Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies

Founded in 1969 to promote research in all aspects and epochs of Iberian history, the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies conducts annual meetings, provides a forum for scholars of Iberian Affairs, and publishes this Bulletin each spring and fall.

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The ASPHS Bulletin is published two times each year and is distributed to the members of the Society. The editors welcome news about research in progress, recent publications, archival notes, bibliographic essays, short reviews of recent publications, notice of personal honors, and news of academic meetings of interest to Iberian Scholars. Substantial funding for the publication is provided by University of Central Missouri, Warrensburg, Missouri. All correspondence regarding its content should be addressed to the editors.

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Microfilm and Microfiche of the Bulletin from its inception in 1969 is available. Direct inquiries to the General Secretary.
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MESSAGE from the GENERAL SECRETARY

We celebrated our 40th annual meeting last April in Kansas City with great success. Over the forty years of its existence, our organization has transitioned from its origins as a small select group to a mid-sized professional organization that represents a significant field of scholarship. Time and growth bring change. The recent amendments to the constitution and the change of name from Society (SSPHS) to Association (ASPHS) were necessary steps to adapt our structure to new organizational challenges and to address issues concerning our legal status.

I am sure that those who attended the 2009 meeting in Kansas City will agree with me in praising the magnificent organization, excellent surroundings and visits, and the high quality of its sessions. I want to thank all those individuals and institutions who made the reunion possible, and especially Luis Corteguera, Dan Crews, and Marta Vicente who tended to the lion’s share of the organization. The plenary roundtable to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Society was a particularly heart-warming and joyous moment. I want to thank Frank Dutra, Margaret Greer, Carla Phillips, Wim Phillips, and Clara E. Lida (in absentia) for bringing back so many great memories and for their invaluable contribution to the organization over all these years.

The 2010 meeting will be held in Ottawa (Canada) April 15-18. Antonio Cazorla (Trent University), this year’s organizer, has made arrangements with the charming Lord Elgin hotel in the city’s downtown for affordable room prices. You will be receiving preliminary materials for the conference about the same time that this issue of the Bulletin issue arrives in your mail. I am delighted to announce that the 2011 annual meeting will be held in Lisbon, Portugal.

After several years of service James D’Emilio and Ana Varela asked to be replaced as editors of the web page. I want to thank both of them for their dedication and their excellent work in maintaining and expanding the Society’s web page. Andrew Lee has generously accepted the challenge of becoming the new web editor. He has been hard at work on the design of a new page that I encourage all of you to visit at http://asphs.net/. Andrew has put together an outstanding web page committee that will assist in the maintenance and improvement of the site.

The major issue pending for our organization is the future of the Bulletin. Dan Crews, our recently-elected Vice-General Secretary who has diligently served as the editor of the Bulletin for many years, asked to be relieved of his editing duties. The direction that our Bulletin should take in the future was the object of intense debate in the last business meeting. We agreed to publish the Bulletin in electronic format and to move in the direction of its transformation into a peer reviewed publication. A committee was set up to work on this transition, composed of the following members: Ivana Elb, Marie Kelleher, Edward Behrend-Martinez, Dan Crews, and Jesus Cruz (chair). The committee would appreciate receiving your comments and suggestions in regard to this important issue.

I look forward to seeing you at the conference in Ottawa next April, and again at the 2011 meeting in Lisbon.
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SSPHS Managing Officers and Conference Sites, 1969-2009
Conference Locations

Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, April 18-19, 1970
SUNY Stony Brook, Stony Brook NY, April 17-18, 1971
Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, April 22-23, 1972
Latin American, Portuguese, and Spanish Division of the Library of Congress, Washington DC, April 7-8, 1973
Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, University of California, San Diego, March 22-24, 1974
History Department, CUNY and Ibero-American Studies Center, New York University, April 11-12, 1975
The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, April 9-10, 1976
University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY, March 25-26, 1977
Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, March 31-April 1, 1978
Spanish Institute and Institute on Latin American and Iberian Studies, Columbia University, April 11-12, 1980
University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, April 24-25, 1981
University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, April 16-18, 1982
Boston College, Boston, April 22-24, 1983
University of Indiana [SIC!!], Bloomington, IN, April 7-9, 1984
Instituto “Jerónimo Zurita”, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, Spain, June 10-12, 1985
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, April 18-20, 1986
University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, April 24-26, 1987
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, April 8-10, 1988
Saint Louis University and the University of Missouri at St. Louis, St. Louis, MO, April 20-23, 1989
University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA, April 5-8, 1990
Millersville University, Millersville, PA, April 18-21, 1991
San Juan, Puerto Rico (sponsored by Dowling College), April 23-26, 1992
University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, April 7-9, 1994
University of Toronto and York University, Toronto, April 20-23, 1995
University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, April 25-28, 1996
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, April 19-21, 1997
Saint Louis University and the University of Missouri at St. Louis, St. Louis, MO, April 23-26, 1998
University of California, San Diego, San Diego, CA, April 15-18, 1999
King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center, New York University, New York, NY, April 27-30, 2000
University of New Mexico, Santa Fe, NM, April 19-22, 2001
University of Georgia, Athens, GA, 2002
Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, Spain, July 2-5, 2003
University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA, April 1-4, 2004
College of Charleston, Charleston, SC, March 10-13, 2005
University of Kentucky and Eastern Kentucky University, Lexington, Kentucky, April 6-9, 2006
Florida International University and Wolfsonian Museum-FIU, Miami Beach, FL, April 19-21, 2007
Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX, April 3-6, 2008
University of Kansas and University of Central Missouri, Kansas City, MO, April 2-5, 2009
PROGRAM

Saturday, April 18, 1970: 2 p.m. - 5 p.m.

A. Contemporary Iberian Politics

James R. O'Connell  
(East Carolina University)  
A Reconsideration of the Republic's Anti-Clericalism.

Charles Hackett  
(Washington College)  
Colonel Juan Beigbeder: The Misjudged Ashcanista.

Thomas F. Glick  
(University of Texas, Austin)  
Scienter, Catholicism and the Franco Crusade.

Stanley G. Payne  
(University of Wisconsin, Madison)  
The Problems of Political Sequences in Modern Spanish and Portuguese Regimes.

B. Spanish Anarchism and the Labor Movement

Clara E. Lida  
(Wesleyan University)  
Anarchist Secret Societies in Andalucia.

Glen Waggner  
(University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)  
Order, Not Anarchy: The Organizational Structure of the Anarchist Movement in Spain, 1884-1888.

Tamarra Kaplan  
(University of California, Los Angeles)  

Gerald H. Meaker  
(San Fernando Valley State College)  
Spanish Labor and the Russian Revolution: 1917-1922.
Sunday, April 19, 1970: 9 a.m. - 12 noon

C. Medieval and Modern Spain and Portugal

Robert L. Barre, S.J.
(Brown University)
Renegades and Adventurers: The XIII Century Spain in the Cause of Islam.

William Phillips
(Rhode Island College)
Enrique IV of Castile as Príncipe de Asturias.

Margaret Broadhead
(Vassar College)
The Portuguese Titled Nobility in the Time of the Philips: 1580-1640.

Francis A. Dunne
(University of California, Santa Barbara)

T. Brently Duncan
(University of Chicago)
The Wine Trade of Madeira, 1650-1700.

David R. Ringrose
(Rutgers University)
Madrid and New Castile in the XVII Century: An Empirical Capital in a Regional Economy.

Ezroh Resnick
(University of Maryland)
The Absolutist Reign of Ferdinand VII: 1814-1820.

Sunday, April 19, 1970: 2 p.m. - 5 p.m.

D. Agrarian Problems

William Watson
(Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Rural Politics in Spain: Does it have a History?

Edward Maltefski
(Northeastern University)
Agriculture and Politics in Spain.
Robert Whealey’s Encounters, 1938-2008, with People and Archives Concerned with the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939

My first impressions of Spain came during public grammar school in the suburban Long Island town of Baldwin, New York, 22 miles from Manhattan, in 1938. That May I bought for one penny my first slice of bubble gum with a “war card,” from a series called “Horrors of War.” This 1938 set eventually included 288 cards, of which 90-odd cards reported on and portrayed scenes from the Spanish Civil War. After several political-religious conversations with other boys about the war in Spain, I was a bit perplexed. Some claimed the Rebels were the “good guys.” Others (fewer) called the Loyalists the “good guys.” I asked my uncle about the difference between the Loyalists and the Rebels. He backed neither side, and spoke out against the war itself.

I did not return to the Spanish Civil War for many years. However, I did take two years of Spanish in high school, and then fulfilled the language requirement at Bates College by taking that “easiest foreign language” during my freshman year (1948-1949). I did not decide to major in history until my senior year (1951-52), by which time I was at the University of Delaware. Previously I had been following my father’s lead by admiring Senator Robert A. Taft, the isolationist Republican, but I became a Truman Democrat in April 1951, when the President fired General Douglas MacArthur. My ambition became to find out why the Korean War had erupted. I thought that China, the Soviet Union and Communism were the key problems that had brought war in Korea to an innocent America. In order better to understand war and “communism,” I wrote my senior BA paper on the relationship between Vladimir Lenin and Kemal Atatürk, 1917 to 1923; the director of that paper was Walther Kirchner.

I began Law School at the University of Michigan in September 1952. My ambition then was to specialize in International Law and become a second Hans J. Morgenthau or a diplomat like Ambassador George F. Kennan. I wanted to save American politicians from blundering into World War III—but soon found the law courses and the students exceedingly boring.

After the Christmas holidays, I walked down the street and applied to study for a Ph.D. in contemporary diplomatic history. International law in the Political Science Department was my cognate field and I found it an easy A. My eventual 1989 book, *Hitler and Spain: The Nazi Role in the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939* (Lexington KY: University Press of Kentucky), assumes a certain appreciation of the basic systems of law. Indirectly the study of law grounded me in logic, saving me from the propaganda rants in and about Spain. Although I had little sympathy with conservativism as an ideology, diplomacy and law have their own rationally conservative justifications as procedures. Reluctantly, I came to respect General Franco’s understanding of the balance of power system.

At the University of Michigan, the Department of History did not require an MA thesis, but a student had to write three 40-page papers. They could help the student to figure out what to write on for a Ph.D. thesis. My first such paper was “Communism in the Spanish Civil War.” Next was “The Making of the French-Soviet Military Alliance of May 1935.” My two leading professors, Andre Lobanov-Rostovsky in Russian history and Howard M. Ehrmann in European Diplomacy, thought my third MA paper should look at the Axis powers in the late 1930s. So I wrote on “Hitler’s and Mussolini’s rivalry over the South Tyrolean question in 1938.” My Turkish, Spanish, French, German and Italian papers all showed the contradictions between the balance of power and ideological (including nationalist) passions.

At New Year 1954, I met Lois Deimel, also an MA student. We talked that evening about the Spanish Civil War, and have discussed that topic ever since. I received my history MA in summer 1954, about the same time we married. I thought then that I...
would get a degree in Soviet studies at the University of Michigan. However, in January 1955, after taking courses beyond the MA, I was drafted into the US Army artillery.

Fate had dealt me a providential blow, deflecting my life’s work in history away from the Soviet Union and toward Germany. After basic training, I was sent to Germany for over a year, ultimately serving in the Historical Section at Seventh Army Headquarters in Stuttgart. I began to learn German by talking to people in the streets, and abandoned my ambition to learn Russian and study the USSR. I also gave up any ambition to join the Department of State (DoS). Instead I decided to write a Ph.D. dissertation on Hitler and the Spanish Civil War.

For my Christmas leave in Germany in 1955, I hitch-hiked to Bonn to visit my old friend Bob Kob and his wife. (I had met Kob when he was an exchange student at the University of Delaware.) On his advice, I spent a week in Kiel at its World Economic Institute where they catalogued dozens of Spanish periodical articles on economics.

My wife and I also made an exciting five-day dash into Spain in the summer of 1956, where I visited the National Library for three hours and filled out 3x5 cards for a growing master bibliography on the Spanish Civil War. There may have been three scholars in the big reading hall. Meanwhile, Lois toured the Prado Museum.

I had already written to Oxford University, and been admitted provisionally for one year. On 26 October 1956 I received an early discharge from the Army in order to return to college, and hitch-hiked across France to the Channel. During Oxford’s three terms in the 1956-57 year, I attended four seminars at St. Antony’s College, and also listened in on perhaps 25 lecture courses, focusing on Nazi Germany, Marxism and Diplomatic History. A.J.P. Taylor’s lectures on diplomatic history convinced me that he was the greatest teacher I ever had.

A memorable visit Lois and I made was to retired Professor Salvador de Madariaga and his wife, who lived several miles from Oxford. We had a two-hour interview with that “grand old man” of twentieth-century Spain. I had read his classic 1930 history of Spain, which he was then updating into Spain, A Modern History (New York: Praeger, 1958). Politically he was a Spanish liberal and a member of the Liberal Party in Britain. In the 1920s and 1930s, he had been Spain’s foreign minister and delegate to the League of Nations. The British Foreign Office (FO) took his advice on Spain very seriously. In the hotly contested elections of February 1936, he voted absentee for the small center party. He predicted in the spring of 1936 that civil war would break out and left for England and apparently never returned; his wife lamented their home in Spain not seen for twenty years.

During World War II, when he began re-writing his classic Spain in English, Madariaga admired Manuel Azaña and denounced Franco as a tyrant. In his opinion, Franco was more reactionary than fascist. I asked him about a very controversial Socialist Foreign Minister, Julio Alvarez del Vayo, who during the war spoke in English for the Popular Front cause. Question: Do you think he was a secret Communist? Answer: “I know del Vayo very well. His problem was that his heart was bigger than his head.” I took a memo notation of that interview as if I were a secretary working for the DoS.

My assigned tutor was Raymond Carr of New College, a specialist on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spain and on Sweden. Later Carr would head St. Antony’s, Oxford’s graduate college specializing in history and “PPE” (politics, political philosophy and economics). He was impressed with my bibliographical collection on the Spanish Civil War. In it was a card listing the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by Stanley Payne on the Falange. I had not read the thesis and could not imagine that it was very good, thinking it must have been based on newspapers and pamphlets and not governmental archives. I was fundamentally interested in diplomacy but found most newspapers, including French, British and American, to include considerable propaganda.
Raymond Carr was a youngish tutor not much older than I. He would only direct a D. Phil. on Spanish domestic policy or Sweden, an odd combination. Carr lectured on Spain from 1875 to 1936, the only course in Spanish history that I ever took. Sad to say, the lectures were not much better than reading Madariaga’s book.

I did do a tutorial essay for him. I read the daily Times column on Spain from January to April 1931. The 12-page essay sought to answer the question: why did Alfonso XIII fall? We had an interesting oral exam on the results. I put emphasis on unemployment and the worldwide economic Depression. I do not think Carr was impressed with my conclusion—that what various Spanish ministers said to Alfonso XIII in 1931 made little difference in the long run. Carr agreed with me that the Depression was significant, but he did not appear to know or care much about economics. He also seemed more interested in National Spain and assumed that too much had already been written on the left during the civil war. He had a low opinion of the liberal Manchester Guardian and many years later told me that he was a Tory.

Carr advised me to write to an American, John Brademas, for permission to read his unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, which I did. In June 1957, when Oxford was about to close for vacation, Brademas came to tea at our flat, 11 Wellington Square. He had been in the US Army in Germany and was teaching at St. Mary’s College, a female complement to Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. Brademas was not Catholic but Greek Orthodox. He was already thinking of leaving college teaching and running on the Democratic ticket for Congress. His dissertation was based on the anarchist press, and he seemed quite sympathetic to the Anarchists as part of the anti-fascist coalition. Brademas did not publish his dissertation as a book in English. When the Democrats won big in 1958, he went to Congress and by seniority he eventually rose to be the party whip, number three in the Democratic leadership in the House of Representatives. After losing his seat in the Reagan landslide of 1980, he returned to academia and later became president of New York University, where he promoted the Spanish center named for King Juan Carlos. Over the years we met three or four times at scholarly conferences and once in his Congressional office.

When I got back to Michigan in August 1957, I studied two years in general courses for my preliminary examinations passed in May 1959, the year I was a teaching fellow. My six fields were European Diplomatic History since 1870; Russian Diplomatic History since 1856; American Diplomatic History since 1789; the British Empire and Commonwealth since 1789; the Far East since 1700; and one cognate field in Political Science, International Law.

