

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

SOME STUDIES IN PROGRESS IN SPAIN ON HISPANIC AMERICAN COLONIAL HISTORY¹

Students of Hispanic American colonial history are severely handicapped for want of a regular and timely bibliography of current historical productions. Nothing is available comparable to the excellent bibliographies for other fields of study appearing periodically in *Isis*, the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, the *New England Quarterly*, the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, or the *Journal of the Société des Américanistes de Paris*.² Of course, valuable articles appear from time to time such as those by Robert Ricard,³ Ots, and Altamira,⁴

¹ The notes upon which this article is based were collected during a residence of twenty months in Spain from September 1932 to April 1934. During the first year the writer held the Amherst Memorial fellowship and the second year the Archibald Coolidge fellowship from Harvard University.

² Curiously enough, this REVIEW does not exist so far as the editors of the *Journal* are concerned. Their bibliographical section on Hispanic American history is probably the most complete one regularly published, even listing articles appearing in minor reviews in the United States. Yet none of the articles in this REVIEW are listed.

³ "Les Espagnols et l'Amérique, au XVI^e Siècle. Quelques Notes bibliographiques", *Revue d'histoire Moderne*, IV. (1929), 454-458; "La Période coloniale de l'Histoire du Mexique d'après les Publications récentes", *Revue Historique*, CLXIX. (May-June, 1932), 604-614; "Quelques Publications récentes sur le Mexique", *Revue de l'Amérique Latine* (August, 1931), 163-168. Ricard is the author of *La "Conquête spirituelle" du Mexique* (Paris, 1933), probably the most significant work written in the French language on Hispanic America since George Scelle's *La Traite Nègrière aux Indes de Castille* (Paris, 1906).

⁴ Rafael Altamira has collaborated with his former student José María Ots Capdequí to produce a very useful *Bibliographe des Études sur l'Histoire coloniale provenant d'Auteurs Espagnols ou publiés en Espagne, 1900-1931* (Paris, 1932). This too little known work provides a remarkably complete list of monographs, articles, and new editions and includes as well a list of theses undertaken by Altamira's students at the University of Madrid during the last twenty years. The *Bibliographie* was originally published as a part of a *Bibliographie d'Histoire coloniale* (Paris, 1932) which also contains an article on the bibliography of colonial Chile by Augustín Edwards and another on the Portuguese colonies by Carlos Roma Machado. These chapters may be obtained separately from the publisher.

Ernest G. Jacob,⁵ Lucien Lefebvre,⁶ and by numerous contributors to this REVIEW. Yet despite valiant efforts now being made by various historical journals here and abroad, it cannot be said that any one has succeeded in regularly listing all the important materials.⁷

⁵ "Aus der iberero-amerikanischen Kulturwelt", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXIII Band, 3. Heft (1933) 415-432.

⁶ "Un Champ privilégié d'Études, l'Amérique du Sud", *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale*, I. (April, 1929), 258-278. A useful article on recent works on geography and economics. For recent mission literature, see O. Maas, "Spanische Missionsliteratur in letzten Dezennium", *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 21 (1931), 361-369.

⁷ The *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* made a brave attempt during its short but fruitful life. The quarterly review which has just been launched in Madrid, the *Anales de la Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias*, includes a section which will be devoted to describing current productions in all fields of history by Spanish workers. It will probably contain many references to the history of Spain in America.

No one should neglect the bibliographical lists appearing regularly in the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, the *Revista de Filología Española*, or the remarkable but little known "Bibliografía Hispánica de Ciéncies histórico eclesiàstiques" published yearly in the *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* of Barcelona. Started in 1928 by Josep Vives, the bibliography has improved markedly year by year. Another recently founded journal, the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, included a long bibliography in its first volume (Rome, 1932), pp. 338-379. Regular lists have since appeared each year of works concerning Jesuit history.

The frequent appearance in this REVIEW of notes on the important work being carried on by the *Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América* in Sevilla makes it unnecessary to describe its activities here. See also the article in this REVIEW, vol. XIV, 244-247 (May, 1934) by P. A. Martin entitled "El Centro de Estudios de Historia de América en la Universidad de Sevilla".

