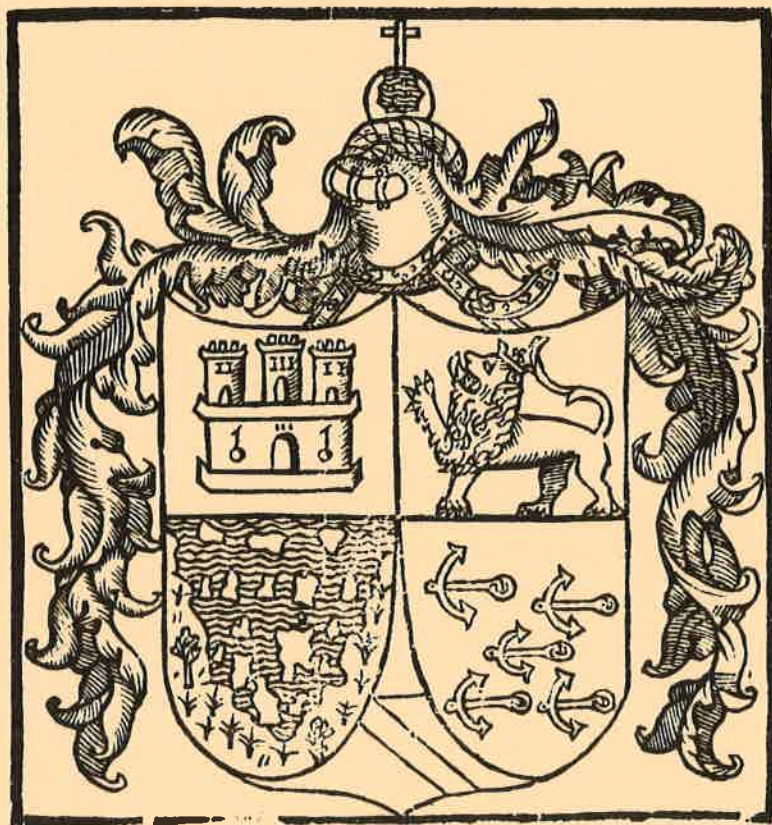


Princeton & the Iberian World



Cover: Coat-of-arms granted to Christopher Columbus by Fernando and Isabel in 1493, from Gonzálo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés *História general de las Indias* (Valladolid in 1557). The Scheide Library.



Martin Cortés, *Breve compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de navegar* . . .
(Seville, 1551). The Grenville Kane Collection.

Princeton & the Iberian World

An Exhibition of Books, Manuscripts & Maps



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
1985



INTRODUCTION

*T*his exhibition complements the Thirtieth Annual Conference of the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials meeting in Princeton on June 19-23 to discuss "Latin American Masses and Minorities: Their Images and Realities." Since university reunions and commencement were scheduled to precede the conference, it became evident that the appropriate opening for the exhibition should coincide with the annual meeting of the Friends of the Princeton University Library on April 21. The diverse backgrounds of these groups suggested a broad approach to the Iberian world, from the fifteenth century to the independence movements in the Americas during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. By focusing on specific aspects of Iberian governance, economies, lands, and peoples, the exhibition could both introduce and broaden the knowledge and understanding of the complexities associated with exploration, colonization, administration, and revolution.

Another objective concentrates on the linkage between the development of collections and their research significance. Individual collectors' foresight and their special collections com-

prise the core materials in any great research library, and Princeton's holdings for the Iberian world are no exception. In this exhibition one may notice the strengths among individual collectors as well as trends in collection development supported by alumni, donors, and the Friends of the Princeton University Library. Their interest accounts for the significant quality and overall depth of the Library's holdings for the Iberian world.

The manuscripts, books and maps displayed represent major areas of Iberian achievement from 1400 to 1825, important for their descriptive, factual, cartographic, iconographic or interpretive content. Collectively they emphasize the spread of knowledge and the discussion of crises and their resolution through reform or evolution. One may also view many items in this exhibition for their intrinsic value as examples of calligraphy and early fine printing. As a representative sampling of the research potential for the study of selected phases of the Iberian experience at home and abroad, the works displayed suggest the intriguing complexities of many topics which await analysis or reassessment.

