

Recent Historiography of the Río de la Plata: Colonial and Early National Periods

SUSAN M. SOCOLOW

THE last ten years have witnessed rather tumultuous times in that area of Latin America referred to as the Cono Sur. Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia (not to mention Chile) have experienced political upheavals, economic dislocations, and intellectual disruptions. What has been the result of the rather perilous present, including the dismantling of academic life, on the writings about the past? What of the quality of the works that have appeared?

The aim of this article is to review briefly the major contributions in colonial and early independence research in that area covered by the Viceroyalty of la Plata.¹ While making no claim to be all inclusive, I will try to survey the major topics in colonial and early national *rioplatense* history, as seen in books, articles, and doctoral research produced during the last ten years. I have also included the work of United States, European, and Latin American scholars.

Much of the more interesting work produced in the last ten years has been in the fields of social or economic history. This work has sought the causes of the complex crisis that ended Spanish domination of this part of America. While in the form of microhistorical essays, these contributions, although they do not directly deal with the Bourbon reforms as a political phenomenon, present the details of regional socioeconomic realities that produced and were affected by imperial changes. In addition, because the Río de la Plata region encompassed several distinct ecological and cultural zones, scholars have tended to specialize in one region. Except for the two fine syntheses published in Spanish in 1972, no work has yet incorporated the latest findings in a multiregional history of the area.²

1. For a review of nineteenth- and twentieth-century work, see Joseph Barager, "Historiography of the Río de la Plata area since 1830," *Hispanic American Historical Review* (hereinafter *HAHR*), 39 (Nov. 1959), 588–642.

2. Carlos Sempat Assadourian, Guillermo Beato, and José Chiamonte, *Historia argentina: De la conquista a la independencia* (Buenos Aires, 1972); Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Historia argentina: De la revolución de independencia a la confederación rosista* (Buenos Aires, 1972).

Within the domain of colonial social history, perhaps the most important topic has been colonial demography, concentrating on late eighteenth-century cities and countryside.³ The clearly seminal influence of Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, and later contributions by David Robinson, have been of prime importance in this field.⁴ Many of those monographs published to date provide demographic snapshots of a specific time and place, failing to relate population changes to socioeconomic developments. But the strongest of this demographically based work—including studies by Sánchez-Albornoz, Robinson, Klein, and Larson—demonstrates how valuable demography is as a tool for analyzing late colonial society.⁵ Far less demographic analysis has been produced for the post-independence period, although several sources have been identified.⁶ Perhaps the major exception has been the study by César García Belsunce et al., *Buenos Aires: Su*

3. For example, Pascual R. Paesa, "Aspectos en la población de las costas patagónicas hacia 1779," *Investigaciones y Ensayos* (Buenos Aires), 10 (enero-junio 1971), 313–349; José Luis Mora Mérida, "La demografía colonial paraguaya," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* (Cologne), hereinafter *Jahrbuch*, 11 (1974), 52–77; Pedro A. Vives Azancot, "Demografía paraguaya, 1782–1800: Bases históricas y primera aproximación para su análisis, sobre datos aportados por Félix de Azara," *Revista de Indias*, 40 (enero-dic. 1980), 159–217; Ernesto J. Maeder and A. Bolsi, "La población de las misiones guaraníes entre 1702 y 1767," *Estudios Paraguayos* (Asunción), 2 (junio 1974), 111–138; Rafael Eladio Velázquez, "La población del Paraguay en 1682," *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología* (Asunción), 9 (mayo-agosto 1972), 128–148; Marta Duda de Rosas and Marta Herrera, "La acción estatal de la organización de la campaña cuyana a mediados del siglo xviii: Aportaciones demográficas," *Revista de Historia Americana y Argentina*, 7 (1968–69), 29–96; Brian M. Evans, "Census Enumeration in Late Seventeenth-Century Alto Perú: The numeración general of 1683–84," in David J. Robinson, ed., *Studies in Spanish American Population History* (Boulder, 1981), pp. 25–44; Juan Rial Roade, "Sources for Studies of Historical Demography in Uruguay, 1728–1860," *Latin American Research Review* (hereinafter *LARR*), 15:1 (1980), 180–200.

4. For recent work by Sánchez-Albornoz, see *Indios y tributarios en el Alto Perú* (Lima, 1978); David J. Robinson, "Córdoba en 1779: La ciudad y la campaña," *Gaea* (Rosario), 17 (1979), 279–312.

5. In addition to the abovementioned work by Sánchez-Albornoz and Robinson, see Herbert S. Klein, "Hacienda and Free Community in Eighteenth-Century Alto Perú: A Demographic Study of the Aymara Population of the Districts of Chulumani and Pacajes in 1786," *Journal of Latin American Studies* (hereinafter *JLAS*), 7 (Nov. 1975), 193–220; Herbert S. Klein, "The Structure of the Hacendado Class in Late Eighteenth-Century Alto Perú: The Intendencia de La Paz," *HAHR*, 60 (May 1980), 191–212; Brooke Larson, "Rural Rhythms of Class Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Cochabamba," *HAHR*, 60 (Aug. 1980), 407–430.

6. María Haydee Martín "El censo del año 1813 en la provincia de Buenos Aires," *América* (Buenos Aires), 1 (abril 1976), 13–20. For the demographic growth of certain regions of the interior, see Armando Raúl Bazán and Ramón Rosa Olmos, "La ciudad de Catamarca en 1812," *Primer Congreso de Historia Argentina y Regional*, (Buenos Aires, 1973), 465–478; Ernesto M. Salvatierra, "Contribución al estudio de la demografía histórica del departamento de Santa María, Catamarca; 1810–1860," *Primer Congreso de Historia Argentina y Regional*, 479–497; Jorge Comadrán Ruiz, "Algunos aspectos de la estructura demográfica y socio-económica de Mendoza hacia 1822–1824," *Primer Congreso de Historia Argentina y Regional*, 405–438.

gente, which, unfortunately, fails to use multivariate analysis in describing the population of the port city at the time of independence.⁷

Demography has also proved to be an important element in a number of works on specific colonial and early independence social groups, usually groups residing in Buenos Aires. Whether focused on elite or lower classes, this research also centers on the degree of social mobility experienced by different groups in a preindustrial society. Among these studies are the work of Susan M. Socolow on the merchants of viceregal Buenos Aires, that of Lyman L. Johnson on the artisans in the same period, the study by George Reid Andrews of the Black population of the city during the nineteenth century, and the article by Marta Goldberg on Blacks in the city during the first thirty years after independence.⁸ Related topics that have received some attention are the questions of manumission and race relations in colonial Buenos Aires, outlined in the fine articles of Lyman Johnson.⁹

Urban history has also built on work in demographic history. The work of Johnson and Socolow has attempted to reconstruct urban demographic patterns and to analyze the socioeconomic structure of the major city of the colony, while remedying the "snapshot" approach of many demographic monographs by lengthening the chronological dimension.¹⁰ To

