Review of Francisco Gil Martínez, and Amorina Villarreal Brasca, eds. Estudios sobre la corrupción en España y América (siglos XVI-XVIII)

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agility that I had expected from its eye-catchingly seductive title, table of contents, and thematic material. Nonetheless, Finley’s volume demands and deserves our attention and respect. It is a must-read work that should be required reading for specialists and non-specialists alike. I applaud the author’s efforts for catapulting Sor Juana’s oeuvre in a provocative and new direction.

Nicholas R. Jones
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The study of historical corruption has regained much ground in Spain, especially after the economic crisis of 2008 triggered a round of judicial and journalistic investigations. María Pilar Ponce Leiva and Francisco Andújar Castillo, among others, have led the way in Spain. Two of their students have now edited a worthwhile book that studies historical corruption from various perspectives, both Spanish and Spanish American. Many historians of the field emphasize that charges and convictions for corruption in the early modern period often depended on the social or political circumstances or that the phenomenon did not even exist because of a profoundly differing mentality. Yet the editors and most of the authors depart from this view and take a robust stance. They argue that abuses could well result in censure, punishment, or even death. In their introduction, the editors intend to show the “similar dynamics and variations” of the “royal administration and the ecclesiastical hierarchy” (14). Francisco Gil Martínez then defines corruption as any exercise of power for self-benefit that damaged the common good or the royal treasury (bien común / real hacienda), which contemporaries viewed negatively. Even the king could unfairly seize property from the vassals and become corrupt. After this refreshing reminder, Gil Martínez shows that it was not Father Antonio Vieira who published the treatise Arte de Furtar in 1652, but rather the Jesuit Manuel da Costa. Gil Martínez clarifies in this regard the claims made by Stuart Schwartz in his 1973 book, Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil. Gil Martínez then avers that there “was no crime of corruption as such,” though the legal historian Carlos Garriga takes a somewhat different stance on this point.

In the following chapter, Rubén Gálvez Martín examines Luis Cabrera de Córdoba (1559-1623), Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España. Cabrera chastised embezzlements and fraud in government. He hoped that that the jailing of the courtiers Alonso Ramírez de Prado and Pedro Franqueza in 1606 and 1607 and the death sentences for other defendants for forging coins or decrees
would set a deterrent against corruption. In this vein, the co-editor Amorina Villarreal Brasca points out that Franqueza sold a position on the Council of the Indies for 3,000 ducados to an oidor of a Mexican audiencia. This sale of judicial office for money “corrupted everything,” in her view, despite the convincing merits of the oidor. Yet the investigative judge found it difficult to prove this point, because the cámara de Indias and the king had confirmed and legitimized the appointment of the oidor. Ángel Gómez Paz then affirms that the visitas and other controls of the royal mints in Spain and the Americas circumscribed fraud. In part by drawing on recent work by Kris Lane and Eduardo Dargent Chamot, Gómez Paz argues that the visitador Francisco Nestares Marín (1647-1660) garroted both the assayer (ensayador) and the municipal magistrate (alcalde ordinario) of Potosí for conducting a vast fraud scheme in the Potosí mint.

Another welcome addition is Alvaro Sánchez Durán’s chapter, which shows that some Portuguese converts from Judaism replaced Genovese financiers to offer the crown better credit terms in exchange for increased social capital. In 1645, for example, the lawyer Andrés de Fonseca began collecting the alcabala and sisa de millones in Málaga. To levy the taxes more tightly, he cultivated ties to the Council of Castile, while his daughter married the Duke of Alba’s physician. By using this support, Fonseca warded off considerable challenges from the secular clergy, the municipal council, and even the Inquisition. Fonseca broke the stalemate when his sons joined the municipal council and one of them became provincial of the Santa Hermandad police force. Sánchez Durán sketches a blueprint for reform, which the crown soon after employed successfully in Puebla, colonial Mexico’s second most populous city, as Michel Bertrand has shown. This piece and several others also wallop the old canard of a stagnant seventeenth century mired in crisis where nothing really changed.

Roberto Quirós Rosado shows in Diplomacia, procesos fiscales that Philip William of Palatinate-Neuburg refused to support the poorhouse Santa Casa dell'Annunziata in Naples, where the elector had possessions. When his daughter Mariana married Philip IV, Heinrich Xaver von Wiser, a.k.a. Enrique el Cojo, began representing Neuburg’s interests in Madrid and quarreled over poorhouse support. Wiser also accused his predecessor of excessive spending. The trial over the accusations dragged on until the elector finally attained a small indemnity. Next, Carlos Infantes Buil analyzes El proyecto de Guillermo Eon by engaging especially Francophone sources and scholarship. Eon represented Spanish interests with the English South Sea Company (1717-27) that operated the annual ship to Spanish America. He also used Company’s proceeds to pay the salaries of the Spanish junta de asientos and the president of the Council of the Indies. Eon suggested in his project to raise the salaries of the royal officials in the ports and draw them from career military officers to curb contraband trade. Subsequently, in his essay “¿Más allá del control de la corrupción?” Ricard Torra Prat studies sources in Catalan and
Italian to describe how Diego Fajardo investigated the galley officers in Barcelona in 1623. These galleys were supported by the king and the Generalitat. The author argues that the printed visita report to curb embezzlements later shaped the laws controlling the naval branch. Pablo Ortega del Cerro, “Medidas de control” shows the tightening control over these questionable practices, because the Cuerpo General de la Armada unified all royal naval squadrons in 1714, with instructions issued in 1717. These instructions emphasized efficacy and professionalism of the officer corps, although corruption continued.