Students and scholars of the Iberian world owe much to the dedicated collectors of the last two centuries for selecting and acquiring material of extraordinary value. We are deeply indebted to William H. Scheide for loaning many titles in The Scheide Library. Without them this exhibition would not convey the richness and diversity of the Iberian world at Princeton.

PETER T. JOHNSON
Bibliographer for Latin America,
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5 February 1985



PRINCETON &
THE IBERIAN WORLD

Omnium terrarum quaequae sunt
ab occiduo usque ad Indos,
pulcherrima es,
o sacra semperque felix
principum gentiumque mater Spania.

SAINT ISIDORE OF SEVILLE
De laude Spaniae

When Saint Isidore of Seville (599-636 A.D.) wrote the first sentence in his *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum*, known as the "De laude Spaniae," the Iberian peninsula had long been home to many peoples. Beginning in ancient times, conquest and trade brought Celts, Iberians, Phoenicians, Romans, and barbarians to the peninsula. Less than a century after Isidore's death, Muslims from North Africa added yet another element to the Iberian heritage. With the conquest of empires in Africa, Asia, and America, Iberia became "mother

of princes and of peoples" so diverse that they could be ruled only with the greatest difficulty.

The history of Iberia can be told as a quest for a principle of union, sometimes conceived as geopolitical, more often in a religious or cultural sense. The persistence of diverse cultures and their institutions in the Iberian world testifies to the tenacity with which each of her peoples clings to its own heritage. But unity in the political sense has only rarely been achieved, even within the peninsula itself.

The Romans were the first to rule all of Iberia, and they left their mark on the physical landscape. The remains of their great city, Italica, birthplace of emperors Trajan and Hadrian, can still be seen near Seville, where Saint Isidore served as bishop. The names of the five Roman provinces established during the reign of Augustus Caesar were in common usage as late as the fifteenth century, long after their boundaries had been obliterated by the rise of the Christian states. They appear on The Scheide Library's Ulm Ptolemy map of the peninsula in 1482, which opens this exhibit.

Classical culture was no less important to the formation of Iberian civilization. Isidore and his older brother, Saint Leander, were of Roman parentage. Both were renowned scholars. Isidore's path-breaking encyclopedia, the *Etymologiae*, summarized the learning of the ancient world and became one of the most influential books of medieval Europe. An edition published in 1472, only two decades before the discovery of America, was purchased by Princeton in 1946 as part of the Grenville Kane Collection. Saint Isidore's work was an essential precursor of Arias Montanus' Polyglot Bible published during the sixteenth century under the patronage of Phillip II, and of the catechisms and confessionaries written in the Indian languages of the New World.

Roman religion also had a profound impact on Iberian civilization. By the beginning of the third century after Christ most of the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula had been converted to Christianity. With the barbarian invasions of the fifth

century, however, the unity of Christian Spania was broken. The Vandals, Suevi, and Visigoths were Arian Christians, heretics according to the Roman Church. Nevertheless, the two confessions co-existed with a minimum of friction. When Saint Leander converted King Recared to Catholicism in 587 A.D., Christians were once again united; as Arianism died out, Church and Crown became ever more intimately allied.

The achievement of religious unity was followed by political reunification. As elsewhere in the empire, when the barbarians swept through Iberia, the peninsular Roman administration disintegrated. Municipalities, always an essential unit of Roman government, became more important, and Roman law continued to rule their citizens. Meanwhile, the Visigoths conquered the remnants of the Suevi and consolidated their conquests until Swintila (621-631) became king of all Iberia. For the second time, one government ruled the entire peninsula.

