

<sup>48</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Voyage of the Vassals: Royal Power, Noble Obligations, and Merchant Capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence, 1624-1640," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 754.

<sup>49</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Voyage of the Vassals: Royal Power, Noble Obligations, and Merchant Capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence, 1624-1640," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 762.

<sup>50</sup> Richard L. Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (April 1996), page 441.

<sup>51</sup> David E. Vassberg, review of Helen Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516-1700* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 5 (December 1991), page ??

<sup>52</sup> Richard L. Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (April 1996), page 442.

<sup>53</sup> Eirlys Barker, ??, page xii ??, fn. 8, Colin G. Calloway, *Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783-1815* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), xii.

<sup>54</sup> Inga Clendinnen, Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570 page 113 as cited by Steve J. Stern, review in The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), page 1515.

<sup>55</sup> Sabine MacCormack, "???" The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), page 980.

<sup>56</sup> James Axtell, After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), page 185, available from the Thomas Nelson Community College Learning Resources Center Library number: E93 .A954 1988.

<sup>57</sup> Henry C. Dethloff, review of R. Douglas Hurt, Indian Agriculture in America: Prehistory to the Present in The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), page 1463.

<sup>58</sup> David Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery ??," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (December 1993), page 1407.

<sup>59</sup> David Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery ??," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (December 1993), page 1407.

- <sup>35</sup> Thomas F. Glick, review of Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A [sic] Historical Revision*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 5 (December 1999), pages 1774.
- <sup>36</sup> William Monter, review of Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An [sic] Historical Revision* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (October 1999), page 626.
- <sup>37</sup> Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An [sic] Historical Revision*, page 318 as reviewed by William Monter in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (October 1999), page 626.
- <sup>38</sup> William Monter, review of Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An [sic] Historical Revision* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (October 1999), page 626.
- <sup>39</sup> Thomas F. Glick, review of Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A [sic] Historical Revision*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 5 (December 1999), pages 1773-1774.
- <sup>40</sup> Thomas F. Glick, review of Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A [sic] Historical Revision*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 5 (December 1999), pages 1773.
- <sup>41</sup> Albert J. Loomie, S.J., review of Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, The Spanish Armada. The Experience of War in 1588 in The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 75, No. 3 (July 1989), pages 512-513.
- <sup>42</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Voyage of the Vassals: Royal Power, Noble Obligations, and Merchant Capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence, 1624-1640," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), pages 735 and 753-754.
- <sup>43</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Voyage of the Vassals: Royal Power, Noble Obligations, and Merchant Capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence, 1624-1640," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 754.
- <sup>44</sup> William S. Maltby, review of Bernard Vincent, *1492: "L'Annee admirable"* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 5 (December 1992), page 1488.
- <sup>45</sup> *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia: Third Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), page 790.
- <sup>46</sup> *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia: Third Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), page 313.
- <sup>47</sup> Bernard Dov Cooperman, review of Benjamin R. Gampel, *The Last Jews on Iberian Soil: Navarrese Jewry, 1479/1498* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), pages 1210-1211.

- <sup>23</sup> Edward A. Synan, review of Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority. The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (January 1994), page 134.
- <sup>24</sup> Robert I. Burns, S.J., "The Barcelona `Disputation' of 1263: Conversionism and Talmud in Jewish-Christian Relations: Review Article," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (July 1993 ), page 493. The review is of Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath*.
- <sup>25</sup> Richard L. Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (April 1996), page 440.
- <sup>26</sup> Gui is mentioned in the fifth edition of Chambers on page 362; the comparable place in the sixth edition is page 267, in the seventh edition, page 313.
- <sup>27</sup> James Given, "The Inquisitors of Languedoc and the Medieval Technology of Power," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (April 1988), pages 336-353.
- <sup>28</sup> Karen Halttunen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain ??," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), pages 315 and 394.
- <sup>29</sup> Karen Halttunen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain ??," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), pages 309-310.
- <sup>30</sup> John K. Brackett, review of Pieter Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience; Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe* *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 5 (December 1992), pages 1511-1512.
- <sup>31</sup> Allen Steinberg, review of Adam Jay Hirsch, *The Rise of the Penitentiary: Prisons and Punishment in Early America* in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (December 1993), page 1050.
- <sup>32</sup> John K. Brackett, review of Pieter Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience; Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe* *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 5 (December 1992), pages 1512.
- <sup>33</sup> John K. Brackett, review of Pieter Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience; Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe* *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 5 (December 1992), pages 1512.
- <sup>34</sup> Thomas F. Glick, review of Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A [sic] Historical Revision*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 5 (December 1999), pages 1773.

<sup>10</sup> Jack A. Goldstone, review of Charles Tilly, *European Revolutions, 1492-1992*. (The Making of Europe.) in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (October 1994), page 1306.

<sup>11</sup> Draws heavily from The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), pp. ??.

<sup>12</sup> The diligent student will remember that capitalism is a theme running through these lectures. See Topic 7 Hellenic Culture, 11 Roman Empire, 24 Commerce, 26 The Crusades, 32 The Renaissance, and 38 England.

