

American Historical Association Session Summaries

Conference on Latin American History Awards 1993

James A. Robertson Memorial Prize

Hendrik Kraay, "‘As Terrifying As Unexpected’: The Bahian Sabinada, 1837–1838," *HAHR* 72:4, November 1992

Honorable Mention: Steven S. Volk, "Mine Owners, Moneylenders, and the State in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Chile: Transitions and Conflicts," *HAHR* 73:1, February 1993

Conference on Latin American History Prize

Muriel Nazzari, "Transition Toward Slavery: Changing Legal Practice Regarding Indians in Seventeenth-Century São Paulo," *The Americas* 44:5, October 1992

Honorable Mention: Alan M. Taylor, "External Dependence, Demographic Burdens, and Argentina's Economic Decline After the Belle Epoque," *Journal of Economic History* 52:4, December 1992

Herbert E. Bolton Memorial Prize

James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*, Stanford University Press, 1992

Honorable Mention: Susan Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico*, University of Texas Press, 1992

Honorable Mention: Alida C. Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580–1822*, University of California Press, 1992

Howard Cline Memorial Prize

James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*, Stanford University Press, 1992

Honorable Mention: Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846*, Stanford University Press, 1991

Distinguished Service Award

E. Bradford Burns

James R. Scobie Memorial Award

Ronald Young, University of California, Los Angeles

Tibesar Prize

Muriel Nazzari, "Transition Toward Slavery: Changing Legal Practice Regarding Indians in Seventeenth-Century São Paulo," *The Americas* 44:5, October 1992

Session Reports

Law, Legality, and the State in Nineteenth-Century Latin America

In this session, attended by an audience of 30, the papers focused on the generational and ideological shift between the era of independence in Latin America (roughly the 1820s) and the era of reaction (the 1840s) and how law and legal training reflected or embodied that shift.

Linda Lewin (University of California, Berkeley) delineated two periods in the legislation regarding the inheritance rights of natural and spurious children in Brazil. At first, individuals gained increased authority to determine their legal heirs; later, that liberty was substantially circumscribed. Spotlighting legal education, Victor M. Uribe (Florida International University) contrasted an earlier reliance on Benthamite textbooks to inculcate new notions about authority and the duties of rulers with a later emphasis on religious orthodoxy and the teaching

of practical skills in administration or litigation. Jeremy Adelman (Princeton University) traced the trajectory of constitutional thinking, showing how the earlier liberal, rationalist tendency to declare universal principles gave way to a more romantic willingness to take account of the particularity of each society, yielding to contingencies, psychological imperatives, and the inherent conservatism of human populations.

In commenting on these papers, chair Richard Graham (University of Texas, Austin) noted the many features that tied them together and suggested the need to pay closer attention to the class interests served by these competing ideologies and practices. A lively discussion followed.

RICHARD GRAHAM, University of Texas, Austin

U.S. Corporations and Labor Recruitment in the Periphery: Guatemala, Honduras, and Puerto Rico in the Early Twentieth Century

Aviva Chomsky (Bates College) was chair and commentator for this session, attended by about 20. The participants were Darío A. Euraque (Trinity College), Luis A. Figueroa (University of Connecticut), and Cindy Forester (University of California, Berkeley). The three papers presented new approaches to the study of enclave economies in Latin America, linking the social history of the enclave and its workers with the relationship between the enclave and national political and economic development.

Forester's paper rewrote the traditional narrative of Guatemala's October Revolution and its overthrow; it showed the key role played by United Fruit Company workers and their organizing in souring relations between the Arévalo and Arbenz governments, UFCO, and thereby the United States. Euraque addressed the issue of nationalism and state formation in Honduras, showing how racial and ethnic diversity in the enclave threatened that process and how elites tried to erase, ideologically, UFCO's work force in order to create the image of a uniformly mestizo Honduras. Figueroa used census data to establish residence patterns of sugar workers in Puerto Rico, showing that, contrary to what has been previously assumed, most lived off the sugar plantations. Figueroa argued that this was a key factor in their development into a militant working class.

Chomsky commented that all three papers showed original and significant—and very different—research into the development of enclave societies, and that together they brought some of the most promising approaches in labor history to this under-studied area. Half an hour of lively discussion followed, addressing questions ranging from the availability of sources to the theoretical approaches to comparisons among cases.

AVIVA CHOMSKY, Bates College

Late Colonial Indigenous Interpretations of the Spanish Conquest: Identity and Historical Consciousness

Attended by 56 people, this session was chaired by William O. Autry (American Society for Ethnohistory), with comments by Woodrow Borah (University of California, Berkeley). Robert Haskett (University of Oregon), Kevin Terraciano (UCLA), and Stephanie Wood (University of Oregon) presented papers.

Wood made an evaluation of caciques' influence over the interpretation and evaluation of community history as represented in the *Mapa de Cuauhtlantzinco*. The *mapa* represents, in both painted scenes and Nahuatl texts, an indigenous view of the conquest that emphasizes the efforts of the nobility. Wood noted that the common people were also addressed, so there was an attempt to incorporate them beyond the pictorial use of Fa/Mo symbols for the community. Her preliminary analysis conveyed the complexity involved in any attempt to analyze the postconquest indigenous reaction, but it also clearly indicated our historical impoverishment with reliance only on Spanish accounts.

Haskett analyzed the adoption and use of coats of arms in Nahuatl primordial land titles from central Mexico. He noted that these symbols of European heraldry were greatly esteemed by the Nahuatl-speaking villagers, and often were granted with lands and accompanied by *cédulas*. Several towns actually had the same coat of arms, and the natives went to great lengths to fabricate such *mercedes*. These "paper shields" enabled the towns to acquire legitimacy, served as political talismans, and aided in protecting the *altepetl* against Spanish incursions into Indian lands. Indigenous communities adopted these Spanish heraldic conventions to protect their preconquest land rights, but in so doing also sealed their incorporation into the Spanish victory in New Spain.