The Visigoths brought with them their own form of common law, the customs and usages of a people who elected their kings and turned them out of office, often by force. But as Romans and Visigoths increasingly intermarried, the achievement of a single code of law became as important as the unification of religious faith. The syncretistic *Liber iudiciorum*, appeared in its first form about 654 A.D. In 1792, towards the end of the great Iberian period of reform, the *Leyes del fuero-juzgo*, as they were known in Spanish, were republished in Madrid. During the crisis which followed Napoleon's invasion of the peninsula early in the nineteenth century, some of the juridical ideas embodied in Visigothic customs and usages played a part in the redefinition of Spain's constitution.



The political, juridical, and religious unity of Iberia lasted less than a century. In 711 A.D, a Muslim army led by Tariq ibn Ziyad landed at Gibraltar. Except for the sixty years which

followed 1580, when the king of Spain fell heir to the Portuguese crown, Iberia would never again be united under a single ruler. Even the brilliant armies fielded by the emirs and caliphs of Cordova, who ruled from 711 until 1031, were unable to conquer the entire peninsula.

Christian resistance was centered far to the north, in the mountains of Asturias. During this period, Spania once again became the "mother of princes," as Saint Isidore had expressed it. Christians especially spawned principalities with bewildering frequency, all of them unable to drive the Muslims out of Iberia. On the contrary, Christian rulers struck bargains with the Islamic chieftains who followed the caliphs, the *muluk al-tawaif*, whenever their help was required to defeat rivals for the leadership of Christian Spain or to preserve their realms from encroachment by other princes. Even after the Muslims had endured their own barbarian conquest, that of the Almoravids in 1086, Christian princes were not averse to forming alliances with their religious adversaries.

In spite of their internecine skirmishing, Christian rulers began the reconquest of Iberia shortly after the Muslim invasion of 711. In the west, the repopulation of thinly-settled Muslim territories north of the Douro River was relatively peaceful, and by the middle of the eighth century, much of what is now northern Portugal was in Christian hands. Later, when Ferdinand the Great attempted to take Coimbra and its surrounding territory, he met much stiffer resistance. The city finally fell to him in 1064. The *mozárabic* population, Christian but culturally different from their conquerors, was assimilated into a polity increasingly conscious of its special identity.

By 1140, when Afonso Henriques became King of Portugal, the frontier had advanced still farther south. Seven years later, with the help of knights from northern Europe on their way to the Holy Land, he captured the port-city of Lisbon.

The consequences, both for Portugal and for the world, were enormous. With the move southward, Portugal's identity was

considerably advanced. The fledgling nation began the process of turning its back on the Mediterranean world, looking instead towards the Atlantic. With the arrival of the crusaders, Portugal began to forge the alliances with northern Europe and England which became an important bulwark against Castilian expansionism. Lisbon's location on the sea route from northern Europe to Italy led to the rapid growth of trade, which in turn provided the Portuguese Crown with resources necessary to support Prince Henry the Navigator's projects of exploration and discovery.

The Christian kingdoms on the rest of the Iberian peninsula were also making headway against the Muslims, but their campaigns were hampered by dynastic problems and rivalry for territorial expansion. Unlike Portugal, which required only a century and a half to wrest control of its territory from the Muslims, the reconquest of Spain took 781 years. In the interim, the kingdoms of Leon and Castile had been united and gradually gained hegemony over much of Christian Spain. By 1252, King Fernando III reconquered all but the kingdom of Granada for Christianity. Had he not died suddenly in Seville, he might have completed the reconquest more than two centuries before Fernando and Isabel.

It was during the reign of Alfonso X (1252-1284), Fernando III's son, that some of the institutions and procedures of empire were established. Unlike the Portuguese kings, Alfonso inherited a large and disparate realm, much of it inhabited by an alien population, one which differed culturally, religiously and racially from the conquering Castilians. To rule it, he sent trusted members of his court and army into the newly-conquered territories, with the privilege of occupying them as their own property which could be inherited by their sons. Religious orders and the Church were also granted land.

