for the *asiento* of the *galeras de España*; and he supervised year after year the sailings of Indies flotas. From the mid-1580s, he served as a general policy adviser for Atlantic strategy. He was sympathetic to commerce and joined Seville in protesting the 1595 embargo against trade with the Dutch. He warned correctly that it would only drive the Dutch to attack the overseas empires of Spain and Portugal.

On the strength of his strong Portuguese connections, Medina Sidonia first began to play a role in shaping foreign policy during the Portuguese Succession (1578-1580). In 1580 he brought off the bloodless occupation of the Algarve, and subsequently advised the Court on Portuguese affairs.

North Africa was another concern of the Andalusian grandee's concerns, and he continued to advocate a more active policy in Barbary even after the Court had decided to concentrate most of its attention on the Netherlands. The elements of his relations, with the Court and its later "factions"--roughly, those of Juan de Idiáquez and Cristóbal de Moura against the War Councillors--help illuminate matters in Madrid from about 1580 to 1598.

Philip II, Three Holy Roman Emperors, and a Singular Conflict over Sovereignty in Italy

Erika Spivakovsky

In 1571 Philip II's Governor in Milan, the Duke of Alburquerque, invaded and occupied the tiny fiefdom of Finale on the Gulf of Genoa; the ostensible mission was to oust rebels who had twice expelled their ruler, the Marquis Alfonso II del Carreto, and to do so in the name of the Holy Roman Emperor who was the Marquis' liege lord.

But neither the Marquis nor his heirs returned to rule in Finale, and Philip II--not the Emperor--became the overlord of Finale. Historians usually seal off the account at that point, as an event of only short-range interest to Philip, a military triumph for Spanish arms. Documents from the Archive in Simancas, however, show the Spanish annexation of Finale to have been a far longer and more complex affair, one that began in 1558 at the time of the first rebellion against the Marquis and that Philip was still attempting to resolve in July 1598 as he lay dying.

Finale became the cause of tense negotiations primarily because Philip viewed it as a major struggle to assert his authority *vis-à-vis* the Holy Roman Emperors. To this end he opposed three successive Emperors: Ferdinand I (his uncle), then Maximilian II (his cousin, his brother-in-law, and his father-in-law), and finally, Rudolf II (his nephew). At every stage of his reign, Philip II concerned himself with Finale, applying such a variety of policies to this miniscule state as to enable one to study the entire range of Philip's methods of governing. One knows this process, of course, from his other global concerns. But there seems to me a noteworthy difference in the case of Finale. I wonder whether anywhere else in Europe Philip acted in quite so unrestrained a fashion as a "great power" as he did in Finale. In contrast with his intervention in France or his campaign against England, he did not pose here as "the defender of the faith"; unlike the Netherlands, the "state" of Finale was not his own, nor could he, as in Portugal, even make a claim to be the *potential* heir to the disputed territory. Philip II's intervention in Finale reflected, in capsulated form, nearly every facet of what we have come to understand as Imperialism, of that sort, however, that proceeds under the pretense of legality while at the same time circumventing it. Philip stumbled into that dilemma because he wished to annex a feudal territory whose overlord was the Holy Roman Emperor. It took a few years for this particular ambition to grow in Philip's mind, but once he had made his *own* the idea of claiming Finale, he acted with astonishing decisiveness and even haste.

The Emperor Maximilian believed Philip acted on power considerations alone. Toward the end of their bitter quarrel, Maximilian said that nothing had aggrieved him so much in all his life as Finale "with which I go to bed and get up, eat and sleep, and not for the place itself which is not worth three beans, but because your King wants to show me in this matter how little he respects me."

But the documents show that, quite aside from a question of sovereignty, Philip wanted Finale because of its geopolitical value. Although it was only a tiny fiefdom (thirty-five square miles, and less than 10,000 inhabitants), its location on the Gulf of Genoa, between Savona and Alassio, was potentially of vast importance to the maintenance of Philip's Empire. It constituted a seaport where Spain could land men, supplies, and trading goods, an alternative to the Republic of Genoa, a friendly power but still one that charged an 8 percent duty on all merchandise moving through its customs. The possibility and advantages of transforming Finale into a deep-water seaport were set forth by Dr. Julio Claro, a member of the Spanish monarch's Council of State, in a lucid report submitted to the King in 1566.

The paper traces in detail, from the accounts in state papers at Simancas, the forty-year struggle of Philip to annex Finale.

(Proceedings continued)

WORKERS AT HOME AND ABROAD IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Oppression and Remittances: Spanish Workers in Western Europe

Peter de Garmo, Boston College

The emigration of large numbers of Spanish workers to Western Europe in the 1960s provided those workers with the opportunity to obtain employment that was unavailable to them at home. Emigration also enabled other workers to receive wages higher than those paid in Spain. Calculated collectively, the remittances which were derived from emigrants' wages helped offset Spanish balance-of-payments deficits. However, emigration and remittances did not resolve the structural inequities of Spanish society or contribute directly to Spanish economic development.

Spanish workers went to France, Switzerland, and West Germany because their own country failed to provide adequate employment. The political structure of the Franco regime mitigated against the development of a society which would have provided such employment. The Spanish government thus encouraged emigration, and helped perpetuate a myth which linked emigration and remittances to Spanish industrial development in the 1960s. In turn, scholarly analyses of contemporary Spain have accepted, without adequate investigation, the generalization that emigration and remittances contributed to economic development.