<sup>13</sup> Louisa Schell Hoberman, review of Ross Hassig, Trade, Tribute, and Transportation: The Sixteenth-Century Political Economy of the Valley of Mexico, The American Historical Review, Vol. 91, No. 3 (June 1986), page 765. ?? double check.

<sup>14</sup> Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "AHR Forum: *Revolutions in the Americas*: The Emancipation of America," The American Historical Review, Vol. 105, No. 1 (February 2000), page 136.

<sup>15</sup> Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "AHR Forum: *Revolutions in the Americas*: The Emancipation of America," The American Historical Review, Vol. 105, No. 1 (February 2000), page 135.

<sup>16</sup> Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "AHR Forum: *Revolutions in the Americas*: The Emancipation of America," The American Historical Review, Vol. 105, No. 1 (February 2000), page 135-136.

<sup>17</sup> Steve J. Stern, "???", The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 1988), page 838.

<sup>18</sup> Henry A. Kamen, review of Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478-1834* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 85??, No. 3 (July 1999), pages 509-511.

<sup>19</sup> William S. Maltby, review of Bernard Vincent, *1492: "L'Annee admirable"* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 5 (December 1992), page 1487.

<sup>20</sup> Penafort is spelled in a variety of ways. The Professor originally learned to spell it *Pennafort*. In 1993, the scholar, Robert I. Burns, S.J., used *Penyafort* in *The Catholic Historical Review*. *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Richard P. McBrien, General Editor (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), page 1080 used *Penafort*, with a circumflex over the *n*.

<sup>21</sup> Robert I. Burns, S.J., "The Barcelona `Disputation' of 1263: Conversionism and Talmud in Jewish-Christian Relations: Review Article," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (July 1993 ), page 493. The review is of Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath*.

<sup>22</sup> Edward A. Synan, review of Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority. The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (January 1994), pages 133-134.

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The professor wants to regard this loyalty as following a primary loyalty to truth over politics. The following three passages reflect this preference of the Professor.

0525	2	3	3-4	". . . vociferous group of religious reformers."
0526	2	1	6-7	". . . a subject's right to criticize the monarch."
0526-0527				"Calvinist Scots took up arms rather than accept the Anglican prayer book . . ."

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Will and Ariel Durant in Volume VII of his story of civilization, entitled The Age of Reason, begin this topic on pages 37 and 38. Also see ??? The American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 3 (June 1987).

<sup>2</sup> T. H. Breen and Timothy Hall, "??," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 103, No. 5 (December 1998), page 1432.

<sup>3</sup> ??, review of Anthony Padgen, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513-1830* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 5 (December 1991), page 1505.

<sup>4</sup> ??, review of Anthony Padgen, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513-1830* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 5 (December 1991), page 1505.

<sup>5</sup> Franklin W. Knight, "AHR Forum: Revolutions in the Americas: The Haitian Revolution," The American Historical Review, Vol. 105, No. 1 (February 2000), page 105.

<sup>6</sup> *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia: Third Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), page 208. Also of interest is David Bushnell, review of Marie Laure Rieu-Millan, *Los diputados americanos in las Cortes de Cadiz (Igualdad o independencia)* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page 967.

<sup>7</sup> *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia: Third Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), page 208.

<sup>8</sup> Jack A. Goldstone, review of Charles Tilly, *European Revolutions, 1492-1992*. (The Making of Europe.) in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (October 1994), page 1306.

<sup>9</sup> Jack A. Goldstone, review of Charles Tilly, *European Revolutions, 1492-1992*. (The Making of Europe.) in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (October 1994), page 1306.

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0505 1 1 5

". . . inevitable."

The professor warns that little, if anything, is ever *inevitable* in history. Just because something happened, makes it easy to argue that the happening was *inevitable*. The Professor would prefer something like *understandable* or the like.

0505 1 1 7

". . . two religious camps . . ."

This should not imply that Protestants formed one camp. Opposition to Catholicism, not agreement among themselves, gave Protestants any sense of unity they might have had as a totality.

For example on page 517, column 2, fourth last line, Chambers refers to "two Sides" meaning two different groups of Protestants, not Protestants and Catholics.

0506 1 2 6

". . . a model of prudence . . ."

The Professor has developed different meanings for prudence in Topic 32--Renaissance at G. Women (continued) 2. Identity.

0506 1 2 20

". . . a Christian hero . . ."

The Professor wonders whether Chambers is limiting the hero status of Philip II in 1571 at Lepanto to Latin Christendom, exclusive of Orthodox Christendom.

0506 caption

"*El Greco*

*El Greco* (1541-1614) was the Greek who lived in Spain. Chambers writes him up on page 557, with a reference back to this illustration.

0514 1 4 11-end

". . . he primary focus of political theory ever since: control versus freedom, the need for authority and yet the equal need for subjects' rights.

The way to resolve this focus is by testing whether truth is determining politics or politics truth; all the while granting that there may be differing perceptions of truth and that what is regarded as true, may be false.

0519 2 3 8-11

". . . the emergence of the state as the basic unit and object of loyalty in Western civilization."

