

A Short History of Spain and Portugal

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Foreword

Episodes in which Spain and Portugal have been deeply involved with other countries - for instance the Netherlands, Italy, Morocco, the East Indies - but which are more importantly part of the histories of those countries, are only briefly summarised in this history. Exceptionally, a rather longer summary is given of the Spanish and Portuguese colonisation in America - though that is more fully covered in "A Short History of Latin America".

A brief history of Andorra is included as an appendix.

This short history has been compiled from the study of a number of works, including H.A.L.Fisher's "History of Europe", W.L.Langer's "Encyclopaedia of World History", and the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Chapter 1. - The Iberian Peninsula in pre-Roman Times : Iberians : Celts : Carthaginians.

In pre-historic times parts of the Iberian Peninsula (modern Spain and Portugal) were occupied by Stone Age inhabitants whose legacies to posterity are remarkable cave paintings of animals. The most notable surviving example of their art is in the cave paintings of Altamira (west of Santander in northern Spain).

Around 3000 B.C. tribes of dark-skinned Iberians from Africa began to settle in the peninsula - hence the name Iberia. A long time later - after 1000 B.C. - successive waves of Celtic tribes infiltrated across the Pyrenees. By about 600-400 B.C. the Celts dominated northern Spain and Portugal, and then spread throughout the peninsula, ruling and mixing with the Iberians to form the "Celtiberian" culture.

During the same period, from about 900 B.C. onwards, peoples from the eastern Mediterranean came to Iberia in search of trade, mainly interested in the mineral wealth of the country - silver, iron and copper. The first to come were the Phoenicians, who brought with them the technique of writing. Their most important settlement was Gadir (modern Cadiz). They were followed, from about the 7th century B.C., by Greek traders and colonists. The Greeks introduced the vine and the olive into Spain. Their main trading post was Ampurias, in Catalonia.

In the 6th century B.C. the Phoenicians of Gadir called in their compatriots from the Phoenician colony of Carthage in North Africa to help repel attacks by the native tribes. The Carthaginians stayed on in the peninsula, which they called Span or Spania, meaning "land of rabbits". At first they confined themselves to trade and the exploitation of the silver mines; but later they saw in Spain, with its tough tribesmen whom they engaged as mercenaries, a source of power and a base for operations against their great rival, Rome.

After the defeat of Carthage in the First Punic War with Rome (264-241 B.C.) the Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca built up in Spain a powerful state and formidable army.* His son-in-law and successor, Hasdrubal, founded a capital city New Carthage (Cartagena) and continued Hamilcar's work. Rome, apprehensive of this growth of Carthaginian strength in Spain, concluded a treaty with Hasdrubal under which the Carthaginians were to remain south of the Ebro and were not to molest Saguntum, an independent town (originally settled by Greek colonists) south of the river, friendly to Rome.

Hasdrubal was assassinated in 221 B.C., and was succeeded as Carthaginian Commander-in-chief in Spain by Hannibal, the 26 year old son of Hamilcar, and greatest of the Barca family. To pick a quarrel with Rome Hannibal attacked Saguntum in 219 B.C. (capturing it after an eight months siege) and started the Second Punic War with Rome (218-201 B.C.).

The Carthaginians under Hannibal marched through southern Gaul and crossed the Alps into Italy. Here, Hannibal campaigned successfully for fourteen years, but was unable to capture Rome. Meanwhile the Roman general Scipio evicted the Carthaginians from Spain, and after Hannibal had been recalled to Carthage he was

defeated by Scipio at the decisive Battle of Zama in 202 B.C. Carthage gave up her overseas possessions, and in Iberia the Romans set about the subjugation of the fiercely independent Celtiberian tribes.

The early Phoenicians, the Greeks, and the Carthaginians had made no lasting impression on the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. One of these peoples, who deserve separate mention, is the Basques. They inhabited, and still do inhabit, the mountainous area (mainly in Spain but partly in France) in the angle of the Bay of Biscay. Their origin, and that of their unique language unrelated to any other - is uncertain and the subject of scholarly dispute. Perhaps they are a remnant of the Celtiberians, or even of the earlier Stone Age inhabitants of the western Pyrenees. Throughout the ages they have succeeded in preserving some privileges of local self-government, and their language, though most of them now speak Spanish or French as well.

* Barcelona, founded in the 3rd century B.C., is thought to have been named after Hamilcar Barca.

Chapter 2. - Roman Hispania and Lusitania.

Rome divided Spain into two provinces: Hispania Citerior (Hither Spain) in the north, Hispania Ulterior (Farther Spain) in the south, and later formed the province of Lusitania in the west, corresponding roughly with modern Portugal. But it took the Romans a hundred years to overcome all major areas of resistance, and a further hundred years to subdue the whole peninsula. The Lusitanians for long resisted stubbornly led by the heroic Viriatus, around 140 B.C. they temporarily regained a lot of territory from the Romans. Equally heroic was the defence of the city of Numantia in northern Spain. Besieged for some twenty years until the city fell in 133 B.C., the Numantians were nearly all killed or committed suicide, and the city was totally destroyed.

With the peninsula finally subjugated, the "Roman peace" lasted throughout the early centuries A.D. They were centuries of law and order, efficient administration, expanding production olive oil, wheat, wine, honey - and prosperous trade. Roman roads facilitated communication - the Via Augusta stretched from Cadiz to the Pyrenees. Latin became the official language, from which modern Spanish and Portuguese were derived. Large Roman cities grew up, which were centres of government, of trade, and of cultural activity.

The native peoples were gradually allowed to become full Roman citizens. Roman Spain contributed to the Roman Empire many famous men: the writers Seneca, Lucan, Quintilian and Martial, all in the first century A.D., and the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius in the second century and Theodosius the Great in the fourth. When Rome officially adopted Christianity early in the 4th century, Romanised Spain and Portugal readily followed suit.

Chapter 3. - The Visigoths - 5th to 7th Centuries.

The 3rd century A.D. was a period of domestic strife in Rome and of declining Roman power; and the German tribes of the north, previously held at bay, began to encroach on the Empire. In the middle of the century the Visigoths (or Western Goths) occupied Roman Transylvania, and from then onwards carried out large-scale raids into the eastern provinces of the Empire.

Then, in the middle of the 4th century, the Mongolian Huns from Asia pressed westwards and evicted the Visigoths, who sought protection from Rome. They were allowed to cross the Danube; and after disputes which led to war with Rome - sad victory for the Visigoths - they settled in what is now Bulgaria. Their army became nominally a Roman army.

The Empire had now split into eastern and western halves; and Alaric the Visigoth made a puppet of the eastern Empire. He did not seek to destroy the Roman Empire, but to obtain for himself and his people - who were becoming "Romanised" and had adopted the Arian version of Christianity - a prominent position in it. In pursuit of this aim he advanced into Italy and in 410 captured Rome itself.

These Gothic attacks in the east caused the withdrawal of imperial garrisons from the rest. Taking advantage of this, other German peoples crossed the Rhine and swept through Gaul into Spain and Portugal. This Germanic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula began in 409, the first to arrive being the Suevi, the Alans and the Vandals. The Suevi settled in northern Portugal, the Vandals in southern Spain from where twenty years later a large Vandal force moved on to the conquest of Northern Africa.

Meanwhile the Visigoths left Italy for southern Gaul. Their King Wallia (a 415-418) was granted by the (nominal) western Emperor Honorius land where he established the Visigoth kingdom of Toulouse. In return he agreed to clear Iberia of the other German tribes. He succeeded in conquering much of the peninsula from the Suevi, Alans and Vandals, and for the rest of the 5th century most of the peninsula was ruled by the Visigoths from Toulouse. Then, in 507, the Visigoths were evicted from southern Gaul by the Franks, the German tribes who had followed the Vandals into Gaul and settled there. The Visigoths' domains were reduced to the Iberian Peninsula, which they continued to rule until 711.

The three centuries of Visigoth rule were far from peaceful. As well as troubles with the Suevi, Alans and Vandals, whom they gradually subjugated, there were frequent civil wars amongst themselves. And in 554, as part of the eastern (Byzantine) Emperor Justinian's effort to recover the lands of the now defunct western Roman Empire, south-eastern Spain was conducted by his great general Belisarius. Byzantium ruled this province, with its capital at Cordoba, until it was re-conquered by the Visigoths in 616.

The Visigoths, during their period of rule, were a small minority of the population - about a fifth. Already partly "Romanised" when they took over the peninsula, they gradually adopted all Roman customs and habits, and in 587 King Recarred removed

the last obstacle to this process by abandoning Arian Christianity for Roman Catholicism.

The Visigothic language gave way to a local vernacular of Latin origin; and in the middle of the 7th century Gothic and Roman laws were amalgamated into a single code. Nevertheless the Visigoths were never fully assimilated with the Hispano-Roman majority. They remained rather aloof, as a ruling military caste with their own aristocracy. Their capital was Toledo, on the central plateau of Spain.

In 710, in a conflict over succession to the throne, one of the contenders appealed for help to the Moors, the inhabitants of Morocco. (The term "Moors" originated from the Mauri, a Berber people of the Roman province of Mauretania in North West Africa. By the beginning of the 8th century Northern Africa had succumbed to the Arab Conquest, and the Berbers were converted to Islam). Fired with religious zeal, Arab and Berber armies, led by the Berber Tariq, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain, defeated the Visigoth king and swept aside the faction which had appealed to the throne. The bulk of the people showed little enthusiasm for their Visigoth rulers; and in the course of eight years the Moors conquered the whole peninsula except for the mountainous region of Asturias in the north-west. Here, led by a Visigoth noble Pelayo, the remnants of the Christian armies survived. They became the nucleus of the "Reconquista", the Christian struggle for the recovery of the peninsula from the Moors which went on intermittently for the next eight centuries.

Chapter 4. - The Moors - 8th to 11th Centuries.

After their conquest of the peninsula (except for Asturias) the Moors went on to invade France, but were defeated by the Franks at the Battle of Tours in 732, and withdrew. Forty five years later Charlemagne, Emperor of the Franks, who fought 53 campaigns throughout Western Europe for the defence and extension of Christianity, invaded Spain. Here he suffered his only reverse. Failing to overcome a heroic defence of Saragossa, he turned back. (In the retreat his rearguard under Roland was annihilated by Basques at the Pass of Roncevalles in the Pyrenees - an episode subsequently immortalised in the "Chanson de Roland" and other romantic songs.)

At the end of the century Charlemagne returned, took Barcelona in 801, and organised a strip of territory about 100 miles wide south of the French border as the "Spanish March".

Apart from the Spanish March and the Christian strongholds in the north-west, the Moors then remained masters of the Iberian peninsula until late in the 11th century. For most of this time the Omayyad dynasty ruled, with their capital at Cordoba. The Moorish domination was strongest in the south, in Andalusia.

The Moors treated their Visigothic, Celtiberian and Hispano- Roman subjects with toleration - and also the Jews, who had been oppressed in Visigothic times. Christian worship was allowed, many Christian mercenaries were enrolled in the Moslem armies, some Christians rose to high office in the Moorish administration, and mixed marriages were frequent.

In agriculture the Moors introduced new crops - figs, dates, rice, sugar - and irrigation was extended by Arab engineers. They expanded the mining, stock-raising, and wool and silk industries. Beautifully designed silk fabrics were exported in the ships of the largest merchant marine in the Mediterranean.