My most important term paper surveyed the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan library. Joseph Labadie was a Detroit anarchist who had a large Spanish newspaper collection assembled during the 1930s. His Spanish Civil War collection was not as good as that at the Hoover Library at Stanford. But Labadie did concentrate on the Anarchists and the Trotskyite-inclined party, the POUM. This independent leftist party which repudiated the label Trotskyite has remained famous through the book by George Orwell, Homage to Catalonia.

In September 1959, Lois, our first baby (Richard), and I moved to Washington so I could work in the National Archives on German documents. In Washington DC we lived on C St. SE near the Library of Congress for a first year of research on my dissertation. I planned for a second year to organize and write up the results. Many nights I worked in the LC from 7:00 PM to 10:00 PM among mostly foreign-language books. Sometimes I stayed with our baby boys (David was born in December 1960) to give my eyes a rest while Lois took notes on LC materials.

Every weekday I walked past the Capitol to the National Archives Building on Pennsylvania Avenue. There I read State Department records and captured German documents. In addition, I traveled to the Navy Department in Arlington, Virginia and
the Alexandria Document Center to examine other German records. My research, particularly in the German naval records, stretched from September 1959 to January or February 1961.

In September 1961 I began my first teaching job as an Instructor at the University of Maine in Orono. I taught European history since 1789 at the University of Maine for three years, with daughter Alice being born in May 1963. My Ph.D. was granted in February 1963 during winter break at the University of Michigan and University of Maine. The Ph.D. dissertation, entitled “German-Spanish Relations January-August 1939: The Failure of Germany to Conclude Economic and Military Agreements with Spain,” was directed by Professor Howard M. Ehrmann.

In September 1964 we moved to Athens, Ohio where I became an Assistant Professor at Ohio University. I visited the campus of Ohio Wesleyan College (later University) in Delaware, Ohio for one or two weekends in October 1964. Their Spanish professor Frank Sedwick had been working on a biography of President and Prime Minister Manuel Azaña. Sedwick had advertised in the American Historical Review that he was starting a special collection on the Spanish Civil War in the Ohio Wesleyan library. He invited all fans of the civil war to donate papers and books to it. So Ohio Wesleyan had a collection of several hundred books—modest by Stanford standards but probably the best in the State of Ohio.

Sedwick’s successor Anna María Marcías, a Mexican-American, sponsored a SSPHS conference in April several years later to advertise the collection. Stanley Payne and I attended and I think also Edward Malefakis, a fellow student from my Bates College days. I first met the Greek-American from Springfield, Massachusetts in 1949, and ran into him again in the 1960s after he decided to study Spanish history. Malefakis’s great book, Agrarian Reform and Peasant Revolution in Spain: Origins of the Civil War (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1970) was written after research on a Fulbright grant. He had cracked Franco’s censorship and looked at Spain’s archives on its agrarian problem 1931-1935, coming to a rather conservative conclusion. He was not pro-Franco, but anti-Socialist; the Spanish liberals and socialists went wrong because the urban elite did not understand agricultural economics.

The 1966 annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York featured Stanley Payne and Edward Malefakis, who both got Ph.D.s from Sheppard Clough at Columbia University. The two young historians were panelists on the Spanish Civil War together with Gabriel Jackson, with comment by William Watson, then still working on a Ph. D. at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on Catalan anarchism.

In the audience was a visitor from Spain, Victor Morales Lezcano. He was filling a visiting professorship in European History at Wilmington College, a small Quaker college in southwest Ohio. Born in the Canary Islands, Victor Morales was then a doctoral student at the University of Madrid Complutense. His parents had moved from Barcelona in the 1930s and Morales was a closet sympathizer of the Spanish Republicans. We hit it off immediately. I was intrigued to learn that as a boy Victor had met Gustav Winter, a rich Nazi German of “some sort.” I had read of Winter in the German documents and assumed he was some kind of “confidential agent” for General Hermann Göring, Luftwaffe Chief, or German spymaster Admiral Wilhelm Canaris. Morales later specialized in the role of the Canary Islands and Morocco in the World War II era, and our friendship has lasted to this day.

West Germany’s booming economy sought workers from abroad, including a plane load of Ohio University students who had me as their advisor there in the summer of 1967. This project gave me an opportunity to read documents in Germany. My friend Major Gerd Brausch from Oxford days had become a professional historian doing official research in army records for the new Bundesrepublik Army. He was working in the Military History Archive in Freiburg, and helped us find lodgings in nearby
Bad Krozingen where he lived. I spent three months in Freiburg looking into records at the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt which housed records of the Nazi Third Reich’s Army and Air Force. I also spent a week in Koblenz where German naval records were stored.

My first publication was a short article coming out of the dissertation, and was published as “Mussolini’s Ideological Diplomacy: An Unpublished Document” in the Journal of Modern History 39 (December 1967): 432-37. A major question to which I was seeking an answer in my research, 1959-1963, was: What was the origin of the Axis Pact of 29 October to 1 November 1936? Did Mussolini and Hitler have a deal on Spain before 17-18 July 1936, the beginning of the Spanish Army rebellion? Roland Strunk, correspondent for Völkischer Beobachter (the official Nazi Party newspaper), interviewed Mussolini in January 1936. The never-before published words of Il Duce showed that Mussolini was already warming up to an understanding or entente with Hitler, despite differences over Austria. The Italian-Ethiopian War of 1935 was bringing Italy closer to Germany.

From August 1970 to August 1971, Lois and I and three grade-school children enjoyed a regular sabbatical. The British FO materials were just opening for the World War II period. I planned to work six months in London, and at the New Year go to Madrid to work in its newspaper archive, Hemeroteca, while my wife and children remained in England.

Before leaving Ohio, in November of 1969 during my planning for the 1970-71 trip, I wrote to a former German official in Düsseldorf whose reports had been key to my Ph.D. dissertation. Ministerial Director of the Four Year Plan Helmuth Wohlthat, a 1930s political-economy graduate of Columbia University, had made major trips to Spain in 1939 and 1940 seeking payment of Nationalist Spain’s large war debt. The Four Year Plan, established under Göring in 1936 to prepare the German economy for a war against the USSR, France and possibly Britain, obtained raw materials for Germany’s war machine.

The number of people in the US who had ever heard of Wohlthat could probably be counted on one hand. But as a youngish man in 1939, he turned out to be alive and well in 1969, a millionaire serving on the boards of a dozen corporations. During the Christmas holiday of 1969 we had about an hour and half frank and open discussion at his home in Huntington, Long Island. As I sat in the railroad car immediately afterwards I wrote up memos on subjects like “Göring,” “Wohlthat’s life,” “Admiral Canaris,” “Hitler,” and “Franco.” There had been nothing in the published documents about Wohlthat’s discussions with Franco or Admiral Canaris, just a report of his July 1939 trip to Spain. Wohlthat had met with Hitler three times alone.

I met Wohlthat again at his New York office, 500 Fifth Ave., for some follow-up questions, and then in Düsseldorf on the way back from Spain in July 1971. During our third interview Wohlthat introduced me to a more famous official, the State Secretary for the Air Force under Göring. I believe I was the last academic to interview Erhard Milch. This interview revealed information that was even more delicate than my three discussions with Wohlthat. For my book on Hitler and Spain, Milch confirmed for me the sequence of events 26 to 31 July 1936 when Hitler and Mussolini privately decided to intervene militarily on the side of Franco.

During my 1970 research in the London Public Record Office [PRO], I worked at the annex in Portugal Street. The British FO records for 1936-1939 are in much better shape than German, Spanish, French or American records. British ambassadors in Berlin, Paris and Rome were generally appeasers, while Stalin’s policy was mostly delivered in London by his pro-British ambassador, Ivan Maisky. The published French documents were accumulated from copies in foreign missions, and we shall never know the exact, subtle debates between the appeasers and the anti-German of-
ficials in London and Paris. The Tory governments, headed by Stanley Baldwin and later Neville Chamberlain, generally favored General Franco to win, and blunted the opposition by the Labour Party in the House of Commons and by France’s Popular Front Government.

The FO papers mostly confirmed my essay “Foreign Intervention in the Spanish Civil War,” a chapter in The Republic and the Civil War in Spain, edited by Raymond Carr (New York: St. Martin’s; London: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 213-238. This essay had the benefit of the German Foreign Ministry and Department of State records but not those of the British Foreign Office. The basic thesis still stands up for Britain and France, although new Italian and Russian materials now date that essay. At the time some American historians at the SSPHS annual meetings marveled how objective my account was. The essay puts Spain’s civil war into the context of the European balance of power system. This approach remained the background to my later book Hitler and Spain (1989).

The day after New Year’s 1971, I left by train for Madrid. My wife carried on researching in FO/371 records in England while I worked in Spain. I lived in Madrid from January to July 1971 near the National Historical Archives (AHN) on Calle Serrano. I actually roomed in a famous “Residencia” founded by the liberals in the aftermath of Spain’s defeat in 1898. Franco in 1939 had the Catholic Church take over this building on Pinar 21 around the corner from the archives. The residencia was still a headquarters for leading Spanish scholars and intellectuals, as well as researchers from abroad. Franco was then very old, and the young men were divided between increasingly silent Franquistas and a new generation of liberal and socialist inclined scholars who had been to England, France, and America and could hardly wait for the old Caudillo to die. Talk of return to party democracy was in the air. Prince Juan Carlos, rumored to be a liberal, was the great hope of the New Spain. El País was reprinting dispatches from The New York Times and The Times of London.

By accident, I bumped into my old Canary Islander friend, Victor Morales Lezcano. He was still working on his equivalent of a “Ph.D.” known as “oposiciones,” an oral examination. Perhaps a half or third of the Spaniards in the residencia were working for their oposiciones, which appeared necessary to get into the new civil service or a teaching job. Morales and I walked many days down to Puerta del Sol to work in the Spanish Foreign Ministry records. We had dinner every day for six months. Morales helped me in dozens of ways to jump the hard bureaucratic hurdles of Franco Spain. From the residencia, an Anglo-American colony of a half dozen friends went with Victor by bus to Toledo, El Escorial, the Valle de los Caídos, Ávila and Soria on weekend tourist rides.

To an American who had seen the GFM, DoS and FO records, the available documents in the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs appeared sparse. The government while Franco was still alive only released routine copies of minor embassy records. Although I did not discover much about the 1936-1939 period, I did report on “Opportunities and Disappointments in the Spanish Foreign Ministry Archives,” Archives 12, No. 54 (Autumn 1975): 68-73.

My major research find was a gold mine of untapped documents in the AHN. Officially this archive was closed to materials after 1929. But I scanned the catalogues anyway and came across a strange foreign word, “HISMA,” which I knew referred to the Nazi trading entity headed by Johannes Bernhardt. None of the Spanish clerks had any idea what was in those bundles of untouched documents. From about 220 bundles in all, some eight or ten were vital for understanding German-Spanish relations 1936-1939. The research required an understanding of economics, a kind of research many Spaniards are loath to do. This 1971 research resulted in my fourth publication, “How Franco Financed His War, Reconsidered,” Journal of Contemporary History 12 (January 1977): 133-152.
While I was in the Residencia, I met Martin Blinkhorn, a young student from Oxford doing a D. Phil. for Raymond Carr. He was writing a pioneer work on the Spanish Carlists. When the Rebel uprising broke out in July 1936, General Emilio Mola in Pamplona was the prime insurgent leader against the Spanish Republic. The Carlist militia there proved to be better fighters than the fascistic Falange. I had an opportunity to read Blinkhorn’s dissertation, which he was just finishing in Madrid before his 1975 book on the Carlists came out. I learned a lot from it. Later Blinkhorn would republish my article on how Franco financed his war in a book of essays, *Spain in Conflict: Democracy and Its Enemies* (London: Sage Publications, 1986), pp. 244-263.

Blinkhorn introduced me to an even younger English student, Paul Preston. Both have gone up in the British academic world, with Preston, at the University of London, now the pre-eminent British expert on the Spanish Civil War. In the spring of 1971, Preston was working with Hugh Thomas at the University of Reading. Thomas was less an academic historian than a professional writer who wrote best-selling history. In 1961 Hugh Thomas had published the best and most comprehensive history of *The Spanish Civil War* in English. Preston would help Thomas do second and third editions of that classic work.

In Madrid I was able to introduce both Martin Blinkhorn and Paul Preston to my own scholarship, my essay on foreign intervention in a just-published book edited by Raymond Carr, *The Republic and the Civil War in Spain* (cited above). Preston, a Labour Party man and a strong fan of the Popular Front, protested that the book was trying to persuade historians in England that Franco’s Spain was now producing reasonably objective history. Preston was unconvinced and pointed out that the “new liberal monarchists” included in the Carr book (Ricardo de la Cierva and Ramón Salas Larrazabal) were probably members of Opus Dei.

Blinkhorn was an English liberal in the Lancastershire sense of liberalism, in other words close to the Manchester Guardian and the ideas of John Stuart Mill. I was not a socialist but a new left, anti-imperialist who took every opportunity to denounce Presidents Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and the unwinnable war in Indochina. Our frank discussions enabled me to introduce both English scholars to an American radical, Herbert Southworth. Although not yet widely known, Southworth in 1964 had read the proofs of Hugh Thomas’s paperback edition of *The Spanish Civil War*.

I had found the name of Southworth in the United States in a little-known bibliography, several years before going to Spain. Southworth’s book was titled, *El mito de la cruzada de Franco*. It was published in Paris in 1963 by a French language press, Ruedo Ibérico, with a French version published in 1964. Since I was just finishing up my dissertation then, I ordered a copy by mail.

Southworth was obviously left wing, but why would someone with an Anglo-Saxon name publish in Spanish and in French in Paris? The book itself, despite the title and scorn for pro-Franco authors, was quite scholarly and up to date. Essentially it contained extended bibliographical essays. It was the kind of work put out from the 1930s to the 1950s in the US, usually by objective Rankian historians who searched for the truth about who or what political, economic and social groups had caused World War I or enabled Adolf Hitler to come to power. Southworth’s bibliography included over six hundred books and articles mostly in Spanish, and some in English and French. The Spanish section included many published in Nationalist Spain from 1936 to 1962 by a variety of reactionaries and fascists. It was the kind of material that should have been cited in Stanley Payne’s book on the Falange and Blinkhorn’s thesis and later book on the Carlists.

It was obvious from his book that Southworth was living somewhere in France. The Madrid residencia closed about the end of June 1971, so I sent Southworth a letter telling him about my work. I hoped for an interview before returning to England and
promised Preston and Blinkhorn that I would write them about my experience visiting Southworth. I was expecting to meet him in a garret on the West Bank and was pleasantly surprised to be invited to a French chateau on the Loire River. His castle had many rooms but was very run down. Herbert and his French lawyer wife lived in only five or six rooms, one or two of which were filled with his library of Spanish language books collected from 1942 to 1945 or 1946. Much of his collection had already been bought in 1966 by the University of California, San Diego (La Jolla).

Southworth was an Oklahoma populist born in 1908 who earned a BA in Spanish language in the early thirties. During the Depression he took a job in the Library of Congress, where he classified Spanish language books. About 1937, he began reviewing Spanish Civil War books for the Washington Post.

He was so sympathetic to the Popular Front that he became the Republic’s last press secretary in Washington. This was in 1938 when it was becoming clear to the Roosevelt Administration and the American press that the Republic was going to lose. Southworth was a bitter-end and supporter of Premier Juan Negrín. From March 1939 to mid 1942 he was persona non grata in Spain and the US. In November 1942 as a result of General Eisenhower’s invasion of North Africa, Southworth had a new career with the Office of War Information (OWI), run by Elmer Davis, a New Deal journalist. OWI’s job in Morocco was to beam propaganda by radio to Spain to help keep Franco from entering the war on the side of Hitler. In his spare time, Southworth took a ferry to Gibraltar to expand his Nationalist pamphlet collection, mostly at two pesetas apiece. The Southworths left Morocco for France in 1956.