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dissertation under his direction. Axtell has authored particularly good map on Tidewater Indians, particularly the Powhatan.<sup>56</sup>

Actually the pre-Columbian Indians were doing quite well for themselves. North American agriculture derived from what was happening in Central America and concentrated on corn, beans, and squash. By 1000 B.C., those in Central America were full-time farmers supporting large-scale civilizations. Cotton and cotton textiles were introduced into New Mexico about 700 AD. About the time of Charlemagne in Europe, in 800 AD, Indian agriculture began to change from garden plots to a field system. Rotation, rather than fertilization, was common to Indian agriculture.<sup>57</sup>

Wool, wheat, chili peppers, and horses were introduced by the Spanish. The Indians rejected the hogs. When the Spanish came, North American Indians were not primarily agriculturists and, consequently did not share the European notion of private property. Neither did the Indians understand that it was the men, rather than the women, who were supposed to do agricultural work. The net result was that with the disruption of their cultures, the nomadic North American Indians lost both their land and their agricultural skills.

## **O. Africans**

Where is the proper place to deal with the demographic effects of the African slave trade? Topic 36--Exploration seems inappropriate because African slavery was not about exploration. African slavery was about exploitation. African slavery was, at first, about Spanish exploitation.

In the first half of the Eighteenth Century about 1000 British convicts were sent to the Caribbean to each 25,000 Africans. To the epidemiologists this means that the issue was not between African and European immunities. After 1750 the African exodus averaged 50,000 per year.<sup>58</sup> David Eltis observes "A properly exploited system drawing on convicts, prisons, and vagrants from all countries of Europe could easily have provided 50,000 forced migrants a year . . ."<sup>59</sup>

## **P. Conclusion**

By paying strict attention to the formal lecture and by reading the supplement, the student is better able to evaluate the legitimation of human rights as the Old World spread to the New. Students are reminded to read, study, and think. Students are reminded to prepare a comment.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 0504-0530.

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. Some of these disagreements are set forth above and others in the following comments.

Page Column  
Paragraph  
Line

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## 1. Maya (my' a)

So far, in this lecture and supplement, the student has been surveying the interconnections between Europe and the Americas. The basic interest has been in the legitimacy of human rights. That concern for human rights now shifts back to the Indians, again. The comments begin with a description of the geographic underpinnings of Mayan history.

The Yucatan ('you ka tan') Peninsula is that part of southern Mexico which reaches into the Caribbean to touch Cuba as a part of a circle closing in Florida. The Yucatan Peninsula backs into Guatemala on the Pacific. From the Pacific another peninsula heads back out, to the south, back into the Caribbean. That other peninsula is split in two, with Honduras toward the north and Nicaragua to the south. Honduras backs into El Salvador on the Pacific, Nicaragua extends right to the Pacific. Central America narrows south of Nicaragua into Costa Rica and Panama before reaching Colombia. The Mayans lived on the Yucatan Peninsula, the Incas south of Colombia, in Peru.

At first, the Spanish missionaries did better with the Mayans than with the Aztecs in Mexico City, because the conquistadors tended to stay away from the Yucatan Peninsula. In 1562, the Franciscans discovered that even the most trusted Mayan Christians were still secretly practicing idolatry, including human sacrifice. The Franciscans reacted with an unbounded violence which exposed "something of the emotion-charged punitive rage of the betrayed parent."<sup>54</sup>

One must be careful when treating Yucatan. While during the mid- and late colonial periods the area was an economic backwater, earlier, when the Franciscans were working with the Mayans, a great deal of economic vitality was present. In the beginning of the colonial period, the Spaniards were developing regional export trades, involving cotton textiles, honey and wax, and indigo. Indigo is a blue vat dye obtained from plants. Transportation, in and out of Yucatan, relied more on Indian porters than on horses and mules. Later, competition from Central America ruined the Yucatan indigo trade. This means that the Franciscan missionaries were working in a quite secular context, a context which would have invited suspicion of Christianity by the Mayans.

## 2. Inca

The Incas had some cataclysmic events, like the universal flood of Noah, to compare with the Bible. While Europeans, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, searched for the precise year of the flood, the Andeans understood the flood as a marker in time, rather than a date. The Indians had a prophecy of a predestined end of the Inca Empire, a prophecy which coincided with the Spanish conviction of a providential mission.<sup>55</sup> All of this combined to help Christianize the Incas.

## 3. North American

The North American Indians, particularly those as far away from the Spanish as Virginia, were relatively primitive. Some of the best thinkers on North American Indians are relatively local, for example, James Axtell, who has an international reputation at The College of William and Mary and Eirlys Barker, a professor at Thomas Nelson Community College who developed her doctoral

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Before the Dutch take-over, the New Christians, in 1605, had paid the Portuguese crown a huge sum of money to guarantee their ability to function as merchants. Between 1609 and 1621 Holland and Spain honored one another with the Twelve Years' Truce. Merchants prospered. At the Portuguese Cortes of 1619, nobles argued that the New Christian merchants had formed a political network contrary to the best interests of the kingdom. The nobles wanted the New Christians excluded from government posts and forbidden to learn either Latin or medicine. The nobles wanted the New Christians expelled from the kingdom and overseas territories.<sup>48</sup>