The Moors also brought with them a renaissance in art, science and literature, in which for several centuries, while Europe was in a state of virtual intellectual stagnation, the Arabs led the western world, Through Arabic translations the learning of ancient Greece found its way to the West, the translators being mainly Jewish and Mozarab scholars - Mozarabs were descendants of the pre-Moslem inhabitants, who had remained Christian but adopted Arabic speech and Moslem customs. (This transmission of knowledge to the West was later accelerated by the progress of the Reconquista.)

Cordoba became the leading intellectual centre of Europe, with a library of 4.00,000 books, a university where students from far and wide came to study medicine, mathematics, science and philosophy under Moslem, Christian and Jewish professors, and a famous academy of music. The streets were paved with stone, fountains and public baths abounded, and the houses had a piped water supply, marble balconies for the summer, under-floor hot air ducts for the winter, and fine gardens. In architecture the great mosque of Cordoba, founded in 785 (now a cathedral, and the largest in the world after St Peter's in Rome), and the Alhambra palace at Granada, built in the 13th and 14th centuries, are world-famous.

The Moorish power was at its peak in the reigns of the Caliph Abdur Rahman III (912-961) and Almansor at the end of the 10th century. (Almansor was Chief Minister, and virtual ruler from 978 to 1002). 'Barcelona in the north-east was taken by the Moors in 985, Santiago in the north-west in 997. But the Berbers, constantly reinforced from Africa, had grown in power at the expense of the old Arab military aristocracy; and on the death of Almansor in 1002 domestic struggles caused the Moorish domains to split into a number of small states. This should have enabled the Christian kingdoms of the north (see next Chapter) to press on with the Reconquista. Barcelona was recovered, but the disunity of these kingdoms prevented them from achieving much progress.

Chapter 5. - The "Reconquista" - 8th to 15th Centuries.

The history of the Christian kingdoms of the north during the first four or five centuries of the Moorish occupation is mainly one of wars and intrigues against each other in the intervals of sporadic attempts to drive back the Moors. There were indeed occasions when one Christian state had Moslem allies against another Christian state. Until late in the 11th century the Reconquista made little progress.

The original Christian kingdom of Asturias, founded by Pelayo (see end of Chapter 3), moved its capital from Oviedo to Leon at the beginning of the 10th century; and the Kingdom of Leon became the leading Christian state. But in the middle of the century the County of Castile, hostile to the Visigothic traditions of Leon, broke away and became independent.

Meanwhile in the north-east the inhabitants of the Spanish March, under the leadership of Barcelona, regained their independence from the Carolingian rulers (the House of Charlemagne) in the 9th century. And in the 10th century there was a dramatic rise to fame of the Basque kingdom of Navarre in the Pyrenees. Early in the 11th century Sancho the Great of Navarre formed a union with Castile and conquered most of Leon, The union did not last long, and on Sancho's death Navarre, by his will, was divided into the two kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon. Ferdinand I of Castile completed the conquest of Leon, and Castile became the mainspring of the Reconquista.

Ferdinand recovered from the Moors the northern part of present-day Portugal, which he organised as a county with its capital at Coimbra; and in 1085 Alfonso VI of Castile scored the first signal success in the Reconquista with the capture of Toledo. This was followed in 1118 by Alfonso I of Aragon's capture of the Moorish stronghold of Saragossa.

After the loss of Toledo the Moors called in to help then a Berber dynasty, the Almoravids, from Africa. They were Moslem fanatics, and under Yussuf-ul-Tashvin they defeated Alfonso of Castile in 1086, recovering for Islam much that had been yielded. But Alfonso resumed the struggle, with the aid of a Castilian nobleman Rodrigo de Bivar, known as "El Cid". A self-seeking adventurer, who at one time was in the service of the Moslem ruler of Saragossa, El Cid nevertheless became a legendary Spanish hero. He conquered Valencia and ruled there until his death in 1099 when the city was abandoned to the Almoravids.

One of El Cid's comrades-in-arms was Henry of Burgundy*, who came, to Spain with other Christian knights to fight the Moors. This period, in fact, coincides with the start of the Crusades, and the zeal of Crusaders from many lands did much to help the Reconquista. French, German and Italian knights took part in the capture of Toledo.

In return for his efforts, Henry of Burgundy was granted by Alfonso of Castile in 1093 the hand of his illegitimate daughter in marriage and the County of Portugal. Henry's son, Afonso Henriques, 3 years old on his father's death in 1112, assumed authority from his mother, the regent, when he was 19, and set about achieving freedom from the domination of Castile. He defeated the Spaniards in battle, and in 1143 was

recognised by Castile as king of an independent Portugal. The Burgundian line ruled Portugal until 1385.

In 1139 Afonso Henriques, a fearless warrior, began a series of campaigns against the Moors. He captured a number of Moorish strongholds and established the southern boundary of his kingdom at the river Tagus. (Lisbon had been taken from the Moors by English and German knights on their way to the Second Crusade in 1147. They sailed up the Tagus and stormed the city, which they presented to Afonso Henriques.)

Meanwhile in the north-cast Aragon and Catalonia (with Barcelona) were united - by marriage - in 1137, forming a strong Kingdom of Aragon, now with access to the sea.

Further progress in the Reconquista, however, was halted and driven back - in the second half of the 12th century by the arrival from Africa (1245-1150) of yet another Berber invasion the Almohades, even fiercer and more intolerant Moslems than their predecessors, the Almoravids. The Almohades, having conquered Moorish Spain, drove back the Christian forces and in 1195 routed the army of Alfonso VIII of Castile.

Then, urged on by the Pope, Castile, Aragon and Navarre at last combined in a coalition against the Almohades, and won a great victory in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (north-east of Cordoba) in 1212. In the course, of the next fifty years Ferdinand III of Castile (1217-1252) and James I of Aragon (1213-1276) continued the victorious campaigns. Ferdinand took Cordoba, Seville, Cadiz and other cities; James took Valencia and the Balearic Isles. The Almohades were expelled from Spain (for Portugal see next Chapter) and soon after the middle of the 13th century the whole peninsula was in Christian hands except for Granada in the south.

The co-operation of the Christian kingdoms, however, then died out. Navarre, whose territories extended north of the Pyrenees, was more involved in affairs in France. Aragon's energies were directed to building up a Mediterranean empire. And Castile was preoccupied with absorbing her conquests, and with internal strife.

So the Moors remained rulers of Granada for over two more centuries. The last invasion from Africa in their support was decisively defeated by Alfonso XI of Castile at Rio Salado in 1340; but the completion of the Reconquista, with the final conquest of Granada, did not take place until 1492, after the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile had united the two kingdoms.

In the two centuries before the final eviction of the Moors the 14th and 15th centuries - Castile suffered from some long royal minorities and some weak kings, who were unable to curb the power of the aristocracy and the clergy. Added to civil wars there was periodic intervention by Aragon and Navarre; and Castile also became involved in naval actions as an ally of France in her "Hundred Years War" with England. The 15th century in Castile was a period of political and economic decay, and also of growing obsession, in a priest-ridden state, with orthodox Catholicism. In 1478 the Spanish Inquisition was founded, a court whose object was the eradication of heresy. And in 1492 the Jews, who had been tolerated until the end of the 14th century, and who had contributed greatly to economic and cultural advances, were expelled - some 200,000 of them.

During this period the Kings of Aragon were mainly absorbed in Italian affairs. In the vicissitudes of the various Italian states there were endless changes and complications but by dynastic marriages, diplomacy and war Aragon acquired the kingdoms of Sicily

and Sardinia early in the 14th century and the kingdom of Naples in the 15th. By the time of the union with Castile (1479) Aragon was a strong western Mediterranean power - and Barcelona one of the leading Mediterranean ports

Meanwhile Navarre, from 1234, came under a succession of French rulers - at times the King of France. Eventually, in 1512, after the union of Castile and Aragon, Ferdinand of Aragon conquered the part of Navarre south of the Pyrenees and joined it to Spain. Spain thus assumed its present-day boundaries. (The northern part of Navarre was incorporated into France in 1589, when Henry III of Navarre became Henry IV of France.)

*Burgundy was a powerful independent duchy, nominally subject to the King of France.

Chapter 6. - The Rise of Portugal : The East Indies.

For the first hundred years after achieving independence in 1143 the energies of Portugal were largely absorbed in holding her northern borders against Castile and in pushing her southern boundary further south at the expense of the Moors. The latter ambition was completed in the middle of the 13th century when the Algarve in the extreme south was conquered; and the boundaries of Portugal became those of the present time. But the struggle to maintain her independence of Castile continued for over a century more.

From 1279 to 1325 Portugal was ruled by the remarkable King Diniz, the "poet King". As well as being a poet himself he was a patron of literature and learning. In 1290 he founded Lisbon University (which was moved in 1307 to Coimbra, the capital of Portugal until 1260). Diniz also did much to promote agriculture, and foreign trade, in search of which he made a commercial treaty with England. And he built the first Portuguese navy, laying the foundation for Portugal's later supremacy at sea. Diniz and his successors were several times involved in wars with Castile (though in 1340 Portugal helped Castile to defeat the Moors at Salado). In 1383 King Ferdinand died with no male heir, and the King of Castile, who was married to Ferdinand's daughter, claimed the Portuguese throne. The Portuguese rebelled against this, and placed on the throne John, the illegitimate son of a former king and head of the military and religious Order of Avis. The ensuing war with Castile lasted two years, and Portuguese independence was assured after the decisive defeat of the Castilians at the Battle of Aljubarotta in 1385.

King John founded the Avis dynasty, which ruled Portugal for nearly 200 years, including the period of her greatest fame. One of his first acts was to conclude, by the Treaty of Windsor 1386, a formal alliance with England - which had contributed to the victory at Aljubarotta with a force of several thousand men. Under this treaty England and Portugal agreed to defend each other's interests and territories. The alliance was cemented by John's marriage in 1387 to the English Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt. She contributed much to the culture of the Portuguese court.

One of the (five) sons of this marriage was Prince Henry, known as Henry the Navigator (1394-1460). He devoted his life to the Organisation of voyages of discovery and exploration - voyages which changed the future course of history and which put Portugal in the forefront of the new era of colonisation. At Sagres (in the extreme south-west of Portugal) he gathered together sea-captains, astronomers and mapmakers who established the principles of navigation on the high seas. From 1418 onwards Henry sent out (he did not go himself) almost annually carefully prepared expeditions in search of geographical knowledge and trade with West Africa and the Spice Islands in the Far East. This eastern trade had for long been dominated by the Arabs of the Middle East, and had been subject to raids by Moorish pirates in the Mediterranean. From the middle of the 15th century it was also subject to interference from the Turks, who conquered Constantinople in 1453.

Madeira was discovered 1419, the Azores in 1431, Senegal (on the bulge of West Africa) in 1446, the Cape Verde Islands in 1455. Gold was brought back from West Africa, and also Negro slaves to eke out Portugal's limited resources of man-power (though slave raiding was later forbidden by Prince Henry).