In 1971 Southworth was still working, mostly in his own library, on his doctorate for Pierre Vilar at the Sorbonne. Southworth’s thesis would be published in three languages simultaneously; including Guernica! Guernica! A Study of Journalism, Diplomacy, Propaganda, and History (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977). Southworth exposed Franco’s propaganda machine, which until late 1975, when Franco died, claimed that Guernica had been burned in April 1937 by retreating Anarchists. In fact the Basque town was bombed by the Luftwaffe.

In 1971 I stayed in the chateau for four or five days discussing the ins and outs of the Spanish Civil War. I did not think at that point that Southworth had much of a thesis. It was obvious from the German documents that the Luftwaffe had bombed the Basque village. However, Southworth’s 1977 book convinced me that the Guernica story was more complicated than I had earlier thought. Apparently the Legion Condor and a few Italian aviation units did the bombing on the orders of General Emilio Mola. Franco may have privately agreed with the Basques that it was an atrocity and ordered the Axis expeditionary units to limit their future bombing mainly to sea ports on the Catalan coast. Publicly, however, Franco maintained the lie about anarchists to the end of his days.

Stanley Payne had a low opinion of Southworth, and Southworth had a low opinion of Burnett Bolloten, a man of his own generation who wrote on the Soviet role in Spain. Some scholars were still trying to fight the war in books. My position, following A.J.P. Taylor and Howard Ehrmann on World War I, was that on all sides some individuals, politicians, military heroes, businessmen and propagandists are guilty of lying, murder and embezzlement. George Orwell warned against “group think.”

I was able to meet Southworth again four times, two of which were at 1971 and 1976 “fortieth anniversary” conferences. These were organized by Gabriel Jackson at the University of California, San Diego, already housing much of Southworth’s wartime collection. The conferences in La Jolla were held for the founding of the Republic (1931) and the outbreak of the civil war (1936). Both Southworths visited Athens, Ohio on a trip to the States. The fourth time I saw Southworth was in the summer of 1978, when my family and I visited him and Mme. Southworth at their castle near Poitiers.
Another acquaintance began with my review of Angel Viñas Martín’s book, *El oro español en la guerra civil*, in the *American Historical Review* 82, No. 4 (October 1977): 990-91. Angel Viñas was born in 1941 after the civil war to a working class family. Although his father had been a Socialist supporter of the Republic, Viñas was a brilliant student of economics, history and languages for Franco’s government. He became an economic attaché in the 1960s stationed in Bonn and Washington. There he discovered Western liberal democracy and realized that the Franco regime was held in low regard in democratic countries. Using the German Foreign Ministry records in Bonn he found a new image of Hitler. He published a book on the run-up to Hitler’s intervention, *La Alemania Nazi y el 18 de julio: Antecedentes de la intervención alemana en la guerra civil d’espera* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1974).

For his book on gold (*oro*), Viñas, as a bureaucratic insider, was able to gain access to Bank of Spain records. The Madrid Government controlled the Bank of Spain’s assets, which included large reserves of gold. In September 1936 the Liberal-Socialist Republic sent its gold reserves to Moscow, ostensibly for safekeeping. From then on, the issue of Spain’s gold was a major propaganda victory for the Nationalist side, as Franco would argue that the Popular Front government was little more than a front for Moscow. Actually, the gold financed the recruitment of the International Brigades and other military aid, mostly through France, as well as Soviet tanks and aircraft. Viñas showed that Francisco Largo Caballero and Juan Negrín were not “communist dupes.” They took a big gamble but lost. If the Spanish Socialist government of September had not sent the gold to Moscow, the Nationalists would probably have won the war in November 1936 rather than on 1 April 1939. I gave Viñas a good review in 1977 and have endorsed all of his other works. When I returned to Spain in 1977-1978, we became good friends. He has come to scholarly conferences in the US and Britain and knows Paul Preston well. His relations with Stanley Payne are diplomatically correct but neither Viñas nor I would call ourselves conservative.

In 1977-1978, I had a sabbatical (financed by the Fulbright Foundation) to do more research in Spain, returning to Madrid for a full academic year. The major mission was research in the Chief of State’s (Franco’s) operational records. In the Spanish military archives, one had to search through hundreds of folders to find small clues about Hitler’s role in the war. Because of the existence of London’s Non-Intervention Committee, Hitler, Franco, Admiral Canaris, and Field Marshall Hermann Göring all had an interest in NOT mentioning German operations in Spain. Manfred Merkes, who had published a book similar to mine in Germany early in the 1960s, had concentrated on the military side, employing the few Legion Condor records that survived.

If one searched long enough, evidence could be found in Spain that Franco did give orders to the Legion and received information from them. But the contact, on the basis of these records, was not very close. Spanish historians who have worked in Spain since 1975-77 after the restoration of democracy, hint to would-be researchers that a secret archive of Franco’s personal papers may possibly show up some day. What I saw were mostly telegrams to the Operations Sections, to Generals Yagüe, Vigón, Aranda, etc. The records that were most important for me were from Section IV, on Supply, important for economic history. These are the kinds of records ignored by most military historians who are trying to identify military heroes or fools in the Operations Sections.

My work on the Spanish Civil War had shown me the importance both of American and British oil supplies essential for Franco’s victory and also Soviet oil for fueling the Republic’s armed forces. As my Hitler book was largely complete, although not published until 1989, I planned to work on a second book, “Spain’s Oil Diplomacy 1927 to 1941.” As it turned out, this book was much harder to finish than I had anticipated, although I did publish two chapters as articles, the first in *Cuadernos Económicos de ICE,*...

Along these lines, I also wrote a very well-documented essay, “Economic Influence of the Great Powers in the Spanish Civil War: From the Popular Front to the Second World War,” *The International History Review*, Vol. 2 (May 1983): 229-254. It has received almost no attention because of the great divide in academia between the disciplines of economics and history. Another problem has been the fact that German historians in the United States cared little about Spain, while Spanish historians in the States did not pay much attention to Germany. An exception was Michael Barrett, a young military historian at The Citadel who was building his own career on Nazi Germany. My article “Nazi Economic Imperialism: Spain 1936-1939,” *Proceedings of the Citadel Symposium on Hitler and the National Socialist Era*, 24-25 April 1980, edited by Michael Barrett (Charleston, S.C.: The Citadel Foundation, 1982), was published because Barrett invited me to give a paper at his 1980 event.

In the 1980s I became involved in writing encyclopedia articles. I met James Cortada at a SSPHS meeting. Cortada was raised in Barcelona where his father worked for the State Department as Consul General in the 1940s-1950s. Cortada Senior was a Mexican-American, and James knew Spanish fluently. He obtained a Ph.D. at Florida State University by doing a unique thesis, on Spain’s relations with the United States during the *American* Civil War. Although he made his career in the IBM Corporation starting in 1974, Cortada’s real passion and hobby were reading and writing about the Spanish Civil War. I contributed to his reference book, *The Historical Dictionary of the Spanish Civil War* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1982).

Cortada enlisted major American scholars in the field such as Payne and Malefakis to do some major articles. As it turned out, Cortada did most of the articles himself. I had the opportunity to do two long articles, on “Francisco Franco” and “Trade, International” for the Dictionary. I also did nine short articles, including the Bank of Spain, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, CEPSA (an refinery in the Canary Islands) and a biography of the conglomerate corporate chieftain and owner, Juan March.

Another reference article was solicited by Robert Kern at the University of New Mexico, whom I had met off and on at SSPHS annual meetings. I wrote “Communist Party in Spain, partido comunista español,” for the *Historical Dictionary of Modern Spain: 1700-1988*, edited by Robert W. Kern and Meredith Dodge (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1990). It was Burnett Bolleton who had done the article for Cortada on the Spanish Communist Party. Although Bolleton published three well-footnoted books on this theme, there is some truth to Southworth’s claim that Bolleton had an ax to grind because he had participated in the “last great cause” as a journalist. Bolleton started out on the left as an Englishman with strong anarchist sympathies. All three of his books expand on his one great theme, “Stalin betrayed the Spanish revolution and the anti-fascist cause.” So my article in the Kern Dictionary is more detached and objective. In the Kern Dictionary, my “Franco” article written for Cortada in 1982 was replaced by Stanley Payne’s contribution on the Chief of State. By comparing these four articles, a new generation of Spanish historians can grasp why the Spanish Civil War remained a hot topic until 1991 when the USSR disintegrated.

By this time I had published *Hitler and Spain* (1989), but I had a new opportunity to explore Stalin’s role in the Spanish Civil War and further question American “cold war” historians. After Yale University procured newly released Soviet archives, I reviewed on the worldwide web (www) an English language publication of a select 81 documents on Spain, 1936-1939. The citation is “Soviet Intervention in the Spanish Civil War: Review Article,” Review of Ronald Radosh, Mary R. Habeck, and Grigory Sevostianov, eds. *Spain Betrayed: The Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War*, Annals of Communism, <h-diplo@h-net.msu> (March, 2002). I basically ignored Ronald Radosh’s overly-long introduction and editorial notes and read the documents one by one, as if I were a detective. What I wanted to know was what Kliment Voroshilov, the Minister of Defense, said about war in Spain. There are no Stalin memos other than a few footnotes which read “seen by Stalin.” I compared the 81 Soviet translated documents with the 800 some odd translated GFM documents published in 1950. The overall impression is that Stalin was more confused about Spanish politics than were all the major leaders of the other four West European Great Powers. Russian governments only reluctantly had dealt with Spain as a Great Power since 1519.

Editor Ronald Radosh protested my review to Ronald Hilton of Stanford University and the Hoover Institution. This served to introduce me to that elderly historian active on the worldwide web. Hilton, an English conservative trained at Oxford, spent time in the Second Republic. He was a student in Spain in the early part of the Spanish Civil War. Hilton morally sympathized with conservative Spanish academics, but he remained aloof from the politics of civil war. He concentrated on the Spanish language and Latin American studies. In 1937, he went to Stanford University to run their Latin American program. I joined his World Affairs International Studies Institute on e-mail in 2002, long after Hilton had retired from teaching. Hilton was keeping up with Stanford alumni around the world who were engaged in international politics, business and studies in general. People in his group were working in the military, the State Department, the CIA, teaching and in private industry. Since Hilton’s death in 2007, the WAIS e-mail newsletter continues, now edited by one of his students, a professor of Latin American Studies at Adrian College in Michigan.

As for the new Soviet archives, a number of books are now out using these materials. My 1989 section on Hitler’s confrontation with Stalin and communism remains basically sound. Nevertheless that section should be expanded describing new details on a monthly basis, on Soviet politics toward the Republic, especially for 1937. The Soviet documents substantiate the ever flexible tilting of the balance of power that I had already learned from French historians.

My last half-year sabbatical was taken in the US in 1990-91. My original intention was to finish up my Spanish oil diplomacy book. But I got side-tracked by Joseph Goebbels whose diary had become generally available in the US in 1987. I spent two weeks at the Hoover Institution looking through the Goebbels Anti-Komintern Section. These files in the Spanish language, mostly newspaper clippings, showed how Goebbels had been taking Spanish language press and radio materials seriously since early 1936 before the outbreak of the civil war. Even more significantly, they showed how Goebbels kept a close eye on Mussolini’s Ministry of Popular Culture. In short, like the Comintern, he was an early ideological interventionist in Spanish affairs. This research led to another original article, “Nazi Propagandist Joseph Goebbels and the Spanish Civil War,” *The Historian* 61 (Winter 1999): 341-360. If I live long enough to do a second edition of my *Hitler and Spain*, I must expand my chapter on Hitler’s ideology using these materials.
In the meantime, I had one more opportunity to give a paper on the oil story, “German-Spanish Oil Problems, 1934-1941” (still unpublished), at Bristol in 1996, at the University of West England’s International Conference on the 60th Anniversary of the Outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Spain in an International Context, 1936-1939. I met Paul Preston there for the last time and got to know David Wingate Pike. This British historian living in France specializes in the still confusing story of the French relationship to Spain 1935 to 1940. The topic is controversial because of ideological and source problems. Pike has published a book in French on the French press during the civil war. He spent his teaching career in the American University of Paris and is now retired. I reviewed rather critically another book of his on the Soviet question, “In the Service of Stalin: The Spanish Communists in Exile 1939-1945,” *The Journal of Military History* 59 (Jan. 1995): 164-165. Pike is certainly a careful scholar, and he was too polite to debate the review with me.

The second new historian I met was Walther L. Bernecker who wrote in German another book that expanded on Manfred Merkes’ work of thirty-five years earlier. Merkes as a Catholic conservative had not yet purged himself from some patriotic nostalgia for the Third Reich. I had previously reviewed favorably Bernecker’s book “Krieg in Spanien,” *American Historical Review* (April 1993): 514-515. By 1996, he and I worried about the state of the economy in America and the EU and wondered whether Western Civilization had peaked. I might have told him about my concern for President Clinton’s blunders in the Balkans. Little did I realize that the situation in Iraq and Afghanistan would multiply those concerns ten-fold by now.

Finally, a few words about Stanley Payne, America’s most productive scholar on 20th-century Spain. My wife saw Payne before I did. She took notes on his 1961 paper at the AHA in Washington DC, where he presented a solo paper on Spanish Nationalism, 1900-60. Lois told me that Payne, then beginning his career at the University of Minnesota, was the “man to watch.” I recall that Stanley Payne, David Ringrose, and Robert Kern were at the first informal SSPHS meeting that I attended, which was held at an AHA Convention hotel (1968, New York?). We have met many times at AHA and SSPHS meetings as well as twice in Spain.

Stanley Payne has published more than twenty books, most of which I have read with profit, and three I have reviewed. Many American “technical sergeants,” including myself, have contributed a footnote here and there to his encyclopedic ambitions. His latest book is *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany and World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). It is a popular survey with occasional footnotes, summarizing sixty years of research on the topic, including (in the 60 pages of Part 1) some of the material in my book and books by Paul Preston, Angel Viñas and perhaps twenty-five others who have dealt with this passionate topic. Payne’s major theme is to explain the importance of Franco and Spanish nationalism and Hitler remains a secondary figure.

Payne is certainly correct in showing that Franco was not the third partner of a fascist trio, a notion popular with 1940s Anglo-American-French leftists. My basic difference with Payne about Franco is that I see Franco growing over time. Payne’s portrait of Franco is too static, that he was first and always a conservative who did not take fascism seriously. Payne is correct that Franco was always a patriot in his own eyes and only allied himself to Mussolini and Hitler when it served his purposes. From a Spanish-history point of view, the Wisconsin historian knows much more about the Nationalist Zone and the Republic before 1935 than I do. I believe I put more stock in what original, once secret, primary documents say than he does. My political views are more to the left than the conservative Wisconsin historian’s, in both Spanish and American politics: I ran for Congress in 1972 as a supporter of George McGovern. In considering Spain’s foreign policy, we agree that since 1898 Spain has
wanted to maintain its independence from the Great Powers, but we disagree on just how much independence a weak Spain has been able to maintain. The importance of the five-power intervention in the Spanish Civil War is my number-one difference from Stanley Payne’s emphasis on the internal, “domestic” Spanish Civil War won by Franco. Payne has tended to underline Spanish nationalism and Spanish conservatism and its radical right in isolation from European politics, ideology, economic and military ambitions. Only late in life, in Franco and Hitler, has Payne integrated National Spain into the greater World War II, while I have long seen Hitler and Mussolini tied together in Spain as the first European battle of that global war.

Exhibit: Ivories of Ceylon: Luxury Goods in the Renaissance

“This is the story of heroes who, leaving Portugal behind them opened a way to Ceylon, and further, across seas no man had ever sailed before.”

Luis de Camões, Os Lusiadas

The purpose of this exhibition is to highlight a select group of Sinhalese ivories created in the 16th century exclusively for the Portuguese court as diplomatic gifts. These exotic objects bridge Asia and Europe in a unique way, illustrating the high quality of Sinhalese craftsmanship at this date. Equally, they symbolize Luso-Sinhalese relations at the height of the Portuguese maritime empire, and underscore the special nature of Portugal’s cultural and political ties with this island of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). As exotic showcase pieces, these ivories represent the extent and power of the Lisbon court, and qualify as some of the most important kunstkammer pieces ever collected by the Portuguese and other European rulers in the Renaissance. Many are now scattered in museums in Europe and the USA; some have never been exhibited.