The nobles succeeded and, in the long run, it was they, not the merchants who severely damaged the Iberian kingdoms. Both north and south of the Pyrenees, crowns favored the merchants, but with far different results. South of the Pyrenees, that favor did not take hold as it did to the north. Western civilization profited from permitting the merchants to ply their trades.<sup>49</sup>

The Habsburg Spanish crown sold townships and thereby decentralized. To the north, the kings centralized their holdings and brought merchant interests under the protection of the crown. The difference lay in the difference in which the nobles were treated. To the south, for a price, towns received independence from both the nobles and the king. After the Comunero revolt of 1521-1522, there was little else to disturb Habsburg rule in Spain. Spanish revenues were the main support of the Habsburg monarchy. These revenues enabled Philip IV (1621-1665) to develop "the largest and most envied art collection in seventeenth-century Europe."<sup>50</sup> To the north, where there was no price to be paid, towns received a certain amount of political independence from the nobles, but not from the kings.<sup>51</sup>

The Spanish Armada symbolizes political power, the ability of politics to determine truth. On the Iberian peninsula events exposed the effort to deny the pursuit of economic truths by merchants when contested by the political realities of the established nobility. Recently examined data from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries tempers received assumptions that Spain was backward and in decline.<sup>52</sup> The issue of using politics to deny identity also seems at work here. Spain lacked revolts because Spain protected, rather than subsumed, local identities.

Western civilization responded by hampering the ability of the forces on the Iberian peninsula to participate in the development of the greater economic truths pursued elsewhere in that same civilization. Politically Spain continued without the severe domestic disruptions known in places like France, England, the Germanies, and Italy. For Western civilization to prosper, however, lack of revolt is not enough; active pursuit of truth even in the face of political repression is required.

## **N. Indians**

With regard to accuracy, the Professor is more comfortable calling Indians native Americans. Too much accuracy, however, can lead to lack of understanding. In this lecture, therefore, the Professor relies on Indian. The Professor likes to follow the practice of the scholar Helen Rountree of Virginia Commonwealth University. She likes to avoid the issue by referring to the specific group to which particular native Americans belong. Eirlys Barker, a Professor at Thomas Nelson Community College calls attention to Colin G. Calloway who uses *Indian* as a convenient alternative to Native American.<sup>53</sup>

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relating horrible details of imprisonment, he concludes that prison condition were not all that bad (p. 192), then goes on to state that the proportionately small number of executions among all cases is an effective argument against the "legend of a bloodthirsty tribunal" (p. 203). The facts ought to speak for themselves, rather than requiring adornment with constant exculpatory pleas.<sup>40</sup>

## **M. The Spanish Armada**

Since 1588, the defeat of the Spanish Armada is such a convenient date around which to peg European history, some brief commentary on the four hundredth anniversary is in order. The struggle lasted for another sixteen years, not being finally settled until 1604. The battle was inconclusive and, in itself, "not a defeat."<sup>41</sup>

In 1625 the largest naval force to cross the Atlantic to that time, took Salvador da Bahia in northeastern Brazil, from the Dutch who had taken the capitol from the Portuguese. Class conflict explains what happened. Spanish nobility ran the navy; merchants, including newly converted Jews, ran the businesses. The nobles blamed the New Christians for the loss of the Portuguese colony to the Dutch. While not all New Christians were merchants, most merchants were New Christians. The issue was not blame in foreign affairs but prosperity in domestic affairs.<sup>42</sup>

Merchants were forming a basis for international trade and prosperity, across political boundaries. There were new networks of business rivaling long-standing political interests. Many of the new business interests were the province of Jews, Jews whom some governments tolerated for their business skills, but whom neither the Spanish nor the Portuguese wanted to tolerate.<sup>43</sup>

The forced expulsion of the Jews was not necessarily a bad thing for Spain. The Jews who left before the forced expulsion in 1492 were probably both more wealthy and more numerous. Between 1492 and 1615 more than a million people left Spain, including between four and five hundred thousand Christians who reached the Americas. All of this worked to bring the globe into closer village contact, spreading Spanish culture.<sup>44</sup>

Jews of the Spanish diaspora are known as Sephardic Jews. Their traditions were transferred to North Africa and the Middle East and, then, adopted by local Jewish communities. *Sephardim* now refers to Middle Eastern Jews. Sephardic Jews founded communities in Hamburg, Amsterdam, London, and New Amsterdam, i.e. New York.<sup>45</sup> Since Anne Frank's family only fled Nazi rule for Amsterdam in 1933,<sup>46</sup> Anne Frank probably was not Sephardic.