After Henry's death in 1460 there was a slackening of this activity in exploration, but it was resumed under King John II (1481- 1495). In 1488 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the southern point of Africa; and the culmination of these efforts came in 1497-98 when Vasco da Gama sailed (in ten months) round the south of Africa to Calicut on the south-west coast of India. In 1500 Pedro Cabral set out to establish Portuguese trade with the East. Touching Brazil on his way (see next chapter), he went on to the Indies and started the carriage of spices to Europe in Portuguese ships - the spices had previously been carried by the Arabs from the Spice

Islands to Venice by a combination of sea and land routes. Lisbon, instead of Venice, became the-chief European trading centre for eastern produce.

To safeguard and extend their trading interests the Portuguese soon acquired an eastern overseas empire, under the leadership of Francisco de Almeida and Afonso de Albuquerque. Almeida, appointed first Viceroy of Portuguese India in 1505, on his way there established bases on the East African (Mozambique) coast, and on arrival took up residence in India at Cochin, already acquired by Albuquerque. In 1509 Almeida won a decisive victory over the Arab fleet.

Albuquerque, who succeeded Almeida as Viceroy, took Goa on the west coast of India in 1510 (Goa then became the capital of the Portuguese Indies) and started the conquest of Ceylon, whose coasts had been explored under Almeida. The Portuguese then gradually took over the coastal regions of Ceylon from native dynasties.

With Portugal now master of the Indian Ocean, Albuquerque in 1511 captured from its Moslem rulers the great trading port of Malacca, strategically situated on the Malay Peninsula in a position to dominate the trade route to the Far East. The Portuguese then aimed at control of the Spice Islands (the Moluccas), and here they encountered the rivalry of Spain.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese who had served under Albuquerque in the Indies but had later fallen out with the Portuguese authorities and transferred his allegiance to Spain, was commissioned in 1519 by his new masters to set out for the East Indies via the south of America. He reached the Philippines, where he was killed in a 2m encounter with the inhabitants; but some of his fleet continued to the Moluccas, and eventually one ship, commanded by Sebastian del Cano, got back to Spain - the first ship to circum- navigate the globe.

The rivalry between Spain and Portugal in the Moluccas ended in favour of the Portuguese, whereupon Spain turned her attention to the Philippines. In the course of twenty years from 1564 Spain conquered most of the Philippine islands from local Moslem rulers. (The islands were named the Philippines in honour of King Philip II of Spain.)

To conclude this phase of eastern colonisation, Portugal acquired from China in 1557 the lease of Macao on the Chinese Mainland near Hong Kong (acquired by Britain nearly 300 years later) as a reward for overcoming the pirates of the south China seas. Macao later became a Portuguese possession, which it still is.

Thus Portugal was the first European country to build an eastern empire. Nearer to home, she had annexed Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands in the 15th century; and in the 16th she started colonisation in Africa, early in the century in Mozambique and later in Angola on the south west coast. In both her first object was

trade, but she gradually established forts and settlements and extended her influence into the interior, engaging in intermittent warfare with the native kingdoms.

Meanwhile, during the same period, Spain and Portugal had been gaining even greater empires in the western hemisphere.

*All these islands were uninhabited when the Portuguese discovered them.

Chapter 7. - The Western Voyages of Exploration.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sailor, settled in Portugal in 1478, and often took part in the Portuguese voyages of exploration. He was convinced that Asia could be reached by sailing westwards, and in the 1480s appealed to King John of Portugal to finance such an expedition. With Portugal already heavily committed in West Africa and in the search for an African route to the east, King John declined Columbus's proposal. Eventually, after unsuccessfully approaching England, Columbus in 1492 secured the backing of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. After a ten weeks voyage, during which he had to prevail over the misgivings of his crews, his fleet of three small ships struck land at San Salvador in the West Indies (so named because Columbus thought that he had reached India - and continued to think so to the end of his days).

Fearing counter-claims by Portugal, Ferdinand and Isabella quickly claimed their right to these new lands. The Pope (a Spaniard) thereupon granted Spain possession of all territories beyond a line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. The other European countries, rather naturally, took exception to this decree - and indeed disregarded it in North America. But it served to prevent conflict between Spain and Portugal, and formed the basis of the Treaty of Tordesillas between the two countries, under which the line was moved 270 leagues further west, Portugal getting all to the east of it. Thus Portugal acquired Brazil, of which she officially took possession after Cabral's landing there in 1500.

Columbus made several more western voyages, and these were followed by many others. The most famous are those of Amerigo Vespucci and that of Ferdinand Magellan (already mentioned). Vespucci, a Florentine in the service of Spain and then of Portugal, between 1499 and 1502 explored much of the eastern coast of South America, and the newly discovered continent was named after him. Magellan, on his great voyage, sailed first to Brazil and then explored the estuary of the Rio de la Plata in search of a western passage. Failing to find it there, he went on south and passed through the straits which bear his name (at the southern point of South America) into the Pacific Ocean and on to the East Indies.

Chapter 8. - Colonisation of America in the 16th Century.

Following the great voyages of exploration, Spain led the way in colonisation in America. The first settlement was in Santo Domingo in the West Indies, founded in 1496, after Columbus's second voyage, by his brother Bartholomew. In the course of the next twenty years the Spaniards conquered most of the rest of the West Indies, and Panama in Central America. From these bases were launched the two most celebrated exploits of this period - Cortes' conquest of Mexico and Pizarro's conquest of Peru.

Hernando Cortes started from Cuba in 1518 with 600 men, 17 horses and 10 guns. In three years he subjugated the ancient Aztec empire and established 'Spanish rule in central Mexico; and in the following twenty years his lieutenants conquered what is now southern Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras, and, after a struggle with the native Maya empire, the peninsula of Yucatan.

Francisco Pizarro, an illiterate foundling who had taken to the sea for a living, when in Panama heard of the fabulous wealth of Peru. Reconnaissance confirmed this and, having obtained royal consent to his expeditious he sailed for Peru in 1531 with 180 men, 27 horses and 2 guns. His overriding motive was lust for gold. Partly by treachery and murder he dislocated the machinery of government of the Incas, and by 1536 he was in control of the country.

Another major exploit was the conquest of the native Chibcha Empire in what is now Colombia by Quesada in 1536-38. Also in 1536 Medosa founded Buenos Aires on the Rio de la Plata estuary; but the great potentiality of Argentina for agriculture and cattle breeding was ignored - the object here was to find another way to the apparently limitless gold and silver of Peru.

From Mexico the Spaniards explored most of what was to become the western United States, though colonisation there did not start until the 17th century. But in 1565, after several unsuccessful attempts to colonise in Florida, the Spaniards evicted French colonists there and established at St Augustine the first permanent settlement in the future United States.

From Peru the Spaniards advanced inland to the Bolivian plateau and southwards into Chile. By the end of the 16th century the whole territory from New Mexico and Florida in the north to Chile and the Rio de la Plata in the south (with the exception Of Brazil) was effectively under Spanish rule,

In this great enterprise the Spanish crown was inspired by visions of a great Catholic empire - and also by the streams of gold, silver and precious stones from America. Most of the early conquests were achieved at no cost to the Crown by the initiative of individual "conquistadores" such as Cortes and Pizarro in search of wealth or adventure. They fitted out expeditions at their own expense, in the expectation of reward in the form of authority and a share in the riches of the territory gained. Meanwhile Portugal, absorbed by her interests in the East, at first made no effective effort to colonise Brazil. But starting in the 1520s the menace of French encroachment there stirred Portugal to a more active policy, and in 1530 Martin de Souza was sent out as leader of a colonising expedition. The difficulties of developing and defending

Brazil seemed so great that the Portuguese government tried dividing the country up into areas to be administered and developed by private enterprise; but this was not a success, and in 1549 a more centralised administration under a Governor-general was established. Bahia was founded as the capital, and then Rio de Janeiro, where French attempt to start a colony was defeated. But in the 16th century the Governor-general's authority did not extend much beyond the coastal strip from Pernambuco to Rio de Janeiro.

Chapter 9. - Spain's "Golden Age" (the 16th Century) : The Union with Portugal.

Queen Isabella of Castile (see Chapter 5) died in 1504, King Ferdinand of Aragon in 1516. The throne of Spain then passed, via their daughter, to their grandson Charles I. From Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles inherited Spain and her American colonies and southern Italy. From his paternal grandfather, the Hapsburg Emperor Maximilian I, he inherited the Hapsburg domains of Austria and the Netherlands. And in 1519 Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor becoming the Emperor Charles V - thus adding Germany to his empire.

Charles, a Fleming by birth, was only 19 when he became ruler of this vast and diverse empire. Though having little charm or imagination, Charles was persevering, quick to learn, and well-intentioned. But the problems with which he was faced, including the hostility of France and the German Reformation, were tremendous. His reign was a period of continual wars, first against Francis of France and then against the German Protestants. Though Charles himself would have preferred conciliation and compromise with the Protestants, he was perforce, with his Hapsburg and Spanish background, the champion of the Papacy.

Spain became the centre of Charles's power, though the use of the wealth from Spanish America for his imperial campaigns, and his frequent absences from the country, caused dissatisfaction among his Spanish subjects.

In 1555 Charles, tired of his imperial labours, abdicated and retired to a Spanish monastery. He was succeeded as Emperor by his brother Ferdinand, and his son Philip became King Philip II of Spain, ruler of Spain, her colonial empire, the Netherlands and southern Italy.

Philip II was a hard-working and serious, but narrow-minded, man who became too absorbed in bureaucratic details. He saw himself as the great defender of Catholicism. For most of his long reign (1556-1598) Spain was the strongest European power and enjoyed her "golden age". Her main strength was the incomparable infantry of her standing army, mainly volunteers and with a large noble element.

But there were weaknesses in Spaniards' armour. On the sea she had to divide her naval resources between the Mediterranean, where she was faced by the maritime strength of the Ottoman Empire, and the Atlantic. Allied with the Venetian and Papal fleets she scored a decisive victory over the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 - thereby confirming her assumption of the role of champion of Christendom. But in the Atlantic, in spite of her enormous stake in America, she made no sustained effort to dominate the western seas. And by discouraging foreign trade with her colonies she failed to make the best use of their potential for wealth. This, together with an ineffective system of taxation at home - the vastly rich clergy - were immune - and widespread speculation, left Spain perpetually short of money.

This situation led Philip to treat the prosperous Netherlands as a main source of revenue. This, on top of the iniquities of the Inquisition, the presence of hated Spanish troops, and the loss of their ancient city privileges caused the Netherlands to revolt.

In 1567 Philip sent the ruthless Duke of Alva with a large Spanish army to crush these northern heretics - the Dutch had become staunch Calvinists. After six years of terror had failed to quell the rebels, the Duke of Parma, a brilliant general and astute diplomatist, was sent with fresh troops from Spain. He won adherents in the Catholic southern Netherlands (Belgium) and won a crushing victory at Gembloux, near Brussels, in 1578. The revolt in the south died out, and the southern provinces remained under Spanish rule as the "Spanish Netherlands"; but in the north the Dutch fought on, their cause being kept alive by their mastery of the coastal seas.

Meanwhile relations with Protestant England had steadily worsened. In 1553 Philip had married the Catholic Queen Mary of England, but after her death in 1558 and the accession of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, Philip saw his hopes of a Catholic Europe dwindling, add there was a constant threat of war between Spain and England, exacerbated by England's support of the rebellious Dutch. When in 1588, Philip at last decided to settle with England and invade the island stronghold, the great Armada which was to convoy the Spanish armies from the Netherlands was utterly defeated by the English fleet. In the following years the Dutch showed that the Spanish armies as well as her fleets, were not invincible; and after a series of defeats Spain gave up the struggle and in 1609 agreed to a truce with the Dutch - who, back in 1581, had proclaimed their independence of Spain.