The Spanish workers who emigrated to Western Europe in the 1960s came primarily from the rural areas of Andalusia, Extremadura, and the Northwest. They had little experience with industrial labor. The work that was available to them was largely manual labor. For example, only 5.9 percent of the Spanish employed in France in 1967 had jobs that could be classified above the level of skilled manual labor. Spanish women, especially in France and Switzerland, were employed primarily as domestics, hotel maids, and as kitchen helpers. While employed in Western Europe, Spanish workers were subjected to a variety of regulations, restrictions, customs, and work and housing experiences which formed, in the words of John Berger, a "dream/nightmare." The wages which these workers remitted to Spain did not constitute a source of finance capital. In reality, they were spent by individuals to procure housing, food, and consumer goods. Ironically, remittances contributed to an economic condition that exacerbated Spain's balance-of-payments deficits in the 1960s: demand for consumer goods was satisfied in part by increased imports into Spain, import costs which added to balance-of-payments deficits.

Emigration and remittances thus did not contribute to Spanish economic and social development in the ways that have been claimed. Moreover, when one analyzes the social costs of emigration--the costs of feeding, clothing, and housing an individual from birth to age 20--there is sufficient evidence to suggest that emigration deprived Spain of an invaluable resource, its own human labor.

The Spanish "Workers' Commissions"

William Braasch Watson, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Spanish "Workers' Commissions" emerged spontaneously in the late 1950s and early 1960s as a new kind of workers' organization whose objectives, methods of struggle, and organizational structures were more characteristic of a resistance movement than of a traditional syndicalist organization.

In seeking the liberation of Spanish workers from the repressive institutions of Spanish fascism and from the oppressive conditions of monopoly capitalism, the Commissions attacked the official vertical syndicates as illegitimate representatives of the workers' interests

(Proceedings continued)

and insisted on the right of workers to form their own associations. They also sought to change the structures of Spanish capitalist society in order to achieve a society accessible to all, not to just a few.

Characteristic of resistance movements elsewhere, the Commissions sought to achieve these goals: (1) by taking over existing legal institutions at their base; (2) by delegating genuine responsibility and initiative to local groups; (3) by developing a climate of open resistance within these local groups; and (4) by creating parallel institutions whose democratic way of functioning was itself an expression of the liberation goals of the overall movement.

The Commissions were also organized in a manner appropriate to a resistance movement. They emphasized rank-and-file participation through open workers' assemblies in the workplaces, through the democratic election of their leaders, and through the exercise of local autonomy. To achieve unity in such a diverse movement, the Commissions were necessarily pluralistic, respectful of the autonomy of the Spanish *nations*, and institutionally independent of all political and syndical organizations.

Given the changes now taking place in Spain, there is some question whether the Workers' Commissions will remain the kind of resistance movement they have become in the last fifteen years. Whatever their future may be, they have already made a number of contributions to the Spanish working class and to Spanish society in general. They developed a genuine democratic tradition among Spanish workers, promoted a new awareness of the realities of the Spanish *nationalities*, created a rich legacy of pragmatic struggle tactics, and helped to form a class consciousness among thousands of Spanish workers. The Commissions were also a school for others, because the struggles they led during the last decade or so did more than any other force in Spain to expose the contradictions of Spanish fascism and capitalism, and to demonstrate the possibility of successfully resisting them both.

SPANISH WORKERS' COMMISSION

Tables prepared by Professor W. B. Watson

Table 1: Structural Changes in the Labor Force, 1950-1970
(per millions of workers)

	<u>1950</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>1950-1970--change</u> <u>numbers</u>	<u>percent</u>
Total active labor force	10.8		11.8		11.9		+ 1.1	+ 10%
Agriculture	5.3	(49)	4.7	(40)	3.0	(25)	- 2.3	-43
Industry and construction	2.7	(25)	3.4	(29)	4.3	(36)	+ 1.6	+ 59
Services	2.7	(25)	3.2	(27)	4.3	(36)	+ 1.6	+ 59

(Proceedings continued)

Table 2: Migrations of Spanish Workers, Internal and External: 1950-1970 (per thousands of workers)

	1951-60		1961-70	
	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>(%)</i>
<i>Total migrations</i>	2,301		3,846	
<i>Internal</i>	1,583	(69)	2,285	(59)
To: Madrid	796	$\left. \begin{array}{l} 426 \\ 263 \\ 108 \end{array} \right\}$	(50% of internal)	
Barcelona				
Bilbao				
<i>External</i>	718	(31)	1,561	(41)
To: Overseas	499		118	
Europe	220		1,385	

Note: Some 6 million Spaniards were involved in all, a greater dislocation of Spaniards than in any other event, even the Civil War.

A BRIEF READING LIST ON THE SPANISH WORKING CLASS, LABOR MOVEMENT, AND WORKERS' COMMISSIONS 1939-1977

Prepared by Professor W. B. Watson

Workers, the Labor Movement

Nicolás Sartorius, *El resurgir del movimiento obrero*.

Barcelona: Editorial Laia, 1975. 187 p.

Sheelagh Ellwood, "The Working Class under the Franco Regime,"

in *Spain in Crisis: The Evolution and Decline of the Franco Regime*, ed. Paul Preston. London: The Harvester Press, 1976, pp. 157-82.