In the last few years, several larger (blockbuster) exhibitions have been dedicated to the exotica and Asiatica collections of Portuguese and Habsburg rulers, the principal collectors of these pieces, where Sinhalese ivories only formed a minor part in these shows. Until presently, no monographic catalogue has been published on these remarkable works. In the context of Sinhalese art, few attempts have been made to study these pieces in terms of style, iconography, and chronology.

The imperial ivories, caskets, fans, and writing desks of the mid-16th century provide a platform where Asia meets Europe, where images and iconography meld, providing a cross-cultural bridge between east and west. These Sinhalese ivories contrast with those manufactured for European consumers later in the century, which reflect the impact of Portuguese missionaries and Christian art, and were private commissions reliant upon European engravings and drawings. Export furniture brought by the Portuguese to Ceylon throughout the 16th century determined the exterior shape, form, and design of these ivory caskets.

The primary aim of this exhibition is to present to the public a core group of imperial ivories (caskets, combs and fans), and compare these with later 16th and 17th century Sinhalese examples (writing desks, caskets, mortars, powder horns and an oratory/shrine), along with rare examples of Sinhalese rock crystal, hardstones and jewelry. These objects will be placed in an historical context, and their importance in the history of collecting and consumption in Renaissance Europe begs for a re-evaluation.

The opening of trade routes along the west African coast from the mid-15th century allowed Portuguese traders, merchants, sailors, and explorers the advantage of buying ivory in bulk as a trade commodity, and also the opportunity to admire carved ivories from local craftsmen in various regions. This fascination resulted in the commissioning of a group of exotic and decorative objects for European collections.
- today designated as Afro-Portuguese ivories - in the form of salt-cellars, hunting horns, pyxides, spoons, and forks. As works of art, these ivories represent the curious melding of African and European imagery, style, and iconography in the early 16th century.

For several decades, these magnificent showcase pieces became prized possessions of the Portuguese court, displayed as rare and opulent symbols of Portuguese power overseas, often given away as diplomatic gifts to other European rulers and princes. As Portuguese hegemony spread farther east in Asia after 1498, the importance and availability of Afro-Portuguese ivories greatly diminished, as did their significance for the Lisbon court. By the time King Manuel I died in 1521, Afro-Portuguese ivories were less in demand by royal collectors.

Ivories, however, continued to play a relevant role in the history of collecting in Renaissance Portugal, as Asian ivories superseded African ivories. In 1506, the island of Ceylon (Singhala Dripa, or the “Island of the Lions”) was discovered by the Portuguese during their greatest period of maritime expansion, and an initial commercial alliance was signed with the King of Kotte, located in the southern part of the island and its capital until 1565. Ceylon provided the Portuguese with elephants, aromatic and exotic woods, spices, rock crystal, jewelry, and precious stones, which became a royal monopoly.

From the 15th century, the kings of the island of Kotte and their successors held the position of Great King or Emperor. After the reign of Vijaya Bahu (1509-1521), Ceylon was divided up amongst his sons into several smaller kingdoms (Kotte, Sitawaka, Kandy and Jaffna), all of which claimed supremacy over the island. The Portuguese were subsequently entangled in these dynastic intrigues and tensions, later opting to support princes who converted to Christianity.

By 1518, Ceylon was established as a principal stop on the Portuguese trade route to East Asia. By the mid-16th century commercial ties between the then nominal Buddhist Emperor of Ceylon, the King of Kotte, Bhuvaneka Bahu (1521-1551) and the Portuguese crown had somewhat stabilized, and in 1541 a Sinhalese embassy traveled to Lisbon, to reconfirm commercial and political ties and alliances. The ambassador, Sri Radaraksa Pandita, visited the Portuguese king, João III, on behalf of his emperor, Bhuvaneka Bahu, who was anxious to secure his throne and dynasty João III as mediator in local Ceylonese politics, was asked to crown, in accordance with Portuguese and Sinhalese ceremonial, a small effigy of the emperor’s grandson and heir, Dharma-pala Asthana. For this mission, a golden statuette of the prince was brought to Lisbon in an ivory shrine (temple), along with a gold crown studded with gems.

The alliance that evolved as a result of this visit, allowed Bhuvaneka Bahu to strengthen his position with military aid supplied by the Portuguese, who, in turn, gained greater control of the island. With the encouragement of the King of Kotte, Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries were allowed to preach in the island.

More importantly, diplomatic ties were solidified with the Lisbon court, especially with João III’s queen, Catherine of Austria (1507-1578). A series of important Sinhalese ivories (caskets, combs and fans) were made expressly for the queen and sent as gifts, the first arriving with Sri Radaraksa Pandita in 1541. A splendid illuminated parchment recording Catherine’s collections survives in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, and documents for the first time the existence of Sinhalese ivories in a European kunstkammer.

Well until the late 1550s, Catherine received Sinhalese ivories, which she later gave away as gifts to her Portuguese and Habsburg relatives at other European courts, thus explaining how these rare, exclusive ivories entered other royal collections.

Catherine’s relationship with the island of Ceylon was complex and one that has been overlooked in the scholarship. For instance, each year the King of Jaffna presented her with ten elephants as tribute. Some of these pachyderms were in turn
offered to relatives as state gifts, like the renowned 1552 elephant, nicknamed Suleymann, given to her nephew, Emperor Maximilian II: the first elephant ever seen in Austria and immortalized by Giuseppe Arcimboldo in his allegorical paintings. One section of the exhibition and catalogue will be devoted to the queen’s menagerie and stable of Asian elephants imported from Kerala and Jaffnapatam.

Catherine’s interest in the gems and jewelry manufactured in Ceylon (“feito ao modo de Ceilão”) was insatiable. She even sent her court jeweler to Goa: Diogo Vaz undertook frequent shopping trips to Ceylon in order to acquire unique pieces for her. On one trip in 1551, Vaz bought for the queen 1000 rubies, 500 emeralds and a large piece of rock crystal. Catherine even mobilized Ceylonese kings to make further acquisitions and presents on her behalf: in 1551 she received a large gold bangle with nine gold roses encrusted with precious stones and pearls, and a gold necklace with large sapphires and rubies as gifts from Dharmapala Asthana, both of which were subsequently recorded in the queen’s unpublished 1551 inventory. Catherine’s close relationship with Ceylon created a unique opportunity for cultural exchange between the two countries. One can only speculate upon the nature, manufacture and type of state gifts the queen sent her Sinhalese allies in return.

The Habsburgs in the Renaissance are generally regarded as the greatest collectors of their time. Men and women of the family were true connoisseurs with distinctive tastes: their acquisitions of high-quality paintings and court portraits by leading painters, Flemish tapestries, extraordinary plate, and rich jewels formed the core of royal collections from 1500 to 1600.

By the mid-16th century, Habsburg collectors had also become cognoscenti of exotica, curiosities, and luxury wares from Africa, Asia, and the Americas, avidly purchasing such goods for sale in the markets of Lisbon, Seville, and Goa. The Habsburg passion for exotica knew no bounds and a great deal of money, time, and energy was invested in the acquisition of bizarre and strange objects. Exotic objects were understood by Habsburg collectors as visual symbols of their hegemony over their world empires, and no other 16th-century collection exemplified this more than the famous Kunstkammer of Rudolf II of Prague.

The Habsburg family network, which linked Lisbon and Madrid with Imperial courts in Brussels and Vienna, was close throughout the sixteenth century. Family relations were fostered over time and great distances through extensive correspondence, diplomatic ties, and most importantly the exchange of exclusive, rare, and costly gifts. Catherine of Austria’s advantageous position as Queen of Portugal and an overseas empire, facilitated the presentation of imperial Sinhalese ivories and other objects from Ceylon as gifts to members of her extended family.

This exhibition is the first ever dedicated to this fascinating subject. The Imperial ivories are art works of the highest quality created for kings, and only royalty was able to acquire these magnificent objects for their collections. Catherine of Austria, as Queen of Portugal, was primarily responsible for their dispersal across Europe as gifts for her relatives. Later Sinhalese ivories, some less skillful in execution, and reliant upon a variety of Western motifs and Christian narrative scenes, were marketed for Europeans. Our objective is for the accompanying catalogue to become a standard work in English/Portuguese on these objects, with comprehensive short essays presenting the latest evidence and updated bibliography, supplemented with unpublished and published documents and royal inventories, charting the history and provenance of these works in the Renaissance.
BOOK REVIEWS

This volume gathers together thirteen pieces by Donald J. Kagay published between 1988 and 2004 into three thematic sections: war and war-making, political relations, and political structures in the Crown of Aragon during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The primary focus of this collection is the struggle between monarchy and aristocracy, particularly seen through the prism of law.

The initial topic is article 64 of the Usatges of Barcelona, called princeps namque, which obligates subjects to aid their prince whenever he is threatened by his enemies. Kagay conceives this as a national defense clause and equates protection of the prince with homeland defense. He shows how monarchs from James I to Peter III invoked the clause to compel military service and how subjects and the Corts sought to narrow and limit their obligation. Interestingly Kagay argues that princeps namque ultimately provided a legal basis for Catalonia’s resistance to the Count-Duke of Olivares’ efforts in the seventeenth century to compel such military service.

The next article describes the logistics of warfare during the activist reign of James I. Kagay outlines in broad detail how the king summoned the host, cobbled together revenues from multifarious sources, and provisioned the army with food and matériel. Earlier ad hoc procedures became systematized as the reign progressed, although Kagay finds that improvements in organization were offset by a growing war fatigue that led barons, the Corts, and even the military orders to resist the Conqueror’s ambitions. A companion piece then demonstrates how Peter III in the next century prepared his fortified defenses in 1356 against Peter I of Castile.

The section dealing with political relations begins with a brief but disjointed attempt to theorize about opposition to monarchs – both Christian and Muslim – during a 500-year swath of Iberian history. More specific is the fifth essay, which highlights the significance of James I’s reign in the codification of royal power. Here Kagay uses the works of Pere Albert, a clerical judge trained in Roman law, to explicate the king’s claims to war powers while conceding to the aristocracy their traditional jurisdiction in less threatening times. In the ninth essay, Kagay adds some biographical material on Pere Albert along with an appendix of Latin documents recording several of his judicial rulings. The sixth piece provides a specific illustration of the power struggle between kings and barons, focusing upon a law suit brought by James II at the Cortes of Zaragoza in 1301. Kagay sees much irony in James’ ability to use the instrument of aristocratic opposition – the Union of Aragon and its laws – to gain a verdict against his baronial opponents as well as the aristocracy’s own recourse to legal principles based upon the Roman law they so greatly distrusted. The theme of baronial resistance continues in the next article, which establishes a typology for aristocratic resistance during the reign of James I. Here Kagay continues his earlier discussion of the conflict between regalist and feudal images of kingship and adds some observations about the different tactics used by Catalan and Aragonese nobles. The eighth article further illustrates the king’s recourse to legal procedures by citing the case of Bernat de Cabrera, a Catalan noble and advisor to Peter III who was executed for treason in 1364. Despite fabricating much of the evidence against his one-time counselor, the king nonetheless had to observe the rituals of judicial procedure. Another sign of the institutionalization of law and legal procedure is the judicial inquest, addressed in the tenth article, that replaced “God-proofs” with oral and documentary testimony. Yet, as with so much in the Crown of Aragon, its implementation was challenged by particularist interests and confounded by overlapping clerical and secular jurisdictions. Nonetheless, it became for the king a means with which to assert his authority and protect his interests. A use of the inquest in 1396 is then examined. This grew out of the arrest of Bernat Metge, an official of the recently deceased King John, who was charged with malfeasance by King Martin I and his queen. Among other things, the
incident demonstrates, according to Kagay, the growing gulf between the aristocratic
culture of court and the bourgeois values of urban elites who were expected to foot
the king’s bills.

The penultimate piece is a reflection upon James I’s Llibre dels Feys as a work
of historical memory that blends together chivalric traditions, regalist ideology and
written documentation. Kagay sees the military narratives as the most reliable. The
final essay addresses how Muslims are depicted in this work as well as in the legisla-
tion of James I, revealing a many-layered and complex relationship between Muslims
and their Christian conquerors.

Subtle Subversions continúa la conversación de las últimas décadas sobre las
escritoras del Siglo de Oro español. La obra de Gwyn Fox cuenta con una introducción,
seis capítulos, conclusión, una excelente bibliografía y el índice.

Por la introducción, “Revisiting the Baroque,” sabemos que será un estudio
sociohistórico sobre la vida de las poetas a través del análisis de su producción artís-
tica. Para justificar el método a seguir, Fox se apoya en las ideas de Gerda Lerner en
The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy (1993)
respecto a una forma nueva de leer obras de mujeres que descubre “powerful but hid-
den and slanted worldviews, expressed through a language of metaphor and symbol
that is often subversive of the male tradition” (12). Entonces, asevera Fox, el soneto
les permitía demostrar su capacidad intelectual, por ser una forma poética elevada,
y críticar sutilmente el patriarcado operante. Las poetas son las españolas Catalina
Clara Ramírez de Guzmán; Leonor de la Cueva y Silva; sor María de Santa Isabel,
quien escribió bajo el seudónimo Marcia Belisarda; doña Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza;
y la portuguesa, sor Violante del Cielo. Ofrece algunos datos biográficos, información
sobre los manuscritos y estudios realizados. Seguidamente, da una somera explicación
sobre el soneto y su importancia en la época, finalizando con un excelente resumen de
la idea principal de cada uno de los seis capítulos.

El capítulo 1 titulado “Politics, Patronage, Parentage” es de gran importancia
por ser las poetas cortesanas. En “Wooing the Patron” Fox, haciendo uso de una gran
erudición sobre el pensamiento intelectual y el ambiente social de la época, dilucida
la importancia del patronazgo para estas mujeres. En “Political Patronage” contempla
sonetos de Sor Juana, Ana Caro, Antonia de Nevares y Leonor de la Cueva escritos
para miembros de la nobleza, mientras que sor Violante establece un paralelo entre la
corte terrenal y la de los cielos (52). En “Romancing Royalty” y “Patronage and the
Family” analiza versos escritos para eventos en la corte como funerales, nacimientos,
etc. y para aquellos con influencia en el destino de sus familias.

Con los sonetos del capítulo 2, “Marriage, Motherhood, Patriarchy,” Fox re-
flexiona sobre la importancia de la familia en la sociedad española de la época. “The
Yoke of Marriage” resume ideas de moralistas como Luis Vives y Fray Luis de León
respecto a la educación de la mujer y presenta el matrimonio como vehículo para
mantener el estatus social y como unión con Cristo. Anota la crítica que las poetas
ni se casaron ni se expresaron al respecto; excepto Ramírez que escribió un romance
sobre el matrimonio de su hermana (81). En “The Paterfamilias” y “Women’s View of
Motherhood,” sor Violante humaniza a San José y la Virgen y los presenta como los
ideales del padre y la madre: San José es un padre feminizado y la Virgen una mujer
en control (99).

Continuando con la humanización de la Virgen, en el capítulo 3, “Children
and Siblings,” Fox contempla la relación tierna entre madre e hijo expresada en sonetos
dedicados a los misterios de la Virgen. En “Children” y “Love among Siblings,” se
analizan ideas contemporáneas sobre la importancia de una relación afectiva entre
padres e hijos y hermanos, y su expresión en los sonetos (114).
En el capítulo 4, “Femenine Friendship,” se consideran sonetos “that celebrate female solidarity and friendship” (17). “Burlesque” presenta poemas juguetones escritos para amigos y amigas, al igual que uno de Marcia Belisarda donde se burla de su propia capacidad como poeta (155). Los poemas en “Sonnets of ‘Other Selves’” y “Friendship and Death” describen mujeres capaces de una amistad sólida y sincera, desbancando ideas de la época sobre la inconstancia de las mujeres.

Las mujeres se apropien de una producción típicamente masculina para combatir ideas misóginas de la época en el capítulo 5, “Women’s Love Sonnets.” En “Women and Petrarchism” las poetas subvierten las reglas del amor cortés, presentan una voz femenina que desidealiza el amor y un amante sin género específico (206); idea que es necesario explorar un poco más, a mi manera de ver. Para Fox, en “Love and Self-Knowledge” y “Heroic Constancy” las poetas presentan mujeres con apetitos, capacidad de razonar, aprender de la experiencia (227), fuertes, leales y con valores morales, como la constancia (237).