Meanwhile Portugal, which had reached the pinnacle of its glory early in the 16th century in the reign of Manuel I, had thereafter declined in power and influence. Manuel had made the mistake, already committed by Spain, of expelling the Jews, upon whom Portugal's prosperity largely depended. And in the reign of his son John III (1521-1557) the influence of militant Catholicism became paramount. In 1536 the Inquisition was introduced, and in 1540 the Jesuits were invited in. The Jesuits, founded in 1534 by the Basque Ignatius Loyala, were approved by the Pope in 1540, and became the then agents of the Catholic counter-Reformation. Their main objects were the suppression of heresy, worldwide missionary work, and the eradication of corruption and ignorance among the clergy - the latter aim being based on the Jesuit schools, where an iron discipline as well as education was inculcated. Their efforts were directed in particular at those who were likely to have a wide influence - which resulted in their own acquisition of political power.

On the death of John III of Portugal his three year old grandson Sebastian came to the throne. Sebastian was educated by Jesuits, who now controlled the government. On coming of age Sebastian embarked on a crusade against the infidel Moors. It ended in total disaster. At Alcazar-Qivir in Morocco in 1578 the Portuguese army was annihilated. Sebastian was killed and the flower of Portuguese nobility decimated.

Sebastian was succeeded by his great-uncle Henry, on whose death two years later the royal Aviz dynasty died out. There were many claimants to the throne. The strongest was Philip of Spain, who was supported by the Jesuits. A Spanish army under the Duke of Alva invaded Portugal, and after their victory at Alcantara, near Lisbon, in 1580 Philip was accepted as King of Portugal. For the next sixty years Portugal was under Spanish rule and her interests subordinated to those of Spain.

*Charles's election was secured over a brilliant rival, Francis of France, mainly through the support of the German banking firms, the Fuggers and Welsers of Augsburg, who financed the bribes. To pay his debts Charles granted the Welsers territory in what is now Venezuela, which they colonised. Protests in Spain

against the grant of lands in the New World to "foreigners" led to the subsequent revocation of the grant, after which the Spaniards from Colombia conquered the territory.

Chapter 10. - The Decline of Spain : Portugal Recovers her Independence.

Although Spain acquired some added strength by the union with Portugal, the decline from her position of pre-eminence in Europe, which started with her failure to subdue the Dutch and the calamity of the Armada, continued. With her finances in disorder, her agriculture falling and discontent in Portugal and in her Italian possessions, Spain needed a period of peace and retrenchment - and the rooting out of court intrigue and corruption. Instead, she still tried to play a leading part in European affairs. From 1589 to 1598 she unsuccessfully intervened on the Catholic side in the religious civil war in France which ended with the triumph of Henry of Navarre.

Philip II died in 1598. His successors, Philip III (1598-1621) and Philip IV (1621-1665) were not interested in politics. Philip III, deeply religious, was retiring by nature; and the easy-going Philip IV left the conduct of affairs to his able but headstrong minister, the Count-Duke Olivarez.

Philip III's reign was a period of comparative peace*; but Olivarez persuaded Philip IV that victory in war was the way to restore Spain's falling prestige. After a 12 year truce the war against the Dutch was resumed in 1621; and Spain took part in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), a war which started as a struggle between the Catholic and Protestant European nations, but which in its last phase became a pure political conflict between Protestant Sweden and Holland and Catholic France on one side and Protestant Germany and Catholic Austria and Spain on the other.

Olivarez's war policy achieved nothing but further disaster. In 1639 the Spanish and Portuguese fleets were destroyed by the Dutch at the Battle of the Downs (off the coast of Kent); and by the Treaty of Westphalia which concluded the Thirty Years War Dutch independence was confirmed. The war with France went on for another eleven years, in the course of which Cromwell's England joined in on the side of France. An English expedition captured Jamaica from Spain, and English troops helped the French to defeat the Spanish army in the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) at the Battle of the Dunes, near Dunkirk, in 1658. The Treaty of the Pyrenees, which ended the war in 1659, firmly established France, rather than Spain, as the leading European nation.

Meanwhile in Spain itself Olivarez's policy of centralisation of power and high taxation to pay for the wars had led to a serious revolt in 1640 of the independent-minded Catalans of the north-east, who had always enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy. The revolt was supported by France, and it was twelve years before Barcelona finally submitted. Under the Treaty of the Pyrenees the Catalans retained most of their former privileges.

The outbreak of the rebellion in Catalonia was quickly followed by a revolt of the Portuguese. Sixty years of union with Spain had brought no advantages to Portugal. She had been drawn into Spain's European wars, in which she had no interest; Cadiz had taken some of Lisbon's trade; and Portugal had lost to the Dutch her position of leading maritime power in the East. On top of these grievances and misfortunes came Olivarez's centralisation of authority - and even a plan to use Portuguese troops to help in quelling the Catalans.

In 1640, inspired by the Catalan revolt, a group of Portuguese patriots, organised by Professor Ribeiro of Coimbra University, and with the overwhelming support of the people, achieved a bloodless coup and installed on the throne as John IV the Duke of Braganza, the most powerful nobleman in Portugal. Engrossed in her foreign campaigns and the Catalan rebellion, Spain could do nothing about it at the time, but she did not give up Portugal without a struggle. Desultory warfare, further embittering relations between the two countries, went on for 28 years, until in 1668 Spain finally recognised Portuguese independence.

But Portugal had lost the Moluccas, Malacca and Ceylon to the Dutch, reducing her eastern possessions to Goa, Macao, and part of the island of Timor in the East Indies. In Portuguese South America the Dutch had taken Pernambuco in 1623 and gone on to make further inroads into Brazil, in 1640 defeating a Spanish-Portuguese fleet sent to restore the situation; and the Dutch, followed by the English and French had started to colonise along the northern coast - Guiana, an area in which Spain and Portugal had not shown much interest.

Though Spain's political power declined throughout the late 16th and the 17th centuries, this period was a high point in Spanish art and literature. El Greco born in Crete, went to Spain in 1575 and settled in Toledo; and other painters of this time to achieve world-wide renown were Ribero (1591-1656), Velasquez (1599-1660) and Murillo (1617-82). After this there was a hundred years lull in creative Spanish art until Goya (1746- 1828). In literature, all living at the same time were Spain's most celebrated writer Cervantes (1517-1616), the spiritual poet St John of the Cross (1542-91), and the historical writer Lope de Vega (1540-1616); and later came the dramatist and poet Calderon (1600-81).

In Portugal too, her greatest poet Camoens (1524-80), who wrote of the great era of discovery, lived during the period of Portugal's decline from her previous eminence. His death occurring in the same year that Portugal fell to Spain, his last words are said to have been "I am dying at the same time as my country".

*During this peaceful interlude the opportunity was taken to expel from the country the Moriscos - Spanish Moslems who had accepted Christian baptism, but were suspected of secretly retaining the Moslem faith. They had long been treated as second class citizens, and in 1569 had rebelled, the revolt taking two years to suppress. Now, between 1609 and 1614, some 300,000 were expelled, in the hope that this would strengthen internal unity. The immediate effect was a heavy loss to Spanish agriculture, as the Moriscos had provided much of the labour on the large estates.

Chapter 11. - The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1724).

The decline of Spanish power went on throughout the 17th century. It was characterised by continuing visions of world empire without the military or economic means to sustain it, a rigid Catholic orthodoxy, and further centralisation of power in the hands of the king and the aristocracy. The Cortes - the councils of nobles, clergy and burghers which since the 13th century had acted as advisers to the Crown - decayed, and their influence became negligible.

Charles II (1665-1700) was a half-witted invalid. He had no children, and so was the last of the line of Spanish Habsburg monarchs. Throughout his reign the other European powers, who now regarded the vast Spanish possessions as easy prey, planned how to split them up to their best advantage on Charles's death. The main preoccupation of England, Holland and Austria was to prevent a further accretion to the power of France.

When Charles died in 1700 it was found that he had bequeathed his entire empire (Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Lombardy, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Philippines and Spanish America) to a French claimant, Philip of Anjou, Charles's great-nephew and grandson of King Louis XIV of France. Louis, though he had agreed with the other powers on a partition of the Spanish Empire, accepted the inheritance for Philip whereupon England and Holland supported the claim of the Austrian Habsburg Charles, second son of the Emperor Leopold. War soon broke out - the War of the Spanish Succession. On one side were Britain, Holland and Austria, supported by most of the German states, Savoy, Portugal and Catalonia; on the other France, Spain (except Catalonia) and Bavaria.

The Imperial general Prince Eugene of Savoy successfully invaded Italy, and together with the British under the Duke of Marlborough drove the French from Bavaria and Marlborough won a series of victories in the Spanish Netherlands. But the allies, though they twice occupied Madrid, failed in their attempt to conquer Spain itself and force the unwilling Spaniards (except the Catalans) to accept the Austrian Charles as their king. Portugal had insisted on this attempt as a condition of her participation in the alliance. (This agreement was part of the "Methven" treaties between Portugal and England in 1703, which also facilitated the interchange between the two countries of Portuguese wine and British wool.)

After some dissension among the allies (Austria wanted to continue the war), peace with France and Spain was made by the others by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. Austria made a separate peace a year later. Philip of Anjou was recognised as King Philip V of Spain, founding the dynasty of Spanish Bourbons. Spain lost all her Italian possessions. Lombardy, Milan, Naples and Sardinia went to Austria, as compensation to the Emperor for not acquiring Spain itself; and Sicily went to Savoy. The Emperor also took over the Spanish Netherlands henceforth the Austrian Netherlands and promised to defend them against any future French aggression. (It had been one of the war aims of the maritime powers - Holland and England - that the Spanish Netherlands should be transferred to Austria, which was neither a commercial nor naval danger to them.) England obtained that the thrones of Spain and France would never be united, and was given rights of trade (mainly of slaves) with Spanish America. England also retained Gibraltar and Minorca, which she had taken from

Spain in the course of the war. (Minorca reverted to Spain in 1783 - see Chapter 12 - but Gibraltar remained British to the present day.)

The Catalans continued the struggle against King Philip, seeking independence. But their separatist rising, now with no allies, was put down. They lost most of their ancient privileges, and the use of the native Catalan language was banned in the courts. (The language, however, survived, particularly in the rural areas.)

* Portugal's traditional alliance with England had necessarily lapsed during the period of her union with Spain. With her recovered independence it had been renewed, and had been confirmed in 1661 by the marriage of Catherina, daughter of John IV of Portugal, to King Charles II of England.

Chapter 12. - The 18th Century.

Spain:

During most of the 18th century Spain was involved in wars. Some were European wars against Austria, stemming from the ambition of Elizabeth Farnese of Parma, a masterful woman who became Philip V's second wife, to recover for her family some of the lost Spanish possessions in Italy. In this she had some success. Naples and Sicily were regained, and Philip and Elizabeth's son Charles was installed as ruler. And their second son Philip obtained the Duchy of Parma.