Terraciano compared two conflicting indigenous land titles, one Nahuatl, the other Mixtec, from the Valley of Oaxaca. He demonstrated that both documents clearly were fabricated long after the dates they displayed, but both still conveyed an ethnic viewpoint and an awareness of historic differences in multiethnic Oaxaca. The titles' different views of the Spanish conquest of Oaxaca probably represent lengthy oral traditions, set down long after the conquest; but such views were used to justify the status quo in the land dispute between San Juan Chapultepec (Yuchayta) and San Martín Mexicapán. The accounts present a "new history" and transform the Spanish conquest of Oaxaca from an event of defeat into a process serving history and myth. These accounts thereby demonstrate that "the pen is mightier than the sword."

Commentator Borah presented some brief remarks about the overall session and raised several points that expanded with audience discussion. He noted that the *títulos primordiales* were a new genre for historians and were formerly the domain of anthropologists. The documents served to bolster the Indians' self-respect in dealing with the Spaniards; they provide insights into what the natives

thought of themselves. Yet Borah cautioned that these types of documents do not cover everything. Historians still do not have much information about the general or “real” view of the *indios*. Tribute, for example, was a practice in which the Indians could make no objection, except when it exceeded “due measure.” The Spaniards did not interfere much with local government once idolatry had been generally exterminated unless the natives became obstreperous, but it was the local Spanish population that disrupted or interfered with the *indios*.

General discussion, after each paper and at the close of the session, concentrated on the nature and utility of the data in the *títulos primordiales* and additional indigenous formulations, such as plays (public performances), maps, and codices. Concerning the content, the discussion considered just how representative these views were of individuals, towns, ethnic groups, or indigenous leaders. The general consensus was that these documents could be minimally accepted as Indian history or folk traditions, even if many were “unofficial” channels or not “officially” recognized by the Spanish courts or legal system in New Spain. The utility of such data was clearly demonstrated by the three papers in this session.

WILLIAM O. AUTRY, American Society for Ethnohistory

Reconsidering Indian-Creole Relations in Nineteenth-Century South America

This panel featured two papers: “Indian-Creole Relations on the Frontier: An Ethnohistorical Approach to the Nineteenth-Century Bolivian Expeditions into the Gran Chaco,” by Erick D. Langer (Carnegie Mellon University), and “A Permanent and Silent Struggle: Indians and Settlers in Southern Bahia in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” by Bert J. Barickman (University of Arizona). Michael J. Gonzales (Northern Illinois University) chaired the session and provided comments. Fifteen people attended.

Langer discussed the historical importance of eight Bolivian expeditions sent to explore and map the Gran Chaco during the nineteenth century. The native response to Bolivian penetration bears interesting parallels with the sixteenth-century conquest of Mexico and Peru: for example, the Toba put up a resistance, while the Choroti allied with the Bolivians against their traditional enemies. Langer argued that expeditions in the first half of the nineteenth century were responses to the postindependence crisis, and that later missions sought an outlet to the Atlantic after Bolivia lost its Pacific coastline to Chile in 1884.

Barickman discussed the importance of Indians in the *comarca* of Porto Seguro, Bahia, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He showed how native resistance to colonization shaped patterns of frontier settlement and retarded development of commercial agriculture and trade. The Portuguese unsuccessfully attempted to assimilate agricultural natives by forcing them to produce

goods for market and by confiscating and selling their children. Conversely, the crown quickly concluded that the seminomadic Botocudo should be exterminated, and sanctioned the last official Indian war against them in 1808.

Gonzales praised Langer for capturing the native perspective on the Bolivian expeditions and for carefully differentiating between the various cultures in the region. He suggested, however, that native reaction may have been affected by Argentine expeditions into the Chaco and by the depredations of migrant cattle ranchers. Gonzales also called for some discussion of the accounts left behind by expedition leaders (a key source), with the observation that such documents are generally negotiations between what the observer expects to see and what is actually observed.

Gonzales also lauded Barickman for helping to rescue Indians from the Brazilian historical subconscious, and for unveiling important aspects of Portuguese imperial policy toward Indians. Yet he wondered why rebellious natives apparently never linked up with escaped slaves to resist the Portuguese, as they did in Pernambuco and Alagoas in the 1830s.

Gonzales concluded with observations on the significance of economic liberalism and state building on creole-Indians in the nineteenth century, and on the fate of the few remaining uncolonized natives in the Amazonian rain forest. There followed a lively and interesting discussion with several questions put to both speakers.

MICHAEL J. GONZALES, Northern Illinois University

Popular Constructions of Liberalism and Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America

Attended by an overflow crowd of about 70, this joint AHA-CLAH session was generally acknowledged to have been unusually coherent thematically. Sarah C. Chambers (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) presented some of her recent work on popular politics in early republican Arequipa, Peru. She focused on the relationship between the notions of honor and citizenship, particularly among the arequipeño *hoi polloi*, contrasting republican political life with the rather more restricted forms of politics during the colonial period and showing how a popular voice made itself heard in political debates of the time.

Roger A. Kittleston (University of Wisconsin, Madison) glossed his dissertation-in-progress on the politics of the city *povo* in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in the early 1890s, at the advent of the republican regime. He laid considerable stress on the way a new Republican party articulated relationships with its popular constituency, but he also discussed popular concepts of work, honor, and citizenship. Richard Warren (Universidad de las Americas, Puebla) provided an account of street politics, vagrancy, and political factionalism in chaotic early republican Mexico City. He demonstrated that elite concerns about vagrancy and public order were really

aimed at limiting the space for popular political expression and the franchise, and he talked, as did Chambers and Kittleson, about notions of honor, work, and citizenship in the new nation.

Eric Van Young's comments attempted to draw the three papers together thematically, concentrating finally on the issues of new principles of state legitimacy and the formative influences on popular political culture. A lively discussion followed the formal presentations, embracing questions and comments on such themes as political legitimacy, ethnicity and class, and comparative cases.

ERIC VAN YOUNG, University of California, San Diego

Indian and African Cultural and Political Resistance to Dominant Society Pressure: Tlaxcalans in Northern New Spain, Mayas in Yucatán, and Africans in Brazil

Leslie S. Offutt (Vassar College) opened the session with "Variants of Cultural Contact on New Spain's Northeastern Frontier: The Case of Saltillo and San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala," in which she outlined the two-century-long relationship between the Tlaxcalan community of San Esteban and its contiguous neighbor, the Hispanic community of Saltillo—both colonies from central New Spain sent to stabilize the periphery. She described the symbiotic relationship between the two communities as strengthened by a common enemy—hostile indigenous peoples—and she characterized San Esteban's successful maintenance of its lands and autonomy as an example of what Steve Stern has called "resistant adaptation."