7. César García Belsunce et al., *Buenos Aires: Su gente, 1800–1830*, (Buenos Aires, 1976).

8. Susan M. Socolow, *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778–1810: Family and Commerce* (New York, 1978); Lyman L. Johnson, "The Silversmiths of Buenos Aires: A Case Study in the Failure of Corporate Social Organization," *JLAS*, 8 (Nov. 1976), 181–213; Lyman L. Johnson, "The Entrepreneurial Reorganization of an Artisan Trade: The Bakers of Buenos Aires, 1770–1820," *The Americas*, 37 (Oct. 1980), 139–160; Lyman L. Johnson, "Francisco Baquero: Shoemaker and Organizer," in David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash, eds., *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 86–101; George Reid Andrews, "The Afro-Argentine Officers of Buenos Aires Province, 1800–1860," *Journal of Negro History*, 64 (Spring 1979), 85–100; George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison, 1980); Marta B. Goldberg, "La población negra y mulata de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1810–1840," *Desarrollo Económico* (Buenos Aires), 16 (abril–junio 1976), 75–99. For a study of a unique colonial *porteño* merchant, see Hugo Raúl Galmarini, "Comercio y burocracia colonial: A propósito de Tomás Antonio Romero," *Investigaciones y Ensayos* (Buenos Aires), 28 (1980), 407–439. Information on a merchant in the interior is presented in Liliana Betty Romero Cabrera, *José Miguel de Tugle: Un comerciante americano de los siglos XVIII y XIX* (Córdoba, 1973). For a comparative look at merchants in the seventeenth century, see Armando de Ramón, "Mercaderes en Lima, Santiago de Chile y Buenos Aires, 1681–1695," in Francisco Miró Quesada C. et al., eds., *Historia, problema y promesa: Homenaje a Jorge Basadre*, 2 vols. (Lima, 1978), I, 141–176.

9. Lyman L. Johnson, "La manumisión de esclavos en Buenos Aires durante el virreinato," *Desarrollo Económico*, 16 (oct.–dic. 1976), 333–348; Lyman L. Johnson, "La manumisión en el Buenos Aires colonial: Un análisis ampliado," *Desarrollo Económico*, 17 (enero–marzo 1978), 637–646; Lyman L. Johnson, "The Impact of Racial Discrimination on Black Artisans in Colonial Buenos Aires," *Social History* (England), 6 (1981), 301–316.

10. Lyman L. Johnson and Susan M. Socolow, "Population and Space in Eighteenth Century Buenos Aires," in David J. Robinson, ed., *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in*

date, this work has focused on Buenos Aires. Other valuable work on the port city has also recently appeared in *Buenos Aires: 400 Years*, including that of Socolow and that of Brown.¹¹ Linked to the emergence of Buenos Aires as the primary city of the region, a mid-eighteenth-century development, is the question of the social restructuring within the city and its surrounding countryside that accompanied urban growth.

Still another social history topic that has received fine treatment is eighteenth-century rebellions. Oscar Cornblit and Leon Campbell have examined the social context and results of the uprisings that spread through both upper and lower Peru during the eighteenth century.¹² The work of James Saeger and Adalberto López on the Comunero Revolt in early eighteenth-century Asunción has shown that at least one tradition of rebellion predates the period of major Bourbon reforms.¹³ Piossek Prebisch and Robert Miller have also begun investigation of the seventeenth-century Calchaquí rebellion.¹⁴ Some work has focused as well on Indian communities and on the relationship of the corregidor to these communities.¹⁵

Limited attention has also been paid to the medical history of the area,

Colonial Latin America, (Syracuse, 1979), pp. 339–368; Lyman L. Johnson, “Estimaciones de la población de Buenos Aires en 1774 y 1810,” *Desarrollo Económico*, 19 (abril–junio 1979), 107–119.

11. Susan M. Socolow, “Buenos Aires at the Time of Independence,” in Stanley R. Ross and Thomas F. McGann, eds., *Buenos Aires: 400 Years* (Austin, 1982), pp. 18–39; Jonathan C. Brown, “Outpost to Entrepot: Trade and Commerce at Colonial Buenos Aires,” in Ross and McGann eds., *Buenos Aires*, pp. 3–17. For another valuable social history also published in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the second founding of Buenos Aires, see Ricardo de Lafuente Machain, *Buenos Aires en el siglo xvii* (Buenos Aires, 1980); Ricardo de Lafuente Machain, *Buenos Aires en el siglo xviii* (Buenos Aires, 1980).

12. Oscar Cornblit, “Levantamientos de masas en Perú y Bolivia durante el siglo dieciocho,” *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología* (Buenos Aires), 6 (1970), 100–143; Leon G. Campbell, “Recent Research on Andean Peasant Revolts, 1750–1820,” *LARR*, 14:1 (1979), 3–49; María Eugenia del Valle de Siles, “Tupac Katari y la rebelión de 1781: Radiografía de su caudillo aymara,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* (Seville), 34 (1977), 633–664.

13. James S. Saeger, “Origins of the Rebellion of Paraguay,” *HAHR*, 52 (May 1972), 215–229; James S. Saeger, “Institutional Rivalries, Jurisdictional Disputes, and Vested Interests in the Viceroyalty of Perú: José de Antequera and the Rebellion of Paraguay,” *The Americas*, 32 (July 1975), 99–116; James S. Saeger, “Clerical Politics in Eighteenth-Century Perú: The Trial of José de Antequera,” *A Journal of Church and State*, 17 (Winter 1975), 81–96; Adalberto López, *The Revolt of the Comuneros, 1721–1735: A Study in the Colonial History of Paraguay* (New York, 1976).

14. Teresa Piossek Prebisch, *La rebelión de Pedro Bohórquez, el Inca de Tucumán, 1656–1659* (Buenos Aires, 1976); Robert Ryal Miller, “The Fake Inca of Tucumán: Don Pedro de Bohorques,” *The Americas*, 32 (Oct. 1975), 196–210.

15. Jorge Comadrán Ruiz, “Notas para una historia institucional del Corregimiento de Cuyo: En torno al beneficio por la corona del oficio de corregidor, 1689–1773,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 31 (1974), 189–227; José Luis Mora Mérida, “La población indígena paraguaya no reducida,” in *Estudios sobre política indigenista española en América*, Jornadas Americanistas, III, Valladolid, Spain, 1974, vol. I, 347–362; Carlos S. A. Segreti, “Contribución al estudio de la condición del aborigen en Córdoba de la Nueva Andalucía hasta las Ordenanzas del Visitador Francisco de Alfaro,” *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 19 (julio–dic. 1975), 181–258.

although the role of hospitals and other organizations administered by the church has not been studied.¹⁶ Women have been the object of some limited examination, both in the work of Socolow and in that of Rípodas.¹⁷ Women's history still remains a fertile area for exploration, especially since the works just mentioned have pointed to the documentary wealth of local archives. Still another topic in social history that has received only brief treatment is crime and punishment, where, again, the colonial archives store an unexplored quantity of documentation.¹⁸

While much work has been done on Andean rural society, only a few historians have concentrated on the rural society of the *litoral*, that area surrounding the city of Buenos Aires. Some important exceptions to this generalization have been the studies of Slatta on rural criminality and that of Mayo on rural society.¹⁹ Some work has also been done on socio-cultural history, with the foremost contribution being the rather lavish three-volume work of the late Guillermo Furlong.²⁰

16. Jerry W. Cooney, "Smallpox Treatment in Colonial Paraguay," *Southeastern Latin Americanist*, 26 (June 1982), 1-11; César A. García Belsunce et al., *Buenos Aires: Salud y delito (1800-1830)* (Buenos Aires, 1977); René Joaquín Lavaque, "Botica del Hospital de San Andrés de Salta," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de la Farmacia* (Madrid), 27 (1976), 139-143; Federico Guillermo Cervera, *Historia de la medicina en Santa Fe* (Santa Fe, 1973).