El último capítulo es reservado para “Luisa de Carvajal” y sus sonetos místico-eróticos. En ellos la crítica observa un énfasis en la participación del cuerpo en la placentera unión del alma con Cristo (253), que se manifiesta en el deseo de alianza en el sacramento de la comunión (256), el martirio y el uso de los métodos de meditación de los jesuítas (257).

En la conclusión Fox reitera las ideas que ha venido presentando sobre la vida intelectual y afectiva de las mujeres en el siglo XVII español. Son, entonces, mujeres que usaban cualquier oportunidad para afirmar su capacidad de pensamiento abstracto y de raciocinio, de expresar sus sentimientos genuinamente (a sus padres, hermanos y amigos) y establecerse como miembros importantes de su comunidad y sus familias (286). La Virgen es para sor Violante una figura humana y fuerte (289), posible de emular como mujer y madre (287). Observa Fox acertadamente que aunque las poetas criticaban un sistema que permitía a los hombres libertad de movimiento (286), ellas vivían dentro de él y lo manipulaban a su conveniencia para obtener más independencia y poder (288).

Gwyn Fox ofrece en *Subtle Subversions* un agudo análisis de los sonetos haciendo uso de su amplio conocimiento sobre el mundo social e intelectual del siglo XVII para presentar una innovadora lectura que, sin lugar a dudas, estimulará el estudio de la producción de estas poetas. Las traducciones son magistrales, aunque, debo anotar, no estoy de acuerdo con algunas de ellas. Será una obra de consulta muy valiosa para los estudiosos de la literatura y la historia de Barroco español.


As cultural studies have expanded the types of works considered credible objects of scholarly attention, a number of fields of cultural production initially dismissed by scholars have received renewed attention. Elena del Río Parra’s book, *Cartografías de la conciencia española en la Edad de Oro*, is an excellent example of what can be achieved with such an approach. Casuistry, the study of concrete cases in moral theology in order for clergy to better advise the laity, became polemicized in the early modern period by accusations of moral leniency by Protestants toward Catholics and even within the Catholic community as casuistry became closely associated with the Society of Jesus. In the eighteenth century, when the order was suppressed, the study of cases was derided. Río Parra asserts that the body of early modern casuistical literature can be used as a mode to better understand the issues that were of the greatest concern to residents of early modern Spain (13).
In relating the content of large compendia of cases written for clerics in Latin and smaller compilations in Spanish, Río Parra’s research calls into question several facile assumptions about this field of moral theology. For example, in contrast to the popular image of a Protestant stance against casuistry, Cartografías indicates that Protestant writers, such as Hugo Grotius, produced their own compilations of cases (62-64). Rather than aspire to the encyclopedic situations that characterize Catholic collections of cases, Protestant texts seek to apply general principles and place more weight on the individual’s decision within the limits allowed by predestination. Regarding the primacy of the Jesuits as casuists, Río Parra’s notations of the religious orders to which authors of casuistical texts belong in her list of works cited demonstrate that the study of cases was not the exclusive domain of the Jesuits. This information will provide a helpful starting point to facilitate further research about the role of casuistry within particular religious communities.

In Catholic treatises on cases, issues surrounding the proper administration of the sacraments form a significant locus of concern. So detailed were these considerations that several casebooks specify the reactions clerics should have to various types of insects falling into consecrated bread and wine. In this transubstantiative context, words and their potential power, whether for religious purposes in exorcism rituals or for blasphemous ones in curses and in prayers deemed heretical, also receive considerable attention. Given the fundamental importance accorded to the sacraments, it is not surprising that criteria for excluding candidates from the priesthood are discussed in minute detail, including issues such as the degree to which specific physical challenges should prevent men from entering the clergy. Yet, the cases at times surprise in the degree of agency they can grant to the laity. For example, a number of guides emphasize the need for laypeople to know how to baptize in case circumstances necessitated that they do so in an emergency (79).

As works written for clerics to apply in pastoral settings, these texts consider a wide variety of issues, from whether a very poor individual may work on a feast day, and Friar Juan Enríquez believes one may (183), to the circumstances in which a person may licitly leave a marriage (163). The manuals also consider situations brought about by early modern historical circumstances, including the possible treatment of a person forced to abjure his or her religion after being held for ransom. As Río Parra indicates, peninsular casuistical texts often did not include cases that responded to the situations most relevant to clerics in the Americas, so these matters were taken up in synods or councils in the colonial dioceses. Such a precisely organized system of moral reasoning inevitably created a category of what Río Parra terms “officially marginalized” or excommunicated people and unorthodox ideas (222). Even in excommunication, however, Catholic officials took a similarly detailed approach and carefully allocated the circumstances in which excommunication should fall to a bishop or the pope.

After a thorough outline of the types of matters considered in these casuistical works, Río Parra turns to their impact in other fields of cultural production. In examining Tirso de Molina’s El burlador de Sevilla, Río Parra notes the absence of any casuistical guilt on the part of Don Juan and asserts that Tenorio is the first representation of a “soulless atheist” in Spanish theater (263). Moreover, lest one believe that this case-based approach to culpability only affects theology, Río Parra very effectively traces casuistry’s impact on secular legal discourse. Not only did Philip II incorporate the decrees of the Council of Trent into Spain’s legal code (45), but also, as Río Parra asserts, the use of the phrase “Acts of God” in contemporary legal discourse ultimately has casuistical roots (272-74).
Fabio López-Lázaro has used the archives of the Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte to reveal the workings of government justice at the local level in Madrid. His is an impressive piece of research. He has brought good preparation to the task, a knowledge of various kinds of law, Roman, canon, Spanish, European, and Anglo-American. He has analyzed some 3000 court cases drawn from six different years in the reigns of Carlos III and Carlos IV. His approach is both statistical and anecdotal, making excellent use of individual cases, well told to appeal to the reader, to illustrate his findings.

The Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte was a unit of the Council of Castile established to keep order in Madrid and its territory and to administer justice. López-Lázaro contrasts its procedures and its duties to present day equivalents, including those in the U.S. For one thing, its duties including policing the capital. The twelve alcaldes or judges were individually responsible for separate barrios of Madrid, assigned to lead nightly patrols (rondas) and report any crimes or disturbances, a task they had largely sloughed off to their deputies, the alguaciles. Then as a court they met together to hear cases they had uncovered, or more frequently ones that had been brought to them by others.

The kind of law applied by the court differs sharply from that of today, but, it may come as a surprise, was not inferior in rendering justice. The judges learned civil and canon law in the universities, rather than the statutes the kings had promulgated. Perhaps as a result their decisions responded less to any of these than to common law (ius commune) based on natural or divine law. Due process was their highest concern, not only in the sense of the close following of proper procedure, for which they were sticklers, but in seeking just solutions. Crime was thought of as a sin rather than as a violation of secular law, and judges were also guilty of sin if they made incorrect convictions. To protect themselves they took mass before entering court. The accused was held innocent until proven guilty, and there was habeas corpus. Torture was seldom applied and only in heinous capital cases. In the end, what the judges sought to achieve was justice and fairness rather than accord with written law and statutes, what I would understand as equity. One comes away from the many cases this study describes with a high respect for the Sala de Alcaldes as a purveyor of justice. López-Lázaro makes clear that the accepted picture of early modern Spanish justice has wrongly assumed it was all like that of the Inquisition.

In another contrast to present-day practice, the Sala de Alcaldes in the majority of its cases was acting as not an agent of the state but of individuals who resorted to it to legitimize private vengeance as a judicial verdict. The law did not distinguish sharply between civil and criminal justice. The punishment for tort was similar to that for crime. Murder was not a public crime but an offence against the individual and his or her family. Normally some person had to bring the charge of homicide against a suspect before the court would take up the case. Such too were cases of estupro (rape), a term which applied not only to acts of violence but to what we would call statutory rape and the breaking the promise of marriage after prenuptial sex. In rendering its decisions, the Sala was acting as an agent of family control as well as of social control. López-Lázaro sees a symbiosis of court and society, the court responding to the culture of Spanish society, and the public drawing moral lessons from the drama of the court, although here I find in his appeal to sociology and psychology an unnecessary attempt to dress up a solid and convincing study in fashionable social science clothing that lacks adequate supporting evidence.

What López-Lázaro brings out tellingly is the impartiality of the court in its treatment of the different social classes and the two genders. Servants successfully sued their masters as the masters did the servants; wives brought charges against their husbands for violence, and husbands against their wives for cruelty. In one famous case
the court gave the wife the satisfaction of convicting her husband (an hidalgo) to a house of correction for “not living with her as befitted their married state and misspending their wealth” (p. 268). He was to remain there at her will. She kept him confined over twenty years until he died. When a case was brought before it, the court could take the opportunity to bring charges against both parties, and even the witnesses. It behaved as a mediator as much as a judge and sought to achieve just solutions and maintain social control. In few of these decisions did the court apply written law.

This is a major study to add to the growing social history of early modern Spain. Two observations occur to me. The first is to ask if the application of justice in independent villas, in señoríos, or in small villages approached the fairness of that in Madrid. The Sala received appeals from local authorities in serious cases, and individual alcaldes were sent to the provinces as commissioned judges with authority over local magistrates to investigate serious crimes and uprisings. But what about local justice in run-of-the-mill cases? The author notes the rural priest Juan Antonio Posse’s observation that rural husbands treated their wives brutally with impunity (p. 284).

The other observation is that if the rendering of justice was in tune with the daily culture and enjoyed the respect of the public, this is evidence that at the street level people may have had little complaint with the working of royal government. It becomes easier to understand why the drive of the Liberals in 1812 and later to replace Old Regime institutions with constitutional ones found little enthusiasm among ordinary Spaniards.

In *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform*, Paquette has written a book that is a much needed contribution to the under-researched field of eighteenth-century Spain and her empire. Not only does his book reveal the world of enlightened ideas and governance strategies prevalent in the peninsula among the Bourbon ministers of Charles III and Charles IV, it is also a sound transatlantic study comparing and connecting that world to the intellectual and political universe of the governing ministers and colonial elites in Spanish America, highlighting the resulting approaches to governance, especially in the realm of political economy. Paquette has found that “regalism, political economy, and considerations stemming from international rivalry comprised the three chief components of the Caroline ideology of governance” (p.2). While geopolitical rivalry, principally with Britain, led to the “critical emulation of foreign institutions and legislation,” the use of regalist jurisprudence contributed to a refashioning of the monarchy which would have the ultimate aim of promoting public happiness, primarily through economic prosperity. The focus on political economy led to the transformation of “major ultramarine institutions” predominantly by local administrators, as well as to the government’s promotion of and collaboration with the economic societies and consulados of the colonial elite. Overall, Paquette demonstrates that Spanish America was “an integral, not parallel, part of Iberian History” in the eighteenth century (p.153), and that rather than occupying an intellectual backwater, policy makers during the reigns of Charles III and Charles IV were involved in networks of intellectual exchange, critically evaluating not only peninsular ideas but an array of foreign ideas as well.

Paquette organizes his book into four main chapters that follow a topical and somewhat geographical order. The result is an approach that is driven less by grand theories than by the reintegration of Iberian history into the framework of Atlantic and European history. And certainly, the extensive archival research upon which this book is based reflects this by its use of sources from three continents and two islands, such as official correspondence, minutes of government and civil society institutions, and the actual works of authors cited most often in these documents.
The first chapter is aptly titled “The Intellectual Impact of International Rivalry” as it focuses on the influx and evaluation of non-Spanish ideas among Caroline policy makers in Spain that resulted from the spirit of international competition. By the later eighteenth century, the successful practices of other imperial states (especially Britain, over France and Portugal) prompted Iberian ministers, such as Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes, openly to advocate their emulation, but not their direct imitation, by criticizing, adapting, and rejecting foreign ideas transmitted by original works and treatises, published translations, and the first-hand observation of foreign policies, practices, and institutions. The motivation behind emulation was not just a spirit of cosmopolitanism but also a larger feeling of patriotism, desiring the rescue, revitalization, and enlightenment of Spain and her empire. The second chapter looks at the larger role that the “very pliable” notion of felicidad pública played in formulating Bourbon policy in Spain, especially policy associated with regalism and its tendency to encroach upon Church jurisdiction with the overall goal to enlarge the function of the state. The Bourbon ideology of reform was based on three pillars: the conservation of the monarchy, the preservation of public tranquility, and the expansion of prosperity. The state’s primary responsibility to promote the general welfare of the public gave it license to intervene more in the economy and other spheres in order to achieve material plenty, which was required for public happiness, by promoting commerce and population growth. Paquette then discusses Caroline regalism, its historical roots in Iberia, its intellectual origins, and its attempt to centralize authority over the Church in Spain by arguing that state jurisdiction existed in all affairs not strictly spiritual after Bourbon ministers had first dramatically re-formulated the distinction between temporal and spiritual. The connection between public happiness and regalism here is that the former served as an important basis from which reformers in the later eighteenth century could expand regalian rights to cover Church land and other forms of wealth which, when appropriated by the state, could be sold or converted into more productive uses that would allow more people to benefit. The most notable example of this in practice was the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 and the subsequent sale and redistribution of their wealth.

The next chapter then moves on to show how these intellectual foundations and debates of metropolitan men were implemented in colonial governance and reform, particularly in the “imperial periphery” of Cuba, Louisiana, Florida, Chile, and the Río de la Plata, by “men-on-the-spot”—“enlightened administrators” who applied newfangled ideas to the formulation and implementation of policy” (p.95). Here too, colonial governors and intendants sought out ways to maximize the goals of population increase and commercial growth. Their ideas focused on free trade and the emulation of Britain’s policies in their Caribbean possessions. Yet these ideas tended to arise out of practical responses to the prevalent sale of contraband, the failure of crown-privileged companies, and even the brief British occupation of Havana in 1762, rather than any commitment to laissez-faire economics. Paquette’s study of the local officials’ correspondence with ministers in Madrid demonstrates that colonial governance was not a straightforward implementation of Madrid’s demands since local circumstances often made certain policy initiatives problematic or even inapplicable. The final chapter is an attempt to gauge the response of Creole land-owning and mercantile elites to Bourbon reforms by studying the records of economic societies and consulados—bodies which also depended on commerce, population, agriculture, and public happiness. Looking specifically at those of Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, and Havana from 1785 to 1810, Paquette finds that the intelligentsia they housed not only was nurtured by Madrid’s policies and initiatives but also could shape metropolitan policies, in the process solidifying their elite status. While earlier Caroline initiatives had used regalist precepts to break up corporate privilege in the colonies by restrict-
ing Creoles from holding office and tightening peninsular control over colonial trade, after the revolts of the 1780s, Bourbon reformers turned their direction towards placating and even collaborating with colonial elites. One initiative was to grant a small degree of authority to the Creole-run deliberative and administrative bodies known as consulados in the imperial periphery in order to break up the power held by those in New Spain and Peru. Along with the economic societies, the Crown depended on these institutions in the midst of war with France and later Britain to develop “technical methods and the dissemination of ‘useful’ knowledge which would, in turn stimulate improvements in agriculture, industry, and commerce” to bring greater prosperity and prevent the collapse of its trade regime (p.130). Patriotism, good government, and the “universal public good” were some of the justifications used for their proposed initiatives in commerce and public works as well as for their embrace of political economy and foreign practices as models of reform for Spanish America.