John Amsdem, *Collective Bargaining and Class Conflict in Spain*.

London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1972. 204 p.

José María Maravall, *El Desarrollo económico y la clase obrera*. Barcelona:

Esplugues de Llobregat, 1970. 259 p.

"Workers' Commissions" (*Comisiones Obreras*)

Canadian Committee for a Democratic Spain, *Spain, the Workers' Commissions: Basic Documents, 1966/1971*. Introduction by Vicente Romano.

Toronto: Canadian Committee for a Democratic Spain (Box 1227, Station Q, Toronto, Canada), 1973. 95 p.

(Proceedings continued)

- Julian Ariza, *CC.OO: Comisiones Obreras*.
Madrid/Barcelona: Mañana/Avance Editoriales, 1976. 168 p.
- Julian Ariza, *La Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras*.
Barcelona: Editorial Avance, 1977. 119 p.

Other Sources of Information

- Ruedo Ibérico*. This exile journal, published in Paris, contains from time to time articles of interest on the development of the working class in Spain.
- María Carmen García-Nieto and Javier M. Donezar, eds., *La España de Franco, 1939-1973*, Vol. II of *Bases documentales de la España Contemporánea*. Madrid: Guardiania de Publicaciones, 1975. 89 p.
- Serio Vilar, *Protagonistas de la España democrática: La oposición a la dictadura, 1939-1969*. Barcelona/Paris/Madrid: Ediciones Sociales, 1968. 743 p.

Solutions to Dislocation in the Case of Portugal: Emigration vs. Mobilization

Elizabeth R. Leeds, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The existence of widespread migration, both internal and external, in any society is often symptomatic of the uneven distribution of national capital resulting in a lack of infrastructure and services and in low labor absorption in the hinterland. The form and direction that the migration takes, i.e., the decision of any given potential migrant to move internally or externally, may depend on a wide range of variables. This paper argues that, in the case of Portugal, substantial differences in the social and political structure between the North and the South of the country have, in part, determined the form and direction of Portuguese migration. The differences have also led to varying possibilities for political organization.

The North, an area primarily of small and medium landholdings and one heavily dominated by the Catholic Church, is characterized by individualistic, noncooperative and competitive agricultural enterprises, not conducive to the development of class-consciousness or class-based movements. The solution to economic hardship has been to migrate externally. In contrast, the South, especially the Alentejo, is primarily a latifundia area where agricultural wage labor and rural syndicates have long predominated and where the Communist Party has traditionally been most active. The solution to economic dislocation has been either to organize in the rural areas or to move to the industrial areas of Lisbon and Setúbal where active industrial organization, whether legal or clandestine, has made possible the perception of a viable economic life within Portugal.

Sunday, March 27

TWENTIETH-CENTURY FOREIGN RELATIONS: SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Franco-Spanish Negotiations on Morocco, 1901-1903

Vicente R. Pilapil, California State University, Los Angeles

The Conference of Madrid, convened in 1880 to deal with the problem of Morocco, had decided on the maintenance of the status quo in the Sherefian Empire. But this became increasingly difficult, given France's objective of building a North African Empire and the growing

(Proceedings continued)

internal disintegration of Morocco, especially after 1898 as Spain lay prostrate as a result of the Spanish-American War. The Spanish government had relied upon Great Britain to maintain the status quo policy, but when the Boer War broke out in October 1899, the Spanish government began to doubt British effectiveness. It began to consider a secret, bilateral agreement with France which provided for the future partitioning of Morocco.

This article traces the origins, course, and the eventual aborting of the 1902 Franco-Spanish treaty. It sheds light on European diplomacy in general and on French foreign policy in particular at a time when it was undergoing a momentous transformation. The focus is on the objectives and conduct of Spanish diplomacy and what they revealed of Spain's internal politics. This study of the negotiations of 1901-03 indicates clearly that one effect of the instability of Spanish cabinets was to prevent the consistent pursuit of certain foreign policy goals. It also shows clearly the factionalism that plagued the individual ministers: Prime Minister Francisco Silvela working at cross-purposes with the Foreign Minister, Buenaventura Abarzuza, constitutes a case in point. Queen María Cristina is seen as taking an activist political role. Unlike France, where there was a strong *parti colonial*, there was at that time in Spain no organized pressure group which supported a Spanish presence in Moroccan affairs; even the army was still recovering from the 1898 defeat.

United States Relations with Spain's Second Republic, 1931-1936

James W. Cortada, International Business Machines

Relations between Spain and the United States from 1931 to 1936 suggest some of the patterns which emerged in the history of Spanish foreign policy during the Second Republic. A survey of diplomacy between these two republics indicates that they did not enjoy friendly relations because Spain attempted to implement a series of protectionist economic policies detrimental to the interests of foreign investors operating in Spain. Moreover, Spain's connection to European affairs at a time when the United States was attempting to divorce Latin America from the Old World's troubles, ensured that Madrid would have a difficult time in curbing North American influence in Latin America while simultaneously being unable to expand her own influence in the ex-colonies.

These relations suggest on a very tentative basis that Madrid's economic policies, coming at a time when conservative economics became more popular with depression-hit nations, made her relations with some governments complex and difficult. Also, the constant changes in cabinet and subcabinet officials in Madrid prevented the development of any long-range plans and the execution of policies which would have been more beneficial to Spain. These relations, therefore, suggest that domestic influences in the development of Spanish foreign policy during the early 1930s were very important and merit considerable study. The history of U.S.-Spanish relations also leads one to conclude that Spain's participation in transatlantic affairs has been underestimated in the past.