17. Susan M. Socolow, "Marriage, Birth and Inheritance: The Merchants of Eighteenth-Century Buenos Aires," *HAHR*, 60 (Aug. 1980), 387-406; Daisy Rípodas Ardanaz, *El matrimonio en Indias: Realidad social y regulación jurídica* (Buenos Aires, 1977); see also Zulema López et al., "Aplicación de la legislación sobre matrimonios de hijos de familia en el Río de la Plata: Aporte documental, 1785-1810," in *Actas y estudios del Congreso del Instituto Internacional de Historia del Derecho Indiano* (Madrid, 1973), 779-802; Cynthia Jeffress Little, "The Society of Beneficence in Buenos Aires, 1823-1900" (Ph.D. Diss., Temple University, 1980); Donna J. Guy, "Women, peonage and industrialization: Argentina, 1810-1914," *LARR*, 16:1 (1981), 65-89.

18. Susan M. Socolow, "Women and Crime: Buenos Aires, 1757-1797," *JLAS*, 12 (May 1980), 39-54; Abelardo Levaggi, "Las instituciones de clemencia en el derecho penal rioplatense," *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho* (UNAM), 26 (enero-junio 1976), 243-297.

19. Richard W. Slatta, "Rural Criminality and Social Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires Province," *HAHR*, 60 (Aug. 1980), 450-472; Richard W. Slatta "Pulperías and Contraband Capitalism in Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires Province," *The Americas*, 38 (Jan. 1982), 347-362; Richard W. Slatta "The Gaucho and Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires Province, Argentina" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1980); Carlos A. Mayo, "Los pobleros del Tucumán colonial: Contribución al estudio de los mayordomos y administradores de encomienda en América," *Revista de Historia de América* (Mexico), 85 (enero-junio 1978), 27-57.

20. Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, *Historia social y cultural del Río de la Plata, 1536-1810*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1969); see also Héctor Adolfo Cordero, *El primitivo Buenos Aires: Comercio, política, religión, instrucción pública, artesanos, gobernantes, médicos, fiestas populares* (Buenos Aires, 1978). For work on education and social welfare, see César A. García Belsunce et al., *Buenos Aires: Educación y asistencia social* (Buenos Aires, 1979); Raquel Perotti, "Notas para el estudio de la enseñanza superior en Córdoba, (1767-1807)," in *Homenaje al doctor Ceferino Garzón Maceda* (Córdoba, 1973), 321-333. For a good one-volume social history of Paraguay during the seventeenth-century, see José Luis Mora Mérida, *Historia social del Paraguay, 1600-1650* (Seville, 1973).

The economic history of the southern cone has also seen much valuable research within the past ten years. Interesting contributions have reexamined the external trade of Buenos Aires, concentrating on the commercial connections between the port city and Spain in the late eighteenth century.²¹ But perhaps more important, a series of outstanding works has also begun to focus on the internal economies of various sections of the colony, and on the commercial links and relationships established within the area. Foremost has been the book by Jonathan Brown examining both external and internal aspects of the *porteño* trade from the late colonial period to the coming of Rosas, and the series of excellent monographs by Jerry Cooney, investigating various sectors, including ship-building, tobacco production, forestry products, and rope and hemp production in eighteenth-century Paraguay.²² Also of interest is recently published work on the local economies of Corrientes, Patagonia, and the northwestern regions.²³ Colin Palmer's study of the British *asiento* trade in Spanish America contains some important new quantitative information about this trade in Buenos Aires, work that complements Studer's earlier research.²⁴

21. Emanuel Soares da Veiga Garcia, "Buenos Aires e Cádiz: Contribuição ao estudo do comércio livre," *Revista de Historia* (São Paulo), 41 (abril–junio 1970), 365–390; 42 (jan.–março 1971), 109–127; 46 (jan.–março 1973), 69–96; 46 (julio–set. 1973), 105–120; Juan Carlos Garavaglia, "El ritmo de la extracción de metálico desde el Río de la Plata a la península, 1779–1783," *Revista de Indias*, 36 (enero–junio 1976), 247–268; Emanuel Soares da Veiga Garcia, "Buenos Aires na conjuntura borbónica," *Revista de Historia* (São Paulo), 56 (julio–set. 1977), 71–84; José María Mariluz Urquijo, *Bilbao y Buenos Aires: Proyectos dieciochescos de compañías de comercio* (Buenos Aires, 1981); José María Mariluz Urquijo "Notas sobre la evolución de las sociedades comerciales en el Río de la Plata," *Revista del Instituto Histórico de Derecho* (Buenos Aires), 22 (1971), 92–119; Antonio E. Muniz Barreto, "O fluxo de moedas entre o Rio da Prata e o Brasil (1800–1850)," *Revista de Historia* (São Paulo), 51 (jan.–março 1975), 207–228. For recent studies of eighteenth-century contraband in the Buenos Aires area, see Enrique M. Barba, "Sobre el Contrabando de la Colonia del Sacramento: Siglo xviii," *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 28 (1980), 57–76; Arturo Ariel Ben-tancar *Contrabando y Contrabandistas: Historias Coloniales* (Montevideo, 1982).

22. Jonathan C. Brown, "A Traditional Marketing System: Buenos Aires, 1810–1860," *HAHR*, 56 (Nov. 1976), 605–629; Jonathan C. Brown, *A Socioeconomic History of Argentina, 1776–1860* (New York, 1979); Jerry W. Cooney, "Paraguayan Astilleros and the Platine Merchant Marine," *The Historian*, 43 (Nov. 1980), 55–74; Jerry W. Cooney "Forest Industries and Trade in Late Colonial Paraguay," *Journal of Forest History*, 20 (Oct. 1979), 186–197; Jerry W. Cooney "A Colonial Naval Industry: The *Fábrica de Cables* of Paraguay," *Revista de Historia de América*, 87 (enero–junio 1979), 105–126. See also Juan Carlos Garavaglia, "Un capítulo del mercado interno colonial: El Paraguay y su región, 1537–1682," *Nova Americana* (Turin), 1 (1978), 11–55; Rafael Eladio Velázquez, "Navegación paraguaya de los siglos xvii y xviii," *Estudios Paraguayos*, 1 (nov. 1973), 45–84.