The secular and religious nobility of Spain thus became lords of vast estates, the direct rulers of diverse peoples. With such resources at their command, their loyalty to the Crown was

often tenuous at best. Indeed, for the next two hundred years the kings of Castile and Leon were frequently at war with one or another of the *grandees*.

The *grandees* were by no means Alfonso X's only problem, however; the *mudéjar* population, those Muslims who did not migrate to Granada after Fernando III's victory, rebelled in 1264 and were only put down with the greatest difficulty. To maintain the peace, Alfonso dispatched Christians to the reconquered towns, some to settle there and one among them to rule as *adelantado*, the king's first governor. The *adelantados* were the forerunners of a bureaucracy which, for a time, administered the government not only of Spain, but much of America and Europe as well.

The exact relationship between the institutions and procedures developed by Alfonso X and his successors for the governance of the reconquered territories in Spain, and the *encomienda* system by which the Spaniards extended their rule in America, remains a matter for scholarly debate. Nevertheless, it is apparent that some *encomiendas* became the nuclei of the vast landed estates characteristic of Spanish America, and that the successors of the first *encomenderos* continued to rule the people dwelling on their lands as certainly as any grandee of Alfonso X's Spain.

Alfonso X of Castile is known to history as El Sabio, The Learned, and indeed his accomplishments as a scholar and a patron of learning would be remarkable even for a sovereign unburdened by the formidable military and administrative problems which he confronted. Like Saint Isidore before him, he found Seville a congenial place to live and work. The city's long tradition of both Latin and Arabic intellectual accomplishment prompted Alfonso to order translations into Spanish of both secular and religious books, including Arabic treatises on astronomy. The so-called Alfonsine Tables, based on Arabic works but incorporating observations made by other scholars, enabled generations of mariners to chart their course from the positions of stars and planets. The *Tabulae astronomicae* were re-

published in Venice in 1483, only a few years before Columbus' first voyage.

Of great importance to the growing sense of Spain's identity was the historical research and writing done by the scholars who gathered at Alfonso's court. They produced a vernacular *Crónica de España* which, like the Alfonsine Tables, went through many editions, one of which, published in Zamora in 1521, is part of this exhibit.

Alfonso was no less interested in the heritage of Rome, whose architectural remnants were so plentiful in and near Seville. Indeed, he and his jurists were responsible for the resurrection of Roman law and its incorporation into the famous *Siete partidas* which defined the nature of Castilian kingship. Like the *Leyes del fuero-júzgo* of the Visigothic kings, the *Siete partidas* of Alfonso X influenced the thinking of reformers at Cádiz in 1812. But the Roman principle of absolute authority invested in the king brought Alfonso into increasingly bitter conflict with nobility and people alike.

Alfonso X, for all his learning, had no regard for the unity of Spain. When he proposed to divide his kingdom in order to provide an inheritance for all his sons, the eldest, Sancho, rebelled. With the support of the Córtes assembled at Valladolid, Sancho declared himself head of government, leaving the empty title of king to his father. After Alfonso's death, as Sancho IV, he ruled León-Castile, whose power was rivaled only by that of the Crown of Aragon, a Christian kingdom which remained entirely independent of Castile until Fernando and Isabel achieved the union of the crowns by their marriage in 1469.



At the end of the fifteenth century, the new nation of Spain was far more vulnerable than Portugal to the forces of disintegration, especially when it became clear that none of Fernando and Isabel's children was able to inherit their kingdom. Por-

tuguese kings were occasionally tempted to seek hegemony over all of Iberia by means of marriages to Spanish *infantas*, but they were by no means as dangerous as other foreigners with family ties to the Catholic Kings' progeny. Fernando and Isabel's oldest surviving child, Juana, emotionally unstable, and betrayed by husband, father, and son, ended her days a prisoner in the gloomy castle at Tordesillas.