There was another group of Jews in Navarre who were not forced to leave in 1492. These Jews were well-integrated into the over-all community, in agriculture, in trade, in high finance. When Ferdinand and Isabella came after them in 1498, they were left no choice but to convert. No nation would give them the necessary visas required in order to leave. "Only a very few had the courage and conviction to risk their lives by trying to escape to a Jewish community elsewhere."<sup>47</sup>

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1806. William T. G. Morton successfully administered ether anesthesia to a surgical patient at Massachusetts General Hospital in 1846. on page 658 in the seventh edition of Chambers.<sup>29</sup>

In the Sixteenth Century the idea was to discourage unwillingness to work and a life of crime with a life of hard labor in prison. Early modern England had workhouses designed to rehabilitate those more interested in stealing than working. The model was the medieval monastery.<sup>30</sup> In the late Eighteenth Century, prisons became a conservative alternative to public punishments, which were losing their effectiveness due to the complexity arising from larger towns. Historians are struggling with the relationship between prisons and "the liberal, capitalist, free-labor society emerging in the United States."<sup>31</sup> Great Britain always mistrusted any institution, such as the prison, which might expand the authority of the king.<sup>32</sup>

The prison system developed unevenly across Europe. Prisons, as places of afflictive incarceration rather than jails, had become important in Holland by 1650. Holland had the wealth to build such prisons. The Holy Roman Empire was following suit by 1800. Other places, such as Italy and Spain lacked the financial strength to build such places. Italy and Spain relied on galley service and forced labor. Britain and France were more inclined simply to transport convicts from their midst.<sup>33</sup>

Returning to the time of the Inquisitions in Spain, much of the modern understanding of the Spanish Inquisition is flawed. The Spanish was not as monolithic, efficient, or well-grounded institutionally as is often assumed.<sup>34</sup> On page 488 in the seventh edition, Chambers seems to accept these false assumptions by writing, "The persecution helped foster a religious unity that enhanced the political centralization that the monarchy had achieved." On page 509 Chambers stretches the Spanish Inquisition to the Netherlands. The engravings on page 509 and on page 534 are both of the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition. In the caption on page 534, ". . . and in a few cases Protestants . . ." Chambers is probably not referring to what was happening in the Netherlands. Referring to the Spanish Inquisition one reviewer calls what happened, ". . . the ruthless extirpation of Protestantism. . ." <sup>35</sup>

Henry Kamen is the scholar regarded as the author of "the standard English-language synthesis about Spain's notorious Holy Office,"<sup>36</sup> namely the Spanish Inquisition. Kamen, a world-class expert, reports that ". . . the Inquisition was only a product of the society it served."<sup>37</sup> The Spanish Inquisition was "old Europe's most effective censorship machinery."<sup>38</sup>

Kamen has encountered problems writing about the Spanish Inquisition. In his attempt to understand Kamen at times has tended to excuse. Aware of this, Kamen consistently insists that there is no excuse worthy of modern criteria for the excesses of the Spanish Inquisition. Quoting the reviewer gives a sense of the politics associated with writing about the Spanish Inquisition.<sup>39</sup>

With regard to the impact of censorship, the Inquisition was not unique in Europe in imposing thought control, nor can it be blamed for fossilizing academic culture for 300 years (p. 133). Kamen denies that Spain was cut off from contact with the outside world, then admits the "unquestionable isolated state of peninsular culture" (p. 135). After

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In the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, judges began to experiment with imprisonment as a form of punishment. Ecclesiastical judges particularly liked this, since they were forbidden to shed blood. In 1298, Pope Boniface VIII declared that imprisonment was an appropriate form of punishment for clerics. Such imprisonment in monasteries and bishoprics had long been the case. It was time for the state to take over the practice.

The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century inquisitors specialized in utilization of the prison as an instrument of justice. Life imprisonment or a sentence of years in prison was a favorite instrument of the courts. Gui observed that a few years in jail often produced amazing results, when the prisoners were again brought to court. These results pertained, not only to the prisoners themselves, but also to those who feared that to which the prisoners might testify.

The destruction of the Knights Templar, the direct ancestors of the Masons, is the most well-known activity of the inquisitors. Under King Philip IV, the Fair, the French Templars were arrested en masse in 1305. Torture was used to obtain untrue confessions and the order was repressed. This permitted Philip to take over the treasury of the Knights Templar, which was probably his real objective in the first place.

The inquisitors used punishments long deemed socially acceptable, such as fines, whipping, mutilation, or execution. The purpose to which these penalties were put, behavior modification, was new. The new idea of the punishment was not so much to punish, as to improve, behavior. The penalties inquisitors handed down were officially classified as penances for sin.

This may help explain why the medieval Inquisition was not particularly bloody. Of the 930 sentences passed down by Gui, only forty-two went to the stake to be burned alive; 307 went to prison; 143 had to wear crosses; and another nine were sent on pilgrimages. Except for those in prison, almost all convicted heretics had to wear identifying foot-tall yellow cross on their clothing, front and back, always visible. Those who gave false witness had to wear red tongues. The battle for supremacy between principles of truth and principles of politics in Spain favored politics. The Inquisition shifted from being determined by truth through the Church to being determined by politics through the State.