Terry Rugeley (University of Oklahoma) turned the focus to another periphery in "Peasant Mobilization and the Spanish Constitution: The Case of Yucatán, 1812–1821." Rugeley described how Mayan peasants seized the initiative during Spain's constitutional crisis of 1812–14 to side with liberals, organize politically, and improve their economic position by rejecting taxes, forced labor, and payments to the church. This successful, if short-lived, experiment at mobilization, Rugeley argued, provided valuable political experience and constituted an important antecedent for the midcentury insurgency well known as the Caste War of Yucatán.

Fayette Wimberly (University of California, Berkeley) examined "The Afro-Brazilian Church and the Bahian Liberto: The Revival of Traditional Religious Practices in Nineteenth-Century Cachoeira." Black Africans in Brazil retained traditional religious beliefs and rituals even while their Brazilian rulers proscribed them. Some freed slaves, or libertos, retreated to rural areas to practice their rituals in greater privacy. During the economic boom of the 1870s in the northeast, libertos formed a new urban proletariat in places such as Cachoeira, where Afro-Brazilian churches offered valuable medical and social assistance to immigrants and helped reknit a new African identity from various ethnic strands.

With his customary perspicience, commentator Stuart Schwartz (University of

Minnesota) noted that the framework of the session, the category of resistance, has stretched in recent years to include the construction of social and ethnic identity in relation to power. He doubted that categories such as rebellion and accommodation were “supple enough” to analyze Afro-Brazilian churches, “in which people were trying to carve out social and religious space within an oppressive system.” He suggested that the Tlaxcalans’ success at defending their communal rights was not extraordinary, but rather “another example” of the creativity of indigenous peoples “in forging strategies for the defense of their interests”; and he questioned the explanatory power of the idea of “resistant adaptation.” Schwartz found in Rugeley’s material a clear expression of resistance to colonial rule as it is commonly understood, and noted that Rugeley’s paper emphasized internal divisions in the Mayan community. Schwartz concluded by reflecting on the nature of ethnic identity as “not simply a manifestation of cultural resistance, but usually expressions of economic and political interests,” which also demand explanation.

DAVID J. WEBER, Southern Methodist University

Liberalism Goes Local: Ideology and Social Conflict in Provincial Latin America

This session presented three papers concerning the effects of liberalism in localities in Mexico, Colombia, and Peru during the first decades after independence. Peter Guardino (Indiana University) discussed the gradual incorporation of federalist ideas into remote areas of the Mexican state of Guerrero as lawmakers in the capital first restructured colonial property definitions, then restricted suffrage, and finally tried to deny villagers peaceful redress. In response, the citizenry unleashed increasingly radical tactics to retain their property and way of life: first, lawsuits (to which they were apparently quite accustomed) and then rebellion under the leadership of state caudillo Juan Alvarez.

The situation in Socorro, Colombia, as depicted by Richard Stoller (Dickinson College) showed, conversely, that self-proclaimed Liberals could be much more interested in exerting authority over lesser population groups and maintaining superiority over rivals than in following the *laissez-faire* tenets of any ideology. Equally freewheeling were the putative Conservatives in Bogotá, who treated the countryside with benign neglect—with the conspicuous exception of wealthy Antioquia.

Last, Charles Walker (University of California, Davis) discussed politics in Cuzco, where Conservatives were able to hold sway because of the popularity of their caudillo Agustín Gamarra, the continuing rivalry with the already-Liberal stronghold of Arequipa, and the Liberals’ tendency to couch their presentations in terms of European issues, far from the everyday Peruvian reality. Furthermore, the Liberals eschewed the possibility of an alliance with the countryside, thereby damning their hopes even more completely.

Barbara A. Tenenbaum (Hispanic Division, Library of Congress) acted as both chair and co-commentator. She expressed her belief that scholars frequently fail to understand the basic nature of liberalism, embroiling themselves in a fictitious Liberal-Conservative dichotomy rather than viewing the differing opinions as a squabble within the same family. She was impressed, however, by the different applications of the tenets of liberalism throughout the region. Vincent C. Peloso (Howard University) noted that Tulio Halperín Donghi, Frank Safford, and David Brading all have offered important definitions of liberalism that might be useful in formulating interpretations of regional behavior of the early postindependence period. He suggested that seemingly factional activity in the countryside and municipalities more often reflected deep divisions linked to familial rivalries and class interests than ideological differences between Conservatives and Liberals, and that these rivalries may have echoed larger Liberal state-building projects. Twenty-five people attended the session.

BARBARA TENENBAUM, Hispanic Division, Library of Congress

Individual and Collective Responses to Social Problems and Crisis in Eighteenth-Century New Spain

This session, chaired by R. L. Woodward, Jr. (Tulane University), consisted of an excellent paper by Lee M. Penyak (University of Connecticut), "Protecting and Punishing Deviant Women: The Casa de Depósito, 1750–1865." Penyak examined 78 examples of *casas de depósito* in Mexico City and its environs in the late colonial and early national periods. His paper pointed out a wide variety of circumstances that forced women to be placed in private homes, and described the conditions of their confinement. The paper concluded with an analysis of gender stereotypes in colonial New Spain as a means to explain why the *casas de depósito* were established solely for women. The owners of these homes served as agents of social control in an institution that functioned as an extension of secular and ecclesiastical courts and furthered male-dominated social discipline.

Commenting on the paper, Susan Deans-Smith (University of Texas) noted how this type of institution may have differed in other, more rural parts of New Spain. Chairman Woodward read an additional comment by Jacques Barbier (University of Ottawa), who could not be present at the session. Barbier raised some questions about the larger context of the *casas de depósito* and suggested some additional areas for research. The audience vigorously participated in the lively discussion that followed.

RALPH LEE WOODWARD, JR., Tulane University

Indian Religious Education in Sixteenth-Century New Spain: Reciprocal Roles of Language and Literacy

The issues raised in this session go far beyond the world of sixteenth-century Mexico and speak directly to modern times, as the process of cultural dominance continues to work around the world. The three papers all focused on the imposition of Spanish cultural dominance on the native peoples of central Mexico, specifically the Nahuatl. The papers were remarkably well written and highly compatible to one another.