In addition to the important work being carried on by Professor José María Ots Capdequí (Technical Director of the Centro) and his assistants in connection with their new edition of the *Recopilación*, the following lecture courses were offered by the Centro during the academic year 1933-1934:

1. Valoración crítica de las fuentes sobre las que descansa todo cuanto sabemos acerca del proceso mental del descubrimiento de América por Cristóbal Colón. By Professor Rómulo D. Carbia of the universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata.
2. Las ideas geográficas de la antigüedad y de la edad media en los descubrimientos oceánicos. By Don Carlos Pereyra.
3. Castilla en la baja edad media. By Professor José Antonio Rubio Sacristan, of the University of Seville.
4. El derecho privado Hispano-Americano del período colonial. By Professor José María Ots Capdequí.

Even more difficult than the attempt to keep abreast of recent publications is the problem of discovering what studies are in progress abroad. No general list exists of theses in progress at Spanish universities and other institutions of learning.⁸ The account of studies on Hispanic American colonial history here submitted is based upon information gained through contacts with friars, professors, archivists, and other students. It does not pretend to be complete.

Inasmuch as our knowledge of the discovery, conquest, and colonization of America depends to a considerable extent upon the progress made in the study of the ideas and institutions of sixteenth century Spain, the news that Fernando de los Ríos is working on a volume to be entitled "El sentido político de España en el siglo XVI" is distinctly good news. Señor de los Ríos, one of Spain's foremost present day philosophers and educators,⁹ first applied his special knowledge to the history of America in the brief but stimulating paper he delivered in 1926 at Harvard University before the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy on "The religious character of colonial

5. *Instituciones de derecho público de la América española durante el período colonial.* By Professor C. H. Haring of Harvard University.

⁸ If Professor Antonio Ballesteros would publish a list of theses worked up under his direction at the University of Madrid, there would be available for Spain information which would roughly approximate that supplied by the Pan American Union in its *Theses on Pan American Topics* (Washington, D. C., 1933) for the United States. The majority of Spanish students who publish articles or books on American history have obtained their training under Altamira or Ballesteros. The problem of making these theses available for use remains unsolved. Dr. Javier Lasso de la Vega, the energetic director of the libraries of the University of Madrid, hopes to accomplish this feat within two or three years. That this question is not entirely solved even in the United States may be seen from the discussion of the "Problem of making doctoral theses generally available to institutions of learning", *Journal of Proceedings of the thirty-fourth annual Conference of the Association of American Universities*, p. 33 (Chicago, 1932). The *Anales de la Universidad de Madrid. Sección de letras* sometimes publishes abstracts of theses among which may be found a few on Spanish colonial history. For example, the thesis by Abel Romero Castillo entitled "Los gobernadores de Guayaquil del siglo XVIII" was described in the *Anales (Sección de letras)* for 1932, pp. 110-111. That the need has been felt for coördination of effort in the field—especially in the study of American archeology in Spain—may be seen from the article by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois "El problema del americanismo en España". *Ibid.*, II. (1933), 232-237.

⁹ Also professor in the Faculty of Law of the University of Madrid, minister of public instruction during Azaña's régime 1931-1933, and now member of the *cortes*.

law in sixteenth century Spain".¹⁰ Subsequently he published another short but likewise valuable article "El anhelo universalista en los teólogos españoles del siglo XVI".¹¹ The book now in progress has grown out of these studies and the lectures he has delivered at various English universities during the past few years.

The growing interest in the Spanish origin of international law has resulted in the formation of an "Asociación de Francisco de Vitoria" the publication plans of which include items of considerable interest for students of the legal history of the new world. It plans to present next year "De insulis oceanis", one of the earliest treatises extant concerning the right of the king of Spain to the Indies, written about 1512 by Juan Lopez Palacios Rubios.¹² The manuscript was unearthed a short while ago by Professor Eloy Bullón of the University of Madrid who will supply the introduction and notes.¹³ The author was an important jurist employed by King Ferdinand and was a member of the embryo Council of the Indies which in 1512 formulated the Laws of Burgos. The *Asociación de Francisco de Vitoria* has also announced an ambitious program of future publications¹⁴ and edits an *Anuario* which frequently contains useful historical material.

¹⁰ Printed in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy*, 1926, pp. 481-485. His *Religión y Estado en la España del Siglo XVI* (New York, 1927) is an elaboration of the same theme.

¹¹ *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, I. (1928) 125-132.