Overall, this book successfully demonstrates the “intellectual vibrancy” of both the Iberian Peninsula and the imperial periphery of Spanish America. It illuminates the kinds of enlightened ideas that political elites were exposed to from foreign sources as well as those that originated in Spain and her American colonies, proving the vitality of Enlightenment in both Spain and Spanish America. The manner in which these ideas were discussed, critiqued, and adapted demonstrates how the Enlightenment in both Spain and Spanish America “developed within and in support of the established order” (p.150). By focusing on the enlightened ideas themselves and the networks of intellectual exchange for policy makers, the book does not have to rely on the resulting reforms’ relative success or failure in order to demonstrate their significance. Even so, Paquette sheds light on why the reforms did not produce the intended results in the case studies he details. On top of the key contributions already noted here, Paquette makes a helpful distinction between enlightened absolutism and regalism. After distinguishing between the two in his introduction, he argues that Bourbon officials would identify their actions more with regalism because of the particular Iberian precedents they were clearly familiar with, which went back historically as far as the Visigothic period. As minor points of contention, one might argue that by the 1760s regalism was already successful in diminishing Rome’s influence and eliminating clerical autonomy so that it no longer had to focus on breaking “the bonds to Rome which shackled royal authority” (p.73) since royal authority had proceeded relatively unshackled in creating a royal, or Caroline, church staffed by a clergy hand-picked by Madrid to be spokesmen of the kind of enlightenment advocated in economic prosperity. Since the book’s coverage of church-state relations in Spain before the reign of Charles III draws from the distant medieval past rather than the key eighteenth-century dynamics between monarchical and ultramontane authority, the larger focus on Rome takes precedence here. Finally, while the distinction made between regalism and Jansenism in the second chapter is much appreciated for the purposes of this study, the fact that, among others, Muratori, Febronius, and Van Espen—men closely associated with Jansenism—were all contributors towards the intellectual origins of Caroline regalism suggests that the link between Caroline regalism and Spanish Jansenism is more than one of just overlapping features. As a deeper investigation of that link would promise to further reintegrate Spain into the framework of European history, Paquette has identified some important areas for further research.

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Theresa Ann Smith begins her book about female citizenship in Spain with a description of Goya’s Maja desnuda. This image was scandalous for what critics alleged was a licentious depiction of its central character, the nude woman, who stared out at the viewer with a bold and confident gaze. Goya’s maja is, like the historical women that we encounter in the pages of this book, alarming and public in her confrontation with male norms. However, Smith goes beyond Goya’s model and examines women who were even more forceful insofar as they made themselves objects of attention not through intermediaries but by their own words and actions. For despite a frequent appeal to a language of duties, their activism through tertulias, economic societies, and literary contexts demanded some kind of response. The Emerging Female Citizen thus depicts women who were active in Spanish cultural life and who were devoted to Enlightenment ideas in order to show how liberal ideology allowed them a space for activism even as it set up the confrontations that would result from an increasingly public and threatening discourse. Ultimately, the response that Smith describes is the one that we’ve come to expect despite the opening of a number of new opportunities for women’s advancement over the course of the eighteenth century, the universal discourse did not win out and instead female citizenship became predicated on exclusionary class and gender distinctions.

The first half of the book, entitled “Developing Ideologies of Citizenship,” emphasizes the multiple strains of Enlightenment thought and notes how shifting gender roles were not only shaped by but themselves shaped the new ideas circulating through society. By way of demonstration, we see how the first half of the nineteenth century saw fervent debate over the ideal role of women in society, culminating in a widespread assumption, on the part of intellectuals, that women had the same rational potential as men. While a new literature predicated on these claims saw women as logical participants in a reformed nation, the very works that made these claims also encouraged critics to begin vitriolic campaigns against widespread acceptance of these ideals. In the end, even “enlightened” reformers tended to come down on the side of a “separate but equal” solution to the woman question, with the result that at mid-century, privileged women could assert a right to be full members of the enlightened and active societies – both formal and informal – that promoted art, literature, and economic study, but their public participation was not welcome in the same venues as men’s contributions.

In the second half of the book, “Enacting Citizenship,” we learn how women in the last half of the eighteenth century took advantage of divisive ideologies in order to contribute fruitfully – if temporarily – to social transformation. Some, like Josefa Amar y Borbón, were angered by the sexism of royal policies regarding admission to the Economic Society and derided masculinist exclusion. They promised that women would demonstrate the strength of their ideas and the need for female action. However, now that women had been admitted to specifically female societies, this vow implied building on segregation, and indeed women claimed that the very exceptionalism of their status was the source of their strength. Privileged women insisted on feminine responsibility in order to assert their ability to run educational institutions and foundling homes for the less-privileged. However, this rhetoric also emphasized exceptionalism in another way, insofar as the non-universal discourse of rights and responsibilities continued to be predicated on class standing in addition to gender.

Smith’s work makes an important contribution to two historiographical debates. The first is the question of the degree to which Spain’s intellectual and political life was influenced by “enlightened” philosophies, including confrontations with universal ideals that opened up spaces for discussion of gender. Here, she concludes that Spain had an Enlightenment, but one in which reason and passion were not opposed, nor were faith and rationality. In the Spanish debates, women’s participation, as well
as men’s consideration of the “woman question” were proof of Spain’s enlightened status. Smith also engages with a second historiographical debate, one that still rages, over liberalism’s limitation of women to private concerns. Smith’s book moves past a political explanation for the exclusion of women from public debates, noting that separation began well before the French Revolution and that women’s activism helped construct discourses about women as much as it was constructed by them. Though liberalism may not have inevitably excluded Spanish women from full consideration, when proposed departures from a universal rational model offered particular advantages, women themselves seemed quite keen to emphasize the particular that was of personal use. This meant they capitulated on both gender and class, which leaves the reader wondering when, if ever, the outcome was truly in doubt. Given the ultimate importance of both class and gender in departing from the universal ideals, a bit more dialogue between the two historiographical questions might have served to illuminate the tensions and ultimate limitations of debates over rationality, universal capabilities, and human rights.

The subject of this work by the young Toronto scholar David Messenger is not uncharted territory, but the author has examined new archives in France, Spain, the UK and the US. The most important, by the nature of his work, are those in the Ministère des Affaires étrangères in Paris.

The book refers back to the Civil War and the Second World War before concentrating on the Liberation and the immediate post-war period. There are several points on which a reader may take issue. Messenger writes that in 1936 the French Prime Minister had “reluctantly refused” to send military aid to the Spanish Republic (p. 6). Blum did not in fact refuse it. After his return from London he reluctantly suspended it, but French matériel was indeed sent in the opening days, resulting in what I have called Blum’s triple failure. Messenger also refers to Soviet policy at that time as wanting to bring the Spanish communists to power (p. 106). Stalin’s policy for Spain has long been established: to stay out of the conflict as long as possible but to keep the Republic alive, lure Britain and France into conflict with Germany and Italy, and refine the practice of subverting republics in order to convert them into “people’s democracies.” The final result was the deep division in Republican ranks (p. 65). The essential division never altered: the communists against the rest. No one could trust them, least of all the anarchists. The Republicans carried their bitterness into exile, and in exile their cruellest experience is omitted from the book: the dispatch of 9,000 of them to Mauthausen, the most hideous of SS camps.

In its references to the Second World War, the book’s back-cover carries a jarring note: “The war had been fought against authoritarian fascism.” Those who fought fascism knew it as totalitarian, and Franco’s Spain fitted into the term, at least until 1943 when it began to evolve into mere authoritarianism. Messenger describes the war as a struggle against fascism and Nazism (p. 2) without reference to the Japanese version, and yet Spain was involved with Japan through the Philippines connection, especially when José del Castaño, Spain’s consul general, offered his craven homage to General Homma. Spanish aid to Germany is briefly mentioned (p. 28), along with the theory, not refuted in the book, that in 1940-41 Germany “planned to use Spain as the ‘gateway’ to ... Spain’s Atlantic islands” (p. 21). All that, without a single operational aircraft-carrier in the German fleet!

Messenger is right to speak of the “myth” of the Resistance in France (p. 30), but there was also the reality. On the one side, the communist response to June 1940, as published in the underground L’Humanité: “find a Wehrmacht soldier, offer him a beer.” No wonder that the PCF found it necessary at the Liberation to break into the Bibliothèque Nationale to destroy the evidence and place fake issues in place of the
authentic, in the hope of transforming the record of the PCF. As for de Gaulle, he is virtually dismissed as a “Resistance leader” (p. 2) and the Resistance itself presented as exclusively leftist (p. 32). There is no reference to the Free French or to de Gaulle’s Armée Secrète.

Serge Ravanel (p. 43) deserves longer treatment because of the situation that befell him. The liberation of France was unusual. It was achieved by two separate Allied forces, invading through Normandy and Provence, and their junction in Dijon left one third of France free to liberate itself and then to pronounce itself “the independent Republic of the Southwest,” a threat that required de Gaulle’s personal visit. The infamous Épuration that followed receives only a light touch (p. 84). There is no mention of Pierre Laval, the Vichy prime minister who found refuge in Barcelona until Franco, on this rarest of occasions, agreed to extradite him to face trial and death for treason. The attempt of the Spanish Republicans to invade Spain in October 1944 (p. 41) was indeed an abject failure, as the commander Antonio López Tovar knew in advance. Ángel Álvarez, who took part, and later became a French mayor, informs me that all the men knew it would fail but the Spanish communist leaders insisted that all Spain would rise in support. Tovar in fact decided on withdrawal before Carrillo, sent by Stalin, arrived on the spot to pass on the order. The two Spanish guerrillero generals, Riquelme and Luis Fernández, should not be given equal status. Riquelme was a respected Republican Army general; Fernández was an impostor. As for the actions of the communist guerrilleros in Spain, their plunder of Spanish homes evoked disgust even among communists.

More needed to be said about Pasionaria on her return to France (p. 107), with orders from Stalin to send every follower of Jesús Monzón on suicide missions to Spain. Also missing is her public address in Toulouse, understandably omitted in El Patriota del Sudoeste, in which she referred to all who had fought the Germans in France as traitors to the Party. Loyalty, she implied, meant fleeing, as she had done, to the safety of Moscow. As a result, many communists abandoned the Party.

As for Franco’s dictatorship, it was sui generis. It was never what the French journalist Marcel Bidoux called it: “the daughter of Italian fascism and German Nazism” (p. 34). It was not the daughter of anyone. It was never based on a foreign model. But there it was, and what was the world to do about it? It never stopped offending international opinion. The French consul Coiffard reported: “Franco’s amnesty was more rhetorical than real. After two to three weeks of relative freedom, most exiles [who] returned from France found themselves in prison” (p. 61). Messenger shows that French opinion and much of world opinion was furious at Franco’s execution of the Resistance hero Cristino García, but Franco remained defiant, and that defiance was shared by a considerable portion of the Spanish people who at that time saw the Caudillo as their national hero (p. 90).

The position of the Anglo-Americans was that Franco could not be removed without considerable difficulty (p. 140). Their overall preference for a conciliatory policy toward Franco was called realism, and it was shared by a sizeable portion of French opinion. This was opposed by an equal number who were dismayed and even alienated by this readiness to return to business as usual. At first it was the hard-line that prevailed, but it won little sympathy in Washington and London. As a result France was forced to go it alone, but it was a failure from the start. An embargo on Spain could succeed only if all suppliers, especially of oil, took part (p. 111). Trade issues began to dominate the discussion, including the importation of Spanish pyrites (p. 94), ironically so, since French dependence on Spanish pyrites had been recognized in 1936 as a matter of life and death for the French Third Republic. With businessmen in the southwest now anxious to resume trade (p. 134), pressure grew on the government, even from the left, to reopen the border.
Messenger shows how attitudes in France in the late 1940s slowly shifted from support of a hard-line policy to a readiness to accept reality. The Cold War had arrived, exacerbating the division in Republican ranks between the communists and the rest. François Mauriac spoke for many in France when he warned that France had to abandon its “personal policy” and sign with its Western allies “in a policy of realpolitik that tolerated the Franco regime not on its record, but because it represented anti-Communism in a country of strategic importance” (p. 101).

Messenger shows that the “Spanish question” was over by the end of 1946. In the UN, Poland tried and failed where France had already failed (p. 123). The more the Cold War developed, the safer Franco became. France became aware of the danger to its security from Spanish communists, and Messenger reveals that the order in May 1948 by the French Ministry of the Interior to move certain Spanish exiles away from the Southwest to the interior of France was actually a case of Franco-Spanish collusion (p. 135). In 1950 the PCE and the PSUC were forced into exile, while in the UN it was agreed that governments could reappoint ambassadors to Madrid. By the end of 1955, all countries in the Soviet bloc had broken off relations with the Spanish Republican government-in-exile, and only Israel, Mexico and Yugoslavia continued to regard the Republic as the legitimate government of Spain. Messenger concludes that France, by its lone stand, had strengthened Franco’s hand, and by its leftist slant paid the price of losing influence with the Anglo-Saxons (p. 137).

Messenger’s work wins its place: it provides some useful details, but attribution to a source is sometimes given where none is necessary, or, worse, given to a single source as if it were a singular and notable discovery (pp. 28, 31). The work is also marred by misspellings: Ravanel (p. 43), General Maurice Chevance-Bertin (p. 45), Ibarruri (p. 60), Indalecio Prieto (p. 73), José María Doussinague (p. 115)—all missing from the Index, along with Coiffard, Collet, Fernández—together with many missing accents in French and Spanish. Even the Acknowledgments heading comes out jumbled. Negrín was never President of the Spanish Republic (p. 55), but he, like Carrillo, however much despised—he is still alive in Malaga, but hiding from the world—still deserves a place in the Index.

The power struggle between left and right that played out in the Spanish Civil War reappeared in the wider Spanish-speaking world in the postwar period. Connections between Spain and, for instance, the Cuban revolution can be made not only through Che Guevara’s father, who was an avid supporter of the Spanish Republic, or New York Times reporter Herbert Matthews who covered both events, or even through various republican exiles who witnessed the political turmoil in Latin America, but even more directly through a lesser known figure, Alberto Bayo. Che Guevara considered Bayo his only influence in the thinking that eventually culminated in the book Guerilla Warfare, and he later wrote Bayo’s epitaph only weeks before his own death in Bolivia. Bayo’s most-recognized achievement is 150 Questions to a Guerrilla, perhaps the seminal work on the topic, which is included here as an appendix. Luis Díez, a Spanish journalist for El Periódico (Barcelona), has offered this second biography of Bayo. (The first was written by Bayo’s friend Manuel Moreal: Bayo, España, y Libertad in 1963 and was followed by two recent articles in Revista de Historia Naval and Revista Española de Historia Militar in 1997 and 2005 respectively).

Utilizing archival sources and interviews, along with Bayo’s published work, Díez has assembled an homage to a twentieth-century revolutionary, if one lacking in the larger historical context expected from academic writers. The book also lacks proper footnotes, except in the case of block quotations. Diez’s is a biography in the strictest sense. More work can be done on this subject, both within histories of the left and in the larger context of Cold War struggles.
The first five chapters are short. We learn that Bayo was born in Cuba and hailed from a military family. He spent several years of his youth in New Orleans, but spent his adult life in Hispanic countries as a soldier and pilot. He opposed the Spanish treatment of Moroccans during his service in the Rif War, and in 1923 Bayo dueled and nearly killed his nemesis in Africa, Joaquín González Gallarza. Gallarza survived the duel and later went on to be a franquista Lieutenant General.

More than a third of the book, including Díez’s longest chapter, covers the Spanish Civil War. Bayo was put in charge of the counter-insurgency and defense of the Balearic Islands. There Bayo was forced to lead a combined force of regular republican military, anarchist militia, and other partisans. Events went badly from the outset with partisan squabbling and a failure to receive material support he requested to execute his orders. The lack of material thwarted his commands and Bayo faced a consejo de guerra.

After the Baleares, he served on diplomatic and spying missions as ayudante de campo to Indalecio Prieto. His American education made him valuable as an agent to England, where he was dispatched to broker a deal to buy arms for the republic on the black market. From Paris, Bayo was enlisted to break up what Díez calls a “terrorist cell” of franquistas. Bayo’s republican service followed the fate of Prieto, who was replaced toward the end of the war. With the republican cause lost, Bayo was forced into exile, eventually taking Mexican citizenship and serving as a flight instructor for the Mexican Air Force during World War II. Bayo’s political activities also ran deep. He had been involved in republican politics in the 1920s and was later instrumental in attempting to organize among the exiles a movement for a Third Republic.

Díez frequently refers to Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution. Chapter 10 finally connects Bayo with the 26th of July Movement (M-26-7). Where Bayo saw in Batista a caudillo like Franco and found in the M-26-7 struggle a chance to unseat a dictator and establish a future base for anti-franquista activities, Guevara saw in the Spanish Republic the historical parallel to the fate of Guatemala’s Ten Years of Spring (1944-54). The coup there had radicalized him and compelled him to Castro’s movement. The layers of similarities were evident to the Spanish-speaking left and anyone with an internationalist outlook can sympathize with these movements, which is why Díez’s book is so much bigger than its subject. That Díez’s sons were also involved in these events also adds a dimension as to the larger history of these struggles.