The first paper, "From Courtyard to the Seat of Government: The Career of Antonio Valeriano, Nahuatl Colleague of Bernardino de Sahagún," presented by Frances Karttunen (University of Texas, Austin), traced Valeriano's life and career from the decade after the Spanish conquest to the waning years of the sixteenth century. Valeriano was born a commoner but educated as a member of the native elite by the Franciscan friars in their school of Santa Cruz in Santiago Tlatelolco. In this capacity he came to play an important role as intermediary between the Nahuatl and the Spanish. He is best known for his work as an informant and scribe for the great sixteenth-century Franciscan scholar, Bernardino de Sahagún. Karttunen's work was part of a larger study of individuals who, due to circumstances beyond their control, find themselves caught between two worlds.

Barry David Sell (UCLA) picked up the story Karttunen had begun, discussing the impact of the school of Santa Cruz on the development of Nahuatl printing in the sixteenth century. His paper was titled "A Teacher of Their Own Nation: Nahuatl and Nahuatl Printing in Sixteenth-Century Colonial Mexico." Valeriano was only one of four natives Sahagún utilized in his massive study of Nahuatl culture and history now known as the Florentine Codex. All educated by the Franciscans at Santa Cruz, these four and their cohort of alumni had a tremendous impact on the new publishing industry as they helped the Spanish friars to compile works in Nahuatl. Most of these men were not simply bilingual but trilingual, having also been trained by the friars in Latin. Although they are mentioned in the prologues to many of the works, the native scholars have thus far not been given the full credit of coauthorship for the works on which they labored.

The third paper, by Susan Schroeder (Loyola University, Chicago), was titled "'Quicker than Young Spaniards,' Juan de Tovar, S.J.: Jesuit Pedagogy in Indian *Colegios* in Early Colonial New Spain." Following the theme still further, Schroeder looked at the Jesuits, who in many ways served as successors to the early Franciscan linguistic tradition. Their arrival was celebrated by both Spanish and native communities. They soon established schools to train the sons of both communities, and also began missionary efforts on the colonial frontier. In the schools the native boys were subjected to much the same routine as the Franciscans had developed; the Jesuits looked particularly for natives who had already been largely acculturated to Spanish civilization. Unique to this circumstance, however, was

Juan de Tovar himself; for, as a creole, he had been raised in New Spain and had spoken Nahuatl from childhood.

Praising the works presented, the Rev. Stafford Poole, C.M., called for continued research on these topics. One methodological problem concerning the educational system established by the religious orders is that we depend on the reports of the religious for much of our information. Poole acknowledged the problem of going beyond the reports to a deeper content. The efforts of the religious need also to be considered in context; unfortunately, not much is known about the education of young Spaniards in sixteenth-century Mexico. If several native students were functionally trilingual, as many sources report, Poole asked, how many Spaniards could boast of such an achievement? Poole's thought-provoking comments pointed the way to other important topics for additional research.

JOHN FREDERICK SCHWALLER, Academy of American Franciscan History

Key Elements of Social Structure and Social Relations in Spain, New Spain, and Northern New Spain

Three papers were presented in this session, chaired by Susan E. Ramírez (DePaul University). "Marriage, Concubinage, and Coupling in Mexico and Spain, 1500–1900," by Robert McCaa (University of Minnesota), sketched broad changes in nuptial forms, which McCaa dubbed "marriageways." McCaa concluded that after four centuries of extraordinary regional and racial differences in the frequency, precocity, and types of unions, a single Mexican pattern of civil marriage emerged toward the middle of the last century.

The second paper, by José Cuello (Wayne State University), was titled "Racial Identity and Economic Occupation in New Spain: A Comparison of Local and Regional Social Structures in the Viceroyalty." Addressing the roles of racial identity and economic occupation in forming viceregal social structures, the paper ended with a challenge to "construct better ways of measuring the complexity of colonial society." The third paper, "Labradores and Peasants in Late Colonial Pitic: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in Northern New Spain," by Cynthia Radding (University of Missouri), examined the process of social differentiation in the frontier presidio and villa of Pitic (Sonora) during the transition period between colony and republic, in terms of the essential sociopolitical variables of gender, ethnicity, and class. Radding's study illustrated the process nature of class formation. She concluded that peasants and labradores emerged as distinct social groups in the Sonoran highlands during the transition from Bourbon to Liberal rule. John Jay TePaske (Duke University) delivered an entertaining and elucidating commentary.

SUSAN E. RAMÍREZ, DePaul University

Committee Reports

Andean Studies

The co-chairs, Thomas Abercrombie (University of Miami) and Karen Powers (Northern Arizona University), opened the meeting by thanking Alfonso W. Quiroz and Paul Gootenberg, the previous co-chairs, for their service to the committee. Brooke Larson (State University of New York, Stony Brook) spoke about the future of the *Colonial Latin American Review* and requested that committee members encourage their institutions to subscribe. The remainder of the session was devoted to the panel “New Approaches to Andean Rebellion.” Two papers were presented: “Communities in Crisis: Conflict and Contradiction in the Thupa Amaro Rebellion,” by Ward Stavig (University of South Florida), and “Peasants, Local Elites, and the State in the Aymara Districts of the Highlands of Peru, 1900–1930,” by Marcela Calisto (University of Toledo, Ohio). Karen Spalding (Wellesley College) was the commentator.

Stavig examined the participation of the peoples of Quispicanchis and Canas y Canchis (Department of Cuzco) in the Thupa Amaro rebellion. Although he admitted the importance of structural pressures (demographic growth, economic demands, and state policies), he emphasized that the complexities of local political configurations and the cultural contradictions of indigenous communities themselves were also important forces in a group’s decision to rebel or refrain from protest. More specifically, he posited a correlation between a group’s potential for rebellion and the form of its protest, on the one hand, and its relationship to its *curaca* and its cultural views of community and crime, on the other. In the region under investigation, Stavig asserted that the relationship between community and *curaca* remained unusually solid; and the face-to-face relations between community and *curaca* and between *curaca* and local authorities determined whether a people participated in the rebellion. He also concluded that indigenous values concerning crime—a deeply rooted Andean disdain for thievery, for example—reduced the revolutionary potential of the peoples of rural Cuzco. In addition, Stavig proposed that the convergence of Andean and Spanish attitudes toward crime helped to legitimate the colonial state among indigenous communities, thereby ruling out social banditry as a form of protest and enhancing the power of both communal authorities and Spanish officials.