¹² The legal questions precipitated by the discovery of America are receiving much attention now in Spain. It should be noted that even before Palacios Rubios, the problem of the right of Spain to the Indies was discussed by the Scottish theologian John Major. The Spanish Jesuit, Pedro Leturia, gives an excellent account of Major's theories in "Maior y Vitoria ante la conquista de America", *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, Año XL (January, 1932), 44-82. An important treatise written about the time Palacios Rubios composed "De Insulis Oceanis", the "De Dominio Regum" by Matías de Paz O.P., was discovered recently and has been published by the Dominican historian, Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, III. (Rome, 1933).

¹³ Bullón had previously published a biography, *Un Colaborador de los Reyes Católicos: El Doctor Palacios Rubios y sus Obras* (Madrid, 1927). He presented a brief description of the manuscript treatise in a lecture delivered before the University of Salamanca and subsequently printed it privately as a pamphlet entitled *El Problema jurídico de la Dominación Española en América antes de las Relecciones de Francisco de Vitoria* (Madrid, 1933).

¹⁴ The *Asociación* has already published some of the works of Vitoria and a life of Vitoria by Fr. Luis G. Alonso Getino O.P. (Madrid, 1930), and an

Another volume which will help to illumine the early legal history of America is the projected critical edition of "Democrates alter, sive de justis belli causis apud Indos" by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, the greatest opponent of the theories of Bartolomé de Las Casas. Manuel García Pelayo of the University of Madrid is preparing for the "Centro de Estudios Históricos" a carefully annotated edition based upon the version given by Menéndez Pelayo.¹⁵ The volume will probably bear the title "Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda y los Títulos de Soberanía de España en América" and will include an introductory essay concerning the battle over Spain's legal title to the Indies.

Hitherto the *Centro de Estudios Históricos* has emphasized philology rather than history in its seminars and publications.¹⁶ It is to be hoped that the recent organization of a section devoted to American history will mean a different orientation of its studies. Ramón Iglesia, the director of this new section, is engaged in editing a new edition of the "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España", by Bernal Díaz de Castillo, which will include an essay by Américo Castro on its literary value. The Genero García edition has usually been accepted as accurate, but Señor Iglesia has found a goodly number of errors in it, and some omissions.¹⁷ The *Centro* authorities have procured a photostatic copy of the original manuscript in Guatemala and plan to present an accurate version of this classic as their first important documentary publication in the field of American history.

The first two volumes of the *Academia de Historia* edition of Herrera's *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra firme del Mar océano* have appeared. The complete set will run to eight or ten volumes and is under the joint editorship of nounces volumes on the bulls of Alexander VI., Las Casas, Domingo de Soto, Gregorio López, Sepúlveda, and Solórzano.

¹⁵ Published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XXI. Madrid, 1892), 257-369.

¹⁶ Of course the *Centro* has produced some works of importance to historians such as the indispensable *Fuentes de la Historia Española e Hispanoamericana* by B. Sánchez Alonso (rev. ed., Madrid, 1927).

¹⁷ A careful textual study of the Díaz manuscripts and editions is needed. Ignacio Villar Villamil believes that Bernal Díaz wrote two accounts, both original but with somewhat different text. "Observaciones acerca de la Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España escrita por Bernal Díaz", *Anales del Museo nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, cuarta época, vol. VII. (Mexico, 1931-1932), 119-126.

Antonio Ballesteros Beretta and Angel de Altolaquirre y Duvale. Unfortunately the price is too high (30 pesetas per volume) for the purse of most students.

The first volume will doubtless prove to be the most valuable of all because of the introduction and notes, biographical and bibliographical, supplied by Professor Ballesteros. Ballesteros cites the accusations of Fabié, Jiménez de Espada and others that Herrera blindly copied *Las Casas* without giving proper credit. Good use is made of a mass of documents collected during the lawsuit brought by the heirs of Pedrarias Dávila against Herrera¹⁸ to show that Herrera used many other sources besides *Las Casas*. But Professor Ballesteros makes no attempt to grapple seriously with the tangled problem of how Herrera used his sources. The energetic and stimulating Argentine scholar Rómulo Carbia has opened up this rich vein of historical combat in a series of provocative articles,¹⁹ but there still

¹⁸ *Documentos inéditos . . . de América*, vol. 37.