The collection of essays in Border Interrogations: Questioning Spanish Frontiers continues the stated intent of the Remapping Cultural History series: to challenge current theoretical models and to rethink perceptions of history. The twelve articles that comprise the volume vary substantially in focus, but taken as a whole represent a comprehensive and profound investigation into the ambiguities of Spain’s national identities and delimitations, whether physical, cultural, linguistic, historical, political, psychological or artistic.

The sequence of essays is obviously very well thought out, with the first essay, Parvati Nair’s “Europe’s ‘Last’ Wall: Contiguity, Exchange, and Heterotopia in Ceuta, the Confluence of Spain and North Africa” taking as its starting point the country’s literal southern border. The author very competently makes the case that Ceuta is, according to Foucault’s definition, a heterotopia, in that it defies delimitation and categorization, the constant flux of cultural ideas making it an inherently fragmented and contradictory space.

The following essay, H. Rosi Song’s “Migration, Gender and Desire in Contemporary Spanish Cinema,” expands further the notion of what constitutes Spanish sociocultural identity, examining the concept of gendered migration, cultural stereo-

Joseba Gabilondo, like many others, takes issue with Mikel Azurmendi’s writings on the Spanish national state in “State Narcissism: Racism, Neoimperialism, and Spanish Opposition to Multiculturalism.” Gabilondo makes a compellingly detailed case that Freud’s ideas on individual narcissism can and should be applied to the State, and in so doing explains the causes of a new nationalism that reacts irrationally to globalization and multiculturalism.

And thus follow the rest of the essays, each one penetrating and insightful, examining and questioning numerous assumptions about the nature of the nation: Susan Martin-Márquez studies the social significance for Spanish-African shared identity of the artistic productions of Miquel Barceló and José Luis Guerín; Cristina Moreiras-Menor scrutinizes the national identity of Galicia and its relationship to Spain as revealed in Manuel Rivas’s *A man dos paiños* (*La mano del emigrante* in Spanish); Vicente L. Rafael reconsiders the roots and ramifications of the adoption of José Rizal as a national hero of the Philippines; Alberto Medina illuminates the successful attempts by the Bourbon monarchy to modernize the country, at once bringing it in line with the rest of Europe and providing a contrastive sense of difference in identity to its own Hapsburgian past; Francisco-J. Hernández Adrián delves into the critique of Spanish imperialism that he identifies in José de Viera y Clavijo’s eighteenth-century work, *Noticias de la historia general de las Islas de Canaria*; David Rojinsky provides an incisive analysis of Cristóbal Manso de Contreras’s first-hand account of one of the most important Spanish colonial insurrections of the seventeenth century, the Tehuanotepec Rebellion; Michael Armstrong-Roche reappraises Cervantes’s *Numancia*, demonstrating the numerous and deep contradictions in the foundational interpretations of the work, and the logical consequences to subsequent ideas on national identity that stem from such paradoxes; Mariano Gómez Aranda probes the topic of border crossing and its inherent significance to Jewish self-identity in medieval Spain; finally, Eduardo Subirats provides what is at the same time the most general and the most comprehensive reconsideration of our common perceptions of Spanish identity with his convincingly unsettling “Seven Theses against Hispanism.”

Read together or individually, these essays mark an impressive display of knowledge of Spanish cultural and historical identity both in width and profundity, and, more importantly, of the marginalized, suppressed, or ignored elements that undermine that knowledge. If you think you know Spain, think again; you will find something, if not many things, in this collection to challenge your perceptions. A valuable resource for students and professors alike, as well as any reader with a desire to better understand the complications, ambiguities, and fluctuations of modern and historical Spain.

Brian Bunk’s 2007 study of the origins of the Spanish Civil War stands as a valuable addition to the underdeveloped body of scholarship based on the cultural and gender history of modern Spain. Through an analysis of commemorative images and narrative texts produced around the time of the 1934 October Revolution, Bunk shows how the debate of gender issues led directly to the Spanish Civil War. The Revolution, which came in response to the right-wing powers in office, was to be a national uprising organized primarily by the socialist party, but the revolt fizzled out or was repressed swiftly everywhere except for Asturias. Indeed the manifestation in Asturias was also soon violently quelled by government forces. Both sides, the revolutionary leftists and the right-wing military, employed gendered interpretations of the chaos. Despite a shared definition of gender, the images created on the left and the right served to polarize the two sides of the fighting. Bunk asserts that “The imagery produced by both
pro- and anti-revolutionary writers and artists depicted a conflict that involved the survival of the family and the nation.” (87) While their political motivations differed greatly, they coincided in their adherence to traditional gender definitions, agreeing that women were passive and inclined to maternal, care-giving relationships.

The strength and true contribution of Bunk’s work comes when he delves into the gendered significance of the Revolution and its memory. For example, chapter four, “Grandsons of the Cid: Masculinity, Sexual Violence, and the Destruction of the Family,” begins with a powerful analysis of a leftist journal cover depicting right-wing violence directed at the Spanish family. The image portrays a swastika-wearing soldier stabbing the bodies of fallen men and women. One woman has been raped and holds a lifeless baby in her arms. (90) This image and Bunk’s assertion that the heart of the matter for the left as well as the right was honor and the sanctity of the home (and traditional gender roles) are compelling and convincing. He continues to make this point in chapter five, “Hyenas, Harpies and Proletarian Mothers: Commemorating Female Participation.” Not only is the chapter title provocative but so are Bunk’s analyses of images of women on both the left and right in the October conflict. Bunk astutely sets the context for women’s situation in the interwar years and notes that tension over a departure from traditional female gender roles was a pan-European trend. In other words, the scene was ripe for gender controversy. Again despite the clear political differences between the two sides of the revolution both agreed on an understanding of gender that pigeon-holed women, despite their activities, as feminine, passive, innocent, and even virginal or, on the other hand, as aggressive “harpies.” This interpretation was no more emblematic than in the case of the revolutionary “woman warrior” Aida Lafuente. (133) A young leftist, she gave her life for the cause of the working class. Though clearly a challenge to traditional gender roles as a weapons-wielding woman, the left paid homage to her as a “virginal icon” who embodied purity and maternal-potential. (133) The right, however, remembered her as an unfeminine and bloodthirsty insurgent.

While the book is full of rich information, it often assumes that the reader has some knowledge of modern (19th, early 20th century) Spanish political dynamics. The Second Republic within which the Revolution occurred is an infamously complicated period of Spanish history and the author does not provide enough of a big-picture analysis of the politics. For example, establishing the concept of the “two Spains” born in the nineteenth century would orient the novice of Spanish history. In addition, in the background chapter, only a few pages are devoted to discussion of the actual revolutionary fighting in October 1934, a surprising point considering that the author’s argument centers on these events. The book’s conclusion is a bit jarring in that it analyzes the narrative and visual commemorations of the revolution not during the Civil War or Franco regime but in the early years of the transition to democracy. Not surprisingly the fiftieth anniversary of the 1934 conflict evoked mixed and politicized memories but (unlike 1936) it “did not…translate into direct political action.” (160) The significance of the figures of Aida Lafuente and the “martyrs of Túron,” religious men from a Catholic order and the right-wing’s choice of symbolic heroes, as harbingers of the Civil War was ultimately lost during the transition and instead they were made to fit the political circumstances of the 1980s and 1990s.

On the whole, the book is a needed contribution to the gender, cultural, women’s, and social history of modern Spain. Its shortcomings are slight in light of the compelling and important recognition of the role of gender in the political life of Spain both in the 1930s and today.
In the Iberian Peninsula as in the rest of Europe, sodomy was a capital crime punishable by death. In Portugal and in the Crown of Aragon, the sin of sodomy was reserved to the Inquisition. The Inquisition in Castile had no authority over this crime. Because of the involvement of the Inquisition through its Portuguese tribunals of Lisbon, Coimbra, and Évora, and through the Aragonese tribunals of Zaragoza, Valencia, and Barcelona, historians have available a substantial paper trail on how these Iberian societies reacted to acts of sodomy. For Castile, the records are meager and scholars have little statistical information regarding its punishment. The records of the Portuguese Inquisition are the best preserved of all the European Inquisitions. Since the crime of sodomy was reserved to the Portuguese Inquisition, scholars have excellent materials for understanding how sodomy was viewed. But to date the subject has been little studied, even though more than 4500 people are listed as having either been denounced for sodomy or confessed to having practiced the “pecado nefando.” The paper argues that what is needed is a prosopography of sodomites that identifies those involved and their various partners, their social backgrounds and ages, where they lived, where they engaged in sodomy, who was punished, and what the punishment was. While this work is being done, some interesting comparisons can be made with the Aragonese tribunals.

While governing during the long minority of his nephew, Dom Afonso V (1438-1448), Infante Dom Pedro showed extraordinary magnanimity both to his friends and enemies. Dom Pedro’s magnanimity could have reflected a calculated policy aimed at strengthening his Regency. While strategic motives were certainly present, the paper argues (drawing on the sociology of loyalty and social capital theories) that the Regent was caught not only in a political web but also in a net of his personal values that compelled him to meet his obligations to and the social expectations of his family and friends, while buying what good will or complacency from his opposition he could. The limited sources of the kingdom made this approach unsustainable and he was forced to make choices that proved disastrous for him. In both the beginning of the struggle of the regency and at its end, Dom Pedro suffered severely from a lack of social capital. He lacked relational capital, something his chief opponent, the Duke of Bragança, spent a lifetime accumulating and possessed in abundance. His natural peers – the nobility – did not see him fitting the system capital of the group and it was their collective distrust that ultimately led to the downfall of this philosopher-prince and, as far as it can be established, a remarkably magnanimous human being.

This paper compares three different courts and their prosecution of the crime of amancebamiento (notorious sexual affairs) in the city and diocese of Cuenca. It finds that in the diocese of Cuenca church courts provided an institution for communities to enforce their own cultural notions about what was sexually inappropriate behavior. The 1590s campaign against amancebamiento by the church court likely increased the vigilance of sexual behavior in the diocese. However, it did not change lay views of what was and was not permissible. Rather, the invigorated reforms after Trent expanded diocesan institutions, increased the presence of episcopal officials, and likely added to church revenues. However, when the church court campaigned against amancebamiento its interests dovetailed with sexual anxieties, especially male citizens as it focused on married women and widows with property.
In royal courts, the prosecution of amancebamiento was a way for secular officials to regulate the streets and the young single people who might cause scandal in the streets. The Inquisition’s role was more innovative, concerning itself with how people thought about sexual sins rather than with what scandalized the public. In some senses, perhaps, most Spaniards in Cuenca and its diocese saw amancebamiento as a sin when it disturbed social order rather than as the Inquisition wanted to convince people to see it, as a sin against God.

I would like to give credit for the germ of the idea of this paper to Abigail Dyer, who explained to me her intention to do a similar comparison at the SSPHS conference in St. Louis, in 1998.

Using a variety of sources representing over 650 individuals, this paper explores the twin issues of life course and life-cycle servitude in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Cuenca. Irrespective of their chosen occupation, most males in the region left home well before they married, on average around age 15. Servants and apprentices left home at younger ages than did boys who eventually became farmers or professionals. Then, on average, about 10 years later, these young men married. Again, the mean age at marriage depended on occupation, just as had the age at which boys left home. Looking forward into the seventeenth century, the data shows that the average age of marriage actually fell by three years for men of all occupational backgrounds, and by eighteen months for women. In other words, rather than the mean age at marriage remaining flat through the early modern period and then rising in the eighteenth century, as the literature presently argues, these findings suggest that the mean age at marriage peaked in the sixteenth century at a high of 26.1 years for men (21.5 for women) and then fell rapidly in the seventeenth to around 23 for men and 20 for women. The causes underlying this change doubtless are linked to the economic and social disruptions of the seventeenth century.

Research on the merchant-smugglers of the sixteenth-century Hispanic Monarchy demands social network analysis. Due to the absence of violence to coerce participation in smuggling networks, which conveyed products over often long distances within the developing world economy, relationships involved a strikingly high level of cooperation, which is difficult to explain in reference to most research on cooperation. The research discussed in this paper contributes to a multidisciplinary, multinational effort to understand how merchants and others were able to initiate and maintain the cooperative relationships, which were characteristic of commercial networks during the first global age, 1400-1800, with a particular focus on the domains of Iberian monarchies.

Analysts of social networks usually conceive of them metaphorically in one of two ways. Researchers commonly express social networks in terms of the hub-and-spokes metaphor, if the focus is on a place such as the sixteenth-century Castilian commercial and manufacturing center of Cuenca, the subject of this paper, or if the research focuses on an individual, in terms of the nodes-and-ties metaphor. As such, the term “network” may call to mind an image of a railroad or airline network, but in fact, the social networks discussed in this paper consisted of multi-dimensional interactions that if visualized, would not look anything like such transportation networks. Some researchers advocate using the “rhizome” metaphor, which suggests a visualization of the multiple strands, without any central core, that looks like a maze whose overall shape changes as its parts grow or die in response to multiple factors. Although those embracing the rhizome metaphor wish to keep the focus on the dynamic and temporal
elements of networks, their analyses often appear too homogeneous in that they fail to recognize the importance of different types and strengths of connections.

The paper offers the take-away message that if we are to grasp the nature of complex human communities, we must understand that social networks are much more complicated than these metaphors indicate. As described in the work of Harrison C. White, individuals constitute their lives within multiple social networks that intersect irregularly at different nodes, and they present their social identity with some fluidity, in multiple ways, depending on the network in which they are trying to interact with others. Moreover, the various networks frequently have quite different spatial extents, and their points of intersection often involve different geographic loci. From this perspective, the assumption that elites networks formed the basis of the global Hispanic Monarchy is likely erroneous. The paper presents an analytic approach that combines two different research streams—on complex, dynamic, nonlinear systems and on social networks—which are not often brought together. It focuses on five broad types of network in which Cuenca’s Milanese merchants were involved in the mid-sixteenth century and discusses the consequences of this approach to social network analysis.

The Indian Council of Historical Research has accepted this work as a chapter in a forthcoming book in its monograph series, with the tentative title “Global Systems, Mercantile Networks and Commodities in the First Global Age, 1400-1800,” edited by Rila Mukherjee of the University of Hyderabad.

In the century or so that followed the closing of the Council of Trent in 1563, the Catholic world was swept by a fashion for holy relics. Communities everywhere enhanced both their spiritual welfare and their earthly prestige by acquiring and displaying the remains of patron saints, and elites both clerical and lay competed to assemble collections of ancient and modern holy bodies. Many of the relics that found their way into Spain originated in the recently rediscovered catacombs of Rome. Plundered from what were presumed to be the tombs of early Christian martyrs, most of these bones were nearly anonymous. A few, however, came to be ascribed to important saints. This paper examines the transformation of nameless human remains into holy relics by considering the ways in which Bishop Sancho Dávila y Toledo, one of early modern Spain’s most celebrated relic collectors, invented both a legend and a body for the ancient martyr St. Vitalis. Through a reading of collection strategies and Dávila’s hagiography of St. Vitalis, I uncover the practices by which a pile of bones became “a known holy body, with title and name,” and the quotidian was made sacred.

One can fill many bookshelves with works penned in sixteenth-century Spain that intended to shape the reader. In particular conduct books sought to teach proper behavior for a hierarchical society, thus attempting to inculcate socially correct actions in the audience. I examined conduct books that focus on marriage and family relationships and are written in the humanist and erudite tradition in my investigation of the image of widows. The discourse in this group of conduct books depicted as natural the essential characteristics of both sexes, characteristics that were in fact built upon patriarchal ideology.

I have summarized the portrait of the widow painted by these authors under four headings. First, widowhood as winter depicts the deprivation she experienced on the loss of her husband. Widowhood as enclosure describes the semi-monastic lives advocated by the texts. Writers also discuss the newfound authority of the widow, who is the head of household. Finally, drawing on the language of the Apostle Paul in

"Un cuerpo sancto conocido, con título y nombre": Sancho Dávila, Relic Collector, and the Invention of St. Vitalis,” A. Katie Harris, University of California, Davis

"Image of the Widow in Sixteenth-Century Spanish Conduct Manuals," Carol D. Harllee, James Madison University
the first epistle to Timothy, most writers describe whom they consider to be the true widow. All texts draw heavily upon imagery and teaching from classical, Biblical, and patristic writings, and often seem to have little connection with a widow’s real situation in early modern Spain.