Before continuing with the history of the Inquisitions in Spain a few words on the cultural perception of pain will lend context to understanding what went on. All the way into the Nineteenth Century, the torments of the scaffold were held in public view. The French Revolution and the guillotine conjure up the appropriate images. In the Nineteenth Century, penitentiaries took such pain private. Enjoying such pain had become *Sadistic* and *pornographic*.<sup>28</sup>

Until the Eighteenth Century medicine regarded pain as part of the natural healing process. To illustrate, at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, *anesthesia* referred to a physical defect, by the end of the century *anesthesia* was celebrated as a blessing. By 1750 physicians began looking for ways to alleviate pain as something unnecessary for healing. Joseph Priestly discovered nitrous oxide gas in 1773. Priestly is mentioned for isolating oxygen Morphine was first isolated in

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are some things . . . hard to understand, which the ignorant and unstable twist to their own destruction. . ." (2 Peter 3:15, 16).<sup>23</sup>

Evidently The Disputation of 1263 was a sign of a new Thirteenth Century interest in converting Jews. In 1986 an English television production, "The Disputation" was based on the 1263 arguments. Barcelona was little involved in the Reconquest and had no resident Muslims. Spanish provinces did differ from place to place.<sup>24</sup>

Historiography has not treated Spain kindly. The negative effects of the Inquisition have been unbalanced. Jews are portrayed as not successfully assimilating into Spanish society.<sup>25</sup>

While the Spanish Inquisition may only be peripherally related to capitalism, the Spanish Inquisition is rather directly related to human rights. The Spanish Inquisition stands for the opposite of what the U. S. values. That position has found well-known artistic expression. The book and movie entitled Name of the Rose forced attention on Bernard Gui, the inquisitor of Toulouse. Gui is mentioned and indexed in the fifth edition of Chambers on page 362, he is not indexed and is omitted from the comparable place in the sixth and seventh editions.<sup>26</sup>

Between 1308 and 1323 Gui condemned 930 people for heresy. This was part of the centralization of power required for the development of the nation state in which millions of people would be governed. This was part of the development of European law and order. The king extended his power by extending his justice throughout the realm.<sup>27</sup>

Before the Twelfth Century, courts had been under the jurisdictions of local communities, rather than the monarchies. These earlier judicial tribunals had been more theaters for negotiation of settlements based on compromise than the sites of definitive judgments authoritatively imposed on litigants. Ordeals, the recitation of oaths to help the accused, and battle were all beyond the control of judges.

The people were losing control to the king. In the earlier scenario, the burden of proof was properly borne by the accuser. If the accusation failed, however, the accuser suffered the penalty otherwise falling on the accused. In the Twelfth Century, the church began to get involved as it tried to weed out heresy or unorthodox doctrines. Ecclesiastical judges claimed the right to proceed without the instigation of the aggrieved. In this way, by the end of the Twelfth Century, the procedure of inquisitio had been introduced into ecclesiastical courts.

Now the church could proceed against the accused solely on the basis of public rumor. By the second half of the Thirteenth Century the state was using church procedure against criminals. Something relatively new was introduced, imprisonment. Mention is made of this in the Comments on Chambers at page 0477 in Topic 35--Exploration.

Earlier, imprisonment had not been used either as punishment or as a means for rehabilitation. Imprisonment was originally used to keep the accused around until the time of trial. Prison time occurred only between arrest and trial and again between trial and execution.

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Empires had to use *benign neglect*, though to different degrees. Distance combined with New World opportunities forced the Empires to rule through consent rather than force. Through the first part of the Eighteenth Century, European powers left the new inhabitants of America very much alone. When they did get involved, the European powers took decidedly different tacks. The Spanish and French had a different racial balance than the "substantially larger white settler population" of the British.<sup>16</sup>

## **K. Capitalism**

The formal lecture contains a functional definition of what capitalism means. Capitalism and the Spanish do go together, although capitalism is better, in the sense of more usually, associated with the nation states of northern Europe. The ancient Roman economy included production aimed at exchange-value rather than use-value. What is, arguably, new in modern times is production based on wage-labor. Wage-labor permitted flexibility with technological innovations.<sup>17</sup>

In the definition of capitalism on page 466, Chambers does not acknowledge the wage-labor dimension of capitalism. The neo-Marxist view of capitalism, unlike Chambers, focuses on the production of goods, rather than on the circulation of goods. This neo-Marxist approach shifts interest from the expansion of the profit motive and international commerce to the replacement of servile labor by wage labor. Mass markets and consumption find a place along side of production as an explanation for how capitalism works. Dr. Jirran has not yet perceived scholarly repercussions relative to neo-Marxism associated with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. That political event may be expected to affect how truths of history are perceived.

## **L. Inquisitions in Spain**

After considering the Spanish Inquisition at Valencia, at least one scholar argues that the term "Spanish Inquisition" is inappropriate. The Inquisition in Spain differed too much from province to province to join together. In the 1560s New Christians, Jewish *conversos*, ran the Inquisition. This was far different from the anti-Semitism known at Castile.<sup>18</sup> A sense of the differences is implied from the fact that the first Castilian grammar by Antonio de Nebrija was published in 1492.<sup>19</sup>

The Professor would like to know more about Barcelona, where his name's sake lived, Raymond Penyafort.<sup>20</sup> Barcelona held a large and lively Jewish community.<sup>21</sup> Raymond in his writing of Canon Law insisted that, whatever else, Jews had a right to exist in Christian lands. From the Middle East, Jews could have gone anywhere, but they chose Western civilization. The Professor wonders what attraction, if any, the profession of truth over politics held for the Jewish communities.