Of more lasting importance were the maritime wars with England, caused by the determination of individual Englishmen - merchants, smugglers, pirates - to trade with Spanish America to a much greater extent than was allowed by the Treaty of Utrecht. These wars in themselves did not lead to any great political or colonial changes, but they merged into the great conflict between Britain and France in North America which went on intermittently from 1743 to 1763. In the last of these wars - the American phase of the Seven Years War in Europe - Spain joined France against Britain. The result was a triumph for Britain. France abandoned North America, leaving Britain firmly established in Canada and her thirteen American colonies, and ceding Louisiana to Spain. Spain lost Florida to Britain, but was given back Cuba and the Philippines which the British had seized during the war.

Spain had her revenge over Britain twenty years later when she joined with France and Holland on the side of the British Americas colonies in their War of Independence. She recovered Florida and Minorca from Britain, but in a long siege, assisted by the French, she failed to take Gibraltar.

At home the Bourbon kings of the 18th century were just as absolutist as the Habsburgs before them. One of them, however, Charles III, who reigned from 1759 to 1788, proved to be an enlightened monarch. On his accession to the Spanish throne he handed over Naples and Sicily, where he had ruled well, to his second son Ferdinand (after which the history of Naples and Sicily diverged from that of Spain).

In Spain Charles III stimulated the economy, encouraging industry and building roads. He also expelled the Jesuits; some 10,000 of them were deported to the Papal states. And Charles improved the efficiency of the administration. But his measures incurred the hostility of the aristocracy and the clergy; and on his death and the accession of his weak and irresolute son, Charles IV, Spain reverted to her former condition. Unbending Catholicism held sway, and vast estates remained in the hands of the nobles and the Church.

Portugal.

Portugal's part in the War of the Spanish Succession has already been mentioned. After that, until 1750, the country was ruled by John V, mainly famous for his extravagance.

He squandered the riches from Brazil on building palaces, churches and monasteries

on a grand scale; and his court became a replica of the Versailles of Louis XV of France filled with favourites and mistresses.

John V was succeeded by Joseph I, during whose entire reign (1750-77) the effective ruler of the country was the Marquis de Pombal, a ruthless despot but a far-sighted statesman who reformed the finances, the armed forces, the administration, and education, and set about the revival of commerce, industry and agriculture. Early in his political career, in 1755, a large part of Lisbon was destroyed by an earthquake, and the city was rebuilt under Pombal's energetic direction. He curbed the power of the nobles and the Church, and in 1759 expelled the Jesuits (setting the example which Charles III of Spain followed eight years later).

In 1762 Portugal, which stuck to the alliance with Britain during the Seven Years War, was invaded by Spanish and French forces, but with British help repulsed them. Pombal necessarily made many enemies among the aristocracy and the clergy; and when, on the death of Joseph I, his unbalanced (and subsequently insane) daughter Maria came to the throne, Pombal was dismissed and later exiled. The nobles and the Church recovered their supremacy.

Chapter 13- - The Napoleonic Period : The Peninsular War.

In the early days of the French Revolution the sympathies of King Charles IV of Spain were naturally with his Bourbon kinsman on the throne of France; and after the execution of the French king Spain joined in 1793 in the first coalition of powers against the French revolutionary regime. The French armies, after initial defeats, gained the upper hand over their many adversaries, and in 1795 Spain withdrew from the war.

For the next twelve years Charles IV, with a corrupt and inefficient government headed by Godoy, the Queen's lover and favourite, kowtowed to France and joined her in the wars against the European coalitions. The Spanish fleet shared in the defeat of the French by Nelson at Trafalgar.

Napoleon gained a complete personal ascendancy over Charles IV and Godoy, and over Charles's treacherous and equally incompetent son Ferdinand, heir to the throne and leader of the opposition to the unpopular Charles and Godoy - and hence, in spite of his character, the hero of the Spanish people. It seemed to Napoleon that, with his grip on all the Spanish leaders, it would be easy to conquer Spain.

He started on this project in 1807 by forcing Spain to join in an invasion of Portugal, whose ports were still open to British ships and so caused a leak in Napoleon's "Continental System" - the exclusion of British ships from all continental ports, by which he hoped to ruin British trade and force her into submission. Portugal was quickly overrun. Within a month Lisbon was taken by the French Marshal Junot, and the Portuguese royal family fled to Brazil.

With his armies now established on Spanish soil, Napoleon made both Charles and Ferdinand abdicate their rights to the throne, on which he placed his brother Joseph. Charles and Ferdinand were given pensions and estates in France, where they were detained.

But Napoleon had mistaken the feelings of the Spanish people. National pride and devotion to their religion - and to the unworthy Ferdinand - were their ruling passions; and they rose spontaneously against the hated invaders. They had no organised armies and no cohesive plans - the little province of Asturias, for instance, on its own formally declared war against the French Empire; but irregular forces and guerrilla bands, difficult to subdue in the mountainous and arid country, constantly harassed the French armies. In 1808 Britain sent a force under Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) to Portugal, from which he drove the French after defeating them at Vimiero; but before this the Spanish irregulars had inflicted a humiliating defeat on a French army at Baylen in the south. In the battle 18,000 Frenchmen surrendered.

After Vimiero Wellesley was recalled to England, and to retrieve the situation for France Napoleon himself invaded Spain with a large army and re-occupied Madrid. To divert his from continuing his conquest southwards, a British force under Sir John Moore invaded Spain from Portugal. Napoleon and his Marshal Soult turned back to meet this threat, and drove the British to an evacuation from the country at Corunna (1809).

Wellesley was then sent back to the peninsula with reinforcements to protect Portugal. In this he succeeded, but in the winter of 1810-11 only by falling back behind carefully prepared defences round Liaboa, known as the "Lines of Torres Vedras".

In the spring of 1811 Wellesley, with his British and Portuguese forces, issued from this redoubt, and the last stage of the Peninsular War (or to the Spaniards and Portuguese the War of Independence) began. In 1812, after the Battle of Salamanca, Wellington occupied Madrid and freed southern Spain of the enemy. In 1813 he won a great victory at Vittoria, and by the end of the year had driven the French (in the "War of the Pyrenees") back into France. He was advancing into southern France in 1814 when the collapse of the French on all fronts forced Napoleon to abdicate.

In the defeat of Napoleon the Spanish insurrection had played an important part. There was the first national revolt against all-conquering France, thus helping to sow the seed of others which followed. They provided a base in the peninsula for the British operations which held down large French forces and so prevented their use in Napoleon's other theatres of war. And - though their military methods, or lack of method, at times sorely tried Wellington's patience - their guerrillas made a substantial contribution to the success of his campaigns.

During the war a national assembly (Cortes) had been elected and set up at Cadiz (then the only part of the country not in French hands) in the name of King Ferdinand. In 1812 this Cortes promulgated an advanced "Liberal" constitution providing, amongst other democratic ideas, for universal suffrage - a very different proposition from the pre-war Spain. With the end of the war, Ferdinand was welcomed back as King, promising to uphold this "Constitution of 1812"

Ferdinand did not keep his promise. Banking on his popularity with the bulk of the people, he threw out the constitution - and threw out the Liberal leaders, who were shot, imprisoned or exiled and restored absolute rule. His incompetence then caused widespread dissatisfaction, notably in the army, which in 1820, led by Colonel del Riego, made Ferdinand restore the constitution. Ferdinand appealed to the European powers for help. The "Holy Alliance" of Austria, Russia and Prussia were dedicated - after the French Revolution and its aftermath - to the repression of all liberal movements anywhere; so they agreed (over-riding British objections) to intervention in Spain by Louis XVIII, the restored Bourbon King of France. A French army invaded Spain, drove out the liberals, and re-established Ferdinand's authority (1823). The French invasion was not resisted by the unenlightened peasantry, who were not yet ready for liberal reforms.

In Portugal the British, during the Peninsular War, had set up a regency to rule the country in the absence of King John VI in Brazil; and John, apprehensive of the growth of Liberalism, made no move to return to Portugal when the wars were over. The absence of the royal family and the example of the 1812 constitution in Spain made for unrest and discontent in Portugal. In 1820 a liberal revolution set up a democratic constitution, and in 1822 John VI was persuaded to return as a constitutional monarch. The opposition to democracy was led by John's second son Miguel, who in 1824 tried to overthrow the constitution, but failed.

Chapter 14. - Spanish and Portuguese America in the 17th and 18th Centuries.

In the 17th and 18th centuries Spain and Portugal were left in comparative peace to organise their empires in South and Central America and the West Indies. The main exceptions in the case of Spain were the loss of Jamaica to England in 1655 and subsequent British colonization of Belize (British Honduras). Portuguese Brazil lost the Guianas, but the Dutch who encroached into eastern Brazil in the 1630s were evicted by the Brazilians twenty years later.

In North America the net result of Spain's involvement in the Seven Years War and the (British) War of American Independence was, as we have seen, the retention of Florida and the acquisition of Louisiana. And during the 18th century the Spaniards from Mexico occupied Texas (1720) and established settlements on the Californian coast between 1769 and 1781.

Spain divided her vast American domains into viceroyalties. In the 16th century the Viceroyalty of Peru, with its capital at Lima, included Panama and all Spanish territory in South America except Venezuela. The Viceroyalty of New Spain, with its capital at Mexico City, included Venezuela, the West Indies, and all Spanish territory north of Panama. In the 18th century two further viceroyalties were established: New Granada, which included Colombia, Panama, Venezuela and Quito (Ecuador); and La Plata in the south.

Most of the Spanish emigrants came from Castile. Heretics, Moors and Jews were excluded. From intermixture between Spaniards and native women a large group of half-castes (mestizos) arose. There was a fairly distinct division between the social classes. At the top were the higher class Spaniards and creoles (Spaniards born in the colonies). At the bottom were the Negro slaves, imported to work in the mines and on the plantations. In between were the native Indians and the various racial mixtures. Most of the wealth was in the hands of the upper classes and the Church. The Church, as in Spain, held a privileged position, and, particularly after the introduction of the Inquisition into the colonies in 1569, wielded great political influence. The work of civilising the Indians, including their forcible conversion to Christianity, was carried out by the Jesuits and other Holy Orders.

Portuguese policy in Brazil was similar, though at first the home government did not attempt to regulate the affairs of the colonies in detail, as the Spaniards did. But after the union with Spain in 1580 the administration of Brazil was modelled on the Spanish system. As in Spanish America, Negro slaves were brought in to work on the sugar and coffee plantations, and there was much inter-marriage between Whites, Indians and Negroes. Education and conversion to Christianity were left mainly to the Jesuits - but, unlike Spain, Portugal did not introduce the Inquisition into her American empire. (The Jesuits were expelled from the Portuguese and Spanish colonies at the same time as their expulsion from Portugal and Spain, in 1759 and 1767.)

Colonisation of the interior of Brazil did not start until the early 18th century. It was given its greatest impetus between 1750 and 1777, when Pombal introduced many colonial reforms. Commerce was encouraged, the administration simplified, with a new

capital at Rio de Janeiro, and native Brazilians were appointed to many governmental posts.

This Portuguese expansion led to friction with Spain in southern Brazil, on the left bank of the Rio de la Plata. After rival colonies in this region had changed hands several times, a settlement was reached with the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1777. Spain obtained what is now Uruguay and Paraguay, while Portugal was given a much larger area in north-western Brazil than had originally been assigned to her under the Treaty of Tordesillas.