Books examined include Juan Luis Vives’s *The Education of a Christian Woman* (*De institutione feminae Christianae*, 1524), Friar Francisco de Osuna’s *Norte de los estados* (1531), Fray Francisco de Avila’s *Avisos christianos provechosos para bueir en todos estados desenganademente* (1566), Maximiliano Calvi’s *Tractado de la hermosura y del amor* (1576), Juan de Espinosa’s *Diálogo en laude de las mujeres* (1580), Gaspar de Astete’s *Del gobierno de la familia y estado de las viudas y donzellas* (1597), and Juan de la Cerda’s *Libro intitulado, vida política de todos los estados de mugeres…*, (1599).

In 1566, the new bishop of Valencia, Martín Pérez de Ayala, published a bilingual catechism for moriscos, those new Christians who had recently converted from Islam. After writing the text in Castilian, Ayala ordered it to be translated into Valencian Arabic. The fact that he produced a catechism in Arabic and Castilian is, in itself, worthy of note. In 1567, the year following the publication of this catechism, King Philip II issued a royal pragmatic prohibiting all use of Arabic (written and spoken), together with several Islamic customs. This paper examines the language politics surrounding the evangelization of moriscos. It examines the positions of Ayala and Philip on the use of Arabic and contextualizes them within the history of language policy and evangelization. While the prohibition of Arabic has been characterized as part of a disdainful, repressive program of evangelization, this paper aims to complicate the oppositional categories of “benevolent” and “disdainful” evangelization community.

By 1796, Spain maintained consuls or vice-consuls in at least eight American ports and relied on at least three non-Spaniards to protect its commercial interests in the United States. John Stoughton (c.1745-1820) was one of those non-Spanish consuls. He became Spanish consul of New England in 1794, and he remained in that position for the next twenty-six years. This paper sets out to examine Stoughton’s early participation in the Cuban trade and his leading role in fostering trade between New England and the Hispanic world. Reinserting John Stoughton into the historical narrative will allow for a more nuanced understanding of commerce and diplomacy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It should also shed new light on Spanish-American relations and the Spanish consular service during the early American republic.

This paper is based on archival research at the New York Historical Society, the Bostonian Society, and Historical Collections at Harvard Business School.

The retreat of the French army from southern Spain in the late summer of 1812 led to the imposition of the first constitutional regime in Spanish history beyond the limited environs of Cádiz itself. For nearly two years, alongside other regions the western Andalusian countryside operated under the political guidelines set forth in the Constitution of 1812. Written exchanges between two towns and the Cortes demonstrate the terrific extent to which liberal ideas and constitutional practices found their way into assertions of local authority during this time period. Through an examination of local political culture, I offer a means to trace the incorporation of such ideas into the fabric of local political life. I argue that an accurate explanation for the sudden collapse of the constitutionalist regime must consider the perception and impact of the centralizing drive of the Cortes at the local level.
In 1814, Spain’s most famous exile and political commentator, Joseph Blanco White, published an antislavery tract: *Bosquejo del comercio de esclavos*. The British Foreign Office subsidized the publication, just as it had subsidized Blanco White’s periodical *El Español* between 1810 and 1814. During this era, British foreign policy was directed toward the complete suppression of the African slave trade, Britain having suppressed the traffic to its own colonies in 1807. Spain was one of the main targets of this goal because Cuba, one of its last stable colonies, had since the late eighteenth century undergone a plantation revolution, becoming the greatest recipient of African slaves in the history of Spanish rule in the Americas. In 1817, Britain did negotiate a ban of the trade to Cuba but the Spanish government and its representatives in Havana refused to enforce it.

Given this overall geopolitical context, one could see Blanco White’s antislavery tract as an expression of British ideology and interest. And indeed the pamphlet demonstrates a strong familiarity and sympathy with British abolitionists, such as William Wilberforce, and their ideas.

This paper will argue, however, that the origins of Blanco White’s antislavery ideas can be more usefully located in the Hispanic world. On the one hand, Blanco specifically entered into the debates about the slave trade to Cuba opened during the Cortes of Cádiz (1810-1814). Much of his pamphlet is an attempt to refute the strong pro-slave-trade arguments made in Havana during these years. On the other, the experience of Blanco White and of his family, especially his brother Fernando, during the French occupation and the War of Independence provided a major source of inspiration for his antislavery ideas. I will argue that the Spanish experience of invasion, warfare, captivity, imprisonment, and exile between 1808 and 1814 allowed Blanco White to draw parallels between the plight of enslaved Africans and of Spaniards suffering under French domination.

Rafael de Riego’s pronunciamiento on January 1, 1820, the first successful politically-motivated military rebellion in the history of modern Spain, built on a number of failed conspiracies between 1814 and 1818. Most had been influenced or inspired by adherents to Freemasonry and had been carried out by liberal military officers attempting to restore the constitutional order. Yet popular support had not been mobilized to catapult new leaders to power. The success of Riego’s uprising, despite a lukewarm reception in southern Spain where his battalion had been based, sparked a movement in the north to reestablish the local governing juntas that had been so successful in 1808. Alongside these regional organizations, a popular nationalist culture of songs, poems, and catechisms reemerged in addition to sermons and political tracts that once again eulogized the heroic Spanish people and their representative national government.

A third French invasion of Spain within the span of thirty years ended the Trienio in April 1823, and no Spanish monarch was established on a New World throne. With Latin American independence firmly entrenched and a second liberal revolution defeated, peninsular liberals again faced exile, imprisonment, and reprisals for another decade prior to their ascendency in the 1830s. Yet a liberal nationalist tradition was firmly enshrined across the Spanish Monarchy which put forward a reformed Catholicism and a Hispanic constitutional tradition as the basis for revitalized popular political movements.
“Reines del Mercat: Women as Food Retailers in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Barcelona,” Montserrat Miller, Marshall University

Under Restoration-era municipal governments, commerce in Barcelona’s public markets became increasingly rationalized and standardized as the centerpiece of a new political economy of food retailing in the city. Operating within a regulatory structure that limited competition, enhanced commercial stability, and increased the economic value of stall permits, the market vendor population in Barcelona emerged as a significant urban political constituency in the first decades of the twentieth century. As key venues for small-scale retail entrepreneurship, thousands of men and women achieved a modicum of economic security and even upward social mobility through acquiring municipal permits to operate stalls in the market halls of the city. Though men worked as vendors, porters, guards, inspectors, and directors, the markets themselves were largely feminized public spaces. Women dominated numerically as the legal holders of stall permits throughout the period and their clientele remained almost exclusively female until much later. As such, Barcelona’s market halls constitute highly significant, yet largely overlooked, venues for examining the involvement of Spanish women in late nineteenth-and early twentieth-century small-scale commerce. Wielding considerable local power through their access to food in what was often a hungry city, female market vendors occupied a contested cultural space in which the mature were cast as feisty hags and the young as icons of virtue and feminine beauty. Between these polarized cultural representations, Barcelona’s real-life market women functioned as intermediaries in the relationship between public control of provisioning and popular consumption of food. Operating from thousands of stalls across the city, generations of market women pursued strategies that would allow them to lay claim to honor, dignity, and propriety within the neighborhood-based communities of consumers they served.

“Reines del Mercat: Women as Food Retailers in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Barcelona,” Montserrat Miller, Marshall University

Israeli agents of Haganah purchased in the U.S. in 1948 an old cargo ship, the S.S. Kefalos, then under Panamanian registry, with the aim of smuggling arms into Israel. The vessel was delivered to its captain in Portland, Maine on 1 June; from there the plan was to sail the vessel to New York, and from this port to Tampico, Mexico to load the arms, and from there to Israel. The crew of the Kefalos was primarily composed of Spanish Republican sailors. The captain of the ship, Adolph S. Oko, Jr., a Jewish-American of Russian descent, pointedly noted that Spanish was the predominant language aboard. After numerous delays in Tampico, the Kefalos sailed on 3 August, though it quickly changed its name and appearance to elude the expected British vigilance when its-passed Gibraltar. The ship’s new name was no less revealing: it was re-baptized the M.A. Pinzon. Throughout the endeavor an apparent cooperation between disparate and yet related diasporas was at work: Jews (American, Mexican and Israeli) worked hand in hand with Spanish Republican crews (many of them Basque) to assure the success of the enterprise. The ship arrived safely in Israel on 8 September 1948 and quickly unloaded its arms. Israeli authorities then decided to reconvert the Kefalos so that it could rescue Jews from displaced persons’ camps in the Balkans. Outfitted in Naples in September-October, 1948, the vessel then made two important voyages from Bakar to Israel with a total of over 7,700 refugees, many of them from Bulgaria, Greece and the Balkans. The captain remarked that on the voyage from the former Yugoslavia to Israel the Spanish crew conversed with some of the Jewish refugees in the language of Cervantes (Ladino). As the Kefalos was leaving Israel after delivering its arms cargo,as the gangplank was being raised, a port worker waved to the a sailor on the ship and yelled in perfect Castilian, “Adiós paisano!” This incident is the subject of a book-length project.

“The Odyssey of the Rust Bucket Kefalos: Interlocking Jewish and Spanish Republican Diasporas in 1948,” Renato Barahona, University of Illinois at Chicago

Israeli agents of Haganah purchased in the U.S. in 1948 an old cargo ship, the S.S. Kefalos, then under Panamanian registry, with the aim of smuggling arms into Israel. The vessel was delivered to its captain in Portland, Maine on 1 June; from there the plan was to sail the vessel to New York, and from this port to Tampico, Mexico to load the arms, and from there to Israel. The crew of the Kefalos was primarily composed of Spanish Republican sailors. The captain of the ship, Adolph S. Oko, Jr., a Jewish-American of Russian descent, pointedly noted that Spanish was the predominant language aboard. After numerous delays in Tampico, the Kefalos sailed on 3 August, though it quickly changed its name and appearance to elude the expected British vigilance when its-passed Gibraltar. The ship’s new name was no less revealing: it was re-baptized the M.A. Pinzon. Throughout the endeavor an apparent cooperation between disparate and yet related diasporas was at work: Jews (American, Mexican and Israeli) worked hand in hand with Spanish Republican crews (many of them Basque) to assure the success of the enterprise. The ship arrived safely in Israel on 8 September 1948 and quickly unloaded its arms. Israeli authorities then decided to reconvert the Kefalos so that it could rescue Jews from displaced persons’ camps in the Balkans. Outfitted in Naples in September-October, 1948, the vessel then made two important voyages from Bakar to Israel with a total of over 7,700 refugees, many of them from Bulgaria, Greece and the Balkans. The captain remarked that on the voyage from the former Yugoslavia to Israel the Spanish crew conversed with some of the Jewish refugees in the language of Cervantes (Ladino). As the Kefalos was leaving Israel after delivering its arms cargo,as the gangplank was being raised, a port worker waved to the a sailor on the ship and yelled in perfect Castilian, “Adiós paisano!” This incident is the subject of a book-length project.

“The Odyssey of the Rust Bucket Kefalos: Interlocking Jewish and Spanish Republican Diasporas in 1948,” Renato Barahona, University of Illinois at Chicago
Under the Franco regime, madrileños were passive subjects, receiving what they were given with little or no alternative. They could only listen, watch, and accept. They were spectators at the movies and in the theater, silent listeners at concerts and to the radio, and passive receivers of state-controlled television, censored books, and magazines. To overcome this legacy of passivity, and for the democracy to ultimately succeed, an active, engaged, and participatory citizenry was needed. In addition, all madrileños needed to be able to live together in peaceful coexistence. Madrid’s municipal political elite believed that within the context of Spain’s top-down transition to democracy, cultural participation – as opposed to formal political mobilization – was the key to changing madrileños’ behaviors, habits, and thoughts after decades of repression and inactivity. Specifically, Madrid’s political elite promoted local and regional cultural symbols and implemented a program of broad cultural mobilization, including the revival of traditional street festivals, to create a united citizenry that identified itself as active, open, and democratic.

“Filling the Streets and Abandoning the Barricades: Reviving Democracy and the Festival in the Capital, 1979-1986,”

Hamilton M. Stapell

CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS

A. H. DE OLIVEIRA MARQUES PRIZE FOR BEST ARTICLE ON PORTUGUESE HISTORY PUBLISHED IN 2009

The A. H. de Oliveira Marques Prize of $250 (created by means of a generous endowment from Dr. Harold B. Johnson, University of Virginia, in memory of the distinguished Portuguese Historian, A. H. de Oliveira Marques [1933-2007]) will be awarded each year for the best article on Portuguese history published during the previous year. This year’s award will be announced at the annual meeting of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese History in 2010. Submitted articles may be written in Portuguese, English, Castilian, or French, but only articles on Portuguese history published within the 2009 calendar year will be considered. Submissions should include the following: (1) a copy of the article (photocopies are acceptable) with date of publication; and (2) the author’s resume, including current address. Please send submissions to EACH member of the prize committee below. All submissions must be received by each member by 31 January 2010. Please direct queries to the chair of the prize committee.

The Prize Committee:
Francis A. Dutra (Chair)
History Department, University of California, Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, CA 93106-9410
dutra@history.ucsb.edu
Rita Costa Gomes
Department of History, Towson University
8000 York Road
Towson, MD 21252-0001
rcostagomes@towson.edu
Bill Donovan
History Department, Loyola College
4501 North Charles St.
Baltimore, MD 21210-2699
**Award**

Victoria Black is a third-year doctoral student at the University of California, Irvine, specializing in the history of modern Spain. Her essay, “From Disinfection to Saneamiento: Criticisms of the Spanish State during the 1918 Influenza Epidemic,” won the tenth annual competition for “Young Investigators” sponsored by the Asociación de Historia Contemporánea. The selection committee, comprised of three leading Spanish scholars, noted the “originality and intellectual solidity” of Black’s article in deciding to award her this prize. She will receive 1000 euros and her essay will appear in the Association’s distinguished historical journal *Ayer*. Her advisor at UCI is Carolyn Boyd.

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**Conference: Sacred and Profane in the Early Modern Hispanic World**, Indianapolis Museum of Art and Indiana University, Bloomington, Oct. 16-17, 2009

A two-day interdisciplinary conference centered on religiosity in the Hispanic world, 1492-1680. The symposium will coincide with the opening of the Indianapolis Museum of Art’s special exhibition, *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Spanish World*, which examines the religious visual culture of 17th-century Spain and its American colonies through the lens of belief and its lived experience. This exclusive exhibition includes works from collections throughout Spain and Latin America, many of which have never been exhibited in the US. At the IMA, curators and scholars directly involved with the organization of the exhibition will speak about the show, which visiting scholars and other participants will have a chance to see and discuss in the galleries. The symposium will draw synergistically on this exhibition, while seeking to establish a spectrum of other approaches to this cultural production, including but not limited to the following:

1. The Irreligious, dealing with cultural production that rejected Catholic orthodoxy;
2. The Non-religious, in which the discourse of religion stands aside from cultural production;
3. Classical Myth and its engagement and/or distancing from Catholic culture;
4. Sacred Others: Jewish, Islamic and Pre-Columbian religious perspectives;
5. Empire and Religion, on the implication of religion into this expansive mindset;
6. Text and the Sacred Image, investigating interrelationships among texts and the visual.

The first day will take place at the IMA and the second day at Indiana University at Bloomington.

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**Published**


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**The ASPHS Best First Book Prize**

The ASPHS Best First Book Prize Committee invites submissions for this year’s competition. First books published between 1 January 2007 and 31 December 2009 and in any of the three languages of the society (English, Portuguese, and Spanish) are eligible for the prize. Deadline for submissions is 31 December 2009. Those who wish to enter their first book in the competition should send a copy of their book to each member of the prize committee at the addresses below:

Jessica Boon, Perkins School of Theology (SMU) PO Box 750133 Dallas TX 75275-0133
Sandie Holguin, Dept. of History University of Oklahoma 455 W. Lindsey St., 403 a Norman, OK 73019
David Ortiz, Jr., University of Arizona, Social Sciences Bldg., rm. 217, Tucson, AZ 85721
Andrew Schulz, Department of Art History 5229 -- University of Oregon Eugene, OR 97403

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