23. Ernesto Maeder, *Historia económica de Corrientes en el periodo virreinal, 1776–1810* (Buenos Aires, 1981); Guillermo Madrazo, *Hiacienda y encomienda en los Andes: La puma argentina bajo el marquesado de Tojo: Siglos xvii a xix* (Buenos Aires, 1982); Teresa Emilia Paci and Ana María Rivera, "Comercio de vinos y aguardiente de San Juan, 1726–1735," in *IV Jornadas de Historia Económica Argentina*, (Río Cuarto, Argentina, 1982), 410–436. The proceedings of the Segundo Congreso de Historia Argentina y Regional (Buenos Aires, 1974), 3 vols., concentrate on the history of Patagonia.

24. Colin Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America*,

Reber's research on British merchant firms operating in nineteenth-century Buenos Aires has also added to our knowledge of foreign participation in the growing *porteño* trade.²⁵

Investigation by Herbert Klein on the structure and finance of the Viceroyalty of la Plata has been of seminal importance.²⁶ Tulio Halperín Donghi's work has likewise added to our knowledge of the financing of royal government in the area.²⁷ Clearly the Buenos Aires district, while responding to strategic necessities of the Spanish crown, was not a self-sufficient unit during the late colonial period.

Perhaps most informative of all has been the research on the economic structure of Upper Peru during the late eighteenth century. Research has enhanced our knowledge of the agrarian and labor structures of Potosí, of price structures, and of the results of Bourbon reforms on mining in the area.²⁸ Assadourian's studies of the internal economic linkages between

1700–1739 (Urbana, 1981); for a summary of slave trade during the colonial period in the Río de la Plata area, see Samuel Gorbán, "El tráfico negrero en el Río de la Plata," *Estudios Históricos* (Brazil), 10 (1971), 117–139.

25. Vera Blinn Reber, "Speculation and Commerce in Buenos Aires: The Hugh Dallas House, 1816–1822," *Business History*, 20 (1978), 19–36; Vera Blinn Reber, *British Mercantile Houses in Buenos Aires, 1810–1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

26. Herbert S. Klein, "Structure and Profitability of Royal Finance in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1790," *HAHR*, 53 (Aug. 1973), 440–469; John J. TePaske, "The Fiscal Structure of Upper Peru and the Financing of Empire," in Karen Spalding, ed. *Essays in the Political, Economic, and Social History of Colonial Latin America* (Newark, Delaware, 1982), pp. 69–94. Herbert S. Klein and John J. TePaske, *The Royal Treasuries of the Spanish Empire in America*, 3 vols. (Durham, N.C., 1982), contains data that will enable historians to undertake studies of royal finances for the entire colonial period. See also Samuel Amaral, "La financiación del gasto público en la hacienda colonial: Un análisis de las cuentas de la Caja Real de Buenos Aires, 1789–1791," paper given at the XVII Reunión Anual de la Asociación Argentina de Economía Política, La Plata, 1982.

27. Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Guerra y finanzas en los orígenes del estado argentino (1791–1850)* (Buenos Aires, 1982).

28. Rose Marie Buechler, *The Mining Society of Potosí, 1776–1810* (Syracuse University and University Microfilms, 1981); Rose Marie Buechler, "La Compañía de Azogueros y el Banco de Rescates de Potosí, 1747–1779," *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana*, 26 (1980), 67–116; Daniel J. Santamaría, "Potosí entre la plata y el estaño," *Revista Geográfica* (Mexico City), 79 (1973), 71–115; Jaciro Campante Patrício, "As instituições monetária e bancária de Potosí no decurso do século xviii," *Revista de História* (São Paulo), 55 (1977), 51–72; Enrique Tandeter, "Forced and Free Labour in Late Colonial Potosí," *Past and Present* (London), 93 (1981), 98–136, (also published as "Trabajo forzado y trabajo libre en el Potosí colonial tardío," *Desarrollo Económico*, 20 (1981), 511–548); Enrique Tandeter and Nathan Wachtel "Conjonctures inverses: Le mouvement des prix à Potosí au xviii siècle," *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* (Paris), 3 (1983), 549–613 (also published as "Precios y producción agraria: Potosí y Charcas en el siglo xviii," *Desarrollo Económico*, 23 (1983), 197–232); Brooke Larson, "Caciques, Class Structure, and the Colonial State in Bolivia," *Nova Americana*, 2 (1979), 197–235; Daniel J. Santamaría, "La estructura agraria del Alto Perú a fines del siglo xviii: Un análisis de tres regiones maiceras del Partido de Larecaja en 1795," *Desarrollo Económico*, 18 (enero-marzo 1979), 579–591; Daniel J. Santamaría, "Agricultura y precios agrícolas en Bolivia, 1780–1810," *Athenaeum* (Buenos Aires), 1 (1977), 75–89; Daniel J. Santamaría, "La propiedad de la tierra y la condición social del indio en el Alto Perú, 1780–1810," *Desarrollo Económico*, 17 (julio–set. 1977),

Córdoba and the silver-producing areas during the seventeenth century have been complemented by work on price movement in Córdoba and the effect of restructuring of commercial ties on the internal economy.²⁹ More work is needed on the effect of the decline of mineral production in Upper Peru on more distant markets, including Buenos Aires. The issue of supply of local markets has also been treated in a series of monographic studies by Asdrúbal Silva on Buenos Aires, but good quantitative data are still missing.³⁰

The problems of labor and production have also received some attention from scholars. James Saeger has looked at the *encomienda* and Indian labor in eighteenth-century Asunción, Juan Carlos Garavaglia has studied agricultural production in rural Paraguay, and research currently being done by Lyman Johnson examines the changing relationship among labor supply, wages, and the cost of living for the artisan class in viceregal Buenos Aires.³¹ Although the emergence of the *estancia* as the pre-eminent rural production unit of the *litoral* has not yet been fully explored, work by Garavaglia, Halperín Donghi, and Brown on *estancias* has been most valuable.³²

253–271. For information on other areas of Alto Perú, see Herbert S. Klein, “The Impact of the Crisis in Nineteenth-Century Mining on Regional Economies: The Example of the Bolivian Yungas, 1786–1838,” in David Robinson, ed., *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America*, pp. 315–338. For a general history of mining, which includes information on colonial Alto Perú, see Carlos Sempat Assadourian et al., *Minería y espacio económico en los Andes: Siglos xvi–xx* (Lima, 1980).

29. Carlos Sempat Assadourian, “Potosí y el crecimiento económico de Córdoba en los siglos xvi y xvii,” in *Homenaje al doctor Ceferino Garzón Maceda*, 169–183; Graciela S. Pozzi and Carmen Ferrazzano, “El préstamo a interés en una sociedad en transición: Córdoba en el siglo xviii,” in *Homenaje al doctor Ceferino Garzón Maceda*, 355–374.