In the following chapter, Alfonso Jesús Heredia López examines the fierce opposition against Juan de Góngora’s visita of Seville’s Casa de la Contratación and consulado that started in 1642. Nelson Fernando González Martínez holds in “De la ‘confianza’ a las sospechas de corrupción,” that the public trust in the concessionaries of the correos mayores in Spain and America declined over time, as Natives were forced to work there without compensation, for example. The crown dissolved the private postal monopolies from 1720 to 1768 and integrated them into the Secretary of State. In the next chapter, Domingo Marcos Giménez Carrillo maintains that private sales of the admission to the military orders or false testimonies on suitable social descent were on the rise, notwithstanding the increasing paperwork over time to obtain the hábitos. Ismael Jiménez Jiménez shows that the accountant (contador) of the Lima treasury, Sebastián de Navarrete, initially foiled the visita of Juan Cornejo and Francisco Antonio Manzolo but lost out when Queen Mariana of Austria banned him from Lima in 1679. Navarrete was detained and died impoverished in New Spain. Laura Borragán Fernández analyzes the anti-corruption measures of the Marquis of la Ensenada’s Real Junta de Única Contribución. Bartolomé Sánchez de Valencia directed the junta, for example, to verify fraudulent surveys on the productivity of land, as the false data damaged the monarchy and the vassals. The junta followed up on reports of the intendant of Palencia in 1752 that some surveyors reported only half of the agricultural income. In the last two sub-sections of the volume, Álvaro Pajares González examines corruption in the municipal government, while Javier García Gálvez and Francisco Martínez Gutiérrez cast light on the abuses of authority in Jaén, committed by the alférez mayor and the Cathedral dean, respectively. Finally, Jesús Rodríguez Gálvez explores fraud in the municipal council of Motril (Granada), and Álvaro Javier Romero Rodríguez illuminates the contraband trade of tobacco in Seville, 1740-1760.

This interesting compilation reflects the vibrant scholarship on corruption. Many of the contributors are young scholars who skillfully use visita interrogations and reports as mirrors onto the values of justice and the discussion over corruption. The majority of the chapters focus on Spain, while four or five include perspectives on the Americas. In fact, some of the chapters have a decidedly peninsular scope, using Spanish primary sources as well as the scholarship published in Spain or by
Spanish scholars. While undoubtedly many of the quality contributions to the debate originate in Spain, some authors could perhaps integrate more of the international historiography, such as the work of Anne Dubet in France or Felipe Castro in Mexico. This observation does not apply to all chapters. Roberto Quirós Rosado, for example, used letters from State Archive in Vienna, while Álvaro Sánchez Durán draws on global publications to great effect. Furthermore, the editors could also consider connecting the dots among the chapter arguments to flesh out important changes over time and highlight the differences in the concept of corruption in Spain and the overseas kingdoms. This would have made this solid book even more fascinating. On a final note, one may doubt Gil Martinez’s assertion in his otherwise fine piece that there “was no crime of corruption as such” (23). At least Carlos Garriga takes a different stance by analyzing the legal doctrines on the *crimen corruptionis*. Despite these minor caveats, the editors have gathered thoughtful and well-written accounts of a topic that merits urgent attention, and students and specialists will find the book equally stimulating.

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With his latest book, Richard L. Kagan, whose work on early modern Spain is well known, ventures deep into modernist territory. Although his narrative begins circa 1779 – the year that Spain entered the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) on the side of the future United States – his analysis focuses on the period 1890 to 1930, when, following the Spanish-American War (1898), a sort of rampant Hispanophilia took root in the United States. Characterized in epidemiological language as a “fever” or “disease,” and even, at one point, as a “pandemic” (13), Kagan chronicles the route whereby “Americans” – U.S. nationals – fell victim to the exotic lure of Europe’s most beguiling nation and, especially, its arts and culture.

Kagan’s work on American historians writing about Spain has appeared in the *American Historical Review*, in 1996, and the edited volume *Spain in America* (2002). Part of the argument presented here also appeared in the *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* under the title “The Spanish Craze in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain’s Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca. 1930” (2010). Of these publications, Kagan’s *AHR* article on William Hickling Prescott, has received extensive attention. Kagan avoids rehashing “Prescott’s Paradigm” in this book. Importantly, his writing broadens the