Calisto examined rural conflict in the Department of Puno from 1900 to 1930 and determined that land shortage was not the only, or even the primary, cause of political struggles there. Nor was protest the result of state exactions, but rather of the abusive manner in which local authorities carried out those exactions. For example, Indians complained not about the state’s land tax but about the way it was collected. Calisto emphasized that peasant political behavior was also determined by anger over local authorities’ obstructionist use of their traditional intermediary role to misrepresent or trivialize peasant complaints to the state. She supported her

arguments empirically by recounting events leading to a rebellion in the province of Chucuito in 1903.

Calisto concluded that peasant discontent with local authorities' mediation and creation of parallel political apparatus reflected peasants' desire to become integrated into national society. In many cases, the "rebellions" were actually fabrications of local elites, and violence was a last resort along a continuum of protest forms that included refusal to perform labor on public works, to serve in the army, to pay the land tax, or to obey official orders, as well as demonstrations in the towns. Finally, Calisto noted that Indian struggles at the turn of the twentieth century transcended the local sphere.

Karen Spalding praised both presenters for treating peasants as actors instead of reactors and for seeing rebellion as part of a continuum. She questioned Stavig's use of the phrase *traditional relationship between curaca and community*, pointing out that "traditional relationships" were a matter of wishful thinking. She also commented that while examining the links between the community and the larger society is crucial, looking at crime as a vehicle is problematic, since "crime" as a concept needs to be deconstructed. She added that *curaca* and *crime* were words with loaded meanings. Eric Van Young (University of California, San Diego) commented that he admired Stavig's willingness to come down "below the radar" by emphasizing face-to-face relations. Abercrombie then questioned both presenters on their use of the term *community* for both the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries, and asked, more pointedly, how collective institutions were constituted. He and Spalding then discussed how one might look at the realm of secrecy, or clandestinity, in these communities to see that constitution.

With regard to Calisto's paper, Spalding remarked that what underlay it was "the dance of opposition"; that is, relations with the larger society. Spalding also praised the methodology of putting the sources on the witness stand. Van Young admired Calisto's attack on the essentialist categorization of peasants as being pre-political, but stated that presenting peasants as actors instead of reactors can go too far; more nuanced interpretations are needed. Michael J. Gonzales (Northern Illinois University) suggested that Calisto highlight major rebellions. Erick D. Langer (Carnegie Mellon University) commented that land issues were not that important in Puno because Indians were more occupied with transport; therefore, struggles would be likely to concern labor services. The meeting was well attended and the discussion lively.

KAREN POWERS, Northern Arizona University

Brazilian Studies

Elizabeth Kuznesof (University of Kansas) chaired the meeting, attended by an audience of more than 30 and devoted to "Perspectives on Brazilian Social History:

The Common Soldier and the State.” Two papers were featured: “The Shelter of the Uniform: The Brazilian Army and Runaway Slaves, 1800–1888,” by Hendrik Kraay (University of Texas, Austin), and “Discipline and Progress: Brazilian Army Reform and Changing Institutional Strategies of Social Control, 1870–1916,” by Peter M. Beattie (University of Miami). Joan Meznar (University of South Carolina) and Timothy Coates (Brown University) provided commentary.

Kraay based his presentation largely on research with a group of 277 claims filed between 1800 and 1885 by slaveowners, mainly from the province of Bahia, asking military authorities to recover slaves who either had allegedly run away by joining the army or had been illegally impressed. Under the “shelter of the uniform,” slaves could gain a new identity, physical distance from their owners, and the protection of what constituted a new and powerful corporate patron.

Yet military service, Kraay went on to argue, provided at best a precarious cover. If runaways’ status came to light, their masters would petition to recover them. With the proper documentation, the army either returned the slave or compensated the owner for the loss of property—thereby reconfirming the legitimacy of slavery as an institution. Kraay concluded that this treatment of runaway slaves calls into question the view, put forth both by the Brazilian military and a number of historians, that the Brazilian army favored abolition very early on.

Beattie in his presentation focused on the army as a penal institution, and on efforts to reform and professionalize the military dating from the end of the Paraguayan War in 1870. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the army’s institutional role in managing crime and, more generally, maintaining and enforcing social control reflected the slow development of Brazil’s system of civil prisons and penitentiaries. To deal with petty offenders and “the criminally idle,” authorities frequently resorted to summary military impressment. Many of those impressed into the army were not, strictly speaking, criminals but rather *desprotegidos*, poor, unmarried men who lacked both a skilled occupation and the protection of an influential patron. The army also administered the penal colony on the island of Fernando de Noronha, orphanages, and apprentice schools that took in street children and juvenile delinquents.

Contemporary reformers, Beattie noted, recognized that efforts to modernize and professionalize the army and improve the quality of its recruits would have to take account of this link to criminality and criminal justice. Although the 1874 recruitment law was largely unsuccessful, subsequent measures reduced the mandatory term for military service, prohibited those with criminal records from serving in the army, and, in 1916, implemented a national draft lottery. By directly impinging on the criminal justice system, the military reforms ranked, in Beattie’s view, second only to the abolition of slavery in their “impact on institutions of social control.” Yet the record here, as Beattie noted in his conclusions, is ambiguous. The reforms, especially the national draft, not only gave army service a “partial facelift” but also “made the army responsible for educating and disciplin-

ing a much larger cross-section of Brazilians drawn from 'honorable' poor families." At the same time, the army's retreat from its central position in the criminal justice system reduced the state's ability to discipline and control the even larger number of poor Brazilians who did not come from "honorable" families.

In her comments, Meznar noted that the two papers complemented each other and together demonstrated how, when carried beyond the official military histories, research on the army can help illuminate the broader social changes that accompanied the transition from slavery to free labor in Brazil. Before 1888, she pointed out, army service strengthened distinctions both between "criminals" and the "honorable poor" and between slave and free. But precisely because the army had the institutional role of disciplining criminals, freedom through military service exemplified the narrow range of choices open to slaves.