30. Hernán Asdrúbal Silva, “El trigo en una ciudad colonial: Buenos Aires en la primera mitad del siglo xviii,” *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 5 (julio–dic. 1968), 375–406; Hernán Asdrúbal Silva, “El cabildo, el abasto de carne y la ganadería: Buenos Aires en la mitad del siglo xviii,” *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 5 (julio–dic. 1968), 375–406; Hernán Asdrúbal Silva, “La grasa y el sebo: Dos elementos vitales para la colonia: Buenos Aires en la primera mitad del siglo xviii,” *Revista de Historia Americana y Argentina*, 8 (1970–71), 39–53; Hernán Asdrúbal Silva, “El abasto de madera y leña en el Buenos Aires de la primera mitad del siglo xviii,” *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 15 (1973), 383–404. For research on the supply of an interior market, see Edberto Oscar Acevedo, “El abastecimiento de Mendoza, 1561–1810,” *Revista de Historia Americana y Argentina*, 10 (1981), 9–36.

31. James S. Saeger, “Survival and Abolition: The Eighteenth-Century Paraguayan *Encomienda*,” *The Americas*, 38 (July 1981), 59–85; Juan Carlos Garavaglia, “Un modo de producción subsidiario: La organización económica de las comunidades guaranizadas durante los siglos xvii–xviii en la formación regional altoperuana-rioplatense,” *Modos de producción en América Latina, Cuadernos de pasado y presente* (Buenos Aires), 40 (1973), 161–191; Lyman L. Johnson, “Wages, the Organization of Work and Prices in Colonial Buenos Aires, 1770–1815,” Unpublished paper, 1982; Aníbal Arcondo, “Notas para el estudio del trabajo compulsivo en la región de Córdoba,” in *Homenaje al doctor Ceferino Garzón Maceda*, 133–145; Herbert S. Klein, “The State and the Labor Market in Rural Bolivia in the Colonial and Early Republican Periods,” in Karen Spalding, ed., *Essays in the Political, Economic, and Social History of Colonial Latin America*, pp. 95–106.

32. Juan Carlos Garavaglia, “Las actividades agropecuarias en el marco de la vida eco-

For the early independence period, Halperín Donghi continues to be the preeminent historian. His work has concentrated on the economic, social, and political dimensions of the transition from one colony to many provinces, and on the growth of militarism in the emerging polity.³³ Other topics that have received attention from historians are the question of continuity in the post-independence merchant group, the role of elite families in nineteenth-century Buenos Aires, and the economic dislocations that temporarily affected the area.³⁴

nómica del pueblo de indios de Nuestra Señora de los Santos Reyes Magos de Yapeyú: 1768–1806,” in Enrique Florescano, ed., *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones en América Latina* (Mexico, 1975), pp. 464–485; Tulio Halperín Donghi, “Una estancia en la campaña de Buenos Aires, Fontezuela: 1753–1809,” in Enrique Florescano, ed., *Haciendas, latifundios y plantaciones*, pp. 447–463. For work on a series of estancias set up in the early nineteenth century, see Jonathan C. Brown, “A Nineteenth-Century Argentine Cattle Empire,” *Agricultural History*, 52 (Jan. 1978), 160–178.

33. Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period* (New York, 1975); Tulio Halperín Donghi, “Revolutionary Militarization in Buenos Aires, 1806–1815,” *Past and Present*, 40 (July 1968), 84–107; Tulio Halperín Donghi, “Incidencia de los gastos militares en Córdoba y Santa Fe (1820–1852),” in *Home-naje al doctor Ceferino Garzón Maceda*, 253–265.

34. Karla Robinson, “The Merchants of Post-Independence Buenos Aires,” in *Hispanic-American Essays in Honor of Max Leon Moorhead* (Pensacola, 1979), pp. 111–132; Diana Hernando (Balmori), “*Casa y familia: Spatial Biographies in Nineteenth Century Buenos Aires*” (Ph. D. Diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1973); Diana Balmori and Robert Oppenheimer, “Family Clusters: Generational Nucleation in Nineteenth-Century Argentina and Chile,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 21 (April 1979), 231–261; Hugo Raúl Galmarini, “Los comerciantes españoles después de 1810,” *IV Jornadas de Historia Económica Argentina*, 147–172; Juan Carlos Nicolau, “El censo de comerciantes porteños de 1813,” *IV Jornadas*, 437–466; Hugo Raúl Galmarini, *Negocios y política en la época de Rivadavia: Braulio Costa y la burguesía comercial porteña (1820–1830)* (Buenos Aires, 1974). See also the interesting work on the early independence economy of Buenos Aires by Samuel Amaral including “Las formas sustitutivas de la moneda metálica en Buenos Aires: 1813–1822,” *Cuadernos de Numismática y Ciencias Históricas* (Buenos Aires), 27 (abril 1981), 37–61; “La reforma financiera de 1820 y el establecimiento del crédito público en Buenos Aires,” *Cuadernos de Numismática y Ciencias Históricas*, 30 (abril 1982), 29–48; “Medios de pago no metálicos en Buenos Aires a comienzos del siglo XIX: Letras de cambio y letras secas,” *Cuadernos de Numismática y Ciencias Históricas*, 30 (abril 1982), 45–55; “El empréstito de Londres de 1824: Las bases del contrato y el control de la operación,” *IV Jornadas de Historia Económica Argentina*, 298–324; “Comercio y crédito: El Banco de Buenos Aires (1822–1826),” *América* (Buenos Aires), 2 (abril 1977), 4–49. Work on regional economies during the Independence period includes Edberto Oscar Acevedo, *Investigaciones sobre el comercio cuyano, 1800–1830* (Buenos Aires, 1982); Edberto Oscar Acevedo “Observaciones sobre el comercio mendocino (1806–1814),” *Primer congreso de historia argentina y regional*, 335–353; Severo G. Cáceres Cano et al., “Contribución al estudio del comercio interprovincial: Importaciones en Tucumán, 1822–1839,” *IV Jornadas de Historia Económica Argentina*, 494–534; Félix Converso et al., “Contribución al estudio del comercio entre Catamarca y Córdoba, 1815–1831,” *Primer congreso de historia argentina y regional*, 221–234; Lilians Betty Romero Cabrera, “Algunos aspectos de las relaciones comerciales en el interior en los años 1817–1822,” *Primer congreso de historia argentina y regional*, 201–219; Ramón A. Leoni Pinto, “Empréstito y comercio en Tucumán—introducción a su estudio (1810–1825),” *Primer congreso de historia argentina y regional*, 165–200. See also Carlos S. A. Segreti, “La misión Jonte-Ugarteche, 1813–1814 (Un intento de reactivación económico-financiera del interior),” *Primer congreso de historia argentina y regional*, 119–164; Carlos S. A. Segreti,

Among the more interesting findings of the social and economic historians has been the realization that greater economic and social continuity existed between the Bourbon and post-independence periods than was heretofore realized. Indeed, the findings of Jonathan Brown, Herbert Klein, and Karla Robinson, as well as the writings of Tulio Halperín Donghi, suggest that even in the face of dramatic and fast-moving political developments in the years following the English invasion, the underlying social and economic realities were slow to change.