United States Relations with the Azores in the 20th Century

Edward W. Chester, The University of Texas at Arlington

United States diplomatic contacts with the Azores Islands were of minor consequence up to World War II, beginning with the construction of an air base on Santa Maria. Since that time, America's strategic interest in the Azores has not only persisted but acquired new significance with the building up of an antisubmarine-warfare network. Such a network, together with the possibilities of the Azores as a military supply base--the importance of which was demonstrated during the Israeli-Egyptian war in 1973--has made the Islands a major point of American diplomatic concern today. Concern has intensified since the coup of 1974

which overthrew the Salazar-Caetano regime in Portugal. Disturbed by the coup and the fear of a Communist takeover in Lisbon, Azoreans have considered declaring their independence from Portugal and seeking U.S. diplomatic recognition.

U.S. Contacts before 1939. During the 19th century and prior to World War II contact was minimal. Major prohibitive factors to trade and investment were the Islands' relative geographic isolation and high Portuguese tariffs on imported American manufactured goods, along with American reluctance to fill small orders. The only long-range contact came from U.S. whalers which put into Azorean ports.

The one notable contact was immigration. By the outbreak of World War I, approximately 100,000 Azoreans were residing in America. Of these, 35,000 had settled in California; 60,000 in New England. The continual stream of emigrants was curtailed, however, by Congressional restriction on immigration quotas from southern and Eastern Europe in the 1920s.

Military needs of World War I brought new importance to the Azores. The United States acquired a temporary naval base at Ponta Delgada, although a formal agreement with Portugal was never reached. The Navy withdrew in 1919; two years later, the U.S. whalers also withdrew. The timing was concurrent, however, with the beginnings of Atlantic air transport, and by 1939 the Azores were a regular stop for the Pan American Clippers flying between Europe and America.

U.S. Military in World War II. Use of the Islands had been an issue in American foreign policy long before Pearl Harbor; now with the outbreak of the second World War, American strategic military interests included the Azores. The objections of Portugal's prime minister, Antonio de Oliviera Salazar, to the presence of American troops there delayed U.S. activities in the Azores until far into the war. In August 1943, the British, already operating from Azores bases in agreement with Portugal, permitted a restricted number of transport aircraft from the United States to land at Lajes airport, and in July 1944--only six months before the war's end--the Portuguese government gave permission for U.S. aircraft to operate there under the R.A.F. Coastal Command. These delays greatly reduced the American impact on these Islands during the war, in contrast to that on Iceland and Greenland, where the U.S. military were in full force much earlier.

U.S. Postwar Activities. At the end of the war, the United States terminated its lease on the Santa Maria base, but received permission to continue using Lajes Field for another 18 months as British and American aircraft served the occupation forces in Germany and Japan. A defense agreement with the Portuguese was reached authorizing the United States to use the Azorean base in the event of war, following America's signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949.

In the ensuing years, American activity continued. The number of Americans resident at the air base grew to 1,800, with approximately 1,200 transient flights each month. The number increased during the crises in Lebanon, the Congo, and Berlin. Relations with local officialdom were friendly, although Salazar's government in Lisbon was cool. Despite a subsequent decline in both flights and personnel, the governments of the United States and Portugal negotiated a five-year pact in 1971.

U.S. Role in the Azores Today. The Azores have again become important in U.S. defense strategy: during Israel's war with Egypt, and with the development of an antisubmarine warfare system. Immigration continues to be a factor, despite increased prosperity in the Azores (primarily spin-off from the Lajes base). One catalyst was a series of volcanic explosions from 1958 to 1964, which left 25,000 people homeless. In 1958 Congress passed an emergency bill making 1,500 nonquota immigrant visas for Azoreans available, and two years later passed another bill increasing the quota.

(Proceedings continued)

However, few American business investors or tourists visit the Azores. The single exception is the large number of immigrant Azoreans who come from the United States to spend their holidays on the Islands.

For 1977, the outlook for U.S. military operations in the Azores is unclear, contingent now upon future developments in Lisbon.

The Luso-Spanish Treaty of Friendship and Nonaggression of March 1939

Charles R. Halstead, Washington College

Portuguese aid to the insurgents in the Spanish Civil War provided a background of trust and cooperation for this important and durable treaty.

Negotiations for the accord began, at the instigation of Nationalist Spain, during the Munich Crisis. By seeking a treaty, Burgos hoped to reduce the chance of a British invasion of Spain via Portugal. Lisbon was receptive to the notion of a treaty but cleared the matter with London, to which Portugal was bound in "Ancient Alliance," a defensive alliance. Whitehall had no objections to the projected accord. More important, Salazar perceived that Whitehall had no keen desire to use metropolitan Portugal as a staging area in an impending general war. Content with this knowledge, Lisbon stalled the Luso-Spanish negotiations. When it was evident the war in Spain would end, Salazar recommenced negotiations with the *franquistas*. By then he detected a treaty might have many uses.