Juana's son, Carlos I of Spain, is better known as Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. He spent his childhood in the Netherlands, and inherited the Crowns of Castile and Aragon when Fernando died in 1516. The callow youth who became King of Spain was unable and doubtless unwilling to control the members of his Flemish entourage, who assumed that Spain was ripe for plunder. They were joined by dissident members of the nobility who had opposed Isabel's accession to the throne in 1474. It was not long before all of Spain rose up in revolt.

The Comuneros who chastened Charles and his retainers were as disparate a group as any which changed the history of Spain, and their grievances were equally diverse. Those grievances revealed the existence of two issues in governance which were to remain critically important to Spain and her colonies through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. First was the perennial question of the basis of legitimacy, the right by which heterogeneous Spain would be ruled by her sovereigns. During the early months of their uprising, the Comuneros appealed to the tragic Queen Juana for support. But because her son had maintained the fiction of ruling with her consent — royal decrees of this period were issued in both their names — Juana was unwilling to take bold action on their behalf. Charles moved swiftly to shut her away in solitary confinement and to spread the rumour of her madness. The Comuneros, bereft of the legitimacy which only Juana could give them, were soon defeated.

Twice more before 1825, Spain was rent by wars in which foreigners took it upon themselves to solve the problem of

legitimacy. When the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs died in 1700, a French prince was declared King of Spain, and the War of the Spanish Succession followed. In 1807, Napoleon proposed to make Spain a more reliable ally against Great Britain by replacing Fernando VII, who had himself driven his father from the throne, with a member of his own family, José Bonapart. The bewildering series of abdications endured by the people of Spain from 1807 forward seriously undermined the principle of legitimacy which had bound the colonies to the metropolis for more than three hundred years.

The second issue both implicit and explicit in the grievances of the Comuneros was that of Spain's relations with foreigners and their states. Charles V was foreign; when he and his rapacious retainers arrived in Spain, they spoke no Spanish, and were unacquainted with the elaborate and carefully-wrought system of rights and duties by which Spanish sovereigns were expected to rule a state composed of semi-autonomous kingdoms with their own laws and customs. Moreover, they exhibited all too clearly that arrogant sense of superiority towards Spaniards and all things Spanish which, lamentably, came to characterize the attitudes of Europeans north of the Pyrenees. Understandably, Spaniards came to mistrust foreigners, first for the political and economic havoc they inflicted on the nation, and later, after the Protestant Reformation, for the threat they posed to religious unity.



*T*he quest for unity and the experience of diversity remained characteristic of the Iberian world during more than seven centuries of Christian reconquest and three centuries of empire. In the quest, Portugal was far more successful than Spain.

The state founded by Afonso Henriques was both more compact territorially than Spain, and less divided by ethnic and

regional loyalties. Until Napoleon's invasion in 1807, Portugal had little experience of the sort of foreign invasion, Muslim or European, which so wounded Spain. On the contrary, foreign crusaders had helped drive the Moors from Portugal, and alliances with the Papacy and with other European states were critically important in preserving Portugal's independence from the Christian kingdoms of Spain. Foreign settlers, especially the Flemish, helped populate the empty lands in the south from which the Muslims had fled, and they were quickly absorbed into the rest of the population. Thus, with the achievement of internal peace and increasing prosperity, with secure borders and a sense of national identity, the Portuguese could safely devote their energies to the expansion of Christianity in Africa, whence had come the Muslim invaders of the past.

The driving force behind Portuguese expansion early in the fifteenth century was without question religious, part of the crusade which had driven the Moors from the Algarve, Portugal's southernmost province, in 1249. In 1415, the Portuguese captured Ceuta, a port on the north African coast. Probably to their surprise, the Portuguese found that gold could be had in Ceuta, where Muslim traders brought it from deep in equatorial Africa. The city was also the terminal port for the slave trade. Both commodities proved essential to Portugal's expanding participation in the European trade through Lisbon, and both were acquired by bartering the raw materials and manufactures of northern Europe.

For the next eighty years, Portugal led the way in exploration and discovery along the coasts of Africa and Asia. As the mariners sailed farther south, their observations of the coastline were added to the Portolano charts which had long been in use in the Mediterranean.