One important topic that has continued to engage the attention of scholars—especially Latin Americans—has been the question of settlement and expansion in the region. It should be pointed out that while settlement is a sixteenth-century issue in much of Spanish America, in the Río de la Plata it continued through the eighteenth century, with the pace and location of new foundations changing over the years. While the historiography of the past ten years has produced a spate of good articles on settlement in local areas (works often produced by historians at regional universities), a solid work of synthesis is still to be done.³⁵ Nevertheless, the article by Robinson and Thomas is worthy of special note.³⁶ The related issue of Spanish-Indian relations along the frontier, especially

El país disuelto (Buenos Aires, 1982); Carlos S. A. Segreti, *La economía del interior en la primera mitad del siglo xix*: Vol. I. *Cuyo* (Buenos Aires, 1982).

35. Florencia Fajardo Terán, "El proceso colonizador en el Río de la Plata: Pérez del Puerto y los orígenes de Rocha," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 31 (1974), 369–422; Laurio H. Destéfani, "Informe sobre Nombre de Jesús, una población fundada en 1584 por Sarmiento de Gamboa," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* (Buenos Aires), 49 (1979), 201–205; Julia Elena Fonrouge de Balina, "Los fuertes de Corpus Christi y la colonización del Río Paraná," *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 20 (enero–junio 1976), 247–268; Ernesto J. A. Maeder, "La expansión de la frontera interior de Corrientes entre 1750 y 1814: De la ciudad a la provincia," *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 19 (julio–dic. 1975), 423–462; Raúl de Labougle, *Historia de San Juan de Vera de las Siete Corrientes, 1588–1814* (Buenos Aires, 1978); Agustín Zapata Gollán, "La primera urbanización hispanoamericana en el Río de la Plata: Santa Fe," *Universidad* (Santa Fé), 88 (set.–dic. 1977), 171–188; Aníbal Barrios Pintos, *Historia de los pueblos orientales: Sus orígenes, procesos fundacionales, sus primeros años* (Montevideo, 1971). Related to military expeditions, conquest, and colonization are those studies dealing with the attempts to fix the Spanish-Portuguese border along the north-eastern frontier of the Río de la Plata colony. See Aníbal Abadie-Aicardi, "La idea del equilibrio y el contexto geopolítico fundacional del Virreinato Rioplatense," *Jahrbuch*, 17 (1980), 261–296; Aníbal Abadie-Aicardi, "La Relación exacta versificada de la expedición de Cevallos a Santa Catalina y el Plata, 1776–1777," *Historiografía y Bibliografía Americanistas* (Seville), 18 (1974), 153–194. For an example of regional history, see Alberto Paula, S. J., Ramón Gutiérrez, and Graciela María Vinales, *Del pago del Riachuelo al partido de Lanús: 1536–1944* (La Plata, 1974). For an interesting attempt to trace urban property holding in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Carlos A. Luque Colombres, *Orígenes históricos de la propiedad urbana de Córdoba: Siglos xvi y xvii* (Córdoba, 1980); Carlos A. Luque Colombres "Algo más sobre el asiento originario de la ciudad de Córdoba," *Home-naje al doctor Ceferino Garzón Maceda*, 289–306.

36. David J. Robinson and Teresa Thomas, "New Towns in Eighteenth-Century Northwest Argentina," *JLAS*, 6 (May 1974), 1–33.

in the pampas and the Chaco is another area where much important research remains to be done.³⁷

The history and role of the Catholic church in this zone of Spanish America has continued to be an important topic of research and publication. Guillermo Furlong, until his death in 1974, published studies of individual Jesuit missionaries, adding work on Florián Paucke, Bernardo Nusdorffer, and Tomás Fields to his formidable oeuvre.³⁸ Work has been done by other scholars on Jesuit martyrs, and on the clash among the Jesuits, the secular clergy, and the crown in the *misiones* district.³⁹ Nicholas Cushner's recent work on the Jesuit estancias of northern Argentina adds important information to our knowledge of the Jesuits' role in the local economy.⁴⁰ Perhaps the most interesting work on the Jesuit missions is that of Josefina Plá, which concentrates on artisan production in this zone.⁴¹

Some interesting studies have also appeared in print dealing with other religious orders in the area, specifically the Franciscans in Tucumán and Corrientes, the Augustinians in Cuyo, and the Mercedarians.⁴² Cayetano Bruno concluded his large survey of the church in Argentina with

37. For some path-breaking research on Spanish-Indian relations in the *pampas*, see Kristine L. Jones, "Conflict and Adaptation in the Argentine *Pampas*, 1750–1880" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1983).

38. Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, *Florián Paucke S. J. y sus cartas al Visitador Contucci: 1762–1764* (Buenos Aires, 1972); Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, *Bernardo Nusdorffer y su "Novena Parte": 1760* (Buenos Aires, 1971); Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, *Tomás Fields S. J. y su "Carta al Prepósito General"*, 1601 (Buenos Aires, 1971).

39. Hugo Storni, "Documentación y bibliografía sobre los beatos mártires rioplatenses," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 45 (julio-dic. 1976), 318–348; Carlos A. Di-sandro and Jorge L. Street, *La compañía de Jesús contra la iglesia y el estado: Documentos americanos, siglo xvii* (La Plata, 1970). For a view of Jesuit accomplishment by one of their major eighteenth-century detractors, see Mario Ford Bacigalupo, "Bernardo Ibáñez de Echavarrí and the Image of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay," *The Americas*, 35 (April 1979), 475–494. Important information on more peripheral missions is contained in David Block, "Links to the Frontier: Jesuit Supply of its Moxos Missions, 1683–1767," *The Americas*, 37 (Oct. 1980), 161–178; and Regina Maria A. F. Gadelha, *As missões jesuíticas do Itatim: Um estudo das estruturas sócio-econômicas coloniais do Paraguai, séculos xvi e xvii* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980).

40. Nicholas P. Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650–1767* (Albany, 1983).

41. Josefina Plá, "Los talleres misioneros, 1609–1797: Su organización y funcionamiento," *Revista de Historia de América*, 75–76 (enero-dic. 1973), 9–56.