Ensuing negotiations were friendly but characterized by Portuguese initiative and assertiveness. Lisbon converted the Spanish draft treaty, a selfish and restrictive document, into a comprehensive instrument of mutual worth. Burgos wanted a secret treaty that would create an alliance. Portugal rejected these ideas. The Spaniards were also unsuccessful in their attempts to make the accord superior to the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. At Salazar's insistence, an allusion to the paramount status of the Ancient Alliance was inserted in the new treaty's preamble. However, Salazar indicated to Burgos that Portugal would uphold the defensive character of the Ancient Alliance and would hence inhibit British offensive intentions in Iberia. With this notification in mind, Franco Spain put its pen to the accord, which stated that either signatory would not give aid to aggressors acting against the other contractual. The treaty stated, in addition, that the Iberian countries would respect each other's territories and would not enter aggressive pacts drawn against the other contractual.

The treaty proved useful. It allowed the two governments to remove some troops from their contiguous frontiers, hobbled the Axis forces in Spain at the close of the Civil War, and laid the basis, in knowledge and reassurances, for the "zone of peace" concept, a neutrality concept proclaimed by Portugal and Spain on the eve of World War II. The treaty led, as well, to the "Iberian Bloc" of 1942. Aside from these advantages, Franco Spain used the treaty to allay some of its fears of Britain and, through Portugal, built a bridge to the English. By means of the treaty, Portugal gained an age-old desire: security with regard to Spain. Salazar, who had used the treaty to give Portuguese foreign policy a new dimension, had perceived that the "Ancient Alliance with Britain" might be harmonized with regional solidarity and even with neutrality.

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 aid that is as accurate 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 *Indice Histórico Español*.

CURRENT RESEARCH OF SSPHS MEMBERS BY SUBJECT

SPAIN

General

ARTOLA, Gallego, Miguel. Catedrático de Historia Contemporánea de España, la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Estudios en preparación:

Antiguo Regimen y Revolución Liberal

En equipo, bajo su dirección:

El Ferrocarril en España, 1848-1943

El Latifundio andaluz, siglos XCIII-XX

DORN, Georgette Magassy. Latin American, Portuguese & Spanish Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Published:

Latin America, Spain, and Portugal: An Annotated Bibliography of Paperback Books.

2nd rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976.

[This work can be obtained from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for \$3.00; Stock no. 030-013-00007-7.] It contains 2,229 titles of paperback books published in the United States relating to the Hispanic world. The new enlarged cumulative edition reflects publishers' responses to growing demands by professors and students for less expensive paperback editions. History, literature, and politics are generally the disciplines best represented. Since the first edition in 1971, many standard works in these fields have remained in print and outstanding new ones have been published.

HOLMES, Oliver W. Department of History, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

Research in Progress:

My current research project entails a comparative analysis of European intellectuals and their activities in politics (in France, Germany, Great Britain, and Spain). The emphasis is on the connections that may be established between the dynamic interaction of external historical and political events and the internal development of ideas.

(Current Research, continued)

PHILLIPS, William D. Department of History, San Diego State University

Accepted for Publication:

"State Service in Fifteenth Century Castile: A Statistical Study of the Royal Appointees," *Societas--A Review of Social History*. To appear soon.

Two articles, coauthored with my wife, Carla Rahn Phillips (University of Minnesota), on aspects of the wool trade and Castilian commerce.

"Spanish Wool and Dutch Rebels: The Middelburg Incident of 1574," *The American Historical Review* (April 1977), 82:2, pp. 312-30.

"The Castilian Fairs in Burgos, 1601-1604," *Journal of European Economic History*.

Research in Progress:

Together with my wife, Carla Rahn Phillips, I have begun a long-term project on the Spanish wool trade to Flanders and to other places in northern Europe, and on the impact that trade had on the internal economy of Castile, from about 1300 to about 1650. (The latter two articles, cited above, form part of this project.) We plan various short and long trips to Spain in the next few years to visit national and local archives in search of data. *We would very much like to correspond with all those who have similar interests.*

I am also writing a short survey of slavery in the Mediterranean world from the end of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade. This work will trace continuities in the use of slaves and their legal and social condition. It will also offer a comparison of Christian and Muslim slavèholding.

RAMA, Carlos M. Grupo de Estudios Latinoamericanos, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (Bellaterra)

Published:

Sociología de América Latina. Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1976. Colección Homo Sociologicus no. 13.

Una primera edición se hizo en Rio de la Plata, 1970. Esta segunda edición está considerablemente ampliada y revisada. Entre los temas tratados: "Las inversiones extranjeras, un aspecto de la sociología económica"; "Estructura social de América Latina: de las castas a las clases"; "Tipología de los regímenes políticos latinoamericanos contemporáneos."

RUIZ SALVADOR, Antonio. Department of Spanish, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Published:

"The 'Deverticalization' Process: Spain in the XVIIIth Century," *Reflexión 2* (Carleton University, 2^a época, vols. III-IV (1974-1975), 153-58.

"Intelectuales y obreros: La extensión universitaria en España," a chapter in a collection of essays: *Cuatro Ensayos de historia de España*. Madrid: Edicusa, 1975.

Ateneo, Dictadura y República. Valencia: Fernando Torres--Editor, 1976. Activities of the Ateneo in Madrid, September 1923 to July 1936.

Medieval

NELSON, Lynn H. Department of History, University of Kansas, Lawrence

Accepted for Publication:

"The Early Aragonese *Pardina*: Its Etymology and Function," to appear in *The Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* of the University of Benghazi.

"Orosius' Commentary on the Fall of Roman Spain" to appear in *Classical Folia*.