The main repercussions on the home countries of their possession of these American empires were, as we have seen, the bolstering up of their finances by the stream of riches which flowed to them from America - and, in the case of Spain, with her restrictions on trade, the depredation of Spanish treasure ships by English privateers, eventually leading to wars with England in the 18th century.

Chapter 15. - The Loss of the American Colonies.

The Spanish Colonies.

During the 18th century the virtual exclusion of Creoles and mestizos from important positions was a cause of growing discontent in the Spanish colonies; and the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 was a mistake from the Spanish Imperial point of view, in that it removed the one powerful educational agency which inculcated obedience to the Spanish crown.

Then, towards the end of the century, the ideas emanating from revolutionary France fired the imagination of Latin American intellectuals - whose thoughts of independence were encouraged by the successful revolt of the British colonies in North America. And Spain's support of that revolt had influenced Britain in favour of similar revolts in Latin America.

After some earlier unsuccessful risings, revolutionary ardour was revived when Napoleon invaded Spain and put his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne in 1808. The colonial leaders refused to recognise Joseph as king, and proclaimed their allegiance to Ferdinand. The series of rebellions which followed were, however, everywhere defeated except in the Rio de la Plata area. Then, when Ferdinand returned to the throne after Napoleon's downfall and showed that he was determined to restore to Spain and her colonies the old system of royal absolutism, the rebellious colonists, who had formerly been loyal to him, now made their aim complete separation from Spain. In the course of the next ten years they were everywhere successful, taking advantage of Ferdinand's troubles in Spain which prevented his from sending forces overseas.

In South America the two great leaders were Jose de San Martin in the south and Simon Bolivar in the north, both high class creoles. After declaring the independence of Argentina (the Rio de la Plata district), San Martin crossed the Andes, defeated a Spanish army, and liberated Chile (1818). Two years later he moved an army by sea to Peru, the centre of Spanish authority, where by propaganda rather than warfare he occupied Lima and declared the independence of Peru (1821). In both these operations he was very much helped by the British Admiral Lord Cochrane who, in command of the revolutionary Chilean navy, swept the Spanish fleet from the Pacific.

Meanwhile Bolivar, assisted by a force of British volunteers, freed what is now Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, and went on to establish another independent state, Bolivia (1825).

In Mexico the first (unsuccessful) risings had been in the form of a revolt of the lower classes. But the successful proclamation of independence in 1821 came as a result of the liberal revolution against Ferdinand in Spain in 1820. The upper classes in Mexico, fearing that constitutional government in Spain menaced their position, deposed the Spanish Viceroy, and in 1822 one of their number, the creole Augustin de Iturbide became emperor.

The defection of Mexico took with it Central America (later the states of Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica) and what is now the south-

western United States (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California). Louisiana had been ceded back to France during the Napoleonic Wars. The remaining Spanish possession on the mainland of North America - Florida - had been sold to the United States in 1819 for five million dollars, after United States' complaints of Spain's inability to keep order there.

In the West Indies, Trinidad had been taken by the British in the Napoleonic Wars; and in 1821 Santo Domingo - the site of the first Spanish settlement in the New World - proclaimed her independence (and became the Dominican Republic). All that was left of the vast Spanish American empire were the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, which remained loyal to Spain.

After re-establishing Ferdinand's autocratic rule in Spain in 1823, the Emperors of the Holy Alliance in Europe contemplated helping him to recover the Spanish colonies. From this they were deterred by British political opposition - backed by her naval supremacy - and by the proclamation by the United States of the "Monroe Doctrine", warning the European powers against any further interference on the American continent.

Brazil.

When John VI returned from Brazil to Portugal in 1822, the Portuguese Cortes decided that Brazil should be reduced once more to the status of a dependency. This stimulated the feeling of nationalism in Brazil, which by this time had a larger population than that of Portugal, and which had been the seat of the royal family for fifteen years. John's son Pedro, who had been left in Brazil as Prince Regent, accepted the petition of his subjects to remain there in defiance of the home government's efforts to remove him. He declared the independence of Brazil and became Emperor. By the end of 1823 the resistance of Portuguese garrisons had been overcome, largely through the operations of the Brazilian navy under the command of Lord Cochrane.

Thus ended the three centuries of Spanish and Portuguese rule in America. Slave labour and the tyranny of the Church were black spots in this rule; but throughout these centuries, with infrequent exceptions, the whole area had the inestimable advantage of peace; and peoples of divergent races and colour learned to live together. Particularly was this so in Brazil, where a complete mixture of all shades of colour existed with no racial prejudices.

As a lasting legacy the Spanish and Portuguese tongues were left as the languages of some twenty new nations, and Roman Catholicism as the predominant religion. And these new nations inherited the knowledge necessary for future progress - in commerce, road building, irrigation, agriculture, industry.

Chapter 16. - A Hundred Years of Strife in Spain, 1833-1936.

The reign of Ferdinand VII lasted another ten years after the restoration of his absolutist regime by a French army in 1823 - ten years of repression and persecution. There then followed a hundred years of civil strife in Spain, with periodic civil wars and revolutions, culminating in the massive civil war in 1936-1939

The first troubles arose on Ferdinand's death. The liberals supported the accession of Ferdinand's infant daughter Isabella. The supporters of the old regime - clericalism and autocracy backed Ferdinand's brother Don Carlos, a devout Catholic and reactionary. The dispute brought about the first "Carlist War", 1834-39. The liberals won, and Isabella (at first with her mother as regent) remained precariously on the throne for another 30 years.

The liberal regime took little account of the intensity of the attachment of Spaniards to individual independence and local and regional privileges. Catalan revolts occurred regularly (and there began a renaissance of the Catalan language and literature); and the violence of the Carlist Wars was intensified by the animosity of the strongly religious and absolutist (and hence Carlist) Basques for their Castilian rulers.

Another facet of this period was the rise of the army to become the strongest influence in politics. For 35 years after the first Carlist War the army dictated affairs, with reactionary and liberal generals often taking turns in coups d'état.

In 1868 Queen Isabella, under whom neither conservatives nor liberals found it possible to govern effectively, and whose private life was scandalous, was deposed and exiled by a liberal revolution. After a search for a suitable constitutional monarch the crown was offered to, and accepted by, Prince Amadeo of Savoy. As an unpopular foreigner he found it impossible to rule a country in which the provinces began to re-assert their claims to self-government, and where an anarchist movement was gaining strength - the lower classes, poorly educated and living in miserable conditions, were beginning to realize that they were badly governed. After two years Amadeo abdicated, and in 1873 a republic was proclaimed. Disorder and anarchy continued, and, with Carlist risings adding to the chaos, the army took on and restored the monarchy under Alfonso, Isabella's son.

Under Alfonso XII (1874-85) and his son Alfonso XIII (1886- 1931) a "way of government" was evolved in which the parliament was a farce and where it became customary for liberals and conservatives to hold office in turn. Some economic progress was made, but 'no progress towards solving Spain's political problems or the conditions of the working people.

This period also saw the virtual end of Spain's overseas empire. A revolt in Cuba had been put down in the 1870s, but in 1895 the Cuban nationalists rose again, this time supported by the United States. This led to war between the United States and Spain in 1898. As part of their strategy the Americans attacked the Philippines where, after 300 years of Spanish rule, the Filipinos had unsuccessfully tried for independence in 1896. The war was over in a few months, with Spain everywhere defeated. She acknowledged the independence of Cuba, and ceded Puerto Rico (her only other remaining West Indian possession) and the Philippines to the United States.

Spain's overseas interests were now confined to the Balearic Islands and to Africa. For several centuries Spain had occupied the two military enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the coast of Morocco.* In the early 20th century, after competing with other European powers for influence in the rest of Morocco, Spain acquired control over the northern part, the bulk of the country becoming a French protectorate. Moorish risings then involved Spain in almost continual warfare - which provided a good training ground for the Spanish army, including the Spanish Foreign Legion which had been formed about 1900 for service in North Africa.

Spain's other African interests were the Spanish Sahara on the west coast south of Morocco, the adjacent Canary Islands, and Spanish Guinea. The Canary Islands had been a Spanish possession since the late 15th century. The Spanish Sahara was occupied during the period after 1884, when Africa was being divided up among the European nations. Spanish Guinea, consisting of the Island of Fernando Po and some of the nearby mainland on the central West African coast, was ceded to Spain by Portugal as part of the bargains under the Treaty of Sax Ildefonso in 1777.**

In the First World War Spain remained neutral - divided in sympathy between the two sides. She prospered economically; but the Russian revolution inspired enthusiasm among the lower paid workers, and after the war there were repeated clashes between employers and the anarchist-controlled unions, particularly in Barcelona - also the main seat of the Catalan independence movement.

In 1923 Alfonso XIII was discredited after encouraging a disastrous campaign in Morocco. He thereupon acceded to an army coup by which the constitution was suspended and the government handed over to the dictatorship of General Priao de Rivera nominally under the King. In 1925 de Rivera's position was changed to that of prime minister, with a mainly military cabinet.

Helped by the post-world war prosperity, de Rivera brought about some reforms and at first enjoyed much popular support. His administration was a period of comparative internal peace, and he brought the Moroccan war to a successful conclusion. But his economic policy - of industrial expansion and vast public works - collapsed with the world-wide depression of 1929, and in 1930 he resigned.

Unable to form a government without Primo de Rivera, Alfonso left Spain (and died in Rome in 1941). In 1931 a republic was established (for the second time) under the leadership of the moderate liberal Manuel Azana. The new government immediately set about far-reaching reforms, including the separation of Church and State and the abolition of the Church's control of education. It also gave a large measure of self-government to Catalonia and recognised Catalan as an official language.

The attack on the Church alienated the devout Catholics; and the "moderates" met with increasing opposition from both the extreme right - the "Falange", modelled on the Fascist movements in Italy and Germany - and the extreme left., for whom the reforms were inadequate. There were incessant strikes; Catalonia declared itself independent; and in 1934 in Asturias a revolt of the miners***, who proclaimed a Communist regime, was crushed only by the arrival of an army from Morocco. This army, which included Foreign Legion and Moorish troops, was commanded by Francisco Franco., one of the youngest and most able generals.

The Asturias revolt, though put down, had given the "Leftists" and the manual workers

a taste of mastery, and had made the upper and middle classes apprehensive of their future. In elections in 1936 (February) a "Popular Front" of the left parties (Republicans, Socialists and Communists) came to power. This brought to an end the army leaders' efforts to co-operate with the republican government. In July there was a military rising in Spain; and General Franco (who had been virtually exiled by being appointed governor of the Canary Islands) flew to Morocco and from there brought an army to Spain, where he became the insurgent leader.

So started the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). The array was supported by the Carlists (who still backed the old Carlist line for the Spanish throne and had been training an army in Navarre), the (Alfonso) monarchists, the Church, most of the upper and middle classes, and the Falange - though with some reservations about helping what they considered to be a reactionary cause. All these supporters of Franco adopted the title of Nationalists. Against them were the Republican government with the assorted supporters of Liberalism, Socialism and Communism - including most of the lower paid workers and some of the middle classes. They called themselves the Loyalists, or Republicans. Their forces consisted largely of militia raised by the trades unions. They also had the support of the Catalan and Basque separatists. Catalonia had enjoyed varying degrees of independence since 1932; and the Basques were given home rule by the republican government soon after the outbreak of the Civil War.

*Ceuta (opposite to Gibraltar) was acquired by Portugal in 1415, at the beginning of her overseas conquests. It then went to Spain when Portugal came under the Spanish throne in 1580, and has remained a Spanish possession ever since. Melilla was taken by Spain in 1497.

** During the early part of the 19th century Fernando Po was leased to Britain as a naval base, and was not permanently occupied by Spain until later in the century.

***Spain's chief coalfields are in Asturias. But the coal is not of high quality. This, combined with poor communications, resulted in the large iron ore deposits in the Bilbao area being exported rather than used for Spanish industry. So Spain missed out on the industrial revolution in northern Europe. Spain also has other extensive mineral resources - lead in the south-east, copper in the Rio Tinto area, mercury around Almaden, potash in Catalonia. Early in the 20th century Spain was the chief European producer of lead, but the mines are now largely worked out. With all these resources Spain became a "mining colony" of other nations - in the 1930s more than half the mining investments were in foreign hands.

Though minerals have contributed substantially to Spain's exports, they have been easily surpassed by fruit and vegetables - oranges (from Valencia and Seville), lemons, olives, almonds, onions.

Chapter 17. - A Hundred Years of Strife in Portugal, 1826-1926.

The history of Portugal in the 19th century, like that of Spain, is largely one of internal Strife. King John VI died in 1826 and left the throne to his elder son Pedro, Emperor of Brazil. Pedro declined to leave Brazil and resigned the throne of Portugal to his infant daughter Maria, with his brother Miguel as regent. Miguel, supported by the reactionaries and the Church, tried to oust Maria, and for a time succeeded. Pedro then abdicated the Brazilian throne and came to Europe to help Maria. After six years of civil war Miguel was removed, in 1834. Maria then reigned for another twenty years, but with Portugal still in a continual state of instability and insurrection.

Maria was succeeded by her son Pedro V (1853-61) and then his brother Louis I (1861-89). During their reigns the civil strife abated, and the country was ruled alternately by the conservatives and the liberals - the same sort of political expedient ground resorted to later in Spain. But republican feeling gained ground. In 1881 a Republican Party was formed.

Under Louis I's son, Carlos I, mainly noted for his extravagance and licentiousness, discontent grew. It came to a head after 1906, when Carlos suppressed parliamentary government and tried to stifle all opposition. In 1908 Carlos and the crown prince were assassinated by anarchists. Carlos's second son, Manuel II, restored constitutional government, but in 1910 an insurrection forced him to abdicate and leave the country.

A republic was proclaimed (and Portugal remains a republic to this day); but it was no more successful than the two republican ventures in Spain. The leaders attacked the Church: as in Spain, Church and State were separated and education secularised. But Royalist plots continued, and there was growing unrest among the idealists of the revolution and among the lower classes, disappointed that the revolution had brought no great improvement in their lot.

In the sixteen years 1910-1926 there were repeated coups and insurrections; and with political corruption and inefficiency the finances of the country went from bad to worse. With a 65% illiteracy rate, a democratic system was difficult to work effectively, and there was a total lack of political stability. In 1920 alone there were nine different governments. In the midst of this chaos Portugal was drawn into the First World War against Germany, and her troops fought in East Africa and on the Western Front in France.

In 1926 the regime was overthrown by an army revolt, and after a counter-insurrection had been defeated General Carmona became President in 1928. He appointed as finance minister Dr Salazar, an economics professor of Coimbra University. In a remarkably short time Salazar succeeded in balancing the budget, and in 1932 he became prime minister. For the next 36 years Salazar, a studious and retiring man, was the virtual dictator of Portugal, under the presidency of Carmona until the latter's death in 1953.

Chapter 18. – The Spanish Civil War, 1936-39.

The Spanish Civil War was fought with great savagery on both sides. For the first time in warfare large scale bombing of civilians was used-as a weapon of terror. In all, between half and three quarter of a million people are estimated to have lost their lives in battle, air raids, murders, executions, or from hunger or disease in captivity. The war was prolonged by becoming the battleground between the rival ideologies of Fascism and Communism. Franco's Nationalists were provided with war material by Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, and had active assistance from German air forces and Italian troops. The Republicans were supported by Communist Russia and by the "International Brigades" of volunteers from many countries, organised by the world Communist movement.

The original army risings were successful in the north-west and in the extreme south; and later in 1936 the two areas were joined by the capture of Badajoz. The north coast was overrun by the Nationalists in 1937 in a campaign which included the bombing of the Basques into submission.*

In 1938 a Nationalist advance to the Mediterranean south of the Ebro cut off Catalonia from the Republican territory in Castile; and in the second half of 1938 there was a tremendous battle along the river Ebro, which left the Republican forces exhausted. A January 1939 Barcelona was taken, and in March the war ended with the fall of Madrid. (Madrid had held out against a Nationalist siege since 1936, but the Republican government had moved to Valencia and then to Barcelona.)

There were three main factors which contributed to the Nationalist victory. First, they obtained more and better war material from Germany and Italy than the rather sporadic help from Soviet Russia for the Republicans; and this advantage was accentuated by Salazar's Portugal siding with the Nationalists and providing a safe supply route. Secondly, Franco skilfully achieved political unity among the diverse collection of his supporters, while on the other side the Communists and Anarchists were often at loggerheads - to the point of actual warfare between them at times. And thirdly, although the Republicans at first held the main industrial cities**, Franco had access to superior economic resources from abroad. Also, he quickly gained control of the main food-producing areas, as well as having fewer people to feed.

With the end of the war Franco became Head of State or Caudillo (leader) and in effect dictator of Spain for the next 36 years until his death in 1975.

*The horrors of the bombing of Guernica in the Basque country were portrayed in Picasso's mural masterpiece "Guernica". (One of the originators of "cubism", the artistic genius Picasso (1881-1973) was Spanish born but settled in France in 1903.)

**Such as Barcelona, centre of the Catalonian textile industry, and Bilbao and the north coast industrial area, based on the Asturias coalfields.

Chapter 19. - Spain under General Franco (1939-1975).

The Civil War resulted in the triumph of the army, the Church, and the landed gentry, and of the Spanish brand of Fascism over Communism. It was also a victory for centralism over regional autonomy; any ideas of independence for the Catalans or the Basques were crushed.

At first it was thought that Franco might restore the monarchy - in the person of the Bourbon Don Juan, son of Alfonso XIII but in 1941 Franco proclaimed Spain to be a (technical) kingdom with himself as regent and Chief of State until his death or retirement.

Meanwhile his regime retained a ruthless dictatorship, with only one legal political party - the Falange. But Franco did not in fact share some of the ambitions of the original Falangists, such as the restoration (with German help) of a Spanish world empire; and the influence of the Falange was gradually lessened. In 1942 Franco reinstated the Cortes, consisting mainly of appointed members or representatives of various bodies, all subservient to Franco. His regime came to be accepted by the majority of the Spanish people, who preferred his rigid authoritarianism to the misery of the Civil War or the chaos which had preceded it.

In the Second World War Franco's sympathies were naturally with Germany and Italy, but he kept Spain nominally neutral. He did send the "Blue Division" of volunteers to fight against Russia 1941, but when the Western allies began to get the upper hand his attitude came closer to true neutrality.

In the early post-war years Spain was an outcast among the victorious democratic nations and was barred from membership of the United Nations Organisation. But the growing breach between the Soviet Union and the western powers, and the spread of Communist control in Eastern Europe, changed the climate of opinion towards Spain. In 1953 the United States and Spain came to an agreement providing for American naval and air bases in Spain and for American economic aid and assistance in modernising the Spanish armed forces; and in 1955 Spain was admitted to the United Nations.

American aid sparked off an economic revival, particularly in industrial expansion and hydro-electric projects for electricity. (But less progress was made in agriculture, still the main occupation of the people, though the numbers engaged in it dropped considerably from the 50% or so of the active population in 1950).* The industrial progress, together with a vast increase in tourism after 1959, when the government started to give the tourist trade active encouragement, brought prosperity in the 1960s. Another result was the emergence of a sizeable middle class, a new phenomenon in Spain.

The army and the highly centralised civil administration remained the main bulwarks of the Franco regime. The Church also, which retained a dominant influence over education, was a strong support; but the Church did not have the same grip on the people as a whole as it did in former times - many of the middle classes and industrial workers were anti-clerical.* A Church Organisation, however, the Opus Dei, contributed substantially to the stability of the regime. The Opus Dei, founded in Spain

in 1928 and later international, is a secular Roman Catholic institution aiming at the dissemination of Christian ideals and at working out a harmonious relationship between technical scientific advance and Catholic dogma. In Spain it has tended towards strong support of capitalism working under the planning of an authoritarian state. Its members attained considerable influence in the Franco government.

Another organization which helped towards stability was the "sindicatos", the government-controlled trades unions. Though certainly not universally popular among the industrial workers, they achieved a lot in the way of increased wages and social security benefits. In fact there was a softening in the whole regime in the 1960s - labour given the right to strike, press censorship lifted, political prisoners released from jail.

This softening was no doubt at least partly aimed at improving Spain's image with the democratic world. (Spain applied, unsuccessfully, to join the European Common Market). The image was also improved by attracting the vast hordes of holiday-makers (30 million foreigners visited Spain in 1974); and Spain's emergence as a sporting nation in the world of football, lawn tennis and golf also helped.*

Spain's colonial policy after the Second World War followed the general trend in Africa towards independence for the African states. In 1956 France and Spain gave up their protectorates in Morocco (but Spain still kept Ceuta and Melilla). Spanish Guinea was given internal self-government in 1963 and full independence in 1968 (becoming the Republic of Equatorial Guinea). And in 1975 the Spanish Sahara was handed over to Morocco and Mauritania.

Spain, however, has not endeared herself to Britain by her repeated insistence on the return to her of Gibraltar, against the wishes of the Gibraltarians, who are mainly of Genoese, Portuguese and Maltese, as well as Spanish, British and Moorish descent. (Most of the 17th century inhabitants left when Gibraltar was taken by the British in 1704. Since then it has been repopulated from this variety of sources.)

From 1948 onwards Franco had periodic discussions with Don Juan on the future of the regime. Though nothing definite was announced, it came to be understood that Franco's successor would be Don Juan's son, Prince Juan Carlos. The prince's preparation for the throne - training at a military academy and in government ministries - was carried out under Franco's direction - and during it the prince was subjected to unrelenting Falangist and Francoist propaganda. In 1969 Franco officially appointed Prince Juan Carlos to succeed him as chief of state. This nomination was approved by the Cortes by a large majority; and on Franco's death in 1975 Juan Carlos became king.

Since then Juan Carlos, ignoring his Fascist training, has been moving Spain steadily towards democracy. Political parties were legalised and preparations made for the first general election since before the Civil War. In this transformation the King has been assisted by his own choice as Prime Minister, Adolfo Suarez (the King having dismissed Carlos Arias Navarro, the prime minister inherited from Franco's last days, who resisted the proposed reforms). There seems little doubt that the Spanish people as a whole are eager for these reforms, and the King and his wife (Princess Sofia of Greece) are immensely popular.

The election took place in June 1977. The result was a comfortable victory for Suarez's "centre-left" coalition, the Union of the Democratic Centre (U.D.C.), with the Socialist

Workers Party second. The U.D.C. got 34% of the total vote, the Socialist Workers Party 28%, and the Communists (the next largest) 9%.