In the process of finding their way around Africa to India, Portuguese sailors had touched the coast of what they at first believed to be a great island. It was the coast of Brazil. Because its flora and fauna in some ways resembled that of Africa, and

because it appeared to be uninhabited, they paid little attention to its potential as a source of either gold or slaves. They did, however, add it to their charts, many of which continued to be produced in Italy. Gradually, a large land mass began to appear. By the time the Portolano chart from The Scheide Library was drawn in 1662, the outlines of the new world were well-known, and both the Spaniards and the Portuguese were the masters of a vast Iberian empire stretching across four continents.

Like the Spanish in the time of Alfonso X, the Portuguese developed a new form of settlement, in this case one adapted to the necessities of possessions not contiguous to the homeland. Their far-flung settlements were enclaves, at first little more than fortified trading posts precariously planted on the coast of vast and unknown continents. The earliest was Arguim, where the merchants of Lisbon found that profits were handsome, and the success of other trading settlements was equally encouraging. In increasing numbers, the merchants sent their own ships south in the wake of the explorers, and were soon able to dominate the African trade.

Although the trade in slaves and gold was lucrative, Africa was not the goal of the Portuguese mariners and their royal sponsors at home. The old dream of finding the kingdom of Prester John persisted. Prester John was reputedly the powerful Christian ruler of a land fabled for its riches, and not a few Portuguese entertained the hope of enlisting his aid in the battle against the Muslims. Moreover, the navigators knew that the spices which added zest to the monotonous European diet came from islands far beyond Africa.

The story of Portuguese voyages to the east is well-known. They reached India in 1498, and within six years broke the Muslim monopoly of the Asian spice trade and the Venetian monopoly of its distribution. In 1511, Antonio de Abreu discovered the Pacific Ocean, two years prior to the day when Balboa stood on a hill in Panama, looking westward. By 1517, the Emperor of China found it necessary to rebuke one of his

governors for consorting with the *Fo-lang-chi*, Portuguese barbarians who had opened a lucrative trade with the province in which Canton is now located.



The entry of Spain into the race for the Indies found the Portuguese already established in the chief ports of Africa, and well on their way to Asia. They had sailed far to the west in their lateen-rigged caravels, and had discovered and colonized Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands. Three Papal Bulls issued in 1452, 1455, and 1456 had granted Portugal exclusive rights to navigation, conquest, and settlement in all newly discovered regions of the world. Their crusade against the Muslims had been extended to include pagans, and their right to enslave the natives had been recognized. Columbus' arrival at Lisbon in 1493 came as a great shock.

It is one of the major ironies of history that Spain's American possessions were discovered for her by a foreign mariner who had only recently been in the service of the tiny nation occupying the western fringes of the Iberian peninsula. Like so much in Spain's history, and like the Portuguese expansion, it had its origin in the crusade against Islam.

Gonzálo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés was present at the momentous events which took place at Fernando and Isabel's court in 1492 and 1493. As he declared in his *História general de las Indias*, "I speak as an eyewitness because I was serving as royal page on the outskirts of Granada . . . I saw the Catholic King and Queen enter the city of Granada when it was surrendered to them; I saw them expel the Jews from Castile, and I was in Barcelona . . . and I saw admiral Christobal Colom's arrival there with the first Indians. Thus I do not speak from hearsay, . . . but from sight."

What he saw was both marvelous and terrible. With Fer-

nando's capture of Granada, and the Catholic monarchs' triumphal entry into the city on 6 January 1492, the long reconquest was over. Spain was at last united, but the new nation chose to enhance its sense of identity by reducing the risks implied by the existence of alien peoples within its borders. The Jews were the first to suffer from the new quest for unity. Ever since the establishment of the Inquisition in 1478, Jews had come under increasing pressure to convert, and yet the Inquisitors devoted special efforts to proving that the Christian faith of the *conversos* was a sham. Spanish society treated them with ill-disguised contempt, and the distinction between old and new Christians was drawn with increasing rigidity. Then, on 30 March 1492, Isabel signed the edict demanding that all Jews either convert or go into exile. For several hundred thousand Jews, the latter seemed to be the more attractive alternative. With their departure, Spain lost the services of a talented and energetic segment of her population, one which would have served her well during the years when her American empire was being established.