Meznar suggested that the development of capitalism and new recruitment laws combined to alter radically the army's place in Brazilian society. Whereas formerly the army had reinforced clientelism by obliging the poor to seek patronage, now the military began to compete with patrons. In effect, "the state, through the military, became a patron of the most honorable of the free poor," and the army in turn was "transformed into a more general disciplinary force."

Coates pointed out that the themes of recruitment and military professionalization are linked in the sense that free recruitment depended on the public perception of a military no longer associated with criminals, slaves, gypsies, and other marginal figures. Drawing on his own work on *degredados*, Coates noted the links between the military and the justice system in the early modern Portuguese Empire. In Brazil from about 1600 on, punitive exile became associated with more distant frontier areas and, in especially serious cases, with Angola and São Tomé. In conclusion, Coates suggested the need for a comparative approach to this material that would include developments in the Portuguese army at home and in Africa during the same period. He also noted that the professionalization of the military was well under way in the second half of the eighteenth century, as demonstrated by works such as the *Exame dos bombeiros* (1748). Thus it was roughly during the years from 1750 to 1800 that the criminal-military link was first broken in the Portuguese-speaking world. A lively discussion from the audience followed.

BERT J. BARICKMAN, University of Arizona

Caribe-Centro America Studies

The meeting was devoted to a panel titled "Latest Historiographic Trends in Central American Liberalism." Three papers dealt with the historiography of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century liberalism in Central America.

Oscar Guillermo Peláez Almengor (Universidad de San Carlos, Guatemala)

gave an unusually rich survey of published, unpublished, and about-to-be-published works and archival resources on the still relatively understudied regime of Manuel Estrada Cabrera, who controlled the Guatemalan state from 1898 until his overthrow in 1920. Peláez' paper, "Apuntes historiográficos sobre Manuel Estrada Cabrera," clearly brought out the need for further research on this pivotal transitional period in Guatemalan history, and identified the rich and underutilized sources for further research. Estrada's 22-year rule, one of the longest in his nation's history, marked the definitive period for the establishment of U.S. monopolies and the reaction to them, which fueled a resurgence of unionist sentiment and political activity. Peláez lamented the sparsity of published works that deal directly with the Estrada period; he also revealed the availability of still underexploited resources and the opportunity and need for further research.

Edmond G. "Pat" Konrad (Tulane University) posed the intriguing questions suggested by his paper's title, "Tracing Francisco Morazán's Liberal Myth." Placing the interpretations of the life of the great Honduran Liberal in the context of the times and the interpreters' political and civic motives, Konrad demonstrated the early Liberal glorification of Morazán, the unionist hero-martyr, which often indulged in patent mythmaking to the point of serious distortion of fact. In their zeal, Liberal historians attributed to the hero impossible deeds, such as reading de Tocqueville's writings before they were written. In tracing the historiography, Konrad showed the anti-Morazán bias of Conservative histories. The myth, nevertheless, withstood Conservative interpretations, because Honduras needed such a mythical Morazán and because Central Americans in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries have needed a towering champion of unionism from the days of the Confederation to give additional legitimacy to their contemporary aspirations.

The third presentation, "Liberalism During the Treinta Años Conservadores: Policy, Discourse, and Historiography in Nicaragua, 1857–1893," by Justin Wolfe (UCLA), dealt with the three decades that commenced with the defeat of William Walker and culminated with José Santos Zelaya's 1893 coup. Differing in emphasis somewhat from the previous presenters, as his title suggests, Wolfe demonstrated rather convincingly that although Nicaraguan historiography always portrays this period as conservative because eight successive governments were drawn from the ranks of the Conservative party, the policies of those governments were rather liberal. They promoted an "order and progress" agenda indistinguishable from those of the positivistic liberals of neighboring nations, such as Barrios in Guatemala, Díaz in Mexico, or Zaldívar in El Salvador. The Nicaraguans pursued a program of state construction. The war with Walker made the elites aware of weakness; the governments of the "Treinta Años" followed a policy of fostering material progress and promoted a nationalistic historiography that reflected liberal ideas elsewhere in Central America.

While acknowledging the paucity both of resources for studying this period and studies about this period, Wolfe averred that great progress has been made

in the last few years, and stores of documents are to be found throughout Nicaragua. The history of the “Treinta Años” should become more abundant and less impressionistic in the years to come.

After brief comments by the chair, John Patrick Bell (Indiana University/Purdue University), in the absence of the scheduled commentator, an animated audience discussion followed. It clarified and extended several points suggested by the presenters, including a multifaceted interchange concerning William Griffith’s revisionist article on Morazán and, particularly, the hero-martyr’s connection with foreign investment in Central America.

JOHN PATRICK BELL, Indiana University/Purdue University, Fort Wayne

Chile-Río de la Plata Studies

The committee gathered for an open-ended discussion about authoritarianism in Argentina. In the past few years, several books have come out touching on different aspects of the same issue: David Rock’s *Authoritarian Argentina* (1993); Donna J. Guy’s *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires* (1991); and Ronald H. Dolkart and Sandra McGee Deutsch’s edited volume *The Argentine Right* (1993). We asked Rock, Guy, Dolkart, and Tulio Halperín Donghi to reflect on the nature of the historiography and their own positions.

Dolkart provided a masterly overview of the shifting interpretations, pointing out how the original liberal-modernization diagnosis emphasized social pathology—there was something just “wrong” about Argentine society. This, Dolkart suggested, pointed to Argentina’s uniqueness as a modernizing nation. More recent approaches, informed by new social history and dealing with a broader array of actors, have confronted the country’s deep class cleavages. Finally, Dolkart spoke of the most recent trend: cultural and intellectual approaches to the history of authoritarianism.

Rock’s book is already a much-discussed treatment of the subject. Rock rehearsed his original reasons for writing it and suggested ways he might have altered his analysis. Uncomfortable with the strong socioeconomic or materialist explanations for Argentine politics (of which he himself was a seasoned practitioner), Rock became increasingly alert to specific cultural and ideological manifestations. He recounted his own experience of living in Argentina in the 1970s and witnessing the horrors both of the Peronists’ final days and the early dictatorship. That process could not be reduced to a mechanical economic cause; reflecting on this led Rock to consider writing what eventually became *Authoritarian Argentina*.