Submitted for Publication:

"Occident 42 of the *Notitia Dignitatum*: Its Dating and Structure."

Research in Progress:

"The Emergence of Jaca: Urbanization in Early Aragon." Substantially completed.

"The Battle of Tafalla: Its Date and Causes."

Papers Presented:

"Town-Building on the Early Aragonese Frontier: The Case of El Frago." Presented to the University of Kansas Medieval Society, September 22, 1976.

"Strange Bed-Fellows: The Taifa Kingdoms and Christian States of Medieval Spain," presented at the Southwest Historical Association, March 1977.

Early Modern/Hapsburg

HALICZER, Steven. Department of History, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb

Work in Progress:

Presently completing the manuscript of a book-length study of the Comunero Revolution that takes its causes back to the beginning of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. I expect to have a finished manuscript ready by late fall 1977.

PHILLIPS, Carla Rahn. Department of History, University of Minnesota

Published:

Article on the population of Ciudad Real in the 17th century, *Anais de Historia*, 7 (December 1975: appeared in February 1977).

Work in Progress:

I have completed articles on Taxation in Ciudad Real, and on the Moriscos of La Mancha, 1570-1614.

I am currently working on a short piece about Morisco family structure in the same period.

Together with my husband, William D. Phillips, Jr., I will be working for the foreseeable future on the Castilian wool trade as well as on some other, smaller scale projects.

VASSBERG, David E. Department of History, Pan American University, Edinburg, Texas

Scholarly Papers Presented:

"The Castilian Peasant versus the Communal Property System: Usurpations of Commons, Municipal Lands, and Baldíos in the 16th Century," a paper presented at the convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association, meeting in Dallas, Texas, March 30-April 2, 1977.

Bourbon/18th Century

ARCHER, Christon I. Department of History, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada

Published:

The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760-1810. University of New Mexico Press, 1977.

Accepted for Publication:

"The Making of Spanish Indian Policy on the Northwest Coast in the Eighteenth Century."

This paper was read to the Western History Association Denver meeting, October 1976.

It will appear in the *New Mexico Historical Quarterly* forthcoming.

Research in Progress:

I have been granted a Canada Council Leave Fellowship for research in Spain and Mexico on two projects. The first will be a study of the Royalist army during the Independence Period in Mexico and the second, a continuation of research on the Spanish presence on the Northwest Coast. My sabbatical leave begins in July 1977.

Finally, I am preparing a paper for the Captain Cook Conference to be held in Vancouver, B.C., in April 1978, entitled "The Spanish Reaction to Cook's Third Voyage."

(Current Research, continued)

BURKHOLDER, Mark A. Department of History, The University of Missouri-St. Louis

Published (with D. S. Chandler, Miami University):

From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687-1808. University of Missouri Press, 1977. 256 p. Based on research in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and in the Archivo General de Simancas, the book examines quantitatively the social and educational backgrounds as well as career patterns of the nearly 600 men appointed by the Spanish crown to the American *audiencias* (high courts) from 1687 to 1808.

HOLUB, Norman. Department of History, Dowling College, Oakdale, New York

Research in Progress:

A history of Mallorca in the 18th century, and a history of the city of Soller (Mallorca). The sources are to be found in the Archives of Mallorca (Palma), and in the Soller Municipal Archive and Museum. I have spent several summers in Mallorca working on this project. At the present time I am preparing a paper and an article on Mallorcan history.

RONAN, Charles E., S.J. Department of History, Loyola University, Chicago

Published:

Francisco Javier Clavigero, S.J. (1731-1787), a Figure of the Mexican Enlightenment: His Life and Works. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1977. [Will be ready for distribution in March.]

Accepted for Publication:

"Antonio de Alcedo: His Collaborators and His Correspondence with William Robertson," *The Americas* (1977?).

Research in Progress:

"Juan Ignacio Molina, S.J. (1740-1829): His Life and Works." Archival research begun in Vatican Library, Biblioteca Comunale del Archiginnasio (Bologna). Further research to be done in Archivo General de Indias, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Biblioteca Nacional (Santiago, Chile).

19th Century

GILMORE, David. Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa, Iowa City

(Editor's Note: In the SSPHS NEWSLETTER, Vol. III, no. 7, Nov. 1976, p. 216, the research inventory of David Gilmore was credited, erroneously, to John Coverdale, an error made at the time of the page makeup. The Editor regrets the error, and is glad to reprint the inventory of Professor Gilmore's research together with new items.)

Published:

"Carnaval in Fuenmayor: Class Conflict and Social Cohesion in an Andalusian Town," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol. 31 (1975), 331-49.

Accepted for Publication:

"Patronage and Class Conflict in Southern Spain." *MAN* (n.s.), 1977.

"The Class Consciousness of the Andalusian Rural Proletarians in Historical Perspective," *Ethnohistory*, 1976.

Scholarly Papers:

"Land Reform and Rural Revolutionism in 19th Century Spain." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 1976.

"The Class Consciousness of the Andalusian Rural Proletarians in Historical Perspective." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association, December 1976.