42. Benito Honorato Pistoia, *Los franciscanos en el Tucumán: 1566–1810* (Salta, 1973); Raúl de Labougle, "Las reducciones franciscanas de San Francisco y Santa Ana de Guarcas," *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 16 (1974), 146–152; José Luis Masini Calderón, "Aspectos económicos y sociales de la acción de los Agustinos en Cuyo: Siglos xvii, xviii y xix," *Revista de Historia Americana y Argentina* (Mendoza), 9 (1972–79), 69–98; Eudoxio de J. Palacio, *Los mercedarios en la Argentina: Documentos para su historia, 1535–1754* (Buenos Aires, 1971); José Brunet, "Los mercedarios en Santa Fé y en la antigua jurisdicción del Rosario, 1593–1848," *Estudios* (Spain), 27 (1971), 79–111, 285–324.

the publication in 1970 of the sixth volume of his *Historia de la iglesia en la Argentina*.⁴³ This work, although generally uncritical of the role of the church, does provide valuable information based on the no longer extant archives of the episcopal see in Buenos Aires. Work has also been done on priests in Paraguay and on Paraguayan church and society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and on individual clergymen in Buenos Aires.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, studies of the economic role of the church in most of the area are sorely needed, as are investigations into the socioeconomic background of members of the regular and secular clergy.

Institutional history has continued to build upon the strong foundations of the work of Ricardo Levene and José Torre Revello. The most notable contributions in the last ten years have, without doubt, been the work of José Mariluz Urquijo. He has produced solid research on the secretariats of the vicerealty, and the audiencia, and has also been instrumental in the publication of both a facsimile edition of Andrés del Torres's *Gastos*, the only extant day-to-day expenditure records for a platense viceroy, and excerpts from the *Noticias del Correo Mercantil de España y sus Indias*.⁴⁵ Some work has been done on the Real Renta de Tabacos and the Aduana in Buenos Aires and on public officials in general.⁴⁶ Interest in

43. *Historia de la iglesia en la Argentina*: Vol. 6. 1767–1800, (Buenos Aires, 1970).

44. Agustín Blujaki, "Los primeros sacerdotes y el primer obispo electo de la Asunción del Paraguay," *Historia Paraguaya* (Asunción), 16 (1978), 43–101; José Luis Mora Mérida, *Iglesia y sociedad en Paraguay en el siglo xviii* (Seville, 1976); José Luis Mora Mérida "Notas sobre el episcopologio paraguayo," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 30 (1973), 317–336; Rafael Eladio Velázquez, "Iglesia y educación en el Paraguay colonial," *Historia Paraguaya*, 25 (1978), 97–154; Daisy Rípodas Ardanaz, *El Obispo Azamor y Ramírez: Tradición cristiana y modernidad* (Buenos Aires, 1982); Daisy Rípodas Ardanaz "Don Francisco Zaldívar, 1568–1638: Primer Deán del Cabildo Eclesiástico de Buenos Aires; Crónica biográfica," *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 21 (julio–dic. 1976), 307–334.

45. José María Mariluz Urquijo, *Orígenes de la burocracia rioplatense: La Secretaría del Virreinato* (Buenos Aires, 1974); José María Mariluz Urquijo "La Real Audiencia de Buenos Aires y el Juzgado de Provincia," *Memoria*, Segundo Congreso Venezolano de Historia, Caracas, 1974, vol. 2, 129–166; José María Mariluz Urquijo "El asesor letrado del Virreinato del Río de la Plata," *Revista de Historia del Derecho* (Buenos Aires), 3 (1975), 167–171; José María Mariluz Urquijo, "La situación del mitayo en las glosas de Benito de la Mata Linares al código carolino," *Jahrbuch*, 14 (1977), 161–198; Andrés de Torres, *Diario de gastos del Virrey del Río de la Plata, Marqués de Loreto, 1783–1790* (Bilbao, 1977); José María Mariluz Urquijo, ed., "Noticias del Correo Mercantil de España y sus Indias": *Sobre la vida económica del Virreinato del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1977). For another study of the audiencia, see Eduardo Martiré, *Los regentes de Buenos Aires: La reforma judicial india* (Buenos Aires, 1981).

46. Juan Carlos Arias Divito, "Establecimiento de la Renta de Tabaco y Naipes en el Virreinato del Río de la Plata: 1778–1781," *Historiografía rioplatense*, 1 (1978), 7–56; Juan Carlos Arias Divito, "Dificultades para establecer la Renta de Tabaco en Paraguay," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 33 (1976), 1–17; Juan Carlos Arias Divito "Auge y decadencia de la Renta de Tabaco en Buenos Aires," *Nuestra Historia* (Buenos Aires), 22 (1978), 195–201; Juan Carlos Arias Divito "Breve noticia de la factoría del Paraguay," *Nuestra Historia*, 21 (1978), 180–182; César A. García Belsunce, "La Aduana de Buenos Aires en las postris-

visitas, governors, and viceroys of the Río de la Plata has continued, with the publication of Gammalsson's biography of Viceroy Pedro de Cevallos, and the reissue of Barba's work on the same man.⁴⁷ The overriding political issue—whether the Bourbon reforms destroyed local political autonomy, substituting tight centralized control—has not been addressed effectively by any historian of the region.

Military history before, during, and after independence has remained an important topic for research, as has the study of local cabildos.⁴⁸ Monographs on the English invasions and on the military battles of the independence period, more often than not stressing the heroic accomplishments of one or another prócer, continue to appear. Destéfani has also continued his work on the naval aspects of the English invasions.⁴⁹ While the more traditional schools of historical writing have been dominant in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, and have continued to stress institutional history, great men, and regional monographs—all with a heavy emphasis on romanticized political analysis—a small group of younger scholars has attempted to apply a more sophisticated methodology and social

merías del régimen virreinal." *Investigaciones y Ensayos*, 19 (julio–dic. 1975), 463–486; Eduardo Martiré "El estatuto legal del oficial de la administración pública al crearse el virreinato del Río de la Plata: Notas para su estudio," *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho* (Mexico City), 26 (enero–junio 1976), 417–436.

47. Hjalmar Edmundo Gammalsson, *El Virrey Cevallos* (Buenos Aires, 1976); Enrique M. Barba, *Don Pedro de Cevallos* (Buenos Aires, 1978). See also Héctor José Tanzi, "El Río de la Plata en el época de los Virreyes Loreto y Arrendondo," *Revista de Historia de América*, 83 (enero–junio 1977), 153–192. For some recent work on seventeenth-century visitas, see Gastón Gabriel Doucet, "Comisiones para un visitador: El Marqués de Montescalros y la visita de Don Francisco de Alfaro a las Gobernaciones de Tucumán y Paraguay," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 34 (1977), 17–47; Gastón Gabriel Doucet, "Los autos del Visitador Don Antonio Martínez Luján de Vargas," *Revista de Historia del Derecho* (Buenos Aires), 8 (1980), 123–154; Gastón Gabriel Doucet, "Introducción al estudio de la visita del Oidor Don Antonio Martínez Luján de Vargas a las encomiendas de indios del Tucumán," *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina Doctor Emilio Ravignani* (Buenos Aires), 26 (1980), 205–246.