¹⁹ "Fernando Colón, el P. Las Casas, un señor Caddeo y yo", *Nosotros*, LXIX. (Buenos Aires, April, 1930), 59-73; "Fernández de Oviedo, Las Casas y el señor Caddeo", *ibid.*, LXX. (October, 1930), 90-95; "La historia del descubrimiento y los fraudes del P. Las Casas", *ibid.*, LXXII. (June, 1931) 139-154; "La superchería en la historia del descubrimiento de América", *Humanidades*, XX. (La Plata, 1930), 169-184; *El valor testimonial de cuatro cronistas americanos* (Buenos Aires, 1929); "El fraude de la documentación relativa al descubrimiento de América", *Investigación y Progreso*, III. (Madrid, 1929), 104-105; "Un enigma colombino resuelto: Porqué el colonista no hizo mención de Toscanelli", *ibid.*, VI. (Madrid, 1932), 94-97.

Señor Carbia's radical conclusions have not yet been generally accepted. Opposition has arisen both in Argentina and Spain as may be seen from the articles by Emiliana Jos, "Supuestas falsificaciones del P. Las Casas en la Historia de Colón", *Revista de Occidente* (Madrid, February, 1931) and by Rinaldo Caddeo, "Sobre Fernando Colón y el Padre Las Casas", *Nosotros*, LXIX. (Buenos Aires, 1930), 107-111. Probably most students would agree to the decision of the twenty-fifth international congress of Americanists at La Plata in 1932 that "Les conclusions d'une communication de R. Carbia sur la fausseté du témoignage de Las Casas ne furent pas adoptée par le Congrès qui décida que ce sujet devait faire l'objet de nouvelles études plus approfondies, *Jour. Soc. des Amer.*, Nouv. Ser., Tome XXV, fasc. 1, pp. 193-194.

Of course, any serious study of Herrera as a historian must inevitably consider the value of *Las Casas*. The Academia de Historia long ago planned to bring out a critical edition of *Las Casas* (Harrisse, Bib. Amer. Vetus., p. 119) but never did. Nor has the plea made in 1914 by Altamira for such a study been answered, "Necesidad de una bibliografía crítica de las fuentes originales de la historia americana", *Congreso de Historia y Geografía Hispano-Americanas*.

remains a place for a careful study of Herrera as a historian on the scale of Georges Cirot's *Mariana. Historien* (Bordeaux, 1905).

The venerable Rafael Altamira continues to produce and to be the center of considerable activity. He plans to publish soon a "Manual de Historia de España", an illustrated volume of over four hundred pages, and a study of "Phillippe II, Homme d'État" which will appear in the French series "Hommes d'État". Altamira is also bringing out an Italian edition of the revised *Historia de la Civilización Española* and an enlarged and revised edition of the *Psicología del Pueblo Español*. Two new volumes will soon appear in the "Colección de Textos para el Estudio de la Historia y de las Instituciones de América" which Altamira started in 1926. They will be the fourth and fifth volumes in the collection and will be entitled respectively "Textos Primitivos de Legislación Colonial Hispanoamericana" and "Constituciones Primitivas de los Estados Hispanoamericanos".

Another series which Altamira founded and now directs with the assistance of his former student, Dr. Santiago Magariños—the publications of the "Instituto de Derecho comparado hispano-portugués-americano"—will include soon a Spanish translation of Friedrich Weber's still useful essay *Beiträge zur Charakteristik der älteren Geschichtsschreiber über Spanisch-Amerika* (Leipzig, 1911).

Another of Altamira's former students, Juan Manzano, has had his article on "Un compilador indiano: Don Manuel Josef de Ayala" accepted by the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*.

Actas y Memorias, pp. 185-191 (Madrid, 1914). Interest has recently revived somewhat, but the studies made thus far are mostly pot-shots of no great general significance. Some of these articles are Lucius Lee Hubbard's "Did Columbus Discover Tobago?", *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam*, pp. 211-223 (New Haven, 1929), William Warren Bishop and Andrew Keogh, editors; Fritz Streicher's "Las notas marginales colombinas y Las Casas", *Investigación y Progreso*, III. (Madrid, 1929), 44-45; Cecil Jane's "The opinion of Columbus concerning Cuba and the Indies", *Geographical Journal*, LXXIII. 266-270, and "The administration of the Colons in Española, 1493-1500", *Proceedings of the Twenty-first International Congress of Americanists*, First Part (The Hague, 1924); John F. O'Hara's criticism of Las Casas's treatment of Fonseca in "Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca: First President of the Indies (1493-1523)", *Catholic Historical Review*, III. (July, 1917) 131-150. See also Karl Panhorst, *Deutschland und Amerika. Ein Rückblick auf das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (Munich, 1928); *The Great Age of Discovery*, A. P. Newton, Ed. (London, 1932); B. Duhr, "Die Kolumbus Frage", *Stimmen der Zeit*, LXI. (1930) 195-207.