Research in Progress:

"An ethnohistorical study of the impact of the 19th-century agrarian reform (*desamortización*) upon a single municipality in Western Andalusia." Specifically, the study will investigate the relationship between the *desamortización* and the subsequent

revolutionism in Andalusia. This is a community-level study which, by using municipal records, will attempt to reconstruct the local society and culture prior to the Liberal reforms as a baseline. It will critically test the commonly accepted assumption: the *desamortización* proletarianized the small cultivator, polarized class relations, and provoked the later social revolutionism. I am particularly interested in the emergence of a radical class consciousness in rural Andalusia and the individual motives and attitudes behind the anarchist political movement. The study has the support of the University of Seville and is being funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. To be completed by Spring 1978.

ROSENBLATT, Nancy A. Department of History, Pennsylvania State University, University Park
Published:

"Church and State in Spain: A Study of Moderate Liberal Politics in 1845," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 62, no. 4 (October 1976), 589-603.

20th Century

WHEALEY, Robert H. Department of History, Ohio University, Athens

Published:

"How Franco Financed His War--Reconsiderations," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 12 (January 1977), 133-52.

Course Project:

Professor Whealey offered for the first time a course, during winter quarter 1977, on the history of Spain and Portugal, 1898 to the present. The objective was to gain perspective for current events on the Iberian Peninsula through a study of the Civil War in particular and on the contemporary decline of the Portuguese Empire. It was intended to supplement and advertise the Spanish language program in Spain.

Second Republic and the Civil War

GARCIA DURAN, Juan. Fondren Library, Rice University

Published: "La Intervención italiana en España," *Tiempo de Historia*, Vol. 2, no. 25 (September 1976), 128.

RAMIREZ, Manuel. Departamento de Derecho Político, Facultad de Derecho, Universidad de Zaragoza

Research in Progress:

"El juego parlamentario de partidos durante la II República Española"
Análisis científico-político de la actuación parlamentaria de los partidos políticos durante la II República Española (1931-36).
Estudio de los temas más importantes que fueron debatidos en las Cortes Republicanas y de las posiciones que ante ellos adoptaron los distintos partidos. Se trata de adentrarse en el análisis de posturas políticas, votaciones, composición de las minorías parlamentarias, votaciones de censura y confianza, etc.
El trabajo está muy avanzado en su elaboración y se espera su aparición en este mismo año.

Franco/Contemporary

DE MIGUEL, Jesus M. Departamento de Sociología, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (Bellaterra)

Published:

Editor, *Planificación y Reforma Santiarias*. Madrid: IOP, 1977.

An annotated bibliography edited with the assistance of Mercedes González Page. The

(Current Research, De Miguel, continued)

book consists of 20 articles, organized into the following sections: health and social change, criticism of the human capital, alternatives and strategies, projects for health reform. Among the contributing scholars: D. Mechanic, University of Wisconsin; E. Freidson, New York University; A. Ugalde, University of Texas; M. Jefferys, University of London; Y. Nuyens, Leuven.

Accepted for Publication:

Sociology in Spain, 1950-1975. A report on trends, to be published by Sage Publications, Inc., in the spring of 1978, in the series *Current Sociology* (sponsored by the International Sociological Association). The book is organized into four sections: 25 years of sociology; Sociological trends; A classified & annotated bibliography; and A "Who's Who" of Spanish sociology. The Rockefeller Foundation has offered a grant for the writing of the first draft of the book, at the Bellagio Study and Conference Center during March and April 1977.

Research in Progress:

Las Ideologías de la Clase Médica. This book, to be written during 1977, deals with the role of the medical profession in nondemocratic countries. In a way, it tries to continue (and criticize) the work of E. Freidson (*Profession of Medicine*) et alii, which is considered as an incomplete model of analysis. It also tries to generate more theory around the role of professions in authoritarian and totalitarian political systems.

Scholarly Papers to be Presented:

Sociology and Society in Mediterranean Europe, an ad hoc meeting, to be held in Uppsala, Sweden, Aug. 15-17, 1978. There will be three sessions: (1) "Comparing Southern European Countries"; (2) "Bridges between Latin-America and Latin-Europe"; (3) "Social Changes in Mediterranean Europe."

Among the chairpersons and commentators are: Juan Linz, Gino Germani, Franco Ferraroti, Amando de Miguel, and Juan F. Marsal. The papers, a total of 15, will be published in a volume to be edited by Jesús de Miguel.

FREEMAN, Susana Tax de. Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois-Chicago

Published:

"Dos caminos a Madrid: españoles dentro y fuera de dos ámbitos rurales," in C. Lisón Tolosana, ed., *Expresiones actuales de la cultura del pueblo*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Sociales del Valle de los Caídos, 1976.

"Maneras de ser pasiego," in C. Lisón Tolosana, *Temas de antropología española*. Madrid: Akal, 1976.

"Pasiegos y pasieguería: Estudio de historia e historiografía provincial," *Publicaciones del Instituto de Etnografía y Folklore ("Hoyos Sainz"* (Santander), Vol. 7 (1976), 9-33.

A preliminary version of this article was presented in a session of the SSPHS Third Annual Conference, Rutgers University, April 1972.

Editor (with Laura R. Walters), *Europeanist Social Anthropologists in North America*. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1975. This directory, which also contains bibliography, is available from the American Anthropological Association, 1703 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. (ca. \$1.50).

JACKSON, Gabriel. Department of History, University of California-San Diego, La Jolla

Published:

"The Franco Era in Historical Perspective," *The Centennial Review*, Vol. 20, no. 2 (Spring 1976).