48. Laurio H. Destéfani, "La defensa militar del Río de la Plata en la época hispana," *Memoria*, Tercer Congreso Venezolano de Historia, Caracas, 1979, vol. 1, 463–533; Laurio H. Destéfani, *Las Malvinas en la época hispana: 1600–1811* (Buenos Aires, 1981); Rafael Eladio Velázquez, "Organización militar de la Gobernación y Capitanía General del Paraguay," *Memoria*, Tercer Congreso Venezolano de Historia, Caracas, 1979, vol. 3, 413–475; Víctor Tau Anzoátegui, "El abogado del Cabildo de Buenos Aires durante el Virreinato," in Academia Nacional de la Historia (Buenos Aires), *Bicentenario del Virreinato del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1977), vol. 1, 85–104; Rafael Eladio Velázquez, "Cabildos en el Paraguay," *Memoria*, Segundo Congreso Venezolano de Historia, Caracas, 1974, vol. 3, 333–352.

49. Laurio H. Destéfani, *Los marinos en las invasiones inglesas* (Buenos Aires, 1975); Alberto Mario Salas, *Diario de Buenos Aires, 1806–1807* (Buenos Aires, 1981). Some of the more interesting work on the period of the English invasions has centered around the role of Martín de Alzaga. See Enrique Williams Alzaga, *Martín de Alzaga en la reconquista y en la defensa de Buenos Aires (1806–1807)* (Buenos Aires, 1971); Enrique Williams Alzaga, ed., *Cartas de Martín de Alzaga (1806–1807)* (Buenos Aires, 1972).

science analysis to its work. Some of this group's studies have appeared in the proceedings of the Congreso de Historia Económica, but *Desarrollo Económico* continues to be the major forum for innovative work in colonial and early national period studies.

A brief mention should be made of documentary collections and archival guides, two types of publications that have been infrequent in the past ten years. The final volume of Pedro de Angelis's documents appeared in 1972, completing an important project begun in 1969.⁵⁰ The third volume of the Mendoza cabildo proceedings, covering the years 1652–75, was published in 1974.⁵¹ Librería Platerra has also issued two interesting colonial documents, one on tobacco cultivation by Francisco de Paula Sanz, and the other a polemic play by Francisco de Serra y Canals.⁵² In addition to the aforementioned primary source materials edited by Mariluz Urquiza, Miguel de Lastarria's account of Montevideo in 1803, and the writings of the audiencia fiscal Villota have been published.⁵³ An article by José Luis Mora Mérida abstracts royal cédulas for Paraguay issued between 1700 and 1715.⁵⁴ Such work on the eighteenth-century cédulas is sorely needed for Buenos Aires. Several important guides have also appeared lately, including one for the Archivo General de Indias's holdings on the Río de la Plata, one for Sala IX of the Archivo de la Nación Argentina in Buenos Aires, and another for audiencia materials in the Archivo de la Provincia de Buenos Aires in La Plata.⁵⁵

Despite the work of note by a small group of North American scholars and an even smaller number of Latins, the list of topics still to be tackled is long. As with most of Latin American history, in the Río de la Plata area there is still a lack of studies on the seventeenth century. It is to be hoped

50. Pedro de Angelis, comp., *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias de Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1969–72).

51. Academia Nacional de la Historia (Argentina), *Actas capitulares de Mendoza* (Buenos Aires, 1974).

52. Francisco de Paula Sanz, *Viaje por el Virreinato del Río de la Plata: El camino del tabaco* (Buenos Aires, 1977); Francisco de Serra y Canals, *El celo del español y el indiano instruido* (Buenos Aires, 1979).

53. Aníbal Abadie-Aicardi, "El Uruguay en los albores del siglo xix: Su Breve descripción por el Dr. Miguel de Lastarria," *Nuestra Historia*, 7 (1974), 5–15; Abelardo Levaggi, ed., *Los escritos del fiscal de la Audiencia de Buenos Aires Manuel Genaro de Villota* (Buenos Aires, 1981).

54. José Luis Mora Mérida, "Cedulario para la gobernación de Paraguay: 1700–1716." *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 31 (1974), 1031–1047.

55. Luis Alberto Musso Ambrosi, *El Río de la Plata en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla: Guía para investigadores*, 2d ed. (Montevideo, 1976); Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina), *Índice temático general de unidades archivonómicas del período colonial: Gobierno* (Buenos Aires, 1978); Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina), *Índice temático general de unidades archivonómicas del período nacional: Gobierno* (Buenos Aires, 1977); Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, *Catálogo del Archivo de la Real Audiencia y Cámara de Apelación de Buenos Aires* (La Plata, 1974).

that recent research by Eduardo Saguier and Zacarías Moutoukias will help fill this gap.⁵⁶ In spite of the work of Philip Caraman, a good unbiased study of the Jesuits in the eighteenth century, a complement to the work of Magnus Mörner, is still needed, as is a study of the ultimate disposition of Jesuit property under the *Temporalidades*.⁵⁷ Although some work has been done on social groups in the area, there are still other groups to investigate, especially outside of Buenos Aires. And although we have some important information on individual ranches, little has been done in research on the *estancieros*, or on the size, income, or workforce employed on these ranches. The larger and critical question of the ownership of land, and changes in landowning patterns during the late colonial and early national periods has yet to be fully explored. The early eighteenth century remains virtually unreported for much of the area, although recent work suggests that because of the effect of the British *asiento*, this was a period of important economic and social development.

Indeed, the list of topics still to be explored is long. Some examples of possible future work include the role of the frontier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, contraband in the regional economy, the mercury supply (*asiento de azogues*), and the slave trade after 1730. Additional research on the provincial and regional bureaucrats, especially the *corregidores* and *subdelegados*, and their relationship to both Indian and Spanish populations, is needed.

Much of the more exciting work in the colonial–early national period in Río de la Plata produced over the past few years, as noted above, has been in the fields of economic and social history. Undertaken by a relatively small number of scholars, this work has concentrated on the closing years of the colonial period, the period of so-called Bourbon reform, through the decade of the 1820s. It should be pointed out that the majority of the most important contributors to this “newer school” of *platense* historiography are either North American or European scholars, or Latin Americans either trained or living abroad. While competent work continues to be produced in Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Paraguay on colonial topics, little that is exciting methodologically or topically has yet emerged. Such is the price of the systematic destruction of the universities in general, and the faculties of social sciences in particular which

56. Eduardo Saguier, “Commercial Cycles and Intra-Colonial Struggles in an Entrepot Economy under Hapsburg Mercantilism: Buenos Aires in the Seventeenth Century” (Ph. D. Diss., Washington University, 1982); Zacarías Moutoukias, “El comercio atlántico de Buenos Aires: 1650–1700.” *Terceras Jornadas de Historia Económica Argentina*, (Neuquén, Argentina, 1981), I, n.p.; Zacarías Moutoukias, “Los navíos de registro a Buenos Aires, 1650–1700.” *IV Jornadas de Historia Económica Argentina*, 216–259.

57. Philip Caraman, *The Lost Paradise: The Jesuit Republic in South America* (New York, 1976).

has occurred in the Cono Sur countries. Only small, independent research centers, such as the Di Tella Institute, CEDES, PEHESA, and CECEA in Buenos Aires, have continued to produce intellectually exciting scholarship, but unfortunately, for the purposes of this review, much of their output has been in late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Argentine history.