Altamira is including in his "Colección de Textos para el Estudio de la Historia y de las Instituciones de América" a volume of Ayala's *Notas a las Leyes de Indias* with a prologue by Manzano.

The *Archivo General de Indias* has always been a sort of studious beehive. Tourists who wander through the archive may see merely a group of people bending over manuscripts but, to those who know, the peculiar light which burns in the eyes of every student there betokens a flood of monographs, articles, and documentary publications soon to be released on a patient public.

José Torre Revello, who has labored long in the archives for the Argentine government, hopes that during the present year the following studies may be added to his already lengthy list of publications:²⁰

El libro y la imprenta en América durante la dominación española.

El marqués de Solere Monte, gobernador-intendente de Córdoba del Tucumán y virrey de Buenos Aires.

La desaparecida ciudad de Esteco.

La desaparecida ciudad llamada Concepción del Bermejo.

Miss Irene Wright, whose endurance record in the archives has yet to be broken by an American student, is completing her third volume for the Hakluyt Society of Spanish documents on the English voyages in the Caribbean²¹ which will take the story down to the end of Elizabeth's reign. The Dutch Royal Historical Society will bring out this year Miss Wright's two volume work on the Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Main in the period 1621-1648 in time for the quadrennial celebration of the Dutch occupation of Curaçao in 1934. Several maps and a reproduction of the painting in the Prado of Hendrickson's withdrawal from Puerto Rico will be included.

Dr. Ernst Schäfer,²² who has been laboring for a long time in the

²⁰ For his publications to date, see the article in this REVIEW for May, 1934 (vol. XIV, 262-268) by Irving A. Leonard, "Bibliography of José Torre Revello". This list has recently been published in Spanish translation.

²¹ *Documents concerning English voyages to the Spanish main.*

²² Dr. Schäfer has already published small portions of his volume in the Madrid journal, *Investigación y Progreso*, such as "Felipe II, el Consejo de Indias y el Virrey Don Francisco de Toledo" (July-August, 1931); "El origen del Consejo de Indias" (May, 1933); "El origen del Consejo de Indias. ¿Ha existido la Junta de Indias?" (March, 1933); "La plantilla del Consejo de Indias y las reformas intentadas durante el reinado de Carlos II" (1932), pp. 59-62; and "Algunos confictos de jurisdicción en la administración española durante los siglos XVI y XVII" (1932), pp. 121-125.

archives on his history of the Council of the Indies, has completed the study and will publish it soon in Germany and expects to arrange for a Spanish translation thereafter.

Readers who were delighted with the first volume of *Planos de Monumentos Arquitectónicos de América y Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*, by Professor Diego Angulo Iñiguez of the Laboratory of Art of the University of Seville may look forward to the appearance this year of the second volume. He also expects to publish a volume of "Documentos sobre obras de arte hechas para América, del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla" and the first fruit of his recent trip to Mexico, "Noticias sobre obras de arte conservadas en las iglesias de Méjico". It is encouraging to know that there is at least one competent and serious student in Spain of the vast subject of colonial art.

In closing this brief sketch, it is pertinent to refer to the important volumes which Roberto Levillier, the Argentine diplomat and historian, plans to publish this year. The two volume work he is preparing on "Don Francisco de Toledo. Supremo Organizador del Perú" will be the first full length study of this great colonial figure and will embody new material from the archives which may modify considerably the generally accepted views of Toledo's work and the institutions he moulded in Peru. In order to substantiate certain of his theories, Señor Levillier will bring out simultaneously with the biography a volume to be entitled "Los Incas del Perú. Sus orígenes y costumbres segun las Informaciones del Virrey Toledo y la Historia Indica de Sarmiento de Gamboa en sus Concordancias y Disidencias con los principales Cronistas de Indias".

Two books just published but not yet generally known are *España en Indias. Nuevos Ataques y nuevas Defensas* (Vitoria, 1934) by the prolific Jesuit writer Constantino Bayle and Antonio Ibot's *Los Trabajadores del Río Magdalena durante el Siglo XVI* (Barcelona, 1933). Bayle's *apologia* for the Spanish régime in America is one of the most complete yet published and Ibot's study presents interesting information on a little known aspect of the labor problem in sixteenth century America.

Finally, when Señor J. Domínguez Bordona completes his catalogue of manuscripts in the national palace, formerly the king's library, another important collection will be available for students of the colonial period.

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