LINZ, Juan J. Political Science and Sociology, Yale University

Research in Progress:

From an Authoritarian Regime to Democracy

A study of the political change in Spain after the death of Franco. The research will

be based on a wide range of data to be collected in Spain in 1976 and 1977, including participant observation of party congresses, meetings, etc., a thorough reading of the press and magazines, the collection of party publications, the use of electoral and survey data, etc. The emerging party system and elites will be the object of particular attention. This is a study on the borderline between political science and sociology. The publication, probably a book-length monograph, will be completed sometime in 1978.

PORTUGAL

SWEENEY, J. K. Department of History, South Dakota State University, Brookings

Accepted for Publication:

"Genesis of an Airbase: The United States, Portugal and Santa Maria," *Aerospace Historian*.

"Luso-American Connection: The Courtship, 1940-1941," *Iberian Studies*.

Research in Progress:

As an American Diplomatic Historian, I am continuing to expand my knowledge of Luso-American relations during the Second World War, with emphasis at present on the military aspect of that connection. I am also pushing my research forward with an examination of postwar relations under the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. I received a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies in connection with the new line of investigation in 1976. It is my intention to expand my coverage of the postwar connection as documents and materials become available. In the interval, I would like to investigate the 19th and early 20th centuries, and thus produce a more comprehensive appraisal of Luso-American relations than is presently available.

WHEELER, Douglas L. Department of History, University of New Hampshire, Durham

Accepted for Publication:

Prologue to Dictatorship: Portugal's First Republic, 1910-1926. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. Scheduled for publication: late 1977.

Research in Progress:

A general history of the Portuguese Dictatorship, the "New State" 1926-74. Source materials to be used will include interviews, memoirs, unpublished documents from government archives in Portugal. This is a long-range project, with no date scheduled for completion.

Century of Portuguese Colonialism, 1875-1975: a general history to include a study of colonial theory, motivation, the economics of colonialism, institutions, governors, and the role of colonialism in politics.

"African Rebellion in North Angola: The Congo War, 1913-1914," a case study, to be published as an essay in a volume on Angola edited by Dr. Franz-Wilhelm Heimer, to be published in West Germany. Archival research begun, in London and Lisbon, 1969-70, 1972-73, and the summer of 1977.

IN THE UNITED STATES

SPAIN

Medieval

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Director of Dissertation: *Charles Julian Bishko*, Department of History

Doctoral Candidate: *Heath Dillard van Laer*

"The Status of Women in Medieval Spanish Society"

The study will focus on women of the nonnoble classes, particularly the townswomen of 12th- and 13th-century Castile.

To be completed: June 1977

Hapsburg

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

Director of Dissertation: *Temma Kaplan*

Doctoral Candidate: *Mary Elizabeth Perry*

"The Underworld of Seville, 1520-1680"

A study of the underworld subculture and of the rest of the city of Seville, using evidence from ecclesiastical records, government records, memoirs, picaresque literature, *germanesca* poetry, art, and medical records. Nine months of research in Spain was funded by a Fulbright-Hays Research Grant.

To be completed: April 30, 1977

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Director of Dissertation: *Charles Julian Bishko*

Doctoral Candidate: *Lorna Jury Gladstone*

"Aristocratic Landholding and Finances in Seventeenth-century

Castile: The Case of Gaspar Téllez Girón, Duke of Osuna (1656-1694)"

To be completed: June 1977

19th Century

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI

Director of Dissertation: *Glenn T. Harper*

Doctoral Candidate: *Richard Gary Brown*

"Germany, Spain, and the Caroline Islands"

Completed: September 1976

20th Century

OHIO UNIVERSITY

Director of Dissertation: *Robert H. Whealey*

M.A. Candidate: *Marlin R. Keshishian*

"British and French Non-Intervention Policy Toward Spain, July 1936 to June 1937"

Completed: November 15, 1976

(Dissertations continued)

IN SPAIN

UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA DE MADRID. *Miguel Artola*, catedrático de Historia Contemporánea de España
Victoria Arias, "Galicia en el Antiguo Régimen"
Mercedes Cabrera, "Las asociaciones patronales en la II República"
Jaime Contreras, "Las proposiciones en Galicia: 1565-1700"
Rafael Flaquer, "El Señorío de Buitrago"
María-Dolores Lunar, "Los 'Lunes' del *Imparcial*"
Margarita Ortega, "El problema de la tierra en el Expediente de Ley Agraria"
María-Dolores Saiz, "La opinión pública ante la Desamortización"

UNIVERSIDAD DE ZARAGOZA. *Manuel Ramirez*, Departamento Derecho Político, Facultad de Derecho
Antonio Bar, "La C.N.T. durante la II República Española"
Ricardo Chueca, "La ideología totalitaria en España"
Manuel Contreras, "El P.S.O.E. durante la II República"
Miguel Jerez, "Las clases dominantes durante el régimen de Franco"
Rosa Ruiz, "El Tribunal de Garantías Constitucionales en la II República"
Angel Tello, "La Iglesia durante el régimen de Franco"

All of the above dissertations are in progress.

IN THE UNITED STATES

PORTUGAL

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Director of Dissertation: *George L. Hicks*, Department of Anthropology

Doctoral Candidate: *Deirdre Meintel*
Social/cultural anthropology

Research in the Cape Verde Islands, and among Cape Verdean-Americans, on racial ideology and social identity.

Completed: Autumn 1976