There is a simplistic notion that the condition of Jews moved from "a kind of golden age in the ninth century to a decline extending from the eleventh century forward."<sup>22</sup> The problem with St. Paul, the New Testament writer, in his relationship with the Jews was only formally resolved with the Declaration *Nostra aetate* at Vatican II.

Paul's companion, Peter, was not wrong to write, "So also our beloved brother Paul wrote to you according to the wisdom given him. . . . There

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the course goals for these lectures bespoke legitimation, rather than legitimacy of human rights. Legitimation is more a function of production. Legitimacy is more a function of labor.

## I. *Economics*<sup>11</sup>

As already mentioned in the January 8, 2000 rendition of Topic 35--Exploration in the Comments on Chambers at page 0446, capitalism may be defined, briefly, as a system of wage labor.<sup>12</sup> While such a definition has merit at the core of the world economy in Western Europe, that definition is wanting in southern Europe and Latin America. Southern Europe is characterized by a share-cropping mode of controlling the labor force. On the periphery of the world economy, in Latin America, slavery was the mode of forced labor.

In this scenario capitalism holds sway from the beginning of modern times in 1500. The periphery and intermediate areas are exploited for the benefit of the West European core. Feudalism as a socioeconomic construct was simply submersed in the new overwhelming capitalist socioeconomic construct.

## J. *Mexico City*

Aztecs and Spanish affected the population, types of agriculture, markets, and, especially, transportation of Mexico City differently. Pre-Columbian Aztecs (??) used human porters and the complementary five-, nine-, thirteen-, and twenty-day marketing cycles. While this system kept goods flowing, it also kept urban populations small and limited their food shed to a radius between fifteen and twenty miles. When the Aztecs (??) took over, canoes were substituted for human porters. Terraced agriculture was initiated. Tribute in food was demanded. The valley of Mexico was reorganized into a single productive unit. Other city-states produced food for Mexico, while Mexico specialized in finished goods derived from raw materials found throughout the reaches of the Aztec Empire.<sup>13</sup>

When the Spanish came, neither canoes to cross the lakes nor human porters to enter the hinterlands were sufficient for the new interoceanic trade. Mules, wagons, better roads, and a more streamlined political organization were introduced. The European was substituted for the Aztec calendar. Disease periodically reduced the adult male (??) Indian population. Mexico City became even more important than Tenochtitlan, as the city was known in the pre-Columbian era. When all was said and done, however, transportation remained inadequate.

Mexico City illustrates how the Black Legend affects Latin American history. When historians prattle on to contrast freedom in the British colonies with control in the Spanish colonies, they mean freedom for Whites versus civil rights in the Spanish Empire. When the Spanish arrived at Mexico City, the city consisted of two islands, islands whose self-governance that lasted throughout the colonial period. Your professor regards the real difference as between the British Empire whose purpose was to exploit her colonies and the Spanish Empire whose purpose is best abbreviated as God, Glory, and Gold.<sup>14</sup>

Freedoms in the United States emanate from so-called *benign neglect* by the British, the difference is that the Spanish had a greater care for their American Empire than did the British.<sup>15</sup> All three

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From 1808 until 1814, Napoleon held the Spanish King, Ferdinand VII, captive in France. By 1816, Ferdinand had regained his throne. In 1820, however, there was an internal revolt which forced Ferdinand to accept the most radical constitution then in Europe. He was the captive of this constitution from 1820 until 1823. By then it was too late to return to the old order. Through all of this, the viceroys had to maintain authority in America.

To get ahead of the story, but to complete the story, the Cortes was the Spanish parliament from 1811 to 1813, after the fall of the monarchy, but before the rise of Francisco Franco (1892-1975). Franco died in office. After that the Cortes resumed its pre-Franco status.<sup>7</sup>

Spanish imperialism was possible because of the combination of an undeniably functional economic, governmental and philosophic system inspired by the missionary zeal and self-righteousness that derives from having delusions of a divine mandate. The year in which the reality which supported that delusion disintegrated appears to have been 1816. The delusion itself, however, remained for another eighty years, in one form or another until 1898, the year of the Spanish-American War.

To broaden the issue from Spain to Western civilization, an overview of European revolutions from 1492 to 1992 finds a current theme in the development of identity. By attacking the legitimacy of subordinate identities, kings can ruin kingdoms. Defining revolution as "a situation in which distinct claimants make credible claims, with substantial support, to a monopoly of power over the same territory" makes the theme possible.<sup>8</sup>

During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, European revolutions were over closely held territories. During the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries revolutions were over national issues and class conflicts. In the Twentieth Century revolutions were ethnic resistance to multi-ethnic nationalism.<sup>9</sup>

Revolutions varied by regions, including the Iberian peninsula. Iberian and Balkan revolutions were both frequent and long lasting, concerned with military dominance. The accumulation of capital in the Netherlands, England, and France tempered those revolutions to lesser frequently. The issues were not military supremacy but taxation, class conflicts, and the rights of merchants versus the rights of states.<sup>10</sup>

## **H. Introduction**

Capitalism means more in the U. S. than anywhere else in the world. The interrelationship between the New World and the Old exists not only between Northern Europe and North America; but also between Southern Europe and South America. There are added sections below on Latin America and Capitalism. The section, Economics, used to be in the main lecture, but was moved for the June 13, 1992 rendition in order to offer fuller explanations in the main lecture.