Some of the Jewish exiles from Spain were permitted to live temporarily in Portugal, where they were treated with increasing cruelty. Four years after their expulsion from Spain, they were also ordered to leave Portugal. The expulsion of the Jews seemed even more an act of stupidity in light of the fact that the African slaves in Portugal and the Indians carried to Spain by Columbus contributed yet another element to the diversity of the Iberian world.



*F*ar more than the Jews, Indians were aliens, culturally, religiously, and racially. In sharp contrast to the Jews, however, it was their religion which saved them. Indians could be converted, at least nominally, and en masse, thereby permitting

the crusade to continue. The Iberian quest for unity had been transformed; henceforth, religious uniformity took precedence over territorial union.

It is extremely difficult, however, to separate religion from the culture in which it is practised, as the early missionaries in America soon discovered. What they at first believed to be secular exercises were in fact religious ceremonies. Unable to distinguish between the two with any degree of certainty, the missionaries attempted to extirpate Indian culture. The burning of Mayan codices in autos-da-fé, the establishment of Jesuit "kingdoms" in Paraguay, and Viceroy Toledo's *reducciones* whereby Peruvian Indians were forced to live in accessible towns, even Portuguese slave raids into the interior of Brazil, all were part of the effort to Christianize, Europeanize, and urbanize the native populations of America and, incidentally, to make their labor available to the white settlers.

The most famous of the voices raised in protest at the treatment accorded the Indians was that of a Dominican friar, Bartólome de las Casas, Bishop of Puebla in Mexico. In a debate with Ginés de Sepúlveda, held in Valladolid before King, Council, and the leading jurists of Spain, las Casas argued that Spain's conquest of the Indians was unjust and their rule over them illegitimate. A record of that debate, which las Casas of course lost, was published at Valladolid in 1550. Just over a century later, his deposition was translated and published in London, where its title, *The Tears of the Indians . . .*, went on to allege that the Spaniards had slaughtered "above twenty millions of innocent peoples."

It is beyond dispute that the conquest of America led to what is still believed to be the greatest demographic disaster in the history of the world; nor is it possible to deny that Spaniards and Portuguese occasionally murdered their Indian wards, or worked them to death. But the cause of by far the greater number of Indian deaths was not the cruelty of Iberian conquistadores and settlers, but the European diseases they brought

with them. They also brought institutions with which to alleviate the suffering of Indians and settlers alike. The Iberian social conscious was profoundly religious, and the hospitals and lay organizations known as *cofradías* were cast in the form of *obras pías*, or pious works. Both the living and the dead contributed to them, the former with their time and effort, which included provision of religious exercises. The dead contributed their property, sometimes in the form of an endowment for the saying of masses, but frequently their large estates which were then administered for the benefit of the Church and its dependent institutions.

By the end of the colonial period, the Church and religious orders owned enormous tracts of land throughout the Americas, many of which were only indifferently administered. The exceptions were lands belonging to the Jesuits, who were alleged to be immensely wealthy. When they were expelled from Portugal and Spain in 1758 and 1767 respectively, their estates in the colonies were confiscated and eventually sold at auction.

The complexity of economic life in the Iberian nations and their empires continues to attract scholars to its study. Was the great landed estate the key economic and political institution of the Iberian world? What role did intercontinental and regional trade play in maintaining the unity of empire? There are as yet no very satisfactory answers to those questions, and many more having to do with Spain's relationship with her colonies.