Another main development under the new regime has been firm moves towards autonomy for the Catalans and the Basques.

* For comparison the number in France is about 15%, in Holland about 11%, in Britain about 3%

**Religions other than Roman Catholicism were now tolerated, and there were small numbers of Protestants and Jews.

***These modern sports have in to way detracted from the traditional spectacle of bull fighting. Contests between men and bulls took place in Iberia in pre-Roman times, and with the Moorish conquest the spectacle became more artistic with the introduction of the horsemen with lances. The first to perform on horseback at an organised bull festival is said to have been El Cid in about 1090. Later, the horseman (picador) was relegated to a secondary role, the matador becoming the hero.

Chapter 20. - Portugal under Salazar (1932-1968) and After.

Salazar's dictatorship in Portugal lasted for the same time as Franco's in Spain (36 years) and preceded it by seven years. In 1933 Salazar introduced a new constitution, approved by a plebiscite. This established the Estado Novo (New State), Salazar's prescription for a stable government - an authoritarian state based on the principles of social justice. Its organisation followed the example of Mussolini's Fascist Italy. Provision was made for a cabinet (appointed by the President), a National Assembly elected by heads of families with educational qualifications, and a chamber representing occupations - but with only advisory power. Salazar was in fact dictator, albeit a "modest dictator". Though sharing with Franco's Spain many of the facets of dictatorship - a single political party (in Portugal the National Union), censorship of the press, illegality of strikes, imprisonment of political opponents - Salazar's was perhaps less ruthless than most dictatorships.

His regime did little to alleviate the widespread poverty or improve the inadequate education of the lower classes (still largely illiterate), but it did give Portugal a period of stability and solvency. There was progress in electrification schemes, modernisation of the railways, expansion of the merchant marine, and in industrialisation (the cotton industry being the most important) - but over 40% of the working population were still engaged in agriculture. As in Spain, the tourist trade prospered.

In the Second World War Portugal, like Spain, remained neutral. She concluded a nonaggression pact with Fascist Spain, but she also re-affirmed her traditional alliance with Britain and in 1943 gave Britain facilities for air bases in the Azores. After the war in line with the government's vigorous opposition to Communism, Portugal joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation of the democratic powers (NATO) on its formation in 1949. Like Spain, however, she was not admitted to the United Nations until 1955.

During the post-war years Portugal did not follow the example of other colonial powers in working quickly towards the grant of independence to her colonies. Salazar was determined to keep the Portuguese overseas empire intact. But in the 1960s Portugal found the preservation of this empire increasingly difficult. In 1961 Goa was seized by India. Also in 1961, a nationalist revolt broke out in Angola, followed by similar risings in Portuguese Guinea in 1962 and in Mozambique in 1965. Guerrilla warfare continued in all these African colonies in the 1960s and early 1970s, causing a sustained drain on Portugal's resources and finances.

In 1968 Salazar was incapacitated by a stroke (and died in 1970). He was succeeded as Prime Minister (and Dictator) by Marcello Cactano, one of his ministers. Cactano loosened the restrictions on the press and on political opposition, and increased the expenditure on education; but after a few years this liberalisation began to fade, and the army became particularly critical of his African policy. In 1972 Angola and Mozambique were given a greater measure of autonomy, but Cactano continued Salazar's efforts to subdue the nationalist guerrillas. These efforts accounted for more than 40% of Portugal's national budget. In 1974 Cactano's government was overthrown by a military coup, and General Spínola became president. He promised to restore constitutional democracy and to hold elections within a year. He also announced a policy of "decolonisation" - the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa and the early grant of independence to the colonies.

The next two years was a period of political turmoil, with the Communists making repeated efforts to control the government Spinola resigned in late 1974 and General Gomez took over. He completed the decolonisation in Africa. In 1974-5 Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Angola, and the Cape Verde Islands all became independent. Portugal's overseas possessions were now reduced to the Azores and Madeira in the Atlantic, Macao in China, and Portuguese Timor in the East Indies.

In 1975-6 the promised elections were held. The result was an 85% vote for the various socialist and democratic parties, the Communist vote being less than 15%.

Appendix 1. - Some Population Statistics.

(Populations are 1970 estimates.)

Spain.

Population - about 34 million.

(Catalonia - about 9 million. Basque Provinces - about 1.3 million, less than half truly Basque.)

Density of Population - 175 to the square mile.

(For comparison England about 900, Scotland about 170)

Growth of population:

End of 16th century (height of Spain's glory) - about 8 million.

End of 18th century - about 11 million.

End of 19th century - about 14 million.

Religion predominantly Roman Catholic.

Languages

Spanish (Castilian)

Catalan - spoken by some 6 million in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands.

Galician (allied to Portuguese) - spoken in Galicia (the north-west corner, north of Portugal).

Basque - spoken by some 600,000 in the Basque Provinces.

Literacy about 85%.

Chief towns

Madrid 3,200,000 Capital of Spain since 1560. Ancient Moorish fortress.

Barcelona 1,750,000 Port and industrial centre. Founded by the Carthaginian Hamilcar Barca. Capital of Catalonia.

Valencia 650,000 Port and industrial centre. Founded in Roman times. Ancient university (1245). Orange trade.

Seville 550,000 Ancient Iberian town. Flourished in Roman times and under the Moors. Industrial and tourist centre.

Zaragoza 470,000 Founded in pre-Roman times. Old capital of (Baragossa) Aragon.

Bilbao 410,000 Port and main town of the Basque Provinces. Iron ore mining centre.

Malaga 370,000 Port. Founded by the Phoenicians. Ancient capital of a Moorish kingdom.

Murcia 270,000 Manufacturing town. Founded by the Moors on the site of a Roman colony.

Cordoba 250,000 Ancient capital and intellectual centre of Moorish Spain. Famous mosque - now a cathedral. Tourist centre.

Granada 190,000 Ancient capital of Moorish Granada. Famous Moorish palace - the Alhambra. Tourist centre.

Valladolid 180,000 Old capital of Castile, and then of Spain until 1560. Ancient university (1346).

Alicante 160,000 Port. Founded by the Phoenicians.

San 160,000 Port and resort in the Basque territory. Old Sebastian summer residence of the Spanish court.

Santander 150,000 Flourishing port since mediaeval times.

Oviedo 150,000 Agricultural and mining centre. Capital of the old Christian kingdom of Asturias. Ancient university (1317)

Cartagena 140,000 Port. Founded as "New Carthage" by Hasdrubal.

Cadiz 135,000 Atlantic port. Founded by the Phoenicians.

Salamanca 125,000 Pre-Carthaginian town. Oldest Spanish university (13th century). Centre of learning in mediaeval Europe.

Pamplana 125,000 Ancient Basque city. Capital of the old Kingdom of Navarre.

Burgos 100,000 Old capital of Castile. Franco's capital during the Civil War.

Badajoz 100,000 Ancient Roman city and fortress.

Toledo 40,000 Pre-Roman town. Important Roman colony. Visigoth capital 6th-7th centuries. Centre of Mozarab learning in Moorish Spain. Famous for sword-making.

Las Palmas 280,000 Capital of the Canary Islands.

Palma 230,000 Capital of the Balearic Islands. (Majorca)

Portugal.

Population - about 9 ½ Million

Density of population - 275 to the square mile.

Religion - Roman Catholic.

Literacy - 60-65%

Chief towns

Lisbon 800,000 Capital (since 1260). Important in Roman times. One of the leading world ports in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Oporto 300,000 Port- Centre of the wine trade and cotton industry.

Coinbra 55,000 Old capital of Portugal, until 1260. Ancient University (1307).

Funchal 55,000 Capital of Madeira.

Ponta

Delgada 25,000 Capital of the Azores.

Appendix 2. - Rulers of Spain from 1479.

1479-1504 Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile.
1504-1516 Ferdinand of Aragon

Habsburgs

1516-1555 Charles I (The Emperor Charles V from 1519)
1556-1598 Philip II
1598-1621 Philip III
1621-1665 Philip IV
1665-1700 Charles II

Bourbons

1700-1746 Philip V (War of the Spanish Succession 1701-1714)
1746-1759 Ferdinand VI
1759-1788 Charles III
1788-1808 Charles IV

1808-1824 Joseph Bonaparte

Bourbons

1814-1833 Ferdinand VII
1833-1868 Isabella II

1868-1871 (Interregnum)
1871-1873 Amadeo of Savoy
1873-1875 (Republic)

Bourbons

1875-1885 Alfonso III
1886-1931 Alfonso XIII

1931-1936 (Republic)
1936-1939 (Civil War)
1939-1975 General Franco (Dictatorship)

Bourbons

1975- Juan Carlos I

Appendix 3. - Rulers of Portugal.

Burgundian Line

1143-1185 Afonso Henriques
1185-1211 Sancho I
1211-1223 Afonso II
1223-1245 Sancho II
1245-1279 Afonso III
1279-1325 Diniz
1325-1357 Afonso IV
1357-1367 Pedro I
1367-1383 Ferdinand I

House of Aviz

1335-1433 John I
1433-1438 Edward I
1438-1481 Afonso V
1481-1495 John II
1495-1521 Manuel I
1521-1557 John III
1557-1578 Sebastian I
1578-1580 Cardinal Henry
1530-1640 (Under the Kings of Spain)

House of Braganza

1640-1656 John IV
1656-1683 Afonso VI
1683-1706 Pedro II
1706-1750 John V
1750-1777 Joseph I
1777-1816 Maria I (insane from 1792 John VI regent)

(1807-1822 Royal family in Brazil)

1816-1826 John VI
1826 Pedro IV (Emperor of Brazil)
1828-1834 Miguel
184-1853 Maria II
1853-1861 Pedro V
1861-1889 Louis I
1889-1908 Carlos I
1908-1910 Manuel II

1910- (Republic)
1932-1968 Salazar (Dictatorship)
1968-1974 Caetano (Dictatorship)

Appendix 4. - Andorra.

Andorra is a small principality high up in the Pyrenees north of Catalonia, between France and Spain. According to tradition the Andorrans were granted independence by Charlemagne early in the 9th century in return for their help in driving out the Moors. Charlemagne's grandson, Charles the Bold named the Count of Urgel (in Spain) overlord of Andorra; and a descendant of the count donated it to the Bishop of Urgel in 954. After clashes with the French, an arrangement was come to in 1278 by which Andorra was placed under the joint sovereignty of the Bishop of Urgel and the French Count of Foix. In 1589, when Henry of Navarre (and Count of Foix) became King of France, the Count's rights passed to the Kings (and later Presidents) of France.

The arrangement still stands. The President of France and the Bishop of Urgel jointly hold legal and judicial powers in Andorra. Their powers are exercised through their permanent delegates in Andorra, and Andorra pays nominal tributes to the two "co-princes", the administration is conducted by an elected "Council of the Valleys"*. France represents Andorra in foreign affairs.

The population of Andorra is about 25,000, of whom about a third are native Andorrans, most of the rest being Spanish. The Andorrans are of Catalan stock, and the official language is Catalan; Spanish and French are also spoken. The main occupations are agriculture, sheep farming, and the tourist trade. The beautifully situated valleys are well suited to skiing, and several million holiday makers visit Andorra every year.

* The Council is elected by heads of families; but there is now to be a referendum to decide on the introduction of universal suffrage.

Maps: Spain and Portugal to the 19th Century (Chapters 1-13)