The course goal remains to evaluate the legitimation of human rights according to time, place, and personality and degree of certitude warranted. The switch from the legitimation of authority to the legitimacy of human rights fits the scholarly shift in interest from production to labor. Before 1990,

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the Southwest held the frontier. Everywhere, save in the wildest Amazonia and other untamed areas, Christianity brought to the natives a coating of Western tradition and made them, in some sense, part of this strange new society of the White men.

### **E. Government**

The paternalism of the Spanish government in comparison with the salutary neglect of the British government is well-known. Edmund Burke (1729-1797) used the phrase. Recent scholarship reveals that that "neglect" included considerable solicitude.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish approach made more sense than the British. The Spanish conceived empires as a series of vice royalties under the direction of a single king. Scotland was the British problem with such an approach is that the British wanted no part of a confederation with Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

What happened in Spanish colonial times, was that between 1810 and 1816, when America might have been saved by compromise and flexibility, she was governed by force and absolutism, contrary to the new Spanish constitution. The viceroys were ignoring the wishes of the citizenry. The very victories of the Spanish armies in slapping down the rebels incurred the hatred of the people. After 1816, when reassertion of Spanish authority was essential for the re-establishment of royal authority, because Ferdinand was back in full control, the viceroys tried to be flexible. Pardons were granted and advice taken. This new flexibility was interpreted as weakness by the American patriots.

### **F. Conclusion**

By studying the Introduction to Spain, Society, Religion, and Government students have been able to evaluate the relationship between liberty and authority according to a criteria of the people, places, and times involved and the degree of certitude warranted. Students are reminded to prepare a comment.

Supplement

### **G. Government (continued)**

British Americans regarded themselves as British, with full British rights to rebel. Spanish Americans regarded themselves as provincials, relegated to resisting officials from the central kingdom. Spanish history reserved no rights to rebel.<sup>4</sup> In the long run, both British and Spanish Europeans were subject to rebellion in the Americas. The story of such Latin American rebels as San Martin and Bolívar (ba lee' var) (1819) is also well known. What is not so well understood is the reaction of the Spanish government to the revolutions described above and further elaborated below. Also, as an aside, the professor notes that Bolívar was "of partial African ancestry."<sup>5</sup>

The Spanish had a long history of representative government in the institution known as the cortes. The cortes was effective from the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century. There was no national cortes. The first national cortes only met in 1810 fighting against Napoleon.<sup>6</sup>

## **A. Introduction**

In this lesson students focus on the political ramifications of Spain during early modern times. The course goal is **to evaluate the legitimacy of human rights** according to time, place, and personality and degree of certitude warranted. Since it takes approximately twenty years from the time a scholarly article first appears to the time it is fully incorporated into textbooks, lectures are partially designed to fill in the gap. Just how certain scholars are, is a legitimate concern in college.

## **B. Greatness**

The significance of the Spanish is difficult to trace because there has been little love lost between the victors of the Spanish Armada, the English, our intellectual ancestors, and the Spanish.<sup>1</sup> Almost everything in modern European civilization changed, against the Spanish, as a result of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Grappling and boarding gave way to cannonading from shipside and deck. The political weakening of Spain helped the Dutch to independence, influenced the advance of Henry IV, and opened North America. Catholicism was deeply hurt as the Durants "saw wars determined theology and philosophy and the ability to kill and destroy . . . become . . . a prerequisite for permission to live and build." In other words, with the victory of the English, there came a new victory of politics over truth.

## **C. Society**

Spaniards wiped out two great Indian civilizations in Mexico and Peru. All over Latin America, the natives fell to the bottom of a caste system based on color. The actual enslavement of the Indians was prohibited by the New Laws of 1542. Men like Father Bartholome de las Casas, "Father of the Indians," did their best to protect the natives.

There was no one to protect the Blacks in the same manner. Dr. Jirran thinks that the effective difference between the enslaved Africans and the free Indians was biological. Because of their greater contact with the outside world, the Africans had better-developed immune systems than did the Indians. Blacks lived on the plantations and gradually infiltrated Latin American society. Indians as groups fled to the mountains to lead impoverished lives outside the mainstream of Latin America. Otherwise, the Indians died from disease. This situation, of the Indians living relatively isolated in the mountains, largely continues to the present day. The Professor knows of no scholarship accounting for the third of the students he found at Thomas Nelson Community College claiming Indian ancestry.

## **D. Religion**

Unlike the Asian and African masses, the Indians were formally and substantively converted to Christianity. Church and State in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the New World worked hand in hand, undisturbed for generations by the troubles roused in Europe by the Protestant Reformation and the rise of a secular anti-Christian movement. For example, the Jesuits in Paraguay set up among the Guarani Indians a remarkable society--while it lasted--a benevolent despotism, a utopia of good order, good habits--and eternal childhood. On the northern fringes of the Spanish world, where it was to meet the Anglo-Saxons, a long line of missions in California and