Guy urged us to place gender at the center of analysis. In her view, classes, states, ethnicities, living space, all hitherto have been conceptualized as if sexual identities and their constructions did not exist. A perilous departure point in general, that interpretation has weakened our potential understanding of authoritari-

anism in particular. Guy therefore suggested that we might begin by focusing on the family and familial relationships—though not as “kinship structures”—then look at the larger social constructions of male, female, and other sexual identities beyond the domestic world. One important implication was that we should cease to treat Argentina *sui generis* as some bizarre deviation from a liberal norm; instead, it might serve as an example of how specific liberal gendered practices in personal and social relations may create authoritarian propensities.

Halperín Donghi, rather than deal with his own work, questioned some of the essentialism in that of others (including many of those present). It is not easy to summarize or do justice to his remarks. His principal concern was that historians might not find, in the deeper reaches of the country’s ideas, either very satisfying or very plausible accounts for what happened in the 1970s. Such a search would require close attention to specific contingencies, especially, though not exclusively, in the political realm. That is, any account of the 1930 coup would have to confront the specific problems presented by President Yrigoyen’s political style and mode of incorporating voters. Likewise, the coups of 1955 and 1966 might not necessarily be treated as manifestations of an authoritarian lineage, whether liberal (one avenue Guy suggests) or reactionary-nationalist (Rock’s likely position). Of course, the 1976 coup and the barbaric acts that preceded it were, to a large extent, incommensurable and irreducible. Here Halperín Donghi drew flak from other panelists and auditors.

Two principal questions were posed. First, was not Halperín Donghi invoking an overly narrow notion of authoritarianism—one that expresses itself in moments of political crisis? It might be argued, for instance, that authoritarianism percolates through various channels—labor relations, family dynamics, even education. Halperín Donghi, while not seeking to subordinate these aspects of intolerance and repression, did not consider them sufficient to explain the tragedy of the 1970s.

Second, was not Halperín Donghi rejecting the possibility that authoritarianism might be a deep structural aspect of Argentine society? Guy, Rock, and others clearly pointed to an embedded notion of the problem. Again Halperín Donghi resisted misrepresentation. Structures are not unimportant; but no explanation for a specific event, episode, or process can ignore the politics of the moment. There was indeed a long-term drift in Argentine society. An essentially liberal order was thrown into crisis. By the time a new dominant order (and in this instance, a populist one—though Halperín Donghi, perhaps deliberately, did not use this word) emerged after World War II, the old liberal order was deeply split. Each contending side, Peronist and non-Peronist alike, invoked mutually exclusive sources of legitimacy. Here may lie the pattern that, as it unfolded with greater violence and confrontation, extended to the 1970s.

The committee also, unanimously, elected Joel Horowitz of St. Bonaventure University the new secretary of the Río de la Plata-Chile section of CLAH.

JEREMY ADELMAN, Princeton University

Colonial Studies

About 30 participants attended the 1994 meeting of the Colonial Studies Committee. At the request of several committee members, the meeting began with a discussion of the role of the committee, its function, and the possibility of additional activities or meetings with scholars of colonial Latin America from other disciplines. Although no firm conclusions were reached, the committee agreed that the chair and secretary should undertake a survey of committee members in order to learn their feelings on a variety of subjects, including the amount of support for an interdisciplinary conference on colonial Latin American society and culture. The survey will be mailed to committee members later this spring, along with a request for nominations for the position of committee secretary, currently held by John F. Schwaller, who will become chair of the committee at the 1995 meeting.

Following the business portion of the meeting, Elizabeth Kuznesof (University of Kansas) presented a paper, "Gender Differences in the Meaning and Social Construction of Race in Colonial Spanish America." Kuznesof first made a quantitative argument that, given colonial migration statistics on Spanish women, the "Spanish" population in Mexico and Peru could not have been as large by the mid-eighteenth century as censuses suggest. Instead, according to Kuznesof, mestizo children in the first two generations were often categorized as "Spanish," following racial criteria not specifically based on bloodlines.

Kuznesof cited various features of the social construction of racial categories. "Race," as used by Spaniards, in various ways connoted elements of character and "civilization" in addition to genetic elements. The belief persisted that the "civilized" elements were inherently stronger than the "barbaric" elements, even though contemporary racial discourse argued that the "barbaric" could neutralize or debase the "civilized." There was also the perception that the male racial heritage was stronger than the female, with the notable exception that the offspring of female slaves inherited their mothers' legal status. Another feature was the "racial drift" that was relatively common in colonial Latin America as women acquired the racial status of the men they married. Yet another was the possibility that Indian men were disadvantaged because they lacked the opportunity for social advancement through affiliation with the dominant racial group, an opportunity open to Indian women.

Kuznesof supported her arguments with a detailed discussion of marriage patterns and a number of slides depicting changes in the social construction of gender. The ensuing questions and comments by members of her audience resulted in a lively and enthusiastic discussion, focusing on Mexican *casta* paintings and the role of race as a social marker at various stages in the colonial period.

Committee on Population and Quantitative History

Twenty scholars attended the ComPAQH meeting, chaired by Donald F. Stevens (Drexel University). David S. Reher (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) spoke on "Population Pressure and Living Standards in Late Colonial Mexico," a presentation that combined economic and demographic analysis. Reher contended that real income declined as population growth surpassed economic growth in late Bourbon Mexico. He based his extensive and provocative analysis of prices, production, and demography on data published by Morin, Garner, and others.

Although maize prices and production may not be indicative of all commodities, tithes receipts can be a proxy for production when deflated by the appropriate price index. Reher's deflated series for maize production in the eighteenth century (a 13-year moving average) showed an upward trend until 1760–70 and a leveling off after that. In comparing population growth in Mexico by regions, Reher noted wide regional differences, with rapid growth in Guanajuato, Michoacán, and Hidalgo but stagnation throughout the century in Puebla and Tlaxcala. Reher concluded that per capita agricultural production in Guanajuato and Michoacán declined, with notable short-term swings, from 1690 to 1720; stagnated, with large oscillations, from 1720 to 1760; and steadily declined with little annual variation from 1760 to the end of the century.

