Title
Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century (review)

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honest than those of Friar John as to why he and his *fratres* received the names they deserved.

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On March 14, 1625, in the capital city of Madrid, Martín de Arana signed a contract whereby he agreed to build six galleons for the Spanish crown. In this industrious and impressive study, Carla Rahn Phillips follows the careers of these six galleons built for Philip IV from their construction to the survival of the *San Felipe* following the disastrous Battle of the Downs in 1640. The decline of Spain in the seventeenth century is a subject which continues, in spite of its enormous bibliography, to fascinate historians of the early modern period. Professor Phillips’ book examines this subject, but in a novel way. By focusing on Arana’s six galleons and tracing their years of service within the context of Spain's imperial policies in both the New World and on the continent, the author presents us with an extremely interesting study on the decline of Spain.

Professor Phillips begins her study by examining the devastating loss the New World Spanish fleet suffered in 1628 when the Dutch admiral Piet Heyn captured the entire treasure fleet at Matanzas Bay in Cuba. The Spanish captain-general Juan de Benavides was tried, found to be responsible for the loss of the fleet, and was publicly executed six years later. The crown then ordered that preparations be undertaken for the safe escort of the next treasure fleet to Spain. Martín de Arana’s six galleons played a vital role in the crown’s attempts to defend her colonies as well as her commitments to the Mediterranean, the Spanish coast, and in the efforts to suppress the revolt in the Netherlands. Professor Phillips shows how the construction of these galleons reflected the historical evolution of the galleon, addressed the requirements of the transatlantic trade, demonstrated the struggle between the merchants’ demands for cargo shipping and the crown’s military needs, and illustrated the tradition of Basque shipbuilding.

The book also looks at other factors vital to imperial defense. The loyalty and the concerted efforts of the nobility, for example, were truly
impressive. Arana himself underwrites the construction of these ships with
his own funds long before he received any payments from the crown. The
nobles who agreed to build these ships rarely received adequate funding,
and in most cases these ventures resulted in a financial loss. Why then were
they willing to build them? Professor Phillips rightly points out that the
personal relationship between client and patron was openly acknowledged
in this time period. The services the nobility performed in building these
ships and deploying them, or provided for the bureaucracy necessary to
operate the imperial system, were invaluable. For their part, the nobility
expected that these services would be remembered and perhaps later re-
warded in honors and favors.

The treasure fleets from the New World were an extremely important
source of revenue. Therefore, top priority was given to keeping the lines
of trade and empire secure and open. Tremendous costs were involved in
the construction and supply of these ships. The author points out that “to
run Arana’s ships for a year cost nearly twice as much as Arana had been
paid to build them, and they did not need repairs, being new” (107). These
ships had to be fitted with artillery, and the officers, sailors, and soldiers
had to be paid their wages; the crews were enticed to enlist by being paid
a considerable amount of their wages in advance. Food stuffs constituted
a major expense because these voyages were for long durations and the
costs of provisioning were further escalated by war, piracy, and unforeseen
disasters. The officers, the various crew members, and their duties are
amply discussed as a fascinating glimpse of life on a Spanish galleon is
given. The limited space on the ship, seasickness, the lack of facilities, the
manner in which the crews and passengers sought to relieve their boredom,
as well as diet, problems of health, and the difficulties of cooking on board
these galleons, are all examined.

The remaining two chapters of the book discuss the fleets that travelled
to the New World between 1629 and 1635, and specifically the role Arana’s
ships played. These fleets were continually plagued by difficulties—storms,
ilness, privateers, insufficient funding from the crown, and the perenni-
ally unrealistic expectations and schedules imposed by the monarchy. At
this time the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies were united. However,
Spanish interests always took precedence over those of the Portuguese.
This served to create dissent and animosity against the Spaniards on the
part of the Portuguese nobility. Moreover, we find internal dissent (espe-
cially in the years 1635 to 1640) among the Spanish nobility against the
crown, or rather against the policies of the Count-Duke of Olivares. Just
as the nobles defied the crown’s prohibitions concerning the burial of Juan
de Benavides, so too the funeral procession given to Fradrique de Toledo served as similar protest. The nobles were given next to impossible tasks, and were inadequately financed and supplied. To their credit, the nobility rose to the occasion: "In other words, Spanish commanders often were forced to be heroes, because the crown gave them so little to work with" (206).

The author has mined numerous Spanish archives and elucidates for us very complex phenomena. The work combines economic, social, maritime, and military history. But more than this, Professor Phillips demonstrates how the careers of Arana's six galleons mirror the difficult times Habsburg Spain experienced in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Spain had overextended herself. All that remained of Spain's European holdings was a sad remnant of a once glorious empire. The cost of defending the empire was very high indeed, but Professor Phillips argues that while the cost was high, the Spaniards were successful in at least maintaining their overseas territories, and that these results warranted the crown's efforts.

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This scholarly synthesis sketches the history of the poor, attitudes toward poverty and charity, and the development of poor relief in the Middle Ages. Perhaps no other scholar is better prepared than Michel Mollat to confront this demanding task. Mollat first established his reputation with *Le Commerce maritime normand à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1952). Since that time he has, by my informal and incomplete account, authored or co-authored and edited or co-edited over a dozen other volumes on commercial, naval, social, and ecclesiastical history. From 1962 to 1976 his Sorbonne seminar on "The Poor and Poverty" has been, in Mollat's own words, "years of joint research with my students and colleagues, graced by some 90 seminar papers and 220 articles, to say nothing of several theses" (vii). Some of this research is available in ten volumes of mimeographed *Cahiers de recherches sur l'histoire de pauvreté*.