Lack of understanding about the Iberian intercontinental economy during the centuries of colonial rule is especially unfortunate because economic grievances played such an important part in the revolutions for independence. While political and social rivalries between *peninsulares* and *criollos* were important, it was on the economic front that the great battles were fought. In part, they were responses to the reforms in colonial administration effected by José I and his minister the Marqués de Pombal in Portugal, and Carlos III of Spain and his minister,

José de Gálvez. It is increasingly clear, however, that England, France, the fledgling United States, and even Russia had determined to destroy whatever remained of Iberian commercial monopolies in America. The maritime wars of the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth were essentially wars for control of the economic resources of the faltering Iberian world.



By the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was clear that Spain's economic and political achievements of past centuries had created a society, both peninsular and American, unable to adapt to the rapidly-changing European world. To be sure, reforms of the late eighteenth century had significantly altered colonial administration, but they were vitiated in part by conservative opposition and in part by the wartime expenditures which led to an intractable fiscal crisis throughout the empire. The reforms were also specifically designed to make the Spanish colonies more profitable to the metropolis and to increase Spain's political control over them. It is possible, therefore, that the most important factor leading to the rupture between Spain and her American colonies was her failure to redefine the concept of unity in a manner which would permit her increasingly prosperous and sophisticated colonies to participate in the political and economic revolutions which were reshaping the European world.

In comparison with Spain, Portugal's response to the crises of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries hardly deserves to be called a failure. On the contrary, Portugal went far towards redefining the meaning of unity. When Napoleon's army crossed the Pyrennees, the Crown itself moved to Brazil. As a result, Portugal avoided the crises in legitimacy which destroyed Spain when Fernando VII was taken captive by Napo-

leon. Indeed, the Portuguese court stayed in Rio de Janeiro for seven years after Napoleon had been driven from Iberia, and in a stroke of political genius, Prince Regent João declared Brazil to be a kingdom equal to the metropolis.

When independence came to Brazil, it came peacefully, and with neither the economic disruptions which impoverished the Spanish colonies, nor the bitter political antagonisms which divided them into fifteen sovereign states. Brazil embarked on her life as a republic unified politically, and with a sound economy poised for growth.

PATRICIA H. MARKS



Diego de Saavedra Faxardo, *Idea de un príncipe político Christiano* (Munich in 1640 and Valencia 1786).

Purchased with a grant from
The Elizabeth Foundation.



S. Francisco Xavier Apostol. de las Indias.

Ortuño, sc.


Mex. 1758.

Ignacio de Paredes, *Catecismo Mexicano* . . . (Mexico, 1758). The Grenville Kane Collection.





SELECTED CHECKLIST OF THE EXHIBITION


The castles denote books on loan to Princeton University from
The Scheide Library

 Acosta, José de, 1540-1600. *Confesionario para los curas de Indios. Con la instrucción contra sus ritos . . .* (Ciudad de los Reyes: Antonio Ricardo, 1585)

Acuña, Cristobal de, b. 1597. *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Río de las Amazonas . . .* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1641)

 Agurto, Pedro de. *Tractado de que se deven administrar los sacramentos . . . a los Indios de esta Nueva España* (México: Antonio de Spinosa, 1573)

 Albert Valentinus, Michael, ed. *Repertorium perutile de pravitate haereticorum et apostatorum*. (Valencia: Lambert Palmart, 1494)

 Alonso de la Vera Cruz, fray, ca. 1507-1584. *Speculum coniugiorum . . .* (México: Juan Pablos, 1556)

Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon, 1221-1284. *Tabulae astronomicae*. (Venice: E. Ratdolt, 1483)



Anghiera, Pietro Martire d', 1457-1526. *Opus epistolarum* . . . (Alcalá de Henares: Miguel de Eguia, 1530)

Antunez y Acevedo, Rafael, 1736?-1800. *Memorias históricas sobre la legislación y gobierno del comercio* . . . (Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1797)

Arguelles, Agustin de. *Examen histórico de la reforma constitucional que hicieron las Córtes Generales y Estraordinarias* . . . (London: Carlos Wood e Hijo, 1835)



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