Reher then turned to demographic data to test Malthus' hypothesis that economic decline would have specific effects on marriage and childbearing. Using separate figures for Indians and other groups, Reher showed graphs illustrating the close parallel between trends in nuptiality and the standard of living. Fertility levels appeared to follow nuptiality, with a lag of varying size. Reher concluded that the standard of living fell in Bourbon Mexico, and that demographic trends showed the expected adjustments to this decline.

Richard Garner (Pennsylvania State University) remarked that while he was fascinated with Reher's analysis, he found himself forced to argue against his own research, at least as Reher had used it. Garner was less certain about the economic decline. Morin's figures for Michoacán, Garner noted, indicate that population growth was up against the agricultural limits; but this seemed to be a regional peculiarity that Garner had not seen elsewhere. Measuring the standard of living would require income and consumption figures and would be more complicated than Reher's analysis indicated.

Living standards had declined by the end of the eighteenth century, Garner said, but not as much as Reher suggested, and may even have increased by 0.2 percent. Part of the difference can be attributed to differences in measurements of inflation. Maize prices were very volatile, and wheat and meat prices showed no trend of even a slight decline over the century. Furthermore, Garner noted, Malthus never took weather or war into account. Garner concluded that Mexico's economy was strong enough to maintain the population over the long term. The

economy grew at twice the rate of the population, and real growth after inflation amounted to 0.1 to 0.3 percent per year over the century.

Reher responded by drawing parallels to European studies. Maize would be a large part of a composite price index, and the price of maize would have no reason not to dominate such an index. European living standards declined in the late eighteenth century, so an increase in Mexico would be unique. Reher reiterated that both the economic and the demographic data indicated a crisis. He emphasized that detrended figures for standard of living and marriage were closely parallel, and that this would not happen unless a Malthusian crisis were in progress. Discussion continued with comments from Woodrow Borah, Barbara Tenenbaum, Elizabeth Kuznesof, Robert McCaa, Roger Schofield, Donald Stevens, John TePaske, Linda Arnold, Cynthia Radding, and Dawn Keremitsis.

DONALD F. STEVENS, Drexel University

Projects and Publications

Marshall C. Eakin chaired this session, with approximately 20 people attending a panel titled "Monographic Publishing Beyond the Year 2000." Attendees included editors from presses at the universities of California, Nebraska, New Mexico, Stanford, and Duke. Representatives were also present from the *Colonial Latin American Review* and *The Americas*.

David V. Holtby, editor and associate director of the University of New Mexico Press, presented a paper, "The Future of Publishing on Latin American History," to open the panel. He began by discussing two kinds of electronic publishing projects: desktop publishing and use of the Internet. According to Holtby, despite the many advances in the use of computers to design and produce books, the investment has not yet paid off, largely because the fixed costs in production have not declined. The cost of composition has slowed, but earlier projections of savings through the use of computers have not been realized. Use of the Internet to distribute publications raises important technical issues of delivery, as well as the "gatekeeper issue" of who will bring the pieces of the publication process together. Furthermore, and possibly more difficult, is the problem of copyright protection.

Holtby then moved on to discuss issues of marketability. In particular, he emphasized the need for editors to shape manuscripts into truly readable texts. Finally, he noted that the economics of publishing monographs has made and will make it increasingly difficult for young scholars to find an outlet for their revised dissertations.

Holtby's exposition initiated a wide-ranging and very illuminating discussion that focused on the economics of publishing, the "guiding principles" of publishing, markets, and the kinds of books that the presses would like to see published. At the root of the economic crisis is the decline in purchases by libraries, which are

squeezed by rising journal subscriptions. Presses can now count on between two hundred and three hundred libraries to purchase newly published monographs in Latin American history, about half the number of purchasing libraries 20 years ago. As a result, the University of New Mexico, for example, will produce five hundred copies of a new monograph, give away about one hundred for review purposes, and then sell the other four hundred for about \$50 each to break even on production costs.

According to the editors, a number of other fields in Latin American studies sell better than history (for example, anthropology). Several editors emphasized the need for historians to produce lively, readable works that would appeal to advanced undergraduates, graduate students, and other scholars ("synthetic classics," in the words of one participant). The most marketable works are also interdisciplinary and comparative in their approach. The editors also stressed the need for historians of Latin America to write shorter books, preferably in the 250-to-300-page range.

The journals may benefit from scholars' increasing difficulties in trying to publish their dissertation research, as historians might turn to articles as a more viable form of research publication. One journal editor noted, however, that journals also face problems. Not only are institutions canceling subscriptions (forcing higher rates), but some are beginning to rely on electronic consortia to order articles through photocopy rather than purchasing the journals themselves.

Several participants expressed dismay at the distortion of intellectual enterprise by the economics of publishing. Others noted the need to persuade our peers to alter the lockstep review-and-promotion process that requires one traditional monograph for promotion and tenure and a second for promotion to full professor.

MARSHALL C. EAKIN, Vanderbilt University

Teaching and Teaching Materials

Teresa Meade (Union College) chaired the meeting, which featured three presentations on the topic "H-Net, Electronic Communications, and Latin American History." Philip Mueller (Xavier of New Orleans) explained the uses of the H-LATAM network for interacting with colleagues with similar interests. He and Jacquelyn Kent (SUNY, Cortland) are the H-LATAM network facilitators, and they provide subscribers with the electronic newsletter and distribute information among Latin American historians and those in related disciplines. Mark Kornbluh (George Washington University) discussed the electronic network as a medium for communicating with libraries, data bases, and other colleagues.

Wendy Plotkin (University of Illinois, Chicago) presented a detailed discussion of the uses of Internet and related electronic methods. Her talk was titled "Internet Resources, Listserv, Telnet, FTP, and Gopher: A Brief Introduction." Through the

generosity of Robert Cherny, of the History Department at San Francisco State University, the committee logged onto the Internet for a short demonstration of ways to access those and other resources.

The committee discussed briefly plans for the next year. Along with the Publications Committee, the Teaching Committee has proposed a session for the 1995 AHA meeting to include several professors who teach the Latin American history survey course and representatives of several presses that publish Latin American history textbooks. This will be a roundtable discussion that we hope will bring together those of us who teach and those who publish teaching materials for an exchange of ideas on what tools, texts, and other materials work best in the classroom.

TERESA